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The Complete Works of
PAUSANIAS

(c. AD 110 – c. 180)



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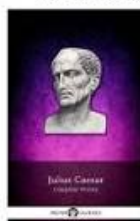
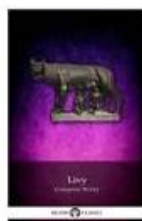
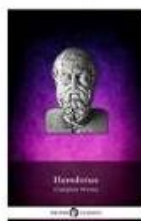
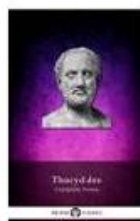
INTRODUCTION TO PAUSANIAS by W. H. S. Jones

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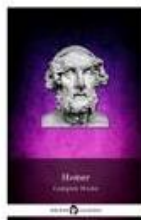
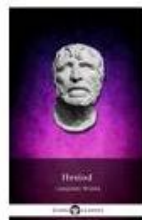


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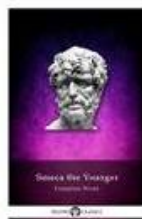
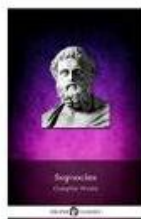
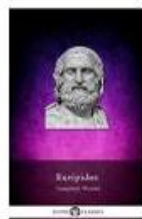
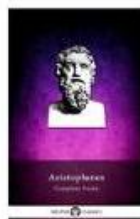
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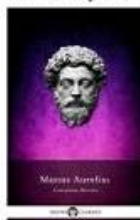
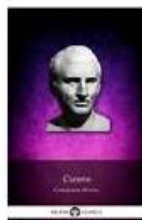
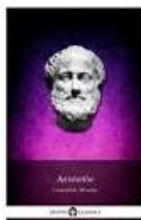
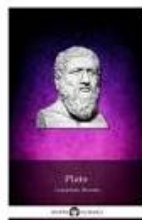
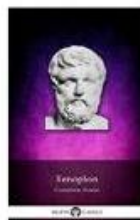
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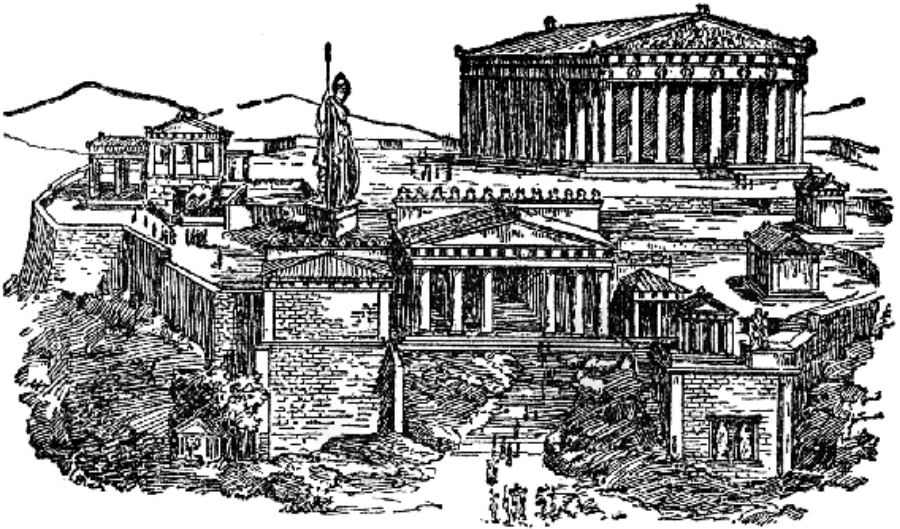


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The Complete Works of

PAUSANIAS



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The Translation



Ancient remains at Sardis, the capital of the Kingdom of Lydia — Pausanias was most likely a native of Lydia



Other ruins at Sardis

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

Translated by W. H. S. Jones

Composed in ten books, with each being dedicated to an area of Greece, Pausanias' *Description of Greece* is an important surviving work that describes many lost wonders and archaeological features of ancient Greece from firsthand observations, serving as a crucial link between classical literature and modern archaeology. The great work commences in Attica, with Athens and its demes dominating the discussion. The subsequent books concern Corinth, Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaia, Arcadia, Boeotia, Phocis and Ozolian Locris. The *Description of Greece* functions largely as a cultural geography, where Pausanias often digresses from description of architectural and artistic objects to review the mythological and historical underpinnings of the society that produced them. As a Greek writing under the auspices of the Roman Empire, he found himself in an awkward cultural space, between the glories of the Greek past he was so keen to describe and the realities of a Greece partly in servitude to Rome as a dominating imperial force. For these reasons, the *Description of Greece* demonstrates the author's careful attempts to establish an identity for Roman Greece, which is distinctly its own.

Pausanias is particularly noted for his detailed descriptions of the religious art and architecture of Olympia and of Delphi. At Thebes he views the shields of those who died at the Battle of Leuctra, the ruins of the house of Pindar and the statues of Hesiod, Arion, Thamyris and Orpheus in the grove of the Muses on Helicon, as well as the portraits of Corinna at Tanagra and of Polybius in the cities of Arcadia.

In the topographical sections of his work, Pausanias is fond of digressions on the wonders of nature, including comments on the signs that herald the approach of an earthquake, the phenomena of the tides, the ice-bound seas of the north, and the noonday sun which at the summer solstice casts no shadow at Syene (Aswan). Though he never doubts the existence of the gods and heroes, he occasionally criticises the myths and legends relating to them. His descriptions of monuments of art are plain and unadorned, producing an impression of reality, with their accuracy confirmed by the extant remains. Pausanias is entirely open in his confessions of ignorance and when he quotes a book at second hand he takes pains to say so.

The work was largely ignored until the Middle Ages. We in fact came perilously close to losing it altogether, as only three manuscripts survive from 15th-century copies, with are troubled with errors and lacunae, which all appear to depend on a single manuscript that survived to be copied. Niccolò Niccoli had this archetype in Florence in 1418 and following his death in 1437, the copy went to the library of San Marco, Florence and then disappeared after 1500. Until twentieth century archaeologists discovered just

how reliable Pausanias was a guide to the sites that were being excavating, Pausanias was almost dismissed by previous classicists, who followed the authoritative Wilamowitz in discrediting him, as a purveyor of literature quoted at second-hand, who, it was suggested, had not actually visited most of the places he described. Habicht 1985 describes an episode in which Wilamowitz was led astray by misreading Pausanias, in front of an august party of travellers, in 1873, and attributes to it Wilamowitz' lifelong antipathy and distrust of Pausanias. The experience of a century of archaeologists, however, has fully vindicated the reputation of Pausanias and his *Description of Greece*.



The 1485 manuscript of the 'Description of Greece', housed in the Laurentian Library

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The Athenian Agora, features in Book I



Ancient Corinth, which features in Book II

PREFACE.

THE present work was originally intended to be a plain translation of the text of Spiro. After a time I was requested by the Editors of the Loeb series to add a few notes, dates, maps, etc., so that the *Tour* might be more intelligible to English readers. Fully aware of the difficulties and dangers of the plan, I have nevertheless tried my best to choose from a vast quantity of material just those scraps of information which an English reader would need most. A few of the notes are printed at the side and foot of the page; most of them, together with the maps and plans, are reserved for the Index, which it is hoped to make a "companion" to Pausanias.

The transliteration of Greek names has been a matter of difficulty. The only way to avoid inconsistencies is to transliterate letter for letter without attempting either to Latinize or to Anglicize. To follow the rules adopted in the Loeb series without occasional inconsistencies is impossible, especially as the number of names given by Pausanias is so vast; here again I can only say that I have tried my best.

The text of Spiro has rarely been altered. A few of the most plausible conjectures, generally though not always adopted by Spiro, have been assigned to their authors in footnotes.

In my translation I have not distinguished between "Medes" and "Persians," or "Ilium" and "Troy." It is rather deceptive to an English reader to do so, and the Greek scholar can easily tell from the original which word in each case was used by Pausanias.

I have to acknowledge much kind help. Especially am I indebted to my friend Mr. A. W. Spratt, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, for his careful reading of the proofs. Professor Ridgeway and my colleague, Mr. R. B. Appleton, have given invaluable criticism and advice.

W. H. S. J.

BOOK I.

SUNIUM & LAURIUM

[1.1.1] 1. On the Greek mainland facing the Cyclades Islands and the Aegean Sea the Sunium promontory stands out from the Attic land. When you have rounded the promontory you see a harbor and a temple to Athena of Sunium on the peak of the promontory. Farther on is Laurium, where once the Athenians had silver mines, and a small uninhabited island called the Island of Patroclus. For a fortification was built on it and a palisade constructed by Patroclus, who was admiral in command of the Egyptian men-of-war sent by Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, to help the Athenians, when Antigonus, son of Demetrius, was ravaging their country, which he had invaded with an army, and at the same time was blockading them by sea with a fleet.

PEIRAEUS

[1.1.2] The Peiraeus was a parish from early times, though it was not a port before Themistocles became an archon of the Athenians. Their port was Phalerum, for at this place the sea comes nearest to Athens, and from here men say that Menestheus set sail with his fleet for Troy, and before him Theseus, when he went to give satisfaction to Minos for the death of Androgeos. But when Themistocles became archon, since he thought that the Peiraeus was more conveniently situated for mariners, and had three harbors as against one at Phalerum, he made it the Athenian port. Even up to my time there were docks there, and near the largest harbor is the grave of Themistocles. For it is said that the Athenians repented of their treatment of Themistocles, and that his relations took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia. And the children of Themistocles certainly returned and set up in the Parthenon a painting, on which is a portrait of Themistocles.

[1.1.3] The most noteworthy sight in the Peiraeus is a precinct of Athena and Zeus. Both their images are of bronze; Zeus holds a staff and a Victory, Athena a spear. Here is a portrait of Leosthenes and of his sons, painted by Arcesilaus. This Leosthenes at the head of the Athenians and the united Greeks defeated the Macedonians in Boeotia and again outside Thermopylae forced them into Lamia over against Oeta, and shut them up there. The portrait is in the long portico, where stands a market-place for those living near the sea – those farther away from the harbor have another – but behind the portico near the sea stand a Zeus and a Demos, the work of Leochares. And by the sea Conon built a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after he had crushed the Lacedaemonian warships off Cnidus in the Carian peninsula. For the Cnidians hold Aphrodite in very great honor, and they have sanctuaries of the goddess; the oldest is to her as Doritis (Bountiful), the next in age as Acraea (Of the

Height), while the newest is to the Aphrodite called Cnidian by men generally, but Euploia (Fair Voyage) by the Cnidians themselves.

[1.1.4] The Athenians have also another harbor, at Munychia, with a temple of Artemis of Munychia, and yet another at Phalerum, as I have already stated, and near it is a sanctuary of Demeter. Here there is also a temple of Athena Sciras, and one of Zeus some distance away, and altars of the gods named Unknown, and of heroes, and of the children of Theseus and Phalerus; for this Phalerus is said by the Athenians to have sailed with Jason to Colchis. There is also an altar of Androgeos, son of Minos, though it is called that of Heros; those, however, who pay special attention to the study of their country's antiquities know that it belongs to Androgeos.

[1.1.5] Twenty stades away is the Coliad promontory; on to it, when the Persian fleet was destroyed, the wrecks were carried down by the waves. There is here an image of the Coliad Aphrodite, with the goddesses Genetyllides (Goddesses of Birth), as they are called. And I am of opinion that the goddesses of the Phocaeans in Ionia, whom they call Gennaides, are the same as those at Colias. On the way from Phalerum to Athens there is a temple of Hera with neither doors nor roof. Men say that Mardonius, son of Gobryas, burnt it. But the image there to-day is, as report goes, the work of Alcamenes. So that this, at any rate, cannot have been damaged by the Persians.

[1.2.1] II. On entering the city there is a monument to Antiope the Amazon. This Antiope, Pindar says, was carried off by Peirithous and Theseus, but Hegias of Troezen gives the following account of her. Heracles was besieging Themiscyra on the Thermodon, but could not take it, but Antiope, falling in love with Theseus, who was aiding Heracles in his campaign, surrendered the stronghold. Such is the account of Hegias. But the Athenians assert that when the Amazons came, Antiope was shot by Molpadia, while Molpadia was killed by Theseus. To Molpadia also there is a monument among the Athenians.

[1.2.2] As you go up from the Peiraeus you see the ruins of the walls which Conon restored after the naval battle off Cnidus. For those built by Themistocles after the retreat of the Persians were destroyed during the rule of those named the Thirty. Along the road are very famous graves, that of Menander, son of Diopceithes, and a cenotaph of Euripides. He him self went to King Archelaus and lies buried in Macedonia; as to the manner of his death (many have described it), let it be as they say.

[1.2.3] So even in his time poets lived at the courts of kings, as earlier still Anacreon consorted with Polycrates, despot of Samos, and Aeschylus and Simonides journeyed to Hiero at Syracuse. Dionysius, afterwards despot in Sicily had Philoxenus at his court, and Antigonus, ruler of Macedonia, had Antagoras of Rhodes and Aratus of Soli. But Hesiod and Homer either failed to win the society of kings or else purposely despised it, Hesiod through boorishness and reluctance to travel, while Homer, having gone very far

abroad, depreciated the help afforded by despots in the acquisition of wealth in comparison with his reputation among ordinary men. And yet Homer, too, in his poem makes Demodocus live at the court of Alcinous, and Agamemnon leave a poet with his wife. Not far from the gates is a grave, on which is mounted a soldier standing by a horse. Who it is I do not know, but both horse and soldier were carved by Praxiteles.

ATHENS

[1.2.4] On entering the city there is a building for the preparation of the processions, which are held in some cases every year, in others at longer intervals. Hard by is a temple of Demeter, with images of the goddess herself and of her daughter, and of Iacchus holding a torch. On the wall, in Attic characters, is written that they are works of Praxiteles. Not far from the temple is Poseidon on horseback, hurling a spear against the giant Polybotes, concerning whom is prevalent among the Coans the story about the promontory of Chelone. But the inscription of our time assigns the statue to another, and not to Poseidon. From the gate to the Cerameicus there are porticoes, and in front of them brazen statues of such as had some title to fame, both men and women.

[1.2.5] One of the porticoes contains shrines of gods, and a gymnasium called that of Hermes. In it is the house of Pulytion, at which it is said that a mystic rite was performed by the most notable Athenians, parodying the Eleusinian mysteries. But in my time it was devoted to the worship of Dionysus. This Dionysus they call Melpomenus (Minstrel), on the same principle as they call Apollo Musegetes (Leader of the Muses). Here there are images of Athena Paeonia (Healer), of Zeus, of Mnemosyne (Memory) and of the Muses, an Apollo, the votive offering and work of Eubulides, and Acratus, a daemon attendant upon Apollo; it is only a face of him worked into the wall. After the precinct of Apollo is a building that contains earthen ware images, Amphictyon, king of Athens, feasting Dionysus and other gods. Here also is Pegasus of Eleutherae, who introduced the god to the Athenians. Herein he was helped by the oracle at Delphi, which called to mind that the god once dwelt in Athens in the days of Icarius.

[1.2.6] Amphictyon won the kingdom thus. It is said that Actaeus was the first king of what is now Attica. When he died, Cecrops, the son-in-law of Actaeus, received the kingdom, and there were born to him daughters, Herse, Aglaurus and Pandrosus, and a son Erysichthon. This son did not become king of the Athenians, but happened to die while his father lived, and the kingdom of Cecrops fell to Cranaus, the most powerful of the Athenians. They say that Cranaus had daughters, and among them Atthis; and from her they call the country Attica, which before was named Actaea. And Amphictyon, rising up against Cranaus, although he had his daughter to wife, deposed him from power. Afterwards he himself was banished by Erichthonius and his fellow rebels. Men say that Erichthonius had no human father, but that his parents

were Hephaestus and Earth.

[1.3.1] III. The district of the Cerameicus has its name from the hero Ceramus, he too being the reputed son of Dionysus and Ariadne. First on the right is what is called the Royal Portico, where sits the king when holding the yearly office called the kingship. On the tiling of this portico are images of baked earthenware, Theseus throwing Sciron into the sea and Day carrying away Cephalus, who they say was very beautiful and was ravished by Day, who was in love with him. His son was Phaethon, . . . and made a guardian of her temple. Such is the tale told by Hesiod, among others, in his poem on women.

[1.3.2] Near the portico stand Conon, Timotheus his son and Evagoras King of Cyprus, who caused the Phoenician men-of-war to be given to Conon by King Artaxerxes. This he did as an Athenian whose ancestry connected him with Salamis, for he traced his pedigree back to Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras. Here stands Zeus, called Zeus of Freedom, and the Emperor Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians.

[1.3.3] A portico is built behind with pictures of the gods called the Twelve. On the wall opposite are painted Theseus, Democracy and Demos. The picture represents Theseus as the one who gave the Athenians political equality. By other means also has the report spread among men that Theseus bestowed sovereignty upon the people, and that from his time they continued under a democratical government, until Peisistratus rose up and became despot. But there are many false beliefs current among the mass of mankind, since they are ignorant of historical science and consider trustworthy whatever they have heard from childhood in choruses and tragedies; one of these is about Theseus, who in fact himself became king, and afterwards, when Menestheus was dead, the descendants of Theseus remained rulers even to the fourth generation. But if I cared about tracing the pedigree I should have included in the list, besides these, the kings from Melanthus to Cleidicus the son of Aesimides.

[1.3.4] Here is a picture of the exploit, near Mantinea, of the Athenians who were sent to help the Lacedaemonians. Xenophon among others has written a history of the whole war – the taking of the Cadmea, the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, how the Boeotians invaded the Peloponnesus, and the contingent sent to the Lacedaemonians from the Athenians. In the picture is a cavalry battle, in which the most famous men are, among the Athenians, Grylus the son of Xenophon, and in the Boeotian cavalry, Epaminondas the Theban. These pictures were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor, and he also wrought the Apollo surnamed Patrous (Paternal) in the temple hard by. And in front of the temple is one Apollo made by Leochares; the other Apollo, called Averter of evil, was made by Calamis. They say that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the pestilence which afflicted the Athenians at the time of the Peloponnesian War.

[1.3.5] Here is built also a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods; the image is by Pheidias. Hard by is the council chamber of those called the Five Hundred,

who are the Athenian councillors for a year. In it are a wooden figure of Zeus Counsellor and an Apollo, the work of Peisias, and a Demos by Lyson. The thesmothetae (lawgivers) were painted by Protogenes the Caunian, and Olbiades portrayed Callippus, who led the Athenians to Thermopylae to stop the incursion of the Gauls into Greece.

INVASION OF THE GAULS, HISTORY

[1.4.1] IV. These Gauls inhabit the most remote portion of Europe, near a great sea that is not navigable to its extremities, and possesses ebb and flow and creatures quite unlike those of other seas. Through their country flows the river Eridanus, on the bank of which the daughters of Helius (Sun) are supposed to lament the fate that befell their brother Phaethon. It was late before the name "Gauls" came into vogue; for anciently they were called Celts both amongst themselves and by others. An army of them mustered and turned towards the Ionian Sea, dispossessed the Illyrian people, all who dwelt as far as Macedonia with the Macedonians themselves, and overran Thessaly. And when they drew near to Thermopylae, the Greeks in general made no move to prevent the inroad of the barbarians, since previously they had been severely defeated by Alexander and Philip. Further, Antipater and Cassander afterwards crushed the Greeks, so that through weakness each state thought no shame of itself taking no part in the defence of the country.

[1.4.2] But the Athenians, although they were more exhausted than any of the Greeks by the long Macedonian war, and had been generally unsuccessful in their battles, nevertheless set forth to Thermopylae with such Greeks as joined them, having made the Callippus I mentioned their general. Occupying the pass where it was narrowest, they tried to keep the foreigners from entering Greece; but the Celts, having discovered the path by which Ephialtes of Trachis once led the Persians, over whelmed the Phocians stationed there and crossed Oeta unperceived by the Greeks.

[1.4.3] Then it was that the Athenians put the Greeks under the greatest obligation, and although outflanked offered resistance to the foreigners on two sides. But the Athenians on the fleet suffered most, for the Lamian gulf is a swamp near Thermopylae – the reason being, I think, the hot water that here runs into the sea. These then were more distressed; for taking the Greeks on board they were forced to sail through the mud weighted as they were by arms and men.

[1.4.4] So they tried to save Greece in the way described, but the Gauls, now south of the Gates, cared not at all to capture the other towns, but were very eager to sack Delphi and the treasures of the god. They were opposed by the Delphians themselves and the Phocians of the cities around Parnassus; a force of Aetolians also joined the defenders, for the Aetolians at this time were pre-eminent for their vigorous activity. When the forces engaged, not only were thunderbolts and rocks broken off from Parnassus hurled against the Gauls, but terrible shapes as armed warriors haunted the foreigners. They say that

two of them, Hyperochus and Amadocus, came from the Hyperboreans, and that the third was Pyrrhus son of Achilles. Because of this help in battle the Delphians sacrifice to Pyrrhus as to a hero, although formerly they held even his tomb in dishonor, as being that of an enemy.

[1.4.5] The greater number of the Gauls crossed over to Asia by ship and plundered its coasts. Some time after, the inhabitants of Pergamus, that was called of old Teuthrania, drove the Gauls into it from the sea. Now this people occupied the country on the farther side of the river Sangarius capturing Ancyra, a city of the Phrygians, which Midas son of Gordius had founded in former time. And the anchor, which Midas found, was even as late as my time in the sanctuary of Zeus, as well as a spring called the Spring of Midas, water from which they say Midas mixed with wine to capture Silenus. Well then, the Pergameni took Ancyra and Pessinus which lies under Mount Agdistis, where they say that Attis lies buried.

[1.4.6] They have spoils from the Gauls, and a painting which portrays their deed against them. The land they dwell in was, they say, in ancient times sacred to the Cabeiri, and they claim that they are themselves Arcadians, being of those who crossed into Asia with Telephus. Of the wars that they have waged no account has been published to the world, except that they have accomplished three most notable achievements; the subjection of the coast region of Asia, the expulsion of the Gauls therefrom, and the exploit of Telephus against the followers of Agamemnon, at a time when the Greeks after missing Troy, were plundering the Meian plain thinking it Trojan territory. Now I will return from my digression.

[1.5.1] V. Near to the Council Chamber of the Five Hundred is what is called Tholos (Round House); here the presidents sacrifice, and there are a few small statues made of silver. Farther up stand statues of heroes, from whom afterwards the Athenian tribes received their names. Who the man was who established ten tribes instead of four, and changed their old names to new ones – all this is told by Herodotus.

[1.5.2] The eponymoi – this is the name given to them – are Hippothoon son of Poseidon and Alope daughter of Cercyon, Antiochus, one of the children of Heracles borne to him by Meda daughter of Phylas, thirdly, Ajax son of Telamon, and to the Athenians belongs Leos, who is said to have given up his daughters, at the command of the oracle, for the safety of the commonwealth. Among the eponymoi is Erechtheus, who conquered the Eleusinians in battle, and killed their general, Immaradus the son of Eumolpus. There is Aegeus also and Oeneus the bastard son of Pandion, and Acamas, one of the children of Theseus.

[1.5.3] I saw also among the eponymoi statues of Cecrops and Pandion, but I do not know who of those names are thus honored. For there was an earlier ruler Cecrops who took to wife the daughter of Actaeus, and a later – he it was who migrated to Euboea – son of Erechtheus, son of Pandion, son of Erichthonius. And there was a king Pandion who was son of Erichthonius, and

another who was son of Cecrops the second. This man was deposed from his kingdom by the Metionidae, and when he fled to Megara – for he had to wife the daughter of Pylas king of Megara – his children were banished with him. And Pandion is said to have fallen ill there and died, and on the coast of the Megarid is his tomb, on the rock called the rock of Athena the Gannet.

[1.5.4] But his children expelled the Metionidae, and returned from banishment at Megara, and Aegeus, as the eldest, became king of the Athenians. But in rearing daughters Pandion was unlucky, nor did they leave any sons to avenge him. And yet it was for the sake of power that he made the marriage alliance with the king of Thrace. But there is no way for a mortal to overstep what the deity thinks fit to send. They say that Tereus, though wedded to Procne, dishonored Philomela, thereby transgressing Greek custom, and further, having mangled the body of the damsel, constrained the women to avenge her. There is another statue, well worth seeing, of Pandion on the Acropolis.

[1.5.5] These are the Athenian eponymoi who belong to the ancients. And of later date than these they have tribes named after the following, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and within my own time the emperor Hadrian, who was extremely religious in the respect he paid to the deity and contributed very much to the happiness of his various subjects. He never voluntarily entered upon a war, but he reduced the Hebrews beyond Syria, who had rebelled. As for the sanctuaries of the gods that in some cases he built from the beginning, in others adorned with offerings and furniture, and the bounties he gave to Greek cities, and sometimes even to foreigners who asked him, all these acts are inscribed in his honor in the sanctuary at Athens common to all the gods.

PTOLEMY THE GREAT, HISTORY

[1.6.1] VI. But as to the history of Attalus and Ptolemy, it is more ancient in point of time, so that tradition no longer remains, and those who lived with these kings for the purpose of chronicling their deeds fell into neglect even before tradition failed. Where fore it occurred to me to narrate their deeds also, and how the sovereignty of Egypt, of the Mysians and of the neighboring peoples fell into the hands of their fathers.

[1.6.2] The Macedonians consider Ptolemy to be the son of Philip, the son of Amyntas, though putatively the son of Lagus, asserting that his mother was with child when she was married to Lagus by Philip. And among the distinguished acts of Ptolemy in Asia they mention that it was he who, of Alexander's companions, was foremost in succoring him when in danger among the Oxydracae. After the death of Alexander, by withstanding those who would have conferred all his empire upon Aridaeus, the son of Philip, he became chiefly responsible for the division of the various nations into the kingdoms.

[1.6.3] He crossed over to Egypt in person, and killed Cleomenes, whom

Alexander had appointed satrap of that country, considering him a friend of Perdiccas, and therefore not faithful to himself; and the Macedonians who had been entrusted with the task of carrying the corpse of Alexander to Aegae, he persuaded to hand it over to him. And he proceeded to bury it with Macedonian rites in Memphis, but, knowing that Perdiccas would make war, he kept Egypt garrisoned. And Perdiccas took Aridaeus, son of Philip, and the boy Alexander, whom Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, had borne to Alexander, to lend color to the campaign, but really he was plotting to take from Ptolemy his kingdom in Egypt. But being expelled from Egypt, and having lost his reputation as a soldier, and being in other respects unpopular with the Macedonians, he was put to death by his body guard.

[1.6.4] The death of Perdiccas immediately raised Ptolemy to power, who both reduced the Syrians and Phoenicia, and also welcomed Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who was in exile, having been expelled by Antigonus; he further himself prepared to attack Antigonus. He prevailed on Cassander, son of Antipater, and Lysimachus, who was king in Thrace, to join in the war, urging that Seleucus was in exile and that the growth of the power of Antigonus was dangerous to them all.

[1.6.5] For a time Antigonus prepared for war, and was by no means confident of the issue; but on learning that the revolt of Cyrene had called Ptolemy to Libya, he immediately reduced the Syrians and Phoenicians by a sudden inroad, handed them over to Demetrius, his son, a man who for all his youth had already a reputation for good sense, and went down to the Hellespont. But he led his army back without crossing, on hearing that Demetrius had been overcome by Ptolemy in battle. But Demetrius had not altogether evacuated the country before Ptolemy, and having surprised a body of Egyptians, killed a few of them. Then on the arrival of Antigonus Ptolemy did not wait for him but returned to Egypt.

[1.6.6] When the winter was over, Demetrius sailed to Cyprus and overcame in a naval action Menelaus, the satrap of Ptolemy, and afterwards Ptolemy himself, who had crossed to bring help. Ptolemy fled to Egypt, where he was besieged by Antigonus on land and by Demetrius with a fleet. In spite of his extreme peril Ptolemy saved his empire by making a stand with an army at Pelusium while offering resistance with warships from the river. Antigonus now abandoned all hope of reducing Egypt in the circumstances, and dispatched Demetrius against the Rhodians with a fleet and a large army, hoping, if the island were won, to use it as a base against the Egyptians. But the Rhodians displayed daring and ingenuity in the face of the besiegers, while Ptolemy helped them with all the forces he could muster.

[1.6.7] Antigonus thus failed to reduce Egypt or, later, Rhodes, and shortly afterwards he offered battle to Lysimachus, and to Cassander and the army of Seleucus, lost most of his forces, and was himself killed, having suffered most by reason of the length of the war with Eumenes. Of the kings who put down Antigonus I hold that the most wicked was Cassander, who although he had

recovered the throne of Macedonia with the aid of Antigonus, nevertheless came to fight against a benefactor.

[1.6.8] After the death of Antigonus, Ptolemy again reduced the Syrians and Cyprus, and also restored Pyrrhus to Thesprotia on the mainland. Cyrene rebelled; but Magas, the son of Berenice (who was at this time married to Ptolemy) captured Cyrene in the fifth year of the rebellion. If this Ptolemy really was the son of Philip, son of Amyntas, he must have inherited from his father his passion for women, for, while wedded to Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, although he had children he took a fancy to Berenice, whom Antipater had sent to Egypt with Eurydice. He fell in love with this woman and had children by her, and when his end drew near he left the kingdom of Egypt to Ptolemy (from whom the Athenians name their tribe) being the son of Berenice and not of the daughter of Antipater.

[1.7.1] VII. This Ptolemy fell in love with Arsinoe, his full sister, and married her, violating herein Macedonian custom, but following that of his Egyptian subjects. Secondly he put to death his brother Argaeus, who was, it is said, plotting against him; and he it was who brought down from Memphis the corpse of Alexander. He put to death another brother also, son of Eurydice, on discovering that he was creating disaffection among the Cyprians. Then Magas, the half-brother of Ptolemy, who had been entrusted with the governorship of Cyrene by his mother Berenice — she had borne him to Philip, a Macedonian but of no note and of lowly origin — induced the people of Cyrene to revolt from Ptolemy and marched against Egypt.

[1.7.2] Ptolemy fortified the entrance into Egypt and awaited the attack of the Cyrenians. But while on the march Magas was informed that the Marmaridae, a tribe of Libyan nomads, had revolted, and thereupon fell back upon Cyrene. Ptolemy resolved to pursue, but was checked owing to the following circumstance. When he was preparing to meet the attack of Magas, he engaged mercenaries, including some four thousand Gauls. Discovering that they were plotting to seize Egypt, he led them through the river to a deserted island. There they perished at one another's hands or by famine.

[1.7.3] Magas, who was married to Apame, daughter of Antiochus, son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to break the treaty which his father Seleucus had made with Ptolemy and to attack Egypt. When Antiochus resolved to attack, Ptolemy dispatched forces against all the subjects of Antiochus, freebooters to overrun the lands of the weaker, and an army to hold back the stronger, so that Antiochus never had an opportunity of attacking Egypt. I have already stated how this Ptolemy sent a fleet to help the Athenians against Antigonus and the Macedonians, but it did very little to save Athens. His children were by Arsinoe, not his sister, but the daughter of Lysimachus. His sister who had wedded him happened to die before this, leaving no issue, and there is in Egypt a district called Arsinoites after her.

[1.8.1] VIII. It is pertinent to add here an account of Attalus, because he too is one of the Athenian eponymoi. A Macedonian of the name of Docimus, a

general of Antigonus, who afterwards surrendered both himself and his property to Lysimachus, had a Paphlagonian eunuch called Philetaerus. All that Philetaerus did to further the revolt from Lysimachus, and how he won over Seleucus, will form an episode in my account of Lysimachus. Attalus, however, son of Attalus and nephew of Philetaerus, received the kingdom from his cousin Eumenes, who handed it over. The greatest of his achievements was his forcing the Gauls to retire from the sea into the country which they still hold.

[1.8.2] After the statues of the eponymoi come statues of gods, Amphiarus, and Eirene (Peace) carrying the boy Plutus (Wealth). Here stands a bronze figure of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians say, brought about the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes. Here also is Demosthenes, whom the Athenians forced to retire to Calauria, the island off Troezen, and then, after receiving him back, banished again after the disaster at Lamia.

[1.8.3] Exiled for the second time Demosthenes crossed once more to Calauria, and committed suicide there by taking poison, being the only Greek exile whom Archias failed to bring back to Antipater and the Macedonians. This Archias was a Thurian who undertook the abominable task of bringing to Antipater for punishment those who had opposed the Macedonians before the Greeks met with their defeat in Thessaly. Such was Demosthenes' reward for his great devotion to Athens. I heartily agree with the remark that no man who has unsparingly thrown himself into politics trusting in the loyalty of the democracy has ever met with a happy death.

[1.8.4] Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are placed two images of Aphrodite, one of Ares made by Alcamenes, and one of Athena made by a Parian of the name of Locrus. There is also an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. About the temple stand images of Heracles, Theseus, Apollo binding his hair with a fillet, and statues of Calades, who it is said framed laws for the Athenians, and of Pindar, the statue being one of the rewards the Athenians gave him for praising them in an ode.

[1.8.5] Hard by stand statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who killed Hipparchus. The reason of this act and the method of its execution have been related by others; of the figures some were made by Critius, the old ones being the work of Antenor. When Xerxes took Athens after the Athenians had abandoned the city he took away these statues also among the spoils, but they were afterwards restored to the Athenians by Antiochus.

[1.8.6] Before the entrance of the theater which they call the Odeum (Music Hall) are statues of Egyptian kings. They are all alike called Ptolemy, but each has his own surname. For they call one Philometor, and another Philadelphus, while the son of Lagus is called Soter, a name given him by the Rhodians. Of these, Philadelphus is he whom I have mentioned before among the eponymoi, and near him is a statue of his sister Arsinoe.

[1.9.1] IX. The one called Philometor is eighth in descent from Ptolemy son of Lagus, and his surname was given him in sarcastic mockery, for we know of none of the kings who was so hated by his mother. Although he was the eldest of her children she would not allow him to be called to the throne, but prevailed on his father before the call came to send him to Cyprus. Among the reasons assigned for Cleopatra's enmity towards her son is her expectation that Alexander the younger of her sons would prove more subservient, and this consideration induced her to urge the Egyptians to choose Alexander as king.

[1.9.2] When the people offered opposition, she dispatched Alexander for the second time to Cyprus, ostensibly as general, but really because she wished by his means to make Ptolemy more afraid of her. Finally she covered with wounds those eunuchs she thought best disposed, and presented them to the people, making out that she was the victim of Ptolemy's machinations, and that he had treated the eunuchs in such a fashion. The people of Alexandria rushed to kill Ptolemy, and when he escaped on board a ship, made Alexander, who returned from Cyprus, their king.

[1.9.3] Retribution for the exile of Ptolemy came upon Cleopatra, for she was put to death by Alexander, whom she herself had made to be king of the Egyptians. When the deed was discovered, and Alexander fled in fear of the citizens, Ptolemy returned and for the second time assumed control of Egypt. He made war against the Thebans, who had revolted, reduced them two years after the revolt, and treated them so cruelly that they were left not even a memorial of their former prosperity, which had so grown that they surpassed in wealth the richest of the Greeks, the sanctuary of Delphi and the Orchomenians. Shortly after this Ptolemy met with his appointed fate, and the Athenians, who had been benefited by him in many ways which I need not stop to relate, set up a bronze likeness of him and of Berenice, his only legitimate child.

LYSIMACHUS OF MACEDONIA, HISTORY

[1.9.4] After the Egyptians come statues of Philip and of his son Alexander. The events of their lives were too important to form a mere digression in another story. Now the Egyptians had their honors bestowed upon them out of genuine respect and because they were benefactors, but it was rather the sycophancy of the people that gave them to Philip and Alexander, since they set up a statue to Lysimachus also not so much out of goodwill as because they thought to serve their immediate ends.

[1.9.5] This Lysimachus was a Macedonian by birth and one of Alexander's body-guards, whom Alexander once in anger shut up in a chamber with a lion, and afterwards found that he had overpowered the brute. Henceforth he always treated him with respect, and honored him as much as the noblest

Macedonians. After the death of Alexander, Lysimachus ruled such of the Thracians, who are neighbors of the Macedonians, as had been under the sway of Alexander and before him of Philip. These would comprise but a small part of Thrace. If race be compared with race no nation of men except the Celts are more numerous than the Thracians taken all together, and for this reason no one before the Romans reduced the whole Thracian population. But the Romans have subdued all Thrace, and they also hold such Celtic territory as is worth possessing, but they have intentionally overlooked the parts that they consider useless through excessive cold or barrenness.

[1.9.6] Then Lysimachus made war against his neighbours, first the Odrysae, secondly the Getae and Dromichaetes. Engaging with men not unversed in warfare and far his superiors in number, he himself escaped from a position of extreme danger, but his son Agathocles, who was serving with him then for the first time, was taken prisoner by the Getae. Lysimachus met with other reverses afterwards, and attaching great importance to the capture of his son made peace with Dromicliaetes, yielding to the Getic king the parts of his empire beyond the Ister, and, chiefly under compulsion, giving him his daughter in marriage. Others say that not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself was taken prisoner, regaining his liberty when Agathocles treated with the Getic king on his behalf. On his return he married to Agathocles Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and of Eurydice.

[1.9.7] He also crossed with a fleet to Asia and helped to overthrow the empire of Antigonus. He founded also the modern city of Ephesus as far as the coast, bringing to it as settlers people of Lebedos and Colophon, after destroying their cities, so that the iambic poet Phoenix composed a lament for the capture of Colophon. Mermesianax, the elegiac writer, was, I think, no longer living, otherwise he too would certainly have been moved by the taking of Colophon to write a dirge. Lysimachus also went to war with Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. Waiting for his departure from Epeirus (Pyrrhus was of a very roving disposition) he ravaged Epeirus until he reached the royal tombs.

[1.9.8] The next part of the story is incredible to me, but Hieronymus the Cardian relates that he destroyed the tombs and cast out the bones of the dead. But this Hieronymus has a reputation generally of being biased against all the kings except Antigonus, and of being unfairly partial towards him. As to the treatment of the Epirot graves, it is perfectly plain that it was malice that made him record that a Macedonian desecrated the tombs of the dead. Besides, Lysimachus was surely aware that they were the ancestors not of Pyrrhus only but also of Alexander. In fact Alexander was an Epirot and an Aeacid on his mother's side, and the subsequent alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus proves that even as enemies they were not irreconcilable. Possibly Hieronymus had grievances against Lysimachus, especially his destroying the city of the Cardians and founding Lysimachea in its stead on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus.

[1.10.1] X. As long as Aridaeus reigned, and after him Cassander and his sons, friendly relations continued between Lysimachus and Macedon. But when the kingdom devolved upon Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Lysimachus, henceforth expecting that war would be declared upon him by Demetrius, resolved to take aggressive action. He was aware that Demetrius inherited a tendency to aggrandise, and he also knew that he visited Macedonia at the summons of Alexander and Cassander, and on his arrival murdered Alexander himself and ruled the Macedonians in his stead.

[1.10.2] Therefore encountering Demetrius at Amphipolis he came near to being expelled from Thrace, but on Pyrrhus' coming to his aid he mastered Thrace and afterwards extended his empire at the expense of the Nestians and Macedonians. The greater part of Macedonia was under the control of Pyrrhus himself, who came from Epeirus with an army and was at that time on friendly terms with Lysimachus. When however Demetrius crossed over into Asia and made war on Seleucus, the alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus lasted only as long as Demetrius continued hostilities; when Demetrius submitted to Seleucus, the friendship between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was broken, and when war broke out Lysimachus fought against Antigonus son of Demetrius and against Pyrrhus himself, had much the better of the struggle, conquered Macedonia and forced Pyrrhus to retreat to Epeirus.

[1.10.3] Love is wont to bring many calamities upon men. Lysimachus, although by this time of mature age and considered happy in respect of his children, and although Agathocles had children by Lysandra, nevertheless married Lysandra's sister Arsinoe. This Arsinoe, fearing for her children, lest on the death of Lysimachus they should fall into the hands of Agathocles, is said for this reason to have plotted against Agathocles. Historians have already related how Arsinoe fell in love with Agathocles, and being unsuccessful they say that she plotted against his life. They say also that Lysimachus discovered later his wife's machinations, but was by this time powerless, having lost all his friends.

[1.10.4] Since Lysimachus, then, overlooked Arsinoe's murder of Agathocles, Lysandra fled to Seleucus, taking with her her children and her brothers, who were taking refuge with Ptolemy and finally adopted this course. They were accompanied on their flight to Seleucus by Alexander who was the son of Lysimachus by an Odrysian woman. So they going up to Babylon entreated Seleucus to make war on Lysimachus. And at the same time Philetaerus, to whom the property of Lysimachus had been entrusted, aggrieved at the death of Agathocles and suspicious of the treatment he would receive at the hands of Arsinoe, seized Pergamus on the Caicus, and sending a herald offered both the property and himself to Seleucus.

[1.10.5] Lysimachus hearing of all these things lost no time in crossing into Asia, and assuming the initiative met Seleucus, suffered a severe defeat and was killed. Alexander, his son by the Odrysian woman, after interceding long with Lysandra, won his body and afterwards carried it to the Chersonesus and

buried it, where his grave is still to be seen between the village of Cardia and Pactye.

[1.11.1] XI. Such was the history of Lysimachus. The Athenians have also a statue of Pyrrhus. This Pyrrhus was not related to Alexander, except by ancestry. Pyrrhus was son of Aeacides, son of Arybbas, but Alexander was son of Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, and the father of Neoptolemus and Aryblas was Alcetas, son of Tharypus. And from Tharypus to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, are fifteen generations. Now Pyrrhus was the first who after the capture of Troy disdained to return to Thessaly, but sailing to Epeirus dwelt there because of the oracles of Helenus. By Hermione Pyrrhus had no child, but by Andromache he had Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus, who was the youngest. Helenus also had a son, Cestrinus, being married to Andromache after the murder of Pyrrhus at Delphi.

[1.11.2] Helenus on his death passed on the kingdom to Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, so that Cestrinus with volunteers from the Epeirots took possession of the region beyond the river Thyamis, while Pergamus crossed into Asia and killed Areius, despot in Teuthrania, who fought with him in single combat for his kingdom, and gave his name to the city which is still called after him. To Andromache, who accompanied him, there is still a shrine in the city. Pielus remained behind in Epeirus, and to him as ancestor Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, and his fathers traced their descent, and not to Molossus.

PYRRHUS OF MACEDONIA, HISTORY

[1.11.3] Down to Alcetas, son of Tharypus, Epeirus too was under one king. But the sons of Alcetas after a quarrel agreed to rule with equal authority, remaining faithful to their compact; and afterwards, when Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, died among the Leucani, and Olympias returned to Epeirus through fear of Antipater, Aeacides, son of Arybbas, continued in allegiance to Olympias and joined in her campaign against Aridaeus and the Macedonians, although the Epeirots refused to accompany him.

[1.11.4] Olympias on her victory behaved wickedly in the matter of the death of Aridaeus, and much more wickedly to certain Macedonians, and for this reason was considered to have deserved her subsequent treatment at the hands of Cassander; so Aeacides at first was not received even by the Epeirots because of their hatred of Olympias, and when after wards they forgave him, his return to Epeirus was next opposed by Cassander. When a battle occurred at Oeneadae between Philip, brother of Cassander, and Aeacides, Aeacides was wounded and shortly after met his fate.

[1.11.5] The Epeirots accepted Alcetas as their king, being the son of Arybbas and the elder brother of Aeacides, but of an uncontrollable temper and on this account banished by his father. Immediately on his arrival he began to vent his fury on the Epeirots, until they rose up and put him and his children to death at night. After killing him they brought back Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. No sooner had he arrived than Cassander made war upon him, while he was

young in years and before he had consolidated his empire. When the Macedonians attacked him, Pyrrhus went to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Egypt. Ptolemy gave him to wife the half-sister of his children, and restored him by an Egyptian force.

[1.11.6] The first Greeks that Pyrrhus attacked on becoming king were the Corcyraeans. He saw that the island lay off his own territory, and he did not wish others to have a base from which to attack him. My account of Lysimachus has already related how he fared, after taking Corcyra, in his war with Lysimachus, how he expelled Demetrius and ruled Macedonia until he was in turn expelled by Lysimachus, the most important of his achievements until he waged war against the Romans,

[1.11.7] being the first Greek we know of to do so. For no further battle, it is said, took place between Aeneas and Diomedes with his Argives. One of the many ambitions of the Athenians was to reduce all Italy, but the disaster at Syracuse prevented their trying conclusions with the Romans. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, of the same family as Pyrrhus but older, died among the Leucani before he could meet the Romans in battle.

[1.12.1] XII. So Pyrrhus was the first to cross the Ionian Sea from Greece to attack the Romans. And even he crossed on the invitation of the Tarentines. For they were already involved in a war with the Romans, but were no match for them unaided. Pyrrhus was already in their debt, because they had sent a fleet to help him in his war with Corcyra, but the most cogent arguments of the Tarentine envoys were their accounts of Italy, how its prosperity was equal to that of the whole of Greece, and their plea that it was wicked to dismiss them when they had come as friends and suppliants in their hour of need. When the envoys urged these considerations, Pyrrhus remembered the capture of Troy, which he took to be an omen of his success in the war, as he was a descendant of Achilles making war upon a colony of Trojans.

[1.12.2] Pleased with this proposal, and being a man who never lost time when once he had made up his mind, he immediately proceeded to man war ships and to prepare transports to carry horses and men-at-arms. There are books written by men of no renown as historians, entitled "Memoirs." When I read these I marvelled greatly both at the personal bravery of Pyrrhus in battle, and also at the forethought he displayed whenever a contest was imminent. So on this occasion also when crossing to Italy with a fleet he eluded the observation of the Romans, and for some time after his arrival they were unaware of his presence; it was only when the Romans made an attack upon the Tarentines that he appeared on the scene with his army, and his unexpected assault naturally threw his enemies into confusion.

[1.12.3] And being perfectly aware that he was no match for the Romans, he prepared to let loose against them his elephants. The first European to acquire elephants was Alexander, after subduing Porus and the power of the Indians; after his death others of the kings got them but Antigonos more than any; Pyrrhus captured his beasts in the battle with Demetrius. When on this

occasion they came in sight the Romans were seized with panic, and did not believe they were animals.

[1.12.4] For although the use of ivory in arts and crafts all men obviously have known from of old, the actual beasts, before the Macedonians crossed into Asia, nobody had seen at all except the Indians themselves, the Libyans, and their neighbours. This is proved by Homer, who describes the couches and houses of the more prosperous kings as ornamented with ivory, but never mentions the beast; but if he had seen or heard about it he would, in my opinion have been much more likely to speak of it than of the battle between the Dwarf-men and cranes.

[1.12.5] Pyrrhus was brought over to Sicily by an embassy of the Syracusans. The Carthaginians had crossed over and were destroying the Greek cities, and had sat down to invest Syracuse, the only one now remaining. When Pyrrhus heard this from the envoys he abandoned Tarentum and the Italiots on the coast, and crossing into Sicily forced the Carthaginians to raise the siege of Syracuse. In his self-conceit, although the Carthaginians, being Phoenicians of Tyre by ancient descent, were more experienced sea men than any other non-Greek people of that day, Pyrrhus was nevertheless encouraged to meet them in a naval battle, employing the Epeirots, the majority of whom, even after the capture of Troy, knew no thing of the sea nor even as yet how to use salt. Witness the words of Homer in the *Odyssey*:— Nothing they know of ocean, and mix not salt with their victuals. Hom. *Od.* 11.122

[1.13.1] XIII. Worsted on this occasion Pyrrhus put back with the remainder of his vessels to Tarentum. Here he met with a serious reverse, and his retirement, for he knew that the Romans would not let him depart without striking a blow, he contrived in the following manner. On his return from Sicily and his defeat, he first sent various dispatches to Asia and to Antigonus, asking some of the kings for troops, some for money, and Antigonus for both. When the envoys returned and their dispatches were delivered, he summoned those in authority, whether Epeiros or Tarentine, and without reading any of the dispatches declared that reinforcements would come. A report spread quickly even to the Romans that Macedonians and Asiatic tribes also were crossing to the aid of Pyrrhus. The Romans, on hearing this, made no move, but Pyrrhus on the approach of that very night crossed to the headlands of the mountains called Ceraunian.

[1.13.2] After the defeat in Italy Pyrrhus gave his forces a rest and then declared war on Antigonus, his chief ground of complaint being the failure to send reinforcements to Italy. Overpowering the native troops of Antigonus and his Gallic mercenaries he pursued them to the coast cities, and himself reduced upper Macedonia and the Thessalians. The extent of the fighting and the decisive character of the victory of Pyrrhus are shown best by the Celtic armour dedicated in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena between Pherae and Larisa, with this inscription on them:—

[1.13.3]

Pyrrhus the Molossian hung these shields
taken from the bold Gauls as a gift to Itonian
Athena, when he had destroyed all the host
of Antigonus. 'Tis no great marvel. The
Aeacidae are warriors now, even as they were of old.

These shields then are here, but the bucklers of the Macedonians
themselves he dedicated to Dodonian Zeus. They too have an inscription:—

These once ravaged golden Asia, and brought
slavery upon the Greeks. Now ownerless
they lie by the pillars of the temple of Zeus,
spoils of boastful Macedonia.

Pyrrhus came very near to reducing Macedonia entirely, but,
[1.13.4] being usually readier to do what came first to hand, he was prevented
by Cleonymus. This Cleonymus, who persuaded Pyrrhus to abandon his
Macedonian adventure and to go to the Peloponnesus, was a Lacedaemonian
who led an hostile army into the Lacedaemonian territory for a reason which I
will relate after giving the descent of Cleonymus. Pausanias, who was in
command of the Greeks at Plataea, was the father of Pleistoanax, he of
Pausanias, and he of Cleombrotus, who was killed at Leuctra fighting against
Epaminondas and the Thebans. Cleombrotus was the father of Agesipolis and
Cleomenes, and, Agesipolis dying without issue, Cleomenes ascended the
throne.

[1.13.5] Cleomenes had two sons, the elder being Acrotatus and the younger
Cleonymus. Now Acrotatus died first; and when afterwards Cleomenes died, a
claim to the throne was put forward by Areus son of Acrotatus, and
Cleonymus took steps to induce Pyrrhus to enter the country. Before the battle
of Leuctra the Lacedaemonians had suffered no disaster, so that they even
refused to admit that they had yet been worsted in a land battle. For Leonidas,
they said, had won the victory, but his followers were insufficient for the
entire destruction of the Persians; the achievement of Demosthenes and the
Athenians on the island of Sphacteria was no victory, but only a trick in war.

[1.13.6] Their first reverse took place in Boeotia, and they afterwards suffered
a severe defeat at the hands of Antipater and the Macedonians. Thirdly the
war with Demetrius came as an unexpected misfortune to their land. Invaded
by Pyrrhus and seeing a hostile army for the fourth time, they arrayed
themselves to meet it along with the Argives and Messenians who had come
as their allies. Pyrrhus won the day, and came near to capturing Sparta without
further fighting, but desisted for a while after ravaging the land and carrying
off plunder. The citizens prepared for a siege, and Sparta even before this in
the war with Demetrius had been fortified with deep trenches and strong
stakes, and at the most vulnerable points with buildings as well.

[1.13.7] Just about this time, while the Laconian war was dragging on,

Antigonus, having recovered the Macedonian cities, hastened to the Peloponnesus being well aware that if Pyrrhus were to reduce Lacedaemon and the greater part of the Peloponnesus, he would not return to Epeirus but to Macedonia to make war there again. When Antigonus was about to lead his army from Argos into Laconia, Pyrrhus himself reached Argos. Victorious once more he dashed into the city along with the fugitives, and his formation not unnaturally was broken up.

[1.13.8] When the fighting was now taking place by sanctuaries and houses, and in the narrow lanes, between detached bodies in different parts of the town, Pyrrhus left by himself was wounded in the head. It is said that his death was caused by a blow from a tile thrown by a woman. The Argives however declare that it was not a woman who killed him but Demeter in the likeness of a woman. This is what the Argives themselves relate about his end, and Lyceas, the guide for the neighborhood, has written a poem which confirms the story. They have a sanctuary of Demeter, built at the command of the oracle, on the spot where Pyrrhus died, and in it Pyrrhus is buried.

[1.13.9] I consider it remarkable that of those styled Aeacidae three met their end by similar heaven-sent means; if, as Homer says, Achilles was killed by Alexander, son of Priam, and by Apollo, if the Delphians were bidden by the Pythia to slay Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, and if the end of the son of Aeacides was such as the Argives say and Lyceas has described in his poem. The account, how ever, given by Hieronymus the Cardian is different, for a man who associates with royalty cannot help being a partial historian. If Philistus was justified in suppressing the most wicked deeds of Dionysius, because he expected his return to Syracuse, surely Hieronymus may be fully forgiven for writing to please Antigonus.

[1.14.1] XIV. So ended the period of Epeirot ascendancy. When you have entered the Odeum at Athens you meet, among other objects, a figure of Dionysus worth seeing. Hard by is a spring called Enneacrunos (Nine Jets), embellished as you see it by Peisistratus. There are cisterns all over the city, but this is the only fountain. Above the spring are two temples, one to Demeter and the Maid, while in that of Triptolemus is a statue of him. The accounts given of Triptolemus I shall write, omitting from the story as much as relates to Deiope.

[1.14.2] The Greeks who dispute most the Athenian claim to antiquity and the gifts they say they have received from the gods are the Argives, just as among those who are not Greeks the Egyptians compete with the Phrygians. It is said, then, that when Demeter came to Argos she was received by Pelasgus into his home, and that Chrysanthis, knowing about the rape of the Maid, related the story to her. Afterwards Trochilus, the priest of the mysteries, fled, they say, from Argos because of the enmity of Agenor, came to Attica and married a woman of Eleusis, by whom he had two children, Eubuleus and Triptolemus. That is the account given by the Argives. But the Athenians and those who with them . . . know that Triptolemus, son of Celeus, was the first to sow seed

for cultivation.

[1.14.3] Some extant verses of Musaeus, if indeed they are to be included among his works, say that Triptolemus was the son of Oceanus and Earth; while those ascribed to Orpheus (though in my opinion the received authorship is again incorrect) say that Eubuleus and Triptolemus were sons of Dysaules, and that because they gave Demeter information about her daughter the sowing of seed was her reward to them. But Choerilus, an Athenian, who wrote a play called *Alope*, says that Cercyon and Triptolemus were brothers, that their mother was the daughter of Amphictyon, while the father of Triptolemus was Rarus, of Cercyon, Poseidon. After I had intended to go further into this story, and to describe the contents of the sanctuary at Athens, called the Eleusinium, I was stayed by a vision in a dream. I shall therefore turn to those things it is lawful to write of to all men.

[1.14.4] In front of this temple, where is also the statue of Triptolemus, is a bronze bull being led as it were to sacrifice, and there is a sitting figure of Epimenides of Cnossus, who they say entered a cave in the country and slept. And the sleep did not leave him before the fortieth year, and afterwards he wrote verses and purified Athens and other cities. But Thales who stayed the plague for the Lacedaemonians was not related to Epimenides in any way, and belonged to a different city. The latter was from Cnossus, but Thales was from Gortyn, according to Polymnastus of Colophon, who composed a poem about him for the Lacedaemonians.

[1.14.5] Still farther off is a temple to Glory, this too being a thank-offering for the victory over the Persians, who had landed at Marathon. This is the victory of which I am of opinion the Athenians were proudest; while Aeschylus, who had won such renown for his poetry and for his share in the naval battles before Artemisium and at Salamis, recorded at the prospect of death nothing else, and merely wrote his name, his father's name, and the name of his city, and added that he had witnesses to his valor in the grove at Marathon and in the Persians who landed there.

[1.14.6] Above the Cerameicus and the portico called the King's Portico is a temple of Hephaestus. I was not surprised that by it stands a statue of Athena, because I knew the story about Erichthonius. But when I saw that the statue of Athena had blue eyes I found out that the legend about them is Libyan. For the Libyans have a saying that the Goddess is the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis, and for this reason has blue eyes like Poseidon.

[1.14.7] Hard by is a sanctuary of the Heavenly Aphrodite; the first men to establish her cult were the Assyrians, after the Assyrians the Paphians of Cyprus and the Phoenicians who live at Ascalon in Palestine; the Phoenicians taught her worship to the people of Cythera. Among the Athenians the cult was established by Aegeus, who thought that he was childless (he had, in fact, no children at the time) and that his sisters had suffered their misfortune because of the wrath of Heavenly Aphrodite. The statue still extant is of Parian marble and is the work of Pheidias. One of the Athenian parishes is

that of the Athmoneis, who say that Porphyryon, an earlier king than Actaeus, founded their sanctuary of the Heavenly One. But the traditions current among the Parishes often differ altogether from those of the city.

[1.15.1] XV. As you go to the portico which they call painted, because of its pictures, there is a bronze statue of Hermes of the Market-place, and near it a gate. On it is a trophy erected by the Athenians, who in a cavalry action overcame Pleistarchus, to whose command his brother Cassander had entrusted his cavalry and mercenaries. This portico contains, first, the Athenians arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe in the Argive territory. What is depicted is not the crisis of the battle nor when the action had advanced as far as the display of deeds of valor, but the beginning of the fight when the combatants were about to close.

[1.15.2] On the middle wall are the Athenians and Theseus fighting with the Amazons. So, it seems, only the women did not lose through their defeats their reckless courage in the face of danger; Themiscyra was taken by Heracles, and afterwards the army which they dispatched to Athens was destroyed, but nevertheless they came to Troy to fight all the Greeks as well as the Athenians themselves. After the Amazons come the Greeks when they have taken Troy, and the kings assembled on account of the outrage committed by Ajax against Cassandra. The picture includes Ajax himself, Cassandra and other captive women.

[1.15.3] At the end of the painting are those who fought at Marathon; the Boeotians of Plataea and the Attic contingent are coming to blows with the foreigners. In this place neither side has the better, but the center of the fighting shows the foreigners in flight and pushing one another into the morass, while at the end of the painting are the Phoenician ships, and the Greeks killing the foreigners who are scrambling into them. Here is also a portrait of the hero Marathon, after whom the plain is named, of Theseus represented as coming up from the under-world, of Athena and of Heracles. The Marathonians, according to their own account, were the first to regard Heracles as a god. Of the fighters the most conspicuous figures in the painting are Callimachus, who had been elected commander-in-chief by the Athenians, Miltiades, one of the generals, and a hero called Echelus, of whom I shall make mention later.

[1.15.4] Here are dedicated brazen shields, and some have an inscription that they are taken from the Scioneans and their allies, while others, smeared with pitch lest they should be worn by age and rust, are said to be those of the Lacedaemonians who were taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria.

[1.16.1] XVI. Here are placed bronze statues, one, in front of the portico, of Solon, who composed the laws for the Athenians, and, a little farther away, one of Seleucus, whose future prosperity was foreshadowed by unmistakable signs. When he was about to set forth from Macedonia with Alexander, and was sacrificing at Pella to Zeus, the wood that lay on the altar advanced of its own accord to the image and caught fire without the application of a light.

On the death of Alexander, Seleucus, in fear of Antigonus, who had arrived at Babylon, fled to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and then returned again to Babylon. On his return he overcame the army of Antigonus and killed Antigonus himself, afterwards capturing Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who had advanced with an army.

[1.16.2] After these successes, which were shortly followed by the fall of Lysimachus, he entrusted to his son Antiochus all his empire in Asia, and himself proceeded rapidly towards Macedonia, having with him an army both of Greeks and of foreigners. But Ptolemy, brother of Lysandra, had taken refuge with him from Lysimachus; this man, an adventurous character named for this reason the Thunderbolt, when the army of Seleucus had advanced as far as Lysimachea, assassinated Seleucus, allowed the kings to seize his wealth, and ruled over Macedonia until, being the first of the kings to my knowledge to dare to meet the Gauls in battle, he was killed by the foreigners. The empire was recovered by Antigonus, son of Demetrius.

[1.16.3] I am persuaded that Seleucus was the most righteous, and in particular the most religious of the kings. Firstly, it was Seleucus who sent back to Branchidae for the Milesians the bronze Apollo that had been carried by Xerxes to Ecbatana in Persia. Secondly, when he founded Seleucea on the river Tigris and brought to it Babylonian colonists he spared the wall of Babylon as well as the sanctuary of Bel, near which he permitted the Chaldeans to live.

ATHENS

[1.17.1] XVII. In the Athenian market-place among the objects not generally known is an altar to Mercy, of all divinities the most useful in the life of mortals and in the vicissitudes of fortune, but honored by the Athenians alone among the Greeks. And they are conspicuous not only for their humanity but also for their devotion to religion. They have an altar to Shamefastness, one to Rumour and one to Effort. It is quite obvious that those who excel in piety are correspondingly rewarded by good fortune.

[1.17.2] In the gymnasium not far from the market-place, called Ptolemy's from the founder, are stone Hermae well worth seeing and a likeness in bronze of Ptolemy. Here also is Juba the Libyan and Chrysippus of Soli. Hard by the gymnasium is a sanctuary of Theseus, where are pictures of Athenians fighting Amazons. This war they have also represented on the shield of their Athena and upon the pedestal of the Olympian Zeus. In the sanctuary of Theseus is also a painting of the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithae. Theseus has already killed a Centaur, but elsewhere the fighting is still undecided.

[1.17.3] The painting on the third wall is not intelligible to those unfamiliar with the traditions, partly through age and partly because Micon has not

represented in the picture the whole of the legend. When Minos was taking Theseus and the rest of the company of young folk to Crete he fell in love with Periboea, and on meeting with determined opposition from Theseus, hurled insults at him and denied that he was a son of Poseidon, since he could not recover for him the signet-ring, which he happened to be wearing, if he threw it into the sea. With these words Minos is said to have thrown the ring, but they say that Theseus came up from the sea with that ring and also with a gold crown that Amphitrite gave him.

[1.17.4] The accounts of the end of Theseus are many and inconsistent. They say he was kept a prisoner until Heracles restored him to the light of day, but the most plausible account I have heard is this. Theseus invaded Thesprotia to carry off the wife of the Thesprotian king, and in this way lost the greater part of his army, and both he and Peirithous (he too was taking part in the expedition, being eager for the marriage) were taken captive. The Thesprotian king kept them prisoners at Cichyrus.

[1.17.5] Among the sights of Thesprotia are a sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona and an oak sacred to the god. Near Cichyrus is a lake called Acherusia, and a river called Acheron. There is also Cocytus, a most unlovely stream. I believe it was because Homer had seen these places that he made bold to describe in his poems the regions of Hades, and gave to the rivers there the names of those in Thesprotia. While Theseus was thus kept in bonds, the sons of Tyndareus marched against Aphidna, captured it and restored Menestheus to the kingdom.

[1.17.6] Now Menestheus took no account of the children of Theseus, who had secretly withdrawn to Elephenor in Euboea, but he was aware that Theseus, if ever he returned from Thesprotia, would be a doughty antagonist, and so curried favour with his subjects that Theseus on re covering afterwards his liberty was expelled. So Theseus set out to Deucalion in Crete. Being carried out of his course by winds to the island of Scyros he was treated with marked honor by the inhabitants, both for the fame of his family and for the reputation of his own achievements. Accordingly Lycomedes contrived his death. His close was built at Athens after the Persians landed at Marathon, when Cimon, son of Miltiades, ravaged Scyros, thus avenging Theseus' death, and carried his bones to Athens.

[1.18.1] XVIII. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient. They them selves are represented as standing, while their sons are seated on horses. Here Polygnotus has painted the marriage of the daughters of Leucippus, was a part of the gods' history, but Micon those who sailed with Jason to the Colchians, and he has concentrated his attention upon Acastus and his horses.

[1.18.2] Above the sanctuary of the Dioscuri is a sacred enclosure of Aglaurus. It was to Aglaurus and her sisters, Herse and Pandrosus, that they say Athena gave Erichthonius, whom she had hidden in a chest, forbidding them to pry curiously into what was entrusted to their charge. Pandrosus, they say, obeyed, but the other two (for they opened the chest) went mad when

they saw Erichthonius, and threw themselves down the steepest part of the Acropolis. Here it was that the Persians climbed and killed the Athenians who thought that they understood the oracle better than did Themistocles, and fortified the Acropolis with logs and stakes.

[1.18.3] Hard by is the Prytaneum (Town-hall), in which the laws of Solon are inscribed, and figures are placed of the goddesses Peace and Hestia (Hearth), while among the statues is Autolycus the pancratiast. For the likenesses of Miltiades and Themistocles have had their titles changed to a Roman and a Thracian.

[1.18.4] As you descend from here to the lower part of the city, is a sanctuary of Serapis, whose worship the Athenians introduced from Ptolemy. Of the Egyptian sanctuaries of Serapis the most famous is at Alexandria, the oldest at Memphis. Into this neither stranger nor priest may enter, until they bury Apis. Not far from the sanctuary of Serapis is the place where they say that Peirithous and Theseus made their pact before setting forth to Lacedaemon and afterwards to Thesprotia.

[1.18.5] Hard by is built a temple of Eileithyia, who they say came from the Hyperboreans to Delos and helped Leto in her labour; and from Delos the name spread to other peoples. The Delians sacrifice to Eileithyia and sing a hymn of Olen. But the Cretans suppose that Eileithyia was born at Auunisia in the Cnossian territory, and that Hera was her mother. Only among the Athenians are the wooden figures of Eileithyia draped to the feet. The women told me that two are Cretan, being offerings of Phaedra, and that the third, which is the oldest, Erysichthon brought from Delos.

[1.18.6] Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus – Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome, and is made of ivory and gold with an artistic skill which is remarkable when the size is taken into account – before the entrance, I say, stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call “colonies.” The whole circumference of the precincts is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus.

[1.18.7] Within the precincts are antiquities: a bronze Zeus, a temple of Cronus and Rhea and an enclosure of Earth surnamed Olympian. Here the floor opens to the width of a cubit, and they say that along this bed flowed off the water after the deluge that occurred in the time of Deucalion, and into it they cast every year wheat meal mixed with honey.

[1.18.8] On a pillar is a statue of Isocrates, whose memory is remarkable for three things: his diligence in continuing to teach to the end of his ninety-eight years, his self-restraint in keeping aloof from politics and from interfering with public affairs, and his love of liberty in dying a voluntary death, distressed at the news of the battle at Chaeronea. There are also statues in

Phrygian marble of Persians supporting a bronze tripod; both the figures and the tripod are worth seeing. The ancient sanctuary of Olympian Zeus the Athenians say was built by Deucalion, and they cite as evidence that Deucalion lived at Athens a grave which is not far from the present temple.

[1.18.9] Hadrian constructed other buildings also for the Athenians: a temple of Hera and Zeus Panellenios (Common to all Greeks), a sanctuary common to all the gods, and, most famous of all, a hundred pillars of Phrygian marble. The walls too are constructed of the same material as the cloisters. And there are rooms there adorned with a gilded roof and with alabaster stone, as well as with statues and paintings. In them are kept books. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; of this too the pillars are a hundred in number from the Libyan quarries.

[1.19.1] XIX. Close to the temple of Olympian Zeus is a statue of the Pythian Apollo. There is further a sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Delphinus. The story has it that when the temple was finished with the exception of the roof Theseus arrived in the city, a stranger as yet to everybody. When he came to the temple of the Delphinian, wearing a tunic that reached to his feet and with his hair neatly plaited, those who were building the roof mockingly inquired what a marriageable virgin was doing wandering about by herself. The only answer that Theseus made was to loose, it is said, the oxen from the cart hard by, and to throw them higher than the roof of the temple they were building.

[1.19.2] Concerning the district called The Gardens, and the temple of Aphrodite, there is no story that is told by them, nor yet about the Aphrodite which stands near the temple. Now the shape of it is square, like that of the Hermae, and the inscription declares that the Heavenly Aphrodite is the oldest of those called Fates. But the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens is the work of Alcamenes, and one of the most note worthy things in Athens.

[1.19.3] There is also the place called Cynosarges, sacred to Heracles; the story of the white dog may be known by reading the oracle. There are altars of Heracles and Hebe, who they think is the daughter of Zeus and wife to Heracles. An altar has been built to Alcmena and to Iolaus, who shared with Heracles most of his labours. The Lyceum has its name from Lycus, the son of Pandion, but it was considered sacred to Apollo from the beginning down to my time, and here was the god first named Lyceus. There is a legend that the Termilae also, to whom Lycus came when he fled from Aegeus, were called Lycii after him.

[1.19.4] Behind the Lyceum is a monument of Nisus, who was killed while king of Megara by Minos, and the Athenians carried him here and buried him. About this Nisus there is a legend. His hair, they say, was red, and it was fated that he should die on its being cut off. When the Cretans attacked the country, they captured the other cities of the Megarid by assault, but Nisaea, in which Nisus had taken refuge, they beleaguered. The story says how the daughter of Nisus, falling in love here with Minos, cut off her father's hair.

[1.19.5] Such is the legend. The rivers that flow through Athenian territory are

the Ilissus and its tributary the Eridanus, whose name is the same as that of the Celtic river. This Ilissus is the river by which Oreithyia was playing when, according to the story, she was carried off by the North Wind. With Oreithyia he lived in wedlock, and because of the tie between him and the Athenians he helped them by destroying most of the foreigners' warships. The Athenians hold that the Ilissus is sacred to other deities as well, and on its bank is an altar of the Ilisian Muses. The place too is pointed out where the Peloponnesians killed Codrus, son of Melanthus and king of Athens.

[1.19.6] Across the Ilissus is a district called Agrae and a temple of Artemis Agrotera (the Huntress). They say that Artemis first hunted here when she came from Delos, and for this reason the statue carries a bow. A marvel to the eyes, though not so impressive to hear of, is a race-course of white marble, the size of which can best be estimated from the fact that beginning in a crescent on the heights above the Ilissus it descends in two straight lines to the river bank. This was built by Herodes, an Athenian, and the greater part of the Pentelic quarry was exhausted in its construction.

[1.20.1] XX. Leading from the prytaneum is a road called Tripods. The place takes its name from the shrines, large enough to hold the tripods which stand upon them, of bronze, but containing very remarkable works of art, including a Satyr, of which Praxiteles is said to have been very proud. Phryne once asked of him the most beautiful of his works, and the story goes that lover-like he agreed to give it, but refused to say which he thought the most beautiful. So a slave of Phryne rushed in saying that a fire had broken out in the studio of Praxiteles, and the greater number of his works were lost, though not all were destroyed.

[1.20.2] Praxiteles at once started to rush through the door crying that his labour was all wasted if indeed the flames had caught his Satyr and his Love. But Phryne bade him stay and be of good courage, for he had suffered no grievous loss, but had been trapped into confessing which were the most beautiful of his works. So Phryne chose the statue of Love; while a Satyr is in the temple of Dionysus hard by, a boy holding out a cup. The Love standing with him and the Dionysus were made by Thymilus.

[1.20.3] The oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is near the theater. Within the precincts are two temples and two statues of Dionysus, the Eleuthereus (Deliverer) and the one Alcamenes made of ivory and gold. There are paintings here – Dionysus bringing Hephaestus up to heaven. One of the Greek legends is that Hephaestus, when he was born, was thrown down by Hera. In revenge he sent as a gift a golden chair with invisible fetters. When Hera sat down she was held fast, and Hephaestus refused to listen to any other of the gods save Dionysus – in him he reposed the fullest trust – and after making him drunk Dionysus brought him to heaven. Besides this picture there are also represented Pentheus and Lycurgus paying the penalty of their insolence to Dionysus, Ariadne asleep, Theseus putting out to sea, and Dionysus on his arrival to carry off Ariadne.

[1.20.4] Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theater is a structure, which is said to be a copy of Xerxes' tent. It has been rebuilt, for the old building was burnt by the Roman general Sulla when he took Athens. The cause of the war was this. Mithridates was king over the foreigners around the Euxine. Now the grounds on which he made war against the Romans, how he crossed into Asia, and the cities he took by force of arms or made his friends, I must leave for those to find out who wish to know the history of Mithridates, and I shall confine my narrative to the capture of Athens.

MITHRIDATES OF ASIA, HISTORY

[1.20.5] There was an Athenian, Aristion, whom Mithridates employed as his envoy to the Greek cities. He induced the Athenians to join Mithridates rather than the Romans, although he did not induce all, but only the lower orders, and only the turbulent among them. The respectable Athenians fled to the Romans of their own accord. In the engagement that ensued the Romans won a decisive victory; Aristion and the Athenians they drove in flight into the city, Archelaus and the foreigners into the Peiraeus. This Archelaus was another general of Mithridates, whom earlier than this the Magnetes, who inhabit Sipylus, wounded when he raided their territory, killing most of the foreigners as well. So Athens was invested.

[1.20.6] Taxilus, a general of Mithridates, was at the time besieging Elatea in Phocis, but on receiving the news he withdrew his troops towards Attica. Learning this, the Roman general entrusted the siege of Athens to a portion of his army, and with the greater part of his forces advanced in person to meet Taxilus in Boeotia. On the third day from this, news came to both the Roman armies; Sulla heard that the Athenian fortifications had been stormed, and the besieging force learnt that Taxilus had been defeated in battle near Chaeronea. When Sulla returned to Attica he imprisoned in the Cerameicus the Athenians who had opposed him, and one chosen by lot out of every ten he ordered to be led to execution.

[1.20.7] Sulla abated nothing of his wrath against the Athenians, and so a few effected an escape to Delphi, and asked if the time were now come when it was fated for Athens also to be made desolate, receiving from the Pythia the response about the wine skin. Afterwards Sulla was smitten with the disease which I learn attacked Pherecydes the Syrian. Although Sulla's treatment of the Athenian people was so savage as to be unworthy of a Roman, I do not think that this was the cause of his calamity, but rather the vengeance of the suppliants' Protector, for he had dragged Aristion from the sanctuary of Athena, where he had taken refuge, and killed him. Such wise was Athens sorely afflicted by the war with Rome, but she flourished again when Hadrian was emperor.

[1.21.1] XXI. In the theater the Athenians have portrait statues of poets, both tragic and comic, but they are mostly of undistinguished persons. With the exception of Menander no poet of comedy represented here won a reputation,

but tragedy has two illustrious representatives, Euripides and Sophocles. There is a legend that after the death of Sophocles the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica, and their commander saw in a vision Dionysus, who bade him honor, with all the customary honors of the dead, the new Siren. He interpreted the dream as referring to Sophocles and his poetry, and down to the present day men are wont to liken to a Siren whatever is charming in both poetry and prose.

[1.21.2] The likeness of Aeschylus is, I think, much later than his death and than the painting which depicts the action at Marathon Aeschylus himself said that when a youth he slept while watching grapes in a field, and that Dionysus appeared and bade him write tragedy. When day came, in obedience to the vision, he made an attempt and hereafter found composing quite easy.

[1.21.3] Such were his words. On the South wall, as it is called, of the Acropolis, which faces the theater, there is dedicated a gilded head of Medusa the Gorgon, and round it is wrought an aegis. At the top of the theater is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis. This also has a tripod over it, wherein are Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. This Niobe I myself saw when I had gone up to Mount Sipylus. When you are near it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away you will think you see a woman in tears, with head bowed down.

[1.21.4] On the way to the Athenian Acropolis from the theater is the tomb of Calos. Daedalus murdered this Calos, who was his sister's son and a student of his craft, and therefore he fled to Crete; afterwards he escaped to Cocalus in Sicily. The sanctuary of Asclepius is worth seeing both for its paintings and for the statues of the god and his children. In it there is a spring, by which they say that Poseidon's son Halirrhothius deflowered Alcippe the daughter of Ares, who killed the ravisher and was the first to be put on his trial for the shedding of blood.

[1.21.5] Among the votive offerings there is a Sauromatic breast plate. On seeing this a man will say that no less than Greeks are foreigners skilled in the arts. For the Sauromatae have no iron, neither mined by them selves nor yet imported. They have, in fact, no dealings at all with the foreigners around them. To meet this deficiency they have contrived inventions. In place of iron they use bone for their spear-blades, and cornel-wood for their bows and arrows, with bone points for the arrows. They throw a lasso round any enemy they meet, and then turning round their horses upset the enemy caught in the lasso.

[1.21.6] Their breastplates they make in the following fashion. Each man keeps many mares, since the land is not divided into private allotments, nor does it bear any thing except wild trees, as the people are nomads. These mares they not only use for war, but also sacrifice them to the local gods and eat them for food. Their hoofs they collect, clean, split, and make from them as it were python scales. Whoever has never seen a python must at least have

seen a pine-cone still green. He will not be mistaken if he liken the product from the hoof to the segments that are seen on the pine-cone. These pieces they bore and stitch together with the sinews of horses and oxen, and then use them as breastplates that are as handsome and strong as those of the Greeks. For they can withstand blows of missiles and those struck in close combat.

[1.21.7] Linen breastplates are not so useful to fighters, for they let the iron pass through, if the blow be a violent one. They aid hunters, how ever, for the teeth of lions or leopards break off in them. You may see linen breastplates dedicated in other sanctuaries, notably in that at Gryneum, where there is a most beautiful grove of Apollo, with cultivated trees, and all those which, although they bear no fruit, are pleasing to smell or look upon.

[1.21.1] XXII. After the sanctuary of Asclepius, as you go by this way towards the Acropolis, there is a temple of Themis. Before it is raised a sepulchral mound to Hippolytus. The end of his life, they say, came from curses. Everybody, even a foreigner who has learnt Greek, knows about the love of Phaedra and the wickedness the nurse dared commit to serve her. The Troezenians too have a grave of Hippolytus, and their legend about it is this.

[1.22.2] When Theseus was about to marry Phaedra, not wishing, should he have children, Hippolytus either to be their subject or to be king in their stead, sent him to Pittheus to be brought up and to be the future king of Troezen. Afterwards Pallas and his sons rebelled against Theseus. After putting them to death he went to Troezen for purification, and Phaedra first saw Hippolytus there. Falling in love with him she contrived the plot for his death. The Troezenians have a myrtle with every one of its leaves pierced; they say that it did not grow originally in this fashion, the holes being due to Phaedra's disgust with love and to the pin which she wore in her hair.

[1.22.3] When Theseus had united into one state the many Athenian parishes, he established the cults of Aphrodite Pandemos (Common) and of Persuasion. The old statues no longer existed in my time, but those I saw were the work of no inferior artists. There is also a sanctuary of Earth, Nurse of Youth, and of Demeter Chloe (Green). You can learn all about their names by conversing with the priests.

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

[1.22.4] There is but one entry to the Acropolis. It affords no other, being precipitous throughout and having a strong wall. The gateway has a roof of white marble, and down to the present day it is unrivalled for the beauty and size of its stones. Now as to the statues of the horsemen, I cannot tell for certain whether they are the sons of Xenophon or whether they were made merely to beautify the place. On the right of the gateway is a temple of Wingless Victory. From this point the sea is visible, and here it was that, according to legend, Aegeus threw him self down to his death.

[1.22.5] For the ship that carried the young people to Crete began her voyage with black sails; but Theseus, who was sailing on an adventure against the

bull of Minos, as it is called, had told his father beforehand that he would use white sails if he should sail back victorious over the bull. But the loss of Ariadne made him forget the signal. Then Aegeus, when from this eminence he saw the vessel borne by black sails, thinking that his son was dead, threw himself down to destruction. There is at Athens a sanctuary dedicated to him, and called the hero-shrine of Aegeus.

[1.22.6] On the left of the gateway is a building with pictures. Among those not effaced by time I found Diomedes taking the Athena from Troy, and Odysseus in Lemnos taking away the bow of Philoctetes. There in the pictures is Orestes killing Aegisthus, and Pylades killing the sons of Nauplius who had come to bring Aegisthus succor. And there is Polyxena about to be sacrificed near the grave of Achilles. Homer did well in passing by this barbarous act. I think too that he showed poetic insight in making Achilles capture Scyros, differing entirely from those who say that Achilles lived in Scyros with the maidens, as Polygnotus has represented in his picture. He also painted Odysseus coming upon the women washing clothes with Nausicaa at the river, just like the description in Homer. There are other pictures, including a portrait of Alcibiades,

[1.22.7] and in the picture are emblems of the victory his horses won at Nemea. There is also Perseus journeying to Seriphos, and carrying to Polydectes the head of Medusa, the legend about whom I am unwilling to relate in my description of Attica. Included among the paintings – I omit the boy carrying the water-jars and the wrestler of Timaenetus – is Musaeus. I have read verse in which Musaeus receives from the North Wind the gift of flight, but, in my opinion, Onomacritus wrote them, and there are no certainly genuine works of Musaeus except a hymn to Demeter written for the Lycomidae.

[1.22.8] Right at the very entrance to the Acropolis are a Hermes (called Hermes of the Gateway) and figures of Graces, which tradition says were sculptured by Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, who the Pythia testified was the wisest of men, a title she refused to Anacharsis, although he desired it and came to Delphi to win it.

[1.23.1] XXIII. Among the sayings of the Greeks is one that there were seven wise men. Two of them were the despot of Lesbos and Periander the son of Cypselus. And yet Peisistratus and his son Hippias were more humane than Periander, wiser too in war fare and in statecraft, until, on account of the murder of Hipparchus, Hippias vented his passion against all and sundry, including a woman named Leaena (Lioness).

[1.23.2] What I am about to say has never before been committed to writing, but is generally credited among the Athenians. When Hipparchus died, Hippias tortured Leaena to death, because he knew she was the mistress of Aristogeiton, and therefore could not possibly, he held, be in ignorance of the plot. As a recompense, when the tyranny of the Peisistratidae was at an end, the Athenians put up a bronze lioness in memory of the woman, which they

say Callias dedicated and Calamis made.

[1.23.3] Hard by is a bronze statue of Diitrephes shot through by arrows. Among the acts reported of this Diitrephes by the Athenians is his leading back home the Thracian mercenaries who arrived too late to take part in the expedition of Demosthenes against Syracuse. He also put into the Chalcidic Euripus, where the Boeotians had an inland town Mycalessus, marched up to this town from the coast and took it. Of the inhabitants the Thracians put to the sword not only the combatants but also the women and children. I have evidence to bring. All the Boeotian towns which the Thebans sacked were inhabited in my time, as the people escaped just before the capture; so if the foreigners had not exterminated the Mycalessians the survivors would have afterwards reoccupied the town.

[1.23.4] I was greatly surprised to see the statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows, because the only Greeks whose custom it is to use that weapon are the Cretans. For the Opuntian Locrians, whom Homer represents as coming to Troy with bows and slings, we know were armed as heavy infantry by the time of the Persian wars. Neither indeed did the Malians continue the practice of the bow; in fact, I believe that they did not know it before the time of Philoctetes, and gave it up soon after. Near the statue of Diitrephes – I do not wish to write of the less distinguished portraits – are figures of gods; of Health, whom legend calls daughter of Asclepius, and of Athena, also surnamed Health.

[1.23.5] There is also a smallish stone, just large enough to serve as a seat to a little man. On it legend says Silenus rested when Dionysus came to the land. The oldest of the Satyrs they call Sileni. Wishing to know better than most people who the Satyrs are I have inquired from many about this very point. Euphemus the Carian said that on a voyage to Italy he was driven out of his course by winds and was carried into the outer sea, beyond the course of seamen. He affirmed that there were many uninhabited islands, while in others lived wild men. The sailors did not wish to put in at the latter,

[1.23.6] because, having put in before, they had some experience of the inhabitants, but on this occasion they had no choice in the matter. The islands were called Satyrides by the sailors, and the inhabitants were red haired, and had upon their flanks tails not much smaller than those of horses. As soon as they caught sight of their visitors, they ran down to the ship with out uttering a cry and assaulted the women in the ship. At last the sailors in fear cast a foreign woman on to the island. Her the Satyrs outraged not only in the usual way, but also in a most shocking manner.

[1.23.7] I remember looking at other things also on the Athenian Acropolis, a bronze boy holding the sprinkler, by Lycius son of Myron, and Myron's Perseus after beheading Medusa. There is also a sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis; the image is the work of Praxiteles, but the goddess derives her name from the parish of Brauron. The old wooden image is in Brauron, the Tauric Artemis as she is called.

[1.23.8] There is the horse called Wooden set up in bronze. That the work of Epeius was a contrivance to make a breach in the Trojan wall is known to everybody who does not attribute utter silliness to the Phrygians. But legend says of that horse that it contained the most valiant of the Greeks, and the design of the bronze figure fits in well with this story. Menestheus and Teucer are peeping out of it, and so are the sons of Theseus.

[1.23.9] Of the statues that stand after the horse, the likeness of Epicharinus who practised the race in armour was made by Critius, while Oenobius performed a kind service for Thucydides the son of Olorus. He succeeded in getting a decree passed for the return of Thucydides to Athens, who was treacherously murdered as he was returning, and there is a monument to him not far from the Melitid gate.

[1.23.10] The stories of Hermolycus the pancratiast and Phormio the son of Asopichus I omit, as others have told them. About Phormio, however, I have a detail to add. Quite one of the best men at Athens and distinguished for the fame of his ancestors he chanced to be heavily in debt. So he withdrew to the parish Paeania and lived there until the Athenians elected him to command a naval expedition. But he refused the office on the ground that before his debts were discharged he lacked the spirit to face his troops. So the Athenians, who were absolutely determined to have Phormio as their commander, paid all his creditors.

[1.24.1] XXIV. In this place is a statue of Athena striking Marsyas the Silenus for taking up the flutes that the goddess wished to be cast away for good. Opposite these I have mentioned is represented the fight which legend says Theseus fought with the so-called Bull of Minos, whether this was a man or a beast of the nature he is said to have been in the accepted story. For even in our time women have given birth to far more extraordinary monsters than this.

[1.24.2] There is also a statue of Phrixus the son of Athamas carried ashore to the Colchians by the ram. Having sacrificed the animal to some god or other, presumably to the one called by the Orchomenians Laphystius, he has cut out the thighs in accordance with Greek custom and is watching them as they burn. Next come other statues, including one of Heracles strangling the serpents as the legend describes. There is Athena too coming up out of the head of Zeus, and also a bull dedicated by the Council of the Areopagus on some occasion or other, about which, if one cared, one could make many conjectures.

[1.24.3] I have already stated that the Athenians are far more devoted to religion than other men. They were the first to surname Athena Ergane (Worker); they were the first to set up limbless Hermae, and the temple of their goddess is shared by the Spirit of Good men. Those who prefer artistic workmanship to mere antiquity may look at the following: a man wearing a helmet, by Cleoetas, whose nails the artist has made of silver, and an image of Earth beseeching Zeus to rain upon her; perhaps the Athenians themselves needed showers, or may be all the Greeks had been plagued with a drought.

There also are set up Timotheus the son of Conon and Conon himself; Procne too, who has already made up her mind about the boy, and Itys as well – a group dedicated by Alcamenes. Athena is represented displaying the olive plant, and Poseidon the wave,

[1.24.4] and there are statues of Zeus, one made by Leochares and one called Polieus (Urban), the customary mode of sacrificing to whom I will give without adding the traditional reason thereof. Upon the altar of Zeus Polieus they place barley mixed with wheat and leave it unguarded. The ox, which they keep already prepared for sacrifice, goes to the altar and partakes of the grain. One of the priests they call the ox-slayer, who kills the ox and then, casting aside the axe here according to the ritual runs away. The others bring the axe to trial, as though they know not the man who did the deed.

[1.24.5] Their ritual, then, is such as I have described. As you enter the temple that they name the Parthenon, all the sculptures you see on what is called the pediment refer to the birth of Athena, those on the rear pediment represent the contest for the land between Athena and Poseidon. The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is placed a likeness of the Sphinx – the tale of the Sphinx I will give when I come to my description of Boeotia – and on either side of the helmet are griffins in relief.

[1.24.6] These griffins, Aristaeas of Proconnesus says in his poem, fight for the gold with the Arimaspi beyond the Issedones. The gold which the griffins guard, he says, comes out of the earth; the Arimaspi are men all born with one eye; griffins are beasts like lions, but with the beak and wings of an eagle. I will say no more about the griffins.

[1.24.7] The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief. Hesiod and others have sung how this Pandora was the first woman; before Pandora was born there was as yet no womankind. The only portrait statue I remember seeing here is one of the emperor Hadrian, and at the entrance one of Iphicrates, who accomplished many remarkable achievements.

[2.24.8] Opposite the temple is a bronze Apollo, said to be the work of Pheidias. They call it the Locust God, because once when locusts were devastating the land the god said that he would drive them from Attica. That he did drive them away they know, but they do not say how. I myself know that locusts have been destroyed three times in the past on Mount Sipylus, and not in the same way. Once a gale arose and swept them away; on another occasion violent heat came on after rain and destroyed them; the third time sudden cold caught them and they died.

[1.25.1] XXV. Such were the fates I saw befall the locusts. On the Athenian Acropolis is a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and one of Xanthippus him self, who fought against the Persians at the naval battle of

Mycale. But that of Pericles stands apart, while near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, the first poet after Sappho of Lesbos to devote himself to love songs, and his posture is as it were that of a man singing when he is drunk. Deinomenes made the two female figures which stand near, Io, the daughter of Inachus, and Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, of both of whom exactly the same story is told, to wit, love of Zeus, wrath of Hera, and metamorphosis, Io becoming a cow and Callisto a bear.

[1.25.2] By the south wall are represented the legendary war with the giants, who once dwelt about Thrace and on the isthmus of Pallene, the battle between the Athenians and the Amazons, the engagement with the Persians at Marathon and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia. Each is about two cubits, and all were dedicated by Attalus. There stands too Olympiodorus, who won fame for the greatness of his achievements, especially in the crisis when he displayed a brave confidence among men who had met with continuous reverses, and were therefore in despair of winning a single success in the days to come.

OLYMPIODORUS OF ATHENS, HISTORY

[1.25.3] For the disaster at Chaeronea was the beginning of misfortune for all the Greeks, and especially did it enslave those who had been blind to the danger and such as had sided with Macedon. Most of their cities Philip captured; with Athens he nominally came to terms, but really imposed the severest penalties upon her, taking away the islands and putting an end to her maritime empire. For a time the Athenians remained passive, during the reign of Philip and subsequently of Alexander. But when on the death of Alexander the Macedonians chose Aridaeus to be their king, though the whole empire had been entrusted to Antipater, the Athenians now thought it intolerable if Greece should be for ever under the Macedonians, and themselves embarked on war besides inciting others to join them.

[1.25.4] The cities that took part were, of the Peloponnesians, Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Eleans, the Phliasians, Messene; on the other side of the Corinthian isthmus the Locrians, the Phocians, the Thessalians, Carystus, the Acarnanians belonging to the Aetolian League. The Boeotians, who occupied the Thebaid territory now that there were no Thebans left to dwell there, in fear lest the Athenians should injure them by founding a settlement on the site of Thebes, refused to join the alliance and lent all their forces to furthering the Macedonian cause.

[1.25.5] Each city ranged under the alliance had its own general, but as commander-in-chief was chosen the Athenian Leosthenes, both because of the fame of his city and also because he had the reputation of being an experienced soldier. He had already proved himself a general benefactor of Greece. All the Greeks that were serving as mercenaries in the armies of Darius and his satraps Alexander had wished to deport to Persia, but Leosthenes was too quick for him, and brought them by sea to Europe. On this

occasion too his brilliant actions surpassed expectation, and his death produced a general despair which was chiefly responsible for the defeat. A Macedonian garrison was set over the Athenians, and occupied first Munychia and afterwards Peiraeus also and the Long Walls.

[1.25.6] On the death of Antipater Olympias came over from Epeirus, killed Aridaeus, and for a time occupied the throne; but shortly afterwards she was besieged by Cassander, taken and delivered up to the people. Of the acts of Cassander when he came to the throne my narrative will deal only with such as concern the Athenians. He seized the fort of Panactum in Attica and also Salamis, and established as tyrant in Athens Demetrius the son of Phanostratus, a man who had won a reputation for wisdom. This tyrant was put down by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, a young man of strong Greek sympathies.

[1.25.7] But Cassander, inspired by a deep hatred of the Athenians, made a friend of Lachares, who up to now had been the popular champion, and induced him also to arrange a tyranny. We know no tyrant who proved so cruel to man and so impious to the gods. Although Demetrius the son of Antigonus was now at variance with the Athenian people, he notwithstanding deposed Lachares too from his tyranny, who, on the capture of the fortifications, escaped to Boeotia. Lachares took golden shields from the Acropolis, and stripped even the statue of Athena of its removable ornament; he was accordingly suspected of being a very wealthy man,

[1.25.8] and was murdered by some men of Coronea for the sake of this wealth. After freeing the Athenians from tyrants Demetrius the son of Antigonus did not restore the Peiraeus to them immediately after the flight of Lachares, but subsequently overcame them and brought a garrison even into the upper city, fortifying the place called the Museum. This is a hill right opposite the Acropolis within the old city boundaries, where legend says Musaeus used to sing, and, dying of old age, was buried. Afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian. At the time to which I refer Demetrius fortified and held it.

[1.26.1] XXVI. But afterwards a few men called to mind their forefathers, and the contrast between their present position and the ancient glory of Athens, and without more ado forth with elected Olympiodorus to be their general. He led them against the Macedonians, both the old men and the youths, and trusted for military success more to enthusiasm than to strength. The Macedonians came out to meet him, but he overcame them, pursued them to the Museum, and captured the position.

[1.26.2] So Athens was delivered from the Macedonians, and though all the Athenians fought memorably, Leocritus the son of Protarchus is said to have displayed most daring in the engagement. For he was the first to scale the fortification, and the first to rush into the Museum; and when he fell fighting, the Athenians did him great honor, dedicating his shield to Zeus of Freedom and in scribing on it the name of Leocritus and his exploit.

[1.26.3] This is the greatest achievement of Olympiodorus, not to mention his success in recovering Peiraeus and Munychia; and again, when the Macedonians were raiding Eleusis he collected a force of Eleusinians and defeated the invaders. Still earlier than this, when Cassander had invaded Attica, Olympiodorus sailed to Aetolia and induced the Aetolians to help. This allied force was the main reason why the Athenians escaped war with Cassander. Olympiodorus has not only honors at Athens, both on the Acropolis and in the town hall but also a portrait at Eleusis. The Phocians too of Elatea dedicated at Delphi a bronze statue of Olympiodorus for help in their revolt from Cassander.

[1.26.4] Near the statue of Olympiodorus stands a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryne, dedicated by the sons of Themistocles; for the Magnesians, whose city the King had given him to rule, hold Artemis Leucophryne in honor.

But my narrative must not loiter, as my task is a general description of all Greece. Endoeus was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daedalus, who also, when Daedalus was in exile because of the death of Calos, followed him to Crete. Made by him is a statue of Athena seated, with an inscription that Callias dedicated the image, but Endoeus made it.

[1.26.5] There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Zeus the Most High, on which they never sacrifice a living creature but offer cakes, not being wont to use any wine either. Inside the entrance are altars, one to Poseidon, on which in obedience to an oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, the second to the hero Butes, and the third to Hephaestus. On the walls are paintings representing members of the clan Butadae; there is also inside – the building is double – sea-water in a cistern. This is no great marvel, for other inland regions have similar wells, in particular Aphrodisias in Caria. But this cistern is remarkable for the noise of waves it sends forth when a south wind blows. On the rock is the outline of a trident. Legend says that these appeared as evidence in support of Poseidon's claim to the land.

[1.26.6] Both the city and the whole of the land are alike sacred to Athena; for even those who in their parishes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold Athena in honor. But the most holy symbol, that was so considered by all many years before the unification of the parishes, is the image of Athena which is on what is now called the Acropolis, but in early days the Polis (City). A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven; whether this is true or not I shall not discuss. A golden lamp for the goddess was made by Callimachus.

[1.26.7] Having filled the lamp with oil, they wait until the same day next year, and the oil is sufficient for the lamp during the interval, although it is alight both day and night. The wick in it is of Carpasian flax, the only kind of flax which is fire-proof, and a bronze palm above the lamp reaches to the roof and draws off the smoke. The Callimachus who made the lamp, although not of the first rank of artists, was yet of unparalleled cleverness, so that he was

the first to drill holes through stones, and gave himself the title of Refiner of Art, or perhaps others gave the title and he adopted it as his.

[1.27.1] XXVII. In the temple of Athena Polias (Of the City) is a wooden Hermes, said to have been dedicated by Cecrops, but not visible because of myrtle boughs. The votive offerings worth noting are, of the old ones, a folding chair made by Daedalus, Persian spoils, namely the breastplate of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a scimitar said to have belonged to Mardonius. Now Masistius I know was killed by the Athenian cavalry. But Mardonius was opposed by the Lacedaemonians and was killed by a Spartan; so the Athenians could not have taken the scimitar to begin with, and furthermore the Lacedaemonians would scarcely have suffered them to carry it off.

[1.27.2] About the olive they have nothing to say except that it was testimony the goddess produced when she contended for their land. Legend also says that when the Persians fired Athens the olive was burnt down, but on the very day it was burnt it grew again to the height of two cubits.

Adjoining the temple of Athena is the temple of Pandrosus, the only one of the sisters to be faithful to the trust.

[1.27.3] I was much amazed at something which is not generally known, and so I will describe the circumstances. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of Athena Polias, called by the Athenians Bearers of the Sacred Offerings. For a time they live with the goddess, but when the festival comes round they perform at night the following rites. Having placed on their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry – neither she who gives nor they who carry have any knowledge what it is – the maidens descend by the natural underground passage that goes across the adjacent precincts, within the city, of Aphrodite in the Gardens. They leave down below what they carry and receive something else which they bring back covered up. These maidens they henceforth let go free, and take up to the Acropolis others in their place.

[1.27.4] By the temple of Athena is . . . an old woman about a cubit high, the inscription calling her a handmaid of Lysimache, and large bronze figures of men facing each other for a fight, one of whom they call Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus; and yet those Athenians who are acquainted with antiquity must surely know that this victim of Erechtheus was Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus.

[1.27.5] On the pedestal are also statues of Theaenetus, who was seer to Tolmides, and of Tolmides himself, who when in command of the Athenian fleet inflicted severe damage upon the enemy, especially upon the Peloponnesians who dwell along the coast, burnt the dock-yards at Gythium and captured Boeae, belonging to the “provincials,” and the island of Cythera. He made a descent on Sicyonia, and, attacked by the citizens as he was laying waste the country, he put them to flight and chased them to the city. Returning afterwards to Athens, he conducted Athenian colonists to Euboea and Naxos and invaded Boeotia with an army. Having ravaged the greater part of the land

and reduced Chaeronea by a siege, he advanced into the territory of Haliartus, where he was killed in battle and all his army worsted. Such was the history of Tolmides that I learnt.

[1.27.6] There are also old figures of Athena, no limbs of which indeed are missing, but they are rather black and too fragile to bear a blow. For they too were caught by the flames when the Athenians had gone on board their ships and the King captured the city emptied of its able-bodied inhabitants. There is also a boar-hunt (I do not know for certain whether it is the Calydonian boar) and Cynus fighting with Heracles. This Cynus is said to have killed, among others, Lycus a Thracian, a prize having been proposed for the winner of the duel, but near the river Peneius he was himself killed by Heracles.

[1.27.7] One of the Troezenian legends about Theseus is the following. When Heracles visited Pittheus at Troezen, he laid aside his lion's skin to eat his dinner, and there came in to see him some Troezenian children with Theseus, then about seven years of age. The story goes that when they saw the skin the other children ran away, but Theseus slipped out not much afraid, seized an axe from the servants and straightway attacked the skin in earnest, thinking it to be a lion.

[1.27.8] This is the first Troezenian legend about Theseus. The next is that Aegeus placed boots and a sword under a rock as tokens for the child, and then sailed away to Athens; Theseus, when sixteen years old, pushed the rock away and departed, taking what Aegeus had deposited. There is a representation of this legend on the Acropolis, everything in bronze except the rock.

[1.27.9] Another deed of Theseus they have represented in an offering, and the story about it is as follows:— The land of the Cretans and especially that by the river Tethris was ravaged by a bull. It would seem that in the days of old the beasts were much more formidable to men, for example the Nemean lion, the lion of Parnassus, the serpents in many parts of Greece, and the boars of Calydon, Erymanthus and Crommyon in the land of Corinth, so that it was said that some were sent up by the earth, that others were sacred to the gods, while others had been let loose to punish mankind. And so the Cretans say that this bull was sent by Poseidon to their land because, although Minos was lord of the Greek Sea, he did not worship Poseidon more than any other god.

[1.27.10] They say that this bull crossed from Crete to the Peloponnesus, and came to be one of what are called the Twelve Labours of Heracles. When he was let loose on the Argive plain he fled through the isthmus of Corinth, into the land of Attica as far as the Attic parish of Marathon, killing all he met, including Androgeos, son of Minos. Minos sailed against Athens with a fleet, not believing that the Athenians were innocent of the death of Androgeos, and sorely harassed them until it was agreed that he should take seven maidens and seven boys for the Minotaur that was said to dwell in the Labyrinth at Cnossus. But the bull at Marathon Theseus is said to have driven afterwards to the Acropolis and to have sacrificed to the goddess; the offering

commemorating this deed was dedicated by the parish of Marathon.

[1.28.1] XXVIII. Why they set up a bronze statue of Cylon in spite of his plotting a tyranny, I cannot say for certain; but I infer that it was because he was very beautiful to look upon, and of no undistinguished fame, having won an Olympian victory in the double foot-race, while he had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara.

[1.28.2] In addition to the works I have mentioned, there are two tithes dedicated by the Athenians after wars. There is first a bronze Athena, tithe from the Persians who landed at Marathon. It is the work of Pheidias, but the reliefs upon the shield, including the fight between Centaurs and Lapithae, are said to be from the chisel of Mys, for whom they say Parrhasius the son of Evenor, designed this and the rest of his works. The point of the spear of this Athena and the crest of her helmet are visible to those sailing to Athens, as soon as Sunium is passed. Then there is a bronze chariot, tithe from the Boeotians and the Chalcidians in Euboea. There are two other offerings, a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and the best worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, the statue of Athena called Lemnian after those who dedicated it.

[1.28.3] All the Acropolis is surrounded by a wall; a part was constructed by Cimon, son of Miltiades, but all the rest is said to have been built round it by the Pelasgians, who once lived under the Acropolis. The builders, they say, were Agrolas and Hyperbius. On inquiring who they were I could discover nothing except that they were Sicilians originally who emigrated to Acarnania.

ATHENS CONT.

[1.28.4] On descending, not to the lower city, but to just beneath the Gateway, you see a fountain and near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. It is here that Apollo is believed to have met Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus . . . when the Persians had landed in Attica Philippides was sent to carry the tidings to Lacedaemon. On his return he said that the Lacedaemonians had postponed their departure, because it was their custom not to go out to fight before the moon was full. Philippides went on to say that near Mount Parthenius he had been met by Pan, who told him that he was friendly to the Athenians and would come to Marathon to fight for them. This deity, then, has been honored for this announcement.

[1.28.5] There is also the Hill of Ares, so named because Ares was the first to be tried here; my narrative has already told that he killed Halirrhothius, and what were his grounds for this act. Afterwards, they say, Orestes was tried for killing his mother, and there is an altar to Athena Areia (Warlike), which he dedicated on being acquitted. The unhewn stones on which stand the defendants and the prosecutors, they call the stone of Outrage and the stone of Ruthlessness.

[1.28.6] Hard by is a sanctuary of the goddesses which the Athenians call the

August, but Hesiod in the *Theogony* calls them Erinyes (Furies). It was Aeschylus who first represented them with snakes in their hair. But on the images neither of these nor of any of the under-world deities is there anything terrible. There are images of Pluto, Hermes, and Earth, by which sacrifice those who have received an acquittal on the Hill of Ares; sacrifices are also offered on other occasions by both citizens and aliens.

[1.28.7] Within the precincts is a monument to Oedipus, whose bones, after diligent inquiry, I found were brought from Thebes. The account of the death of Oedipus in the drama of Sophocles I am prevented from believing by Homer, who says that after the death of Oedipus Mecisteus came to Thebes and took part in the funeral games.

[1.28.8] The Athenians have other law courts as well, which are not so famous. We have the Parabystum (Thrust aside) and the Triangle; the former is in an obscure part of the city, and in it the most trivial cases are tried; the latter is named from its shape. The names of Green Court and Red Court, due to their colors, have lasted down to the present day. The largest court, to which the greatest numbers come, is called Heliaea. One of the other courts that deal with bloodshed is called "At Palladium," into which are brought cases of involuntary homicide. All are agreed that Demophon was the first to be tried there, but as to the nature of the charge accounts differ.

[1.28.9] It is reported that after the capture of Troy Diomedes was returning home with his fleet when night overtook them as in their voyage they were off Phalerum. The Argives landed, under the impression that it was hostile territory, the darkness preventing them from seeing that it was Attica. Thereupon they say that Demophon, he too being unaware of the facts and ignorant that those who had landed were Argives, attacked them and, having killed a number of them, went off with the Palladium. An Athenian, however, not seeing before him in the dark, was knocked over by the horse of Demophon, trampled upon and killed. Whereupon Demophon was brought to trial, some say by the relatives of the man who was trampled upon, others say by the Argive commonwealth.

[1.28.10] At Delphinium are tried those who claim that they have committed justifiable homicide, the plea put forward by Theseus when he was acquitted, after having killed Pallas, who had risen in revolt against him, and his sons. Before Theseus was acquitted it was the established custom among all men for the shedder of blood to go into exile, or, if he remained, to be put to a similar death. The Court in the Prytaneum, as it is called, where they try iron and all similar inanimate things, had its origin, I believe, in the following incident. It was when Erechtheus was king of Athens that the ox-slayer first killed an ox at the altar of Zeus Polieus. Leaving the axe where it lay he went out of the land into exile, and the axe was forthwith tried and acquitted, and the trial has been repeated year by year down to the present.

[1.28.11] Furthermore, it is also said that inanimate objects have on occasion of their own accord inflicted righteous retribution upon men, of this the

scimitar of Cambyses affords the best and most famous instance. Near the sea at the Peiraeus is Phreattys. Here it is that men in exile, when a further charge has been brought against them in their absence, make their defense on a ship while the judges listen on land. The legend is that Teucer first defended himself in this way before Telamon, urging that he was guiltless in the matter of the death of Ajax. Let this account suffice for those who are interested to learn about the law courts.

NEAR ATHENS

[1.29.1] XXIX. Near the Hill of Ares is shown a ship built for the procession of the Panathenaea. This ship, I suppose, has been surpassed in size by others, but I know of no builder who has beaten the vessel at Delos, with its nine banks of oars below the deck.

[1.29.2] Outside the city, too, in the parishes and on the roads, the Athenians have sanctuaries of the gods, and graves of heroes and of men. The nearest is the Academy, once the property of a private individual, but in my time a gymnasium. As you go down to it you come to a precinct of Artemis, and wooden images of Ariste (Best) and Calliste (Fairest). In my opinion, which is supported by the poems of Pamphos, these are surnames of Artemis. There is another account of them, which I know but shall omit. Then there is a small temple, into which every year on fixed days they carry the image of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

THE ATHENIAN CEMETERY

[1.29.3] Such are their sanctuaries here, and of the graves the first is that of Thrasybulus son of Lycus, in all respects the greatest of all famous Athenians, whether they lived before him or after him. The greater number of his achievements I shall pass by, but the following facts will suffice to bear out my assertion. He put down what is known as the tyranny of the Thirty, setting out from Thebes with a force amounting at first to sixty men; he also persuaded the Athenians, who were torn by factions, to be reconciled, and to abide by their compact. His is the first grave, and after it come those of Pericles, Chabrias and Phormio.

[1.29.4] There is also a monument for all the Athenians whose fate it has been to fall in battle, whether at sea or on land, except such of them as fought at Marathon. These, for their valor, have their graves on the field of battle, but the others lie along the road to the Academy, and on their graves stand slabs bearing the name and parish of each. First were buried those who in Thrace, after a victorious advance as far as Drabescus, were unexpectedly attacked by the Edonians and slaughtered. There is also a legend that they were struck by lightning.

[1.29.5] Among the generals were Leagrus, to whom was entrusted chief command of the army, and Sophanes of Decelea, who killed when he came to the help of the Aeginetans Eurybates the Argive, who won the prize in the pentathlon at the Nemean games. This was the third expedition which the Athenians dispatched out of Greece. For against Priam and the Trojans war was made with one accord by all the Greeks; but by them selves the Athenians sent armies, first with Iolaus to Sardinia, secondly to what is now Ionia, and thirdly on the present occasion to Thrace.

[1.29.6] Before the monument is a slab on which are horsemen fighting. Their names are Melanopus and Macartatus, who met their death fighting against the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians on the borders of Eleon and Tanagra. There is also a grave of Thessalian horsemen who, by reason of an old alliance, came when the Peloponnesians with Archidamus invaded Attica with an army for the first time, and hard by that of Cretan bowmen. Again there are monuments to Athenians: to Cleisthenes, who invented the system of the tribes at present existing, and to horsemen who died when the Thessalians

shared the fortune of war with the Athenians.

[1.29.7] Here too lie the men of Cleone, who came with the Argives into Attica; the occasion whereof I shall set forth when in the course of my narrative I come to the Argives. There is also the grave of the Athenians who fought against the Aeginetans before the Persian invasion. It was surely a just decree even for a democracy when the Athenians actually allowed slaves a public funeral, and to have their names inscribed on a slab, which declares that in the war they proved good men and true to their masters. There are also monuments of other men, their fields of battle lying in various regions. Here lie the most renowned of those who went against Olynthus, and Melesander who sailed with a fleet along the Maeander into upper Caria;

[1.29.8] also those who died in the war with Cassander, and the Argives who once fought as the allies of Athens. It is said that the alliance between the two peoples was brought about thus. Sparta was once shaken by an earthquake, and the Helots seceded to Ithome. After the secession the Lacedaemonians sent for help to various places, including Athens, which dispatched picked troops under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades. These the Lacedaemonians dismissed, because they suspected them.

[1.29.9] The Athenians regarded the insult as intolerable, and on their way back made an alliance with the Argives, the immemorial enemies of the Lacedaemonians. Afterwards, when a battle was imminent at Tanagra, the Athenians opposing the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians, the Argives reinforced the Athenians. For a time the Argives had the better, but night came on and took from them the assurance of their victory, and on the next day the Lacedaemonians had the better, as the Thessalians betrayed the Athenians.

[1.29.10] It occurred to me to tell of the following men also, firstly Apollodorus, commander of the mercenaries, who was an Athenian dispatched by Arsites, satrap of Phrygia by the Hellespont, and saved their city for the Perinthians when Philip had invaded their territory with an army. He, then, is buried here, and also Eubulus the son of Spintharus, along with men who though brave were not attended by good fortune; some attacked Lachares when he was tyrant, others planned the capture of the Peiraeus when in the hands of a Macedonian garrison, but before the deed could be accomplished were betrayed by their accomplices and put to death.

[1.29.11] Here also lie those who fell near Corinth. Heaven showed most distinctly here and again at Leuctra that those whom the Greeks call brave are as nothing if Good Fortune be not with them, seeing that the Lacedaemonians, who had on this occasion overcome Corinthians and Athenians, and furthermore Argives and Boeotians, were afterwards at Leuctra so utterly overthrown by the Boeotians alone. After those who were killed at Corinth, we come across elegiac verses declaring that one and the same slab has been erected to those who died in Euboea and Chios, and to those who perished in the remote parts of the continent of Asia, or in Sicily.

[1.29.12] The names of the generals are inscribed with the exception of Nicias, and among the private soldiers are included the Plataeans along with the Athenians. This is the reason why Nicias was passed over, and my account is identical with that of Philistus, who says that while Demosthenes made a truce for the others and excluded himself, attempting to commit suicide when taken prisoner, Nicias voluntarily submitted to the surrender. For this reason Nicias had not his name inscribed on the slab, being condemned as a voluntary prisoner and an unworthy soldier.

[1.29.13] On another slab are the names of those who fought in the region of Thrace and at Megara, and when Alcibiades persuaded the Arcadians in Mantinea and the Eleans to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, and of those who were victorious over the Syracusans before Demosthenes arrived in Sicily. Here were buried also those who fought in the sea-fights near the Hellespont, those who opposed the Macedonians at Charonea, those who were killed at Delium in the territory of Tanagra, the men Leosthenes led into Thessaly, those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus, and of those who with Olympiodorus expelled the garrison not more than thirteen men.

[1.29.14] The Athenians declare that when the Romans were waging a border war they sent a small force to help them, and later on five Attic warships assisted the Romans in a naval action against the Carthaginians. Accordingly these men also have their grave here. The achievements of Tolmides and his men, and the manner of their death, I have already set forth, and any who are interested may take note that they are buried along this road. Here lie too those who with Cimon achieved the great feat of winning a land and naval victory on one and the same day.

[1.29.15] Here also are buried Conon and Timotheus, father and son, the second pair thus related to accomplish illustrious deeds, Miltiades and Cimon being the first; Zeno too, the son of Mnaseas and Chrysippus of Soli, Nicias the son of Nicomedes, the best painter from life of all his contemporaries, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus; there are also two orators, Ephialtes, who was chiefly responsible for the abolition of the privileges of the Areopagus, and Lycurgus, the son of Lycophon;

[1.29.16] Lycurgus provided for the state-treasury six thousand five hundred talents more than Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, collected, and furnished for the procession of the Goddess golden figures of Victory and ornaments for a hundred maidens; for war he provided arms and missiles, besides increasing the fleet to four hundred warships. As for buildings, he completed the theater that others had begun, while during his political life he built dockyards in the Peiraeus and the gymnasium near what is called the Lyceum. Everything made of silver or gold became part of the plunder Lachares made away with when he became tyrant, but the buildings remained to my time.

[1.30.1] XXX. Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god. The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (Love Avenged) they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From this time the resident aliens worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras.

[1.30.2] In the Academy is an altar to Prometheus, and from it they run to the city carrying burning torches. The contest is while running to keep the torch still alight; if the torch of the first runner goes out, he has no longer any claim to victory, but the second runner has. If his torch also goes out, then the third man is the victor. If all the torches go out, no one is left to be winner. There is an altar to the Muses, and another to Hermes, and one within to Athena, and they have built one to Heracles. There is also an olive tree, accounted to be the second that appeared.

[1.30.3] Not far from the Academy is the monument of Plato, to whom heaven foretold that he would be the prince of philosophers. The manner of the foretelling was this. On the night before Plato was to become his pupil Socrates in a dream saw a swan fly into his bosom. Now the swan is a bird with a reputation for music, because, they say, a musician of the name of Swan became king of the Ligyes on the other side of the Eridanus beyond the Celtic territory, and after his death by the will of Apollo he was changed into the bird. I am ready to believe that a musician became king of the Ligyes, but I cannot believe that a bird grew out of a man.

[1.30.4] In this part of the country is seen the tower of Timon, the only man to see that there is no way to be happy except to shun other men. There is also pointed out a place called the Hill of Horses, the first point in Attica, they say, that Oedipus reached – this account too differs from that given by Homer, but it is nevertheless current tradition – and an altar to Poseidon, Horse God, and to Athena, Horse Goddess, and a chapel to the heroes Peirithous and Theseus, Oedipus and Adrastus. The grove and temple of Poseidon were burnt by Antigonus when he invaded Attica, who at other times also ravaged the land of the Athenians.

ALIMUS, ZOSTER, PROSPALTA, ANAGYRUS, CEPHALE

[1.31.1] XXXI. The small parishes of Attica, which were founded severally as chance would have it, presented the following noteworthy features. At Alimus is a sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver and of the Maid, and at Zoster (Girdle) on the coast is an altar to Athena, as well as to Apollo, to Artemis and to Leto. The story is that Leto did not give birth to her children here, but loosened her

girdle with a view to her delivery, and the place received its name from this incident. Prospalta has also a sanctuary of the Maid and Demeter, and Anagyrus a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods. At Cephale the chief cult is that of the Dioscuri, for the inhabitants call them the Great gods.

PRASIAE & POTAMI

[1.31.2] At Prasiae is a temple of Apollo. Hither they say are sent the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans, and the Hyperboreans are said to hand them over to the Arimaspi, the Arimaspi to the Issedones, from these the Scythians bring them to Sinope, thence they are carried by Greeks to Prasiae, and the Athenians take them to Delos. The first-fruits are hidden in wheat straw, and they are known of none. There is at Prasiae a monument to Erysichthon, who died on the voyage home from Delos, after the sacred mission thither.

[1.31.3] How Amphictyon banished Cranaus, his kinsman by marriage and king of Athens, I have already related. They say that fleeing with his supporters to the parish of Lamptrae he died and was buried there, and at the present day there is a monument to Cranaus at Lamptrae. At Potami in Attica is also the grave of Ion the son of Xuthus – for he too dwelt among the Athenians and was their commander-in-chief in the war with Eleusis.

PHYLA & MYRRHINUS

[1.31.4] Such is the legend. Phlya and Myrrhinus have altars of Apollo Dionysodotus, Artemis Light-bearer, Dionysus Flower-god, the Ismenian nymphs and Earth, whom they name the Great goddess; a second temple contains altars of Demeter Anesidora (Sender-up of Gifts), Zeus Ctesius (God of Gain), Tithrone Athena, the Maid First-born and the goddesses styled August. The wooden image at Myrrhinus is of Colaenis.

ATHMONIA & ACHARNAE

[1.31.5] Athmonia worships Artemis Amarysia. On inquiry I discovered that the guides knew nothing about these deities, so I give my own conjecture. Amarynthus is a town in Euboea, the inhabitants of which worship Amarysia, while the festival of Amarysia which the Athenians celebrate is no less splendid than the Euboean. The name of the goddess, I think, came to Athmonia in this fashion and the Colaenis in Myrrhinus is called after Colaenus. I have already written that many of the inhabitants of the parishes say that they were ruled by kings even before the reign of Cecrops. Now Colaenus, say the Myrrhinusians, is the name of a man who ruled before Cecrops became king.

[1.31.6] There is a parish called Acharnae, where they worship Apollo Agyieus (God of Streets) and Heracles, and there is an altar of Athena Health. And they call upon the name of Athena Horse-goddess and Dionysus Singer

and Dionysus Ivy, saying that the plant ivy first appeared there.

MT PENTELICUS, MT PARNES & MT HYMETTUS

[1.32.1] XXXII. The Attic mountains are Pentelicus, where there are quarries, Parnes, where there is hunting of wild boars and of bears, and Hymettus, which grows the most suitable pasture for bees, except that of the Alazones. For these people have actually bees ranging free, tamely following the other creatures when they go to pasture. These bees are not kept shut up in hives, and they work in any part of the land they happen to visit. They produce a solid mass from which you cannot separate either wax or honey. Such then is its nature.

[1.32.2] The Athenians have also statues of gods on their mountains. On Pentelicus is a statue of Athena, on Hymettus one of Zeus Hymettius. There are altars both of Zeus Rain-god and of Apollo Foreseer. On Parnes is a bronze Zeus Parnethius, and an altar to Zeus Semaleus (Sign-giving). There is on Parnes another altar, and on it they make sacrifice, calling Zeus sometimes Rain-god, sometimes Averter of Ills. Anchasmus is a mountain of no great size, with an image of Zeus Anchasmus.

MARATHON

[1.32.3] Before turning to a description of the islands, I must again proceed with my account of the parishes. There is a parish called Marathon, equally distant from Athens and Carystus in Euboea. It was at this point in Attica that the foreigners landed, were defeated in battle, and lost some of their vessels as they were putting off from the land. On the plain is the grave of the Athenians, and upon it are slabs giving the names of the killed according to their tribes; and there is another grave for the Boeotian Plataeans and for the slaves, for slaves fought then for the first time by the side of their masters.

[1.32.4] here is also a separate monument to one man, Miltiades, the son of Cimon, although his end came later, after he had failed to take Paros and for this reason had been brought to trial by the Athenians. At Marathon every night you can hear horses neighing and men fighting. No one who has expressly set himself to behold this vision has ever got any good from it, but the spirits are not wroth with such as in ignorance chance to be spectators. The Marathonians worship both those who died in the fighting, calling them heroes, and secondly Marathon, from whom the parish derives its name, and then Heracles, saying that they were the first among the Greeks to acknowledge him as a god.

[1.32.5] They say too that there chanced to be present in the battle a man of rustic appearance and dress. Having slaughtered many of the foreigners with a plough he was seen no more after the engagement. When the Athenians made enquiries at the oracle the god merely ordered them to honor Echetlaeus (He of the Plough-tail) as a hero. A trophy too of white marble has been erected.

Although the Athenians assert that they buried the Persians, because in every case the divine law applies that a corpse should be laid under the earth, yet I could find no grave. There was neither mound nor other trace to be seen, as the dead were carried to a trench and thrown in anyhow.

[1.32.6] In Marathon is a spring called Macaria with the following legend. When Heracles left Tiryns, fleeing from Eurystheus, he went to live with his friend Ceyx, who was king of Trachis. But when Heracles departed this life Eurystheus demanded his children; whereupon the king of Trachis sent them to Athens, saying that he was weak but Theseus had power enough to succor them. The arrival of the children as suppliants caused for the first time war between Peloponnesians and Athenians, Theseus refusing to give up the refugees at the demand of Eurystheus. The story says that an oracle was given the Athenians that one of the children of Heracles must die a voluntary death, or else victory could not be theirs. Thereupon Macaria, daughter of Deianeira and Heracles, slew herself and gave to the Athenians victory in the war and to the spring her own name.

[1.32.7] There is at Marathon a lake which for the most part is marshy. Into this ignorance of the roads made the foreigners fall in their flight, and it is said that this accident was the cause of their great losses. Above the lake are the stone stables of Artaphernes' horses, and marks of his tent on the rocks. Out of the lake flows a river, affording near the lake itself water suitable for cattle, but near its mouth it becomes salt and full of sea fish. A little beyond the plain is the Hill of Pan and a remarkable Cave of Pan. The entrance to it is narrow, but farther in are chambers and baths and the so-called "Pan's herd of goats," which are rocks shaped in most respects like to goats.

BRAURON

[1.33.1] XXXIII. At some distance from Marathon is Brauron, where, according to the legend, Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, landed with the image of Artemis when she fled from the Tauri; leaving the image there she came to Athens also and afterwards to Argos. There is indeed an old wooden image of Artemis here, but who in my opinion have the one taken from the foreigners I will set forth in another place.

RHAMNUS

[1.33.2] About sixty stades from Marathon as you go along the road by the sea to Oropus stands Rhamnus. The dwelling houses are on the coast, but a little way inland is a sanctuary of Nemesis, the most implacable deity to men of violence. It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished.

[1.33.3] Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of

the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory. In her left hand she holds an apple branch, in her right hand a cup on which are wrought Aethiopians. As to the Aethiopians, I could hazard no guess myself, nor could I accept the statement of those who are convinced that the Aethiopians have been carved upon the cup because of the river Ocean. For the Aethiopians, they say, dwell near it, and Ocean is the father of Nemesis.

[1.33.4] It is not the river Ocean, but the farthest part of the sea navigated by man, near which dwell the Iberians and the Celts, and Ocean surrounds the island of Britain. But of the Aethiopians beyond Syene, those who live farthest in the direction of the Red Sea are the Ichthyophagi (Fish-eaters), and the gulf round which they live is called after them. The most righteous of them inhabit the city Meroe and what is called the Aethiopian plain. These are they who show the Table of the Sun, and they have neither sea nor river except the Nile.

[1.33.5] There are other Aethiopians who are neighbours of the Mauri and extend as far as the Nasamones. For the Nasamones, whom Herodotus calls the Atlantes, and those who profess to know the measurements of the earth name the Lixitae, are the Libyans who live the farthest close to Mount Atlas, and they do not till the ground at all, but live on wild vines. But neither these Aethiopians nor yet the Nasamones have any river. For the water near Atlas, which provides a beginning to three streams, does not make any of the streams a river, as the sand swallows it all up at once. So the Aethiopians dwell near no river Ocean.

[1.33.6] The water from Atlas is muddy, and near the source were crocodiles of not less than two cubits, which when the men approached dashed down into the spring. The thought has occurred to many that it is the reappearance of this water out of the sand which gives the Nile to Egypt. Mount Atlas is so high that its peaks are said to touch heaven, but is inaccessible because of the water and the presence everywhere of trees. Its region indeed near the Nasamones is known, but we know of nobody yet who has sailed along the parts facing the sea. I must now resume.

[1.33.7] Neither this nor any other ancient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the holiest wooden images of the Smyrnaeans have them, but later artists, convinced that the goddess manifests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings to Nemesis as they do to Love. I will now go on to describe what is figured on the pedestal of the statue, having made this preface for the sake of clearness. The Greeks say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, while Leda suckled and nursed her. The father of Helen the Greeks like everybody else hold to be not Tyndareus but Zeus.

[1.33.8] Having heard this legend Pheidias has represented Helen as being led to Nemesis by Leda, and he has represented Tyndareus and his children with a man Hippeus by name standing by with a horse. There are Agamemnon and Menelaus and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and first husband of Hermione, the daughter of Helen. Orestes was passed over because of his crime against his

mother, yet Hermione stayed by his side in everything and bore him a child. Next upon the pedestal is one called Epochus and another youth; the only thing I heard about them was that they were brothers of Oenoe, from whom the parish has its name.

OROPUS

[1.34.1] XXXIV. The land of Oropus, between Attica and the land of Tanagra, which originally belonged to Boeotia, in our time belongs to the Athenians, who always fought for it but never won secure possession until Philip gave it to them after taking Thebes. The city is on the coast and affords nothing remarkable to record. About twelve stades from the city is a sanctuary of Amphiaraus.

[1.34.2] Legend says that when Amphiaraus was exiled from Thebes the earth opened and swallowed both him and his chariot. Only they say that the incident did not happen here, the place called the Chariot being on the road from Thebes to Chalcis. The divinity of Amphiaraus was first established among the Oropians, from whom afterwards all the Greeks received the cult. I can enumerate other men also born at this time who are worshipped among the Greeks as gods; some even have cities dedicated to them, such as Eleus in Chersonnesus dedicated to Protesilaus, and Lebadea of the Boeotians dedicated to Trophonius. The Oropians have both a temple and a white marble statue of Amphiaraus.

[1.34.3] The altar shows parts. One part is to Heracles, Zeus, and Apollo Healer, another is given up to heroes and to wives of heroes, the third is to Hestia and Hermes and Amphiaraus and the children of Amphilocheus. But Alcmaeon, because of his treatment of Eriphyle, is honored neither in the temple of Amphiaraus nor yet with Amphilocheus. The fourth portion of the altar is to Aphrodite and Panacea, and further to Iaso, Health and Athena Healer. The fifth is dedicated to the nymphs and to Pan, and to the rivers Achelous and Cephissus. The Athenians too have an altar to Amphilocheus in the city, and there is at Mallus in Cilicia an oracle of his which is the most trustworthy of my day.

[1.34.4] The Oropians have near the temple a spring, which they call the Spring of Amphiaraus; they neither sacrifice into it nor are wont to use it for purifications or for lustral water. But when a man has been cured of a disease through a response the custom is to throw silver and coined gold into the spring, for by this way they say that Amphiaraus rose up after he had become a god. Iophon the Cnossian, a guide, produced responses in hexameter verse, saying that Amphiaraus gave them to the Argives who were sent against Thebes. These verses unrestrainedly appealed to popular taste. Except those whom they say Apollo inspired of old none of the seers uttered oracles, but they were good at explaining dreams and interpreting the flights of birds and the entrails of victims.

[1.34.5] My opinion is that Amphiaraus devoted him self most to the

exposition of dreams. It is manifest that, when his divinity was established, it was a dream oracle that he set up. One who has come to consult Amphiaraus is wont first to purify himself. The mode of purification is to sacrifice to the god, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar. And when all these things have been first done, they sacrifice a ram, and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream.

SALAMIS

[1.35.1] XXXV. There are islands not far from Attica. Of the one called the Island of Patroclus I have already given an account. There is another when you have sailed past Sunium with Attica on the left. On this they say that Helen landed after the capture of Troy,

[1.35.2] and for this reason the name of the island is Helene. Salamis lies over against Eleusis, and stretches as far as the territory of Megara. It is said that the first to give this name to the island was Cychreus, who called it after his mother Salamis, the daughter of Asopus, and afterwards it was colonized by the Aeginetans with Telamon. Philaeus, the son of Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, is said to have handed the island over to the Athenians, having been made an Athenian by them. Many years afterwards the Athenians drove out all the Salaminians, having discovered that they had been guilty of treachery in the war with Cassander, and mainly of set purpose had surrendered to the Macedonians. They sentenced to death Aeschetades, who on this occasion had been elected general for Salamis, and they swore never to forget the treachery of the Salaminians.

[1.35.3] There are still the remains of a market-place, a temple of Ajax and his statue in ebony. Even at the present day the Athenians pay honors to Ajax himself and to Eurysaces, for there is an altar of Eurysaces also at Athens. In Salamis is shown a stone not far from the harbor, on which they say that Telamon sat when he gazed at the ship in which his children were sailing away to Aulis to take part in the joint expedition of the Greeks.

[1.35.4] Those who dwell about Salamis say that it was when Ajax died that the flower first appeared in their country. It is white and tinged with red, both flower and leaves being smaller than those of the lily; there are letters on it like to those on the iris. About the judgment concerning the armour I heard a story of the Aeolians who afterwards settled at Ilium, to the effect that when Odysseus suffered shipwreck the armour was cast ashore near the grave of Ajax. As to the hero's size, a Mysian was my informant.

[1.35.5] He said that the sea flooded the side of the grave facing the beach and made it easy to enter the tomb, and he bade me form an estimate of the size of the corpse in the following way. The bones on his knees, called by doctors the knee-pan, were in the case of Ajax as big as the quoit of a boy in the pentathlon. I saw nothing to wonder at in the stature of those Celts who live farthest of on the borders of the land which is uninhabited because of the cold;

these people, the Cabares, are no bigger than Egyptian corpses. But I will relate all that appeared to me worth seeing.

[1.35.6] For the Magnesians on the Lethaeus, Protophanes, one of the citizens, won at Olympia in one day victories in the pancration and in wrestling. Into the grave of this man robbers entered, thinking to gain some advantage, and after the robbers people came in to see the corpse, which had ribs not separated but joined together from the shoulders to the smallest ribs, those called by doctors bastard. Before the city of the Milesians is an island called Lade, and from it certain islets are detached. One of these they call the islet of Asterius, and say that Asterius was buried in it, and that Asterius was the son of Anax, and Anax the son of Earth. Now the corpse is not less than ten cubits.

[1.35.7] But what really caused me surprise is this. There is a small city of upper Lydia called The Doors of Temenus. There a crest broke away in a storm, and there appeared bones the shape of which led one to suppose that they were human, but from their size one would never have thought it. At once the story spread among the multitude that it was the corpse of Geryon, the son of Chrysaor, and that the seat also was his. For there is a man's seat carved on a rocky spur of the mountain. And a torrent they called the river Ocean, and they said that men ploughing met with the horns of cattle, for the story is that Geryon reared excellent cows.

[1.35.8] And when I criticized the account and pointed out to them that Geryon is at Gadeira, where there is, not his tomb, but a tree showing different shapes, the guides of the Lydians related the true story, that the corpse is that of Hyllus, a son of Earth, from whom the river is named. They also said that Heracles from his sojourning with Omphale called his son Hyllus after the river.

[1.36.1] XXXVI. But I will return to my subject. In Salamis is a sanctuary of Artemis, and also a trophy erected in honor of the victory which Themistocles the son of Neocles won for the Greeks. There is also a sanctuary of Cychreus. When the Athenians were fighting the Persians at sea, a serpent is said to have appeared in the fleet, and the god in an oracle told the Athenians that it was Cychreus the hero.

PSYTTALEA

[1.36.2] Before Salamis there is an island called Psyttalea. Here they say that about four hundred of the Persians landed, and when the fleet of Xerxes was defeated, these also were killed after the Greeks had crossed over to Psyttalea. The island has no artistic statue, only some roughly carved wooden images of Pan.

THE SACRED WAY

[1.36.3] As you go to Eleusis from Athens along what the Athenians call the

Sacred Way you see the tomb of Anthemocritus. The Megarians committed against him a most wicked deed, for when he had come as a herald to forbid them to encroach upon the land in future they put him to death. For this act the wrath of the Two Goddesses lies upon them even to this day, for they are the only Greeks that not even the emperor Hadrian could make more prosperous.

[1.36.4] After the tombstone of Anthemocritus comes the grave of Molottus, who was deemed worthy of commanding the Athenians when they crossed into Euboea to reinforce Plutarch, and also a place called Scirum, which received its name for the following reason. The Eleusinians were making war against Erechtheus when there came from Dodona a seer called Scirus, who also set up at Phalerum the ancient sanctuary of Athena Sciras. When he fell in the fighting the Eleusinians buried him near a torrent, and the hero has given his name to both place and torrent.

[1.36.5] Hard by is the tomb of Cephisodorus, who was champion of the people and opposed to the utmost Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedon. Cephisodorus induced to become allies of Athens two kings, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and, of the self-governing peoples, the Aetolians with the Rhodians and the Cretans among the islanders.

[1.36.6] As the reinforcements from Egypt, Mysia, and Crete were for the most part too late, and the Rhodians, whose strength lay only in their fleet, were of little help against the Macedonian men-at-arms, Cephisodorus sailed with other Athenians to Italy and begged aid of the Romans. They sent a force and a general, who so reduced Philip and the Macedonians that afterwards Perseus, the son of Philip, lost his throne and was himself taken prisoner to Italy. This Philip was the son of Demetrius. Demetrius was the first of this house to hold the throne of Macedon, having put to death Alexander, son of Cassander, as I have related in a former part of my account.

[1.37.1] XXXVII. After the tomb of Cephisodorus is the grave of Heliodorus Halis. A portrait of this man is also to be seen in the great temple of Athena. Here too is the grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus, and grandson of the Themistocles who fought the sea fight against Xerxes and the Persians. Of the later descendants I shall mention none except Acestium. She, her father Xenocles, his father Sophocles, and his father Leon, all of them up to her great-grandfather Leon won the honor of being torch-bearer, and in her own lifetime she saw as torch-bearers, first her brother Sophocles, after him her husband Themistocles, and after his death her son Theophrastus. Such was the fortune, they say, that happened to her.

[1.37.2] A little way past the grave of Themistocles is a precinct sacred to Laciús, a hero, a parish called after him Laciadae, and the tomb of Nicocles of Tarentum, who won a unique reputation as a harpist. There is also an altar of Zephyrus and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter. With them Athena and Poseidon are worshipped. There is a legend that in this place Phytalus welcomed Demeter in his home, for which act the goddess gave him the fig

tree. This story is borne out by the inscription on the grave of Phytalus:—

Hero and king, Phytalus here welcome gave to Demeter,
August goddess, when first she created fruit of the harvest;
Sacred fig is the name which mortal men have assigned it.
Whence Phytalus and his race have gotten honours immortal.

[1.37.3] Before you cross the Cephissus you come to the tomb of Theodorus, the best tragic actor of his day. By the river is a statue of Mnesimache, and a votive statue of her son cutting his hair as a gift for Cephissus. That this habit has existed from ancient times among all the Greeks may be inferred from the poetry of Homer, who makes Peleus vow that on the safe return of Achilles from Troy he will cut off the young man's hair as a gift for the Spercheus.

[1.37.4] Across the Cephissus is an ancient altar of Zeus Meilichius (Gracious). At this altar Theseus obtained purification at the hands of the descendants of Phytalus after killing brigands, including Sinis who was related to him through Pittheus. Here is the grave of Theodectes of Phaselis, and also that of Mnesitheus. They say that he was a skilful physician and dedicated statues, among which is a representation of Iacchus. On the road stands a small temple called that of Cyamites. I cannot state for certain whether he was the first to sow beans, or whether they gave this name to a hero because they may not attribute to Demeter the discovery of beans. Whoever has been initiated at Eleusis or has read what are called the Orphica knows what I mean.

[1.37.5] Of the tombs, the largest and most beautiful are that of a Rhodian who settled at Athens, and the one made by the Macedonian Harpalus, who ran away from Alexander and crossed with a fleet from Asia to Europe. On his arrival at Athens he was arrested by the citizens, but ran away after bribing among others the friends of Alexander. But before this he married Pythonice, whose family I do not know, but she was a courtesan at Athens and at Corinth. His love for her was so great that when she died he made her a tomb which is the most noteworthy of all the old Greek tombs.

[1.37.6] There is a sanctuary in which are set statues of Demeter, her daughter, Athena, and Apollo. At the first it was built in honor of Apollo only. For legend says that Cephalus, the son of Deion, having helped Amphitryon to destroy the Teleboans, was the first to dwell in that island which now is called after him Cephallenia, and that he resided till that time at Thebes, exiled from Athens because he had killed his wife Procris. In the tenth generation afterwards Chalcinus and Daetus, descendants of Cephalus, sailed to Delphi and asked the god for permission to return to Athens.

[1.37.7] He ordered them first to sacrifice to Apollo in that spot in Attica where they should see a man-of-war running on the land. When they reached the mountain called the Many-colored Mountain a snake was seen hurrying into its hole. In this place they sacrificed to Apollo; afterwards they came to Athens and the Athenians made them citizens. After this is a temple of Aphrodite, before which is a note worthy wall of unwrought stone.

[1.38.1] XXXVIII. The streams called Rheiti are rivers only in so far as they are currents, for their water is sea water. It is a reasonable belief that they flow beneath the ground from the Euripus of the Chalcidians, and fall into a sea of a lower level. They are said to be sacred to the Maid and to Demeter, and only the priests of these goddesses are permitted to catch the fish in them. Anciently, I learn, these streams were the boundaries between the land of the Eleusinians and that of the other Athenians,

[1.38.2] and the first to dwell on the other side of the Rheiti was Crocon, where at the present day is what is called the palace of Crocon. This Crocon the Athenians say married Saesara, daughter of Celeus. Not all of them say this, but only those who belong to the parish of Scambonidae. I could not find the grave of Crocon, but Eleusinians and Athenians agreed in identifying the tomb of Eumolpus. This Eumolpus they say came from Thrace, being the son of Poseidon and Chione. Chione they say was the daughter of the wind Boreas and of Oreithyia. Homer says nothing about the family of Eumolpus, but in his poems styles him “manly.”

[1.38.3] When the Eleusinians fought with the Athenians, Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, was killed, as was also Immaradus, son of Eumolpus. These were the terms on which they concluded the war: the Eleusinians were to have in dependent control of the mysteries, but in all things else were to be subject to the Athenians. The ministers of the Two Goddesses were Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeus, whom Pamphos and Homer agree in naming Diogenia, Pammerope, and the third Saesara. Eumolpus was survived by Ceryx, the younger of his sons whom the Ceryces themselves say was a son of Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, and of Hermes, not of Eumolpus.

[1.38.4] There is also a shrine of the hero Hippothoon, after whom the tribe is named, and hard by one of Zarex. The latter they say learned music from Apollo, but my opinion is that he was a Lacedaemonian who came as a stranger to the land, and that after him is named Zarax, a town in the Laconian territory near the sea. If there is a native Athenian hero called Zarex, I have nothing to say concerning him.

ELEUSIS

[1.38.5] At Eleusis flows a Cephissus which is more violent than the Cephissus I mentioned above, and by the side of it is the place they call Erineus, saying that Pluto descended there to the lower world after carrying off the Maid. Near this Cephissus Theseus killed a brigand named Polypemon and surnamed Procrustes.

[1.38.6] The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemus, of Artemis of the Portal, and of Poseidon Father, and a well called Callichorum (Lovely dance), where first the women of the Eleusinians danced and sang in praise of the goddess. They say that the plain called Rharium was the first to be sown and

the first to grow crops, and for this reason it is the custom to use sacrificial barley and to make cakes for the sacrifices from its produce. Here there is shown a threshing-floor called that of Triptolemus and an altar.

[1.38.7] My dream forbade the description of the things within the wall of the sanctuary, and the uninitiated are of course not permitted to learn that which they are prevented from seeing. The hero Eleusis, after whom the city is named, some assert to be a son of Hermes and of Daeira, daughter of Ocean; there are poets, however, who have made Ogygus father of Eleusis. Ancient legends, deprived of the help of poetry, have given rise to many fictions, especially concerning the pedigrees of heroes.

ELEUTHERAE

[1.38.8] When you have turned from Eleusis to Boeotia you come to the Plataean land, which borders on Attica. Formerly Eleutherae formed the boundary on the side towards Attica, but when it came over to the Athenians henceforth the boundary of Boeotia was Cithaeron. The reason why the people of Eleutherae came over was not because they were reduced by war, but because they desired to share Athenian citizenship and hated the Thebans. In this plain is a temple of Dionysus, from which the old wooden image was carried off to Athens. The image at Eleutherae at the present day is a copy of the old one.

[1.38.9] A little farther on is a small cave, and beside it is a spring of cold water. The legend about the cave is that Antiope after her labour placed her babies into it; as to the spring, it is said that the shepherd who found the babies washed them there for the first time, taking off their swaddling clothes. Of Eleutherae there were still left the ruins of the wall and of the houses. From these it is clear that the city was built a little above the plain close to Cithaeron.

NEAR ELEUSIS

[1.39.1] XXXIX. There is another road from Eleusis, which leads to Megara. As you go along this road you come to a well called Anthium (Flowery Well). Pamphos in his poems describes how Demeter in the likeness of an old woman sat at this well after the rape of her daughter, how the daughters of Celeus thence took her as an Argive woman to their mother, and how Metaneira thereupon entrusted to her the rearing of her son.

[1.39.2] A little farther on from the well is a sanctuary of Metaneira, and after it are graves of those who went against Thebes. For Creon, who at that time ruled in Thebes as guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles, refused to allow the relatives to take up and bury their dead. But Adrastus having supplicated Theseus, the Athenians fought with the Boeotians, and Theseus being victorious in the fight carried the dead to the Eleusinian territory and buried them here. The Thebans, however, say that they voluntarily gave up the dead for burial and deny that they engaged in battle.

[1.39.3] After the graves of the Argives is the tomb of Alope, who, legend says, being mother of Hippothoon by Poseidon was on this spot put to death by her father Cercyon. He is said to have treated strangers wickedly, especially in wrestling with them against their will. So even to my day this place is called the Wrestling Ground of Cercyon, being a little way from the grave of Alope. Cercyon is said to have killed all those who tried a bout with him except Theseus, who out matched him mainly by his skill. For Theseus was the first to discover the art of wrestling, and through him afterwards was established the teaching of the art. Before him men used in wrestling only size and strength of body.

Such in my opinion are the most famous legends and sights among the Athenians, and from the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded.

MEGARA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[1.39.4] Next to Eleusis is the district called Megaris. This too belonged to Athens in ancient times, Pylas the king having left it to Pandion. My evidence is this; in the land is the grave of Pandion, and Nisus, while giving up the rule over the Athenians to Aegeus, the eldest of all the family, was himself made king of Megara and of the territory as far as Corinth. Even at the present day the port of the Megarians is called Nisaea after him. Subsequently in the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians made an expedition against Athens. Having accomplished nothing brilliant, on their way home they took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it as a dwelling-place to such of the Corinthians and of their other allies as wished to go there.

[1.39.5] In this way the Megarians changed their customs and dialect and became Dorians, and they say that the city received its name when Car the son of Phoroneus was king in this land. It was then they say that sanctuaries of Demeter were first made by them, and then that men used the name Megara (Chambers). This is their history according to the Megarians themselves. But the Boeotians declare that Megareus, son of Poseidon, who dwelt in Onchestus, came with an army of Boeotians to help Nisus wage the war against Minos; that falling in the battle he was buried on the spot, and the city was named Megara from him, having previously been called Nisa.

[1.39.6] In the twelfth generation after Car the son of Phoroneus the Megarians say that Lelex arrived from Egypt and became king, and that in his reign the tribe Leleges received its name. Lelex they say begat Cleson, Cleson Pylas and Pylas Sciron, who married the daughter of Pandion and afterwards disputed with Nisus, the son of Pandion, about the throne, the dispute being settled by Aeacus, who gave the kingship to Nisus and his descendants, and to Sciron the leadership in war. They say further that Nisus was succeeded by Megareus, the son of Poseidon, who married Iphinoe, the daughter of Nisus, but they ignore altogether the Cretan war and the capture of the city in the reign of Nisus.

[1.40.1] XL. There is in the city a fountain, which was built for the citizens by Theagenes, whom I have mentioned previously as having given his daughter in marriage to Cylon the Athenian. This Theagenes upon becoming tyrant built the fountain, which is noteworthy for its size, beauty and the number of its pillars. Water flows into it called the water of the Sithnid nymphs. The Megarians say that the Sithnid nymphs are native, and that one of them mated with Zeus; that Megarus, a son of Zeus and of this nymph, escaped the flood in the time of Deucalion, and made his escape to the heights of Gerania. The mountain had not yet received this name, but was then named Gerania (Crane Hill) because cranes were flying and Megarus swam towards the cry of the birds.

[1.40.2] Not far from this fountain is an ancient sanctuary, and in our day likenesses stand in it of Roman emperors, and a bronze image is there of Artemis surnamed Saviour. There is a story that a detachment of the army of Mardonius, having over run Megaris, wished to return to Mardonius at Thebes, but that by the will of Artemis night came on them as they marched, and missing their way they turned into the hilly region. Trying to find out whether there was a hostile force near they shot some missiles. The rock near groaned when struck, and they shot again with greater eagerness,

[1.40.3] until at last they used up all their arrows thinking that they were shooting at the enemy. When the day broke, the Megarians attacked, and being men in armour fighting against men without armour who no longer had even a supply of missiles, they killed the greater number of their opponents. For this reason they had an image made of Artemis Saviour. Here are also images of the gods named the Twelve, said to be the work of Praxiteles. But the image of Artemis herself was made by Strongylion.

[1.40.4] After this when you have entered the precinct of Zeus called the Olympieum you see a note worthy temple. But the image of Zeus was not finished, for the work was interrupted by the war of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians, in which the Athenians every year ravaged the land of the Megarians with a fleet and an army, damaging public revenues and bringing private families to dire distress. The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold, the other parts are of clay and gypsum. The artist is said to have been Theocosmus, a native, helped by Pheidias. Above the head of Zeus are the Seasons and Fates, and all may see that he is the only god obeyed by Destiny, and that he apportions the seasons as is due. Behind the temple lie half-worked pieces of wood, which Theocosmus intended to overlay with ivory and gold in order to complete the image of Zeus.

[1.40.5] In the temple itself is dedicated a bronze ram of a galley. This ship they say that they captured off Salamis in a naval action with the Athenians. The Athenians too admit that for a time they evacuated the island before the Megarians, saying that after wards Solon wrote elegiac poems and encouraged

them, and that thereupon the Athenians challenged their enemies, won the war and recovered Salamis. But the Megarians say that exiles from themselves, whom they call Dorycleans, reached the colonists in Salamis and betrayed the island to the Athenians.

[1.40.6] After the precinct of Zeus, when you have ascended the citadel, which even at the present day is called Caria from Car, son of Phoroneus, you see a temple of Dionysus Nyctelius (Nocturnal), a sanctuary built to Aphrodite Epistrophia (She who turns men to love), an oracle called that of Night and a temple of Zeus Conius (Dusty) without a roof. The image of Asclepius and also that of Health were made by Bryaxis. Here too is what is called the Chamber of Demeter, built, they say, by Car when he was king.

[1.41.1] XLI. On coming down from the citadel, where the ground turns northwards, is the tomb of Alcmena, near the Olympieum. They say that as she was walking from Argos to Thebes she died on the way at Megara, and that the Heracleidae fell to disputing, some wishing to carry the corpse of Alcmena back to Argos, others wishing to take it to Thebes, as in Thebes were buried Amphitryon and the children of Heracles by Megara. But the god in Delphi gave them an oracle that it was better for them to bury Alcmena in Megara.

[1.41.2] From this place the local guide took us to a place which he said was named Rhus (Stream), for that water once flowed here from the mountains above the city. But Theagenes, who was tyrant at that time, turned the water into another direction and made here an altar to Achelous. Hard by is the tomb of Hyllus, son of Heracles, who fought a duel with an Arcadian, Echemus the son of Aeropus. Who the Echemus was who killed Hyllus I will tell in another part of my narrative, but Hyllus also is buried at Megara. These events might correctly be called an expedition of the Heracleidae into the Peloponnesus in the reign of Orestes.

[1.41.3] Not far from the tomb of Hyllus is a temple of Isis, and beside it one of Apollo and of Artemis. They say that Alcaeus made it after killing the lion called Cithaeronian. By this lion they say many were slain, including Euippus, the son of Megareus their king, whose elder son Timalcus had before this been killed by Theseus while on a campaign with the Dioscuri against Aphidna. Megareus they say promised that he who killed the Cithaeronian lion should marry his daughter and succeed him in the kingdom. Alcaeus therefore, son of Pelops, attacked the beast and overcame it, and when he came to the throne he built this sanctuary, surnaming Artemis Agrotera (Huntress) and Apollo Agraeus (Hunter).

[1.41.4] Such is the account of the Megarians; but although I wish my account to agree with theirs, yet I cannot accept everything they say. I am ready to believe that a lion was killed by Alcaeus on Cithaeron, but what historian has recorded that Timalcus the son of Megareus came with the Dioscuri to Aphidna? And supposing he had gone there, how could one hold that he had been killed by Theseus, when Alcman wrote a poem on the Dioscuri, in which

he says that they captured Athens and carried into captivity the mother of Theseus, but Theseus himself was absent?

[1.41.5] Pindar in his poems agrees with this account, saying that Theseus, wishing to be related to the Dioscuri, carried off Helen and kept her until he departed to carry out with Peirithous the marriage that they tell of. Whoever has studied genealogy finds the Megarians guilty of great silliness, since Theseus was a descendant of Pelops. The fact is that the Megarians know the true story but conceal it, not wishing it to be thought that their city was captured in the reign of Nisus, but that both Megareus, the son-in-law of Nisus, and Alcahous, the son-in-law of Megareus, succeeded their respective fathers-in-law as king.

[1.41.6] It is evident that Alcahous arrived from Elis just at the time when Nisus had died and the Megarians had lost everything. Witness to the truth of my statements the fact that he built the wall afresh from the beginning, the old one round the city having been destroyed by the Cretans.

Let so much suffice for Alcahous and for the lion, whether it was on Cithaeron or elsewhere that the killing took place that caused him to make a temple to Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraeus. On going down from this sanctuary you see the shrine of the hero Pandion. My narrative has already told how Pandion was buried on what is called the Rock of Athena Aethyia (Gannet). He receives honors from the Megarians in the city as well.

[1.41.7] Near the shrine of the hero Pandion is the tomb of Hippolyte. I will record the account the Megarians give of her. When the Amazons, having marched against the Athenians because of Antiope, were over come by Theseus, most of them met their death in the fight, but Hippolyte, the sister of Antiope and on this occasion the leader of the women, escaped with a few others to Megara. Having suffered such a military disaster, being in despair at her present situation and even more hopeless of reaching her home in Themiscyra, she died of a broken heart, and the Megarians gave her burial. The shape of her tomb is like an Amazonian shield.

[1.41.8] Not far from this is the grave of Tereus, who married Procne the daughter of Pandion. The Megarians say that Tereus was king of the region around what is called Pagae (Springs) of Megaris, but my opinion, which is confirmed by extant evidence, is that he ruled over Daulis beyond Chaeronea, for in ancient times the greater part of what is now called Greece was inhabited by foreigners. When Tereus did what he did to Philomela and Itys suffered at the hands of the women, Tereus found himself unable to seize them.

[1.41.9] He committed suicide in Megara, and the Megarians forthwith raised him a barrow, and every year sacrifice to him, using in the sacrifice gravel instead of barley meal; they say that the bird called the hoopoe appeared here for the first time. The women came to Athens, and while lamenting their sufferings and their revenge, perished through their tears; their reported metamorphosis into a nightingale and a swallow is due, I think, to the fact that

the note of these birds is plaintive and like a lamentation.

[1.42.1] XLII. The Megarians have another citadel, which is named after Alcahous. As you ascend this citadel you see on the right the tomb of Megareus, who at the time of the Cretan invasion came as an ally from Onchestus. There is also shown a hearth of the gods called Prodomeis (Builders before). They say that Alcahous was the first to sacrifice to them, at the time when he was about to begin the building of the wall.

[1.42.2] Near this hearth is a stone, on which they say Apollo laid his lyre when he was helping Alcahous in the building. I am confirmed in my view that the Megarians used to be tributary to the Athenians by the fact that Alcahous appears to have sent his daughter Periboea with Theseus to Crete in payment of the tribute. On the occasion of his building the wall, the Megarians say, Apollo helped him and placed his lyre on the stone; and if you happen to hit it with a pebble it sounds just as a lyre does when struck.

[1.42.3] This made me marvel, but the colossus in Egypt made me marvel far more than anything else. In Egyptian Thebes, on crossing the Nile to the so called Pipes, I saw a statue, still sitting, which gave out a sound. The many call it Memnon, who they say from Aethiopia overran Egypt and as far as Susa. The Thebans, however, say that it is a statue, not of Memnon, but of a native named Phamenoph, and I have heard some say that it is Sesostris. This statue was broken in two by Cambyes, and at the present day from head to middle it is thrown down; but the rest is seated, and every day at the rising of the sun it makes a noise, and the sound one could best liken to that of a harp or lyre when a string has been broken.

[1.42.4] The Megarians have a council chamber which once, they say, was the grave of Timalcus, who just now I said was not killed by Theseus. On the top of the citadel is built a temple of Athena, with an image gilt except the hands and feet; these and the face are of ivory. There is another sanctuary built here, of Athena Victory, and yet a third of Athena Aeantis (Ajacian). About the last the Megarian guides have omitted to record anything, but I will write what I take to be the facts. Telamon the son of Aeacus married Periboea the daughter of Alcahous; so my opinion is that Ajax, who succeeded to the throne of Alcahous, made the statue of Athena.

[1.42.5] The ancient temple of Apollo was of brick, but the emperor Hadrian afterwards built it of white marble. The Apollo called Pythian and the one called Decatephorus (Bringer of Tithes) are very like the Egyptian wooden images, but the one surnamed Archegetes (Founder) resembles Aeginetan works. They are all alike made of ebony. I have heard a man of Cyprus, who was skilled at sorting herbs for medicinal purposes, say that the ebony does not grow leaves or bear fruit, or even appear in the sunlight at all, but consists of underground roots which are dug up by the Aethiopians, who have men skilled at finding ebony.

[1.42.6] There is also a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophorus (Lawgiver). On going down from it you see the tomb of Callipolis, son of Alcahous.

Alcathous had also an elder son, Ischepolis, whom his father sent to help Meleager to destroy the wild beast in Aetolia. There he died, and Callipolis was the first to hear of his death. Running up to the citadel, at the moment when his father was preparing a fire to sacrifice to Apollo, he flung the logs from the altar. Alcathous, who had not yet heard of the fate of Ischepolis, judged that Callipolis was guilty of impiety, and forthwith, angry as he was, killed him by striking his head with one of the logs that had been flung from the altar.

[1.42.7] On the road to the Town-hall is the shrine of the heroine Ino, about which is a fencing of stones, and beside it grow olives. The Megarians are the only Greeks who say that the corpse of Ino was cast up on their coast, that Cleso and Tauropolis, the daughters of Cleson, son of Lelex, found and buried it, and they say that among them first was she named Leucothea, and that every year they offer her sacrifice.

[1.43.1] XLIII. They say that there is also a shrine of the heroine Iphigenia; for she too according to them died in Megara. Now I have heard another account of Iphigenia that is given by Arcadians and I know that Hesiod, in his poem *A Catalogue of Women*, says that Iphigenia did not die, but by the will of Artemis is Hecate. With this agrees the account of Herodotus, that the Tauri near Scythia sacrifice castaways to a maiden who they say is Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. Adrastus also is honored among the Megarians, who say that he too died among them when he was leading back his army after taking Thebes, and that his death was caused by old age and the fate of Aegialeus. A sanctuary of Artemis was made by Agamemnon when he came to persuade Calchas, who dwelt in Megara, to accompany him to Troy.

[1.43.2] In the Town-hall are buried, they say, Euippus the son of Megareus and Ischepolis the son of Alcathous. Near the Town-hall is a rock. They name it *Anacletheis* (Recall), because Demeter (if the story be credible) here too called her daughter back when she was wandering in search of her. Even in our day the Megarian women hold a performance that is a mimic representation of the legend.

[1.43.3] In the city are graves of Megarians. They made one for those who died in the Persian invasion, and what is called the *Aesymnium* (Shrine of Aesymnus) was also a tomb of heroes. When Agamemnon's son Hyperion, the last king of Megara, was killed by Sandion for his greed and violence, they resolved no longer to be ruled by one king, but to have elected magistrates and to obey one another in turn. Then Aesymnus, who had a reputation second to none among the Megarians, came to the god in Delphi and asked in what way they could be prosperous. The oracle in its reply said that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This utterance they took to refer to the dead, and built a council chamber in this place in order that the grave of their heroes might be within it.

[1.43.4] Between this and the hero-shrine of Alcathous, which in my day the Megarians used as a record office, was the tomb, they said, of Pyrgo, the wife

of Alcathous before he married Euaechme, the daughter of Megareus, and the tomb of Iphinoe, the daughter of Alcathous; she died, they say, a maid. It is customary for the girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphiaoe and to offer a lock of their hair before their wedding, just as the daughters of the Delians once cut their hair for Hecaege and Opis.

[1.43.5] Beside the entrance to the sanctuary of Dionysus is the grave of Astycratea and Manto. They were daughters of Polyidus, son of Coeranus, son of Abas, son of Melampus, who came to Megara to purify Alcathous when he had killed his son Callipolis. Polyidus also built the sanctuary of Dionysus, and dedicated a wooden image that in our day is covered up except the face, which alone is exposed. By the side of it is a Satyr of Parian marble made by Praxiteles. This Dionysus they call Patrous (Paternal); but the image of another, that they surname Dasyllius, they say was dedicated by Euchenor, son of Coeranus, son of Polyidus.

[1.43.6] After the sanctuary of Dionysus is a temple of Aphrodite, with an ivory image of Aphrodite surnamed Praxis (Action). This is the oldest object in the temple. There is also Persuasion and another goddess, whom they name Consoler, works of Praxiteles. By Scopas are Love and Desire and Yearning, if indeed their functions are as different as their names. Near the temple of Aphrodite is a sanctuary of Fortune, the image being one of the works of Praxiteles. In the temple hard by are Muses and a bronze Zeus by Lysippus.

[1.43.7] The Megarians have also the grave of Coroebus. The poetical story of him, although it equally concerns Argos, I will relate here. They say that in the reign of Crotopus at Argos, Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus, bore a son to Apollo, and being in dire terror of her father, exposed the child. He was found and destroyed by sheepdogs of Crotopus, and Apollo sent Vengeance to the city to punish the Argives. They say that she used to snatch the children from their mothers, until Coroebus to please the Argives slew Vengeance. Whereat as a second punishment plague fell upon them and stayed not. So Coroebus of his own accord went to Delphi to submit to the punishment of the god for having slain Vengeance.

[1.43.8] The Pythia would not allow Coroebus to return to Argos, but ordered him to take up a tripod and carry it out of the sanctuary, and where the tripod should fall from his hands, there he was to build a temple of Apollo and to dwell himself. At Mount Gerania the tripod slipped and fell unawares. Here he dwelt in the village called the Little Tripods. The grave of Coroebus is in the market-place of the Megarians. The story of Psamathe and of Coroebus himself is carved on it in elegiac verses and further, upon the top of the grave is represented Coroebus slaying Vengeance. These are the oldest stone images I am aware of having seen among the Greeks.

[1.44.1] XLIV. Near Coroebus is buried Orsippus who won the footrace at Olympia by running naked when all his competitors wore girdles according to ancient custom. They say also that Orsippus when general afterwards annexed some of the neighboring territory. My own opinion is that at Olympia he

intentionally let the girdle slip off him, realizing that a naked man can run more easily than one girl.

[1.44.2] As you go down from the market-place you see on the right of the street called Straight a sanctuary of Apollo Prostaterius (Protecting). You must turn a little aside from the road to discover it. In it is a noteworthy Apollo, Artemis also, and Leto, and other statues, made by Praxiteles. In the old gymnasium near the gate called the Gate of the Nymphs is a stone of the shape of a small pyramid. This they name Apollo Carinus, and here there is a sanctuary of the Eileithyiae. Such are the sights that the city had to show.

NISAEA

[1.44.3] When you have gone down to the port, which to the present day is called Nisaea, you see a sanctuary of Demeter Malophorus (Sheep-bearer or Apple-bearer). One of the accounts given of the surname is that those who first reared sheep in the land named Demeter Malophorus. The roof of the temple one might conclude has fallen in through age. There is a citadel here, which also is called Nisaea. Below the citadel near the sea is the tomb of Lelex, who they say arrived from Egypt and became king, being the son of Poseidon and of Libya, daughter of Epheus. Parallel to Nisaea lies the small island of Minoa, where in the war against Nisus anchored the fleet of the Cretans.

PAGAE & AEGOSTHENA

[1.44.4] The hilly part of Megaris borders upon Boeotia, and in it the Megarians have built the city Pagae and another one called Aegosthena. As you go to Pagae, on turning a little aside from the highway, you are shown a rock with arrows stuck all over it, into which the Persians once shot in the night. In Pagae a noteworthy relic is a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Saviour, in size equal to that at Megara and exactly like it in shape. There is also a hero-shrine of Aegialeus, son of Adrastus. When the Argives made their second attack on Thebes he died at Glisas early in the first battle, and his relatives carried him to Pagae in Megaris and buried him, the shrine being still called the Aegialeum.

[1.44.5] In Aegosthena is a sanctuary of Melampus, son of Amythaon, and a small figure of a man carved upon a slab. To Melampus they sacrifice and hold a festival every year. They say that he divines neither by dreams nor in any other way. Here is something else that I heard in Erenea, a village of the Megarians. Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus, left Thebes to live here owing to her great grief at the death of Actaeon, the manner of which is told in legend, and at the general misfortune of her father's house. The tomb of Autonoe is in this village.

SCIRONIAN ROAD

[1.44.6] On the road from Megara to Corinth are graves, including that of the Samian flute-player Telephanes, said to have been made by Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas. There is also the tomb of Car, son of Phoroneus, which was originally a mound of earth, but afterwards, at the command of the oracle, it was adorned with mussel stone. The Megarians are the only Greeks to possess this stone, and in the city also they have made many things out of it. It is very white, and softer than other stone; in it throughout are sea mussels. Such is the nature of the stone. The road called Scironian to this day and named after Sciron, was made by him when he was war minister of the Megarians, and originally they say was constructed for the use of active men. But the emperor Hadrian broadened it, and made it suitable even for chariots to pass each other in opposite directions.

[1.44.7] There are legends about the rocks, which rise especially at the narrow part of the road. As to the Molurian, it is said that from it Ino flung her self into the sea with Melicertes, the younger of her children. Learchus, the elder of them, had been killed by his father. One account is that Athamas did this in a fit of madness; another is that he vented on Ino and her children unbridled rage when he learned that the famine which befell the Orchomenians and the supposed death of Phrixus were not accidents from heaven, but that Ino, the step-mother, had intrigued for all these things.

[1.44.8] Then it was that she fled to the sea and cast herself and her son from the Molurian Rock. The son, they say, was landed on the Corinthian Isthmus by a dolphin, and honors were offered to Melicertes, then renamed Palaemon, including the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Molurian dock they thought sacred to Leucothea and Palaemon; but those after it they consider accursed, in that Sciron, who dwelt by them, used to cast into the sea all the strangers he met. A tortoise used to swim under the rocks to seize those that fell in. Sea tortoises are like land tortoises except in size and for their feet, which are like those of seals. Retribution for these deeds overtook Sciron, for he was cast into the same sea by Theseus.

[1.44.9] On the top of the mountain is a temple of Zeus surnamed Aphesius (Releaser). It is said that on the occasion of the drought that once afflicted the Greeks Aeacus in obedience to an oracular utterance sacrificed in Aegina to Zeus God of all the Greeks, and Zeus rained and ended the drought, gaining thus the name Aphesius. Here there are also images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan.

[1.44.10] Farther on is the tomb of Eurystheus. The story is that he fled from Attica after the battle with the Heracleidae and was killed here by Iolaus. When you have gone down from this road you see a sanctuary of Apollo Latous, after which is the boundary between Megara and Corinth, where legend says that Hyllus, son of Heracles, fought a duel with the Arcadian Echemus.

BOOK II.

CORINTH, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2.1.1] 1. The Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus. That Corinthus was a son of Zeus I have never known anybody say seriously except the majority of the Corinthians. Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his Corinthian History (if indeed the history be his) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, dwelt first in this land; that afterwards Marathon, the son of Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, the son of Helius (Sun), fleeing from the lawless violence of his father migrated to the sea coast of Attica; that on the death of Epopeus he came to Peloponnesus, divided his kingdom among his sons, and returned to Attica; and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon, and Ephyraea after Corinthus.

CORINTH

[2.1.2] Corinth is no longer inhabited by any of the old Corinthians, but by colonists sent out by the Romans. This change is due to the Achaean League. The Corinthians, being members of it, joined in the war against the Romans, which Critolaus, when appointed general of the Achaeans, brought about by persuading to revolt both the Achaeans and the majority of the Greeks outside the Peloponnesus. When the Romans won the war, they carried out a general disarmament of the Greeks and dismantled the walls of such cities as were fortified. Corinth was laid waste by Mummius, who at that time commanded the Romans in the field, and it is said that it was afterwards refounded by Caesar, who was the author of the present constitution of Rome. Carthage, too, they say, was refounded in his reign.

CROMYON

[2.1.3] In the Corinthian territory is also the place called Cromyon from Cromus the son of Poseidon. Here they say that Phaea was bred; overcoming this sow was one of the traditional achievements of Theseus. Farther on the pine still grew by the shore at the time of my visit, and there was an altar of Melicertes. At this place, they say, the boy was brought ashore by a dolphin; Sisyphus found him lying and gave him burial on the Isthmus, establishing the Isthmian games in his honor.

THE ISTHMUS

[2.1.4] At the beginning of the Isthmus is the place where the brigand Sinis used to take hold of pine trees and draw them down. All those whom he overcame

in fight he used to tie to the trees, and then allow them to swing up again. Thereupon each of the pines used to drag to itself the bound man, and as the bond gave way in neither direction but was stretched equally in both, he was torn in two. This was the way in which Sinis himself was slain by Theseus. For Theseus rid of evildoers the road from Troezen to Athens, killing those whom I have enumerated and, in sacred Epidaurus, Periphetes, thought to be the son of Hephaestus, who used to fight with a bronze club.

[2.1.5] The Corinthian Isthmus stretches on the one hand to the sea at Cenchreae, and on the other to the sea at Lechaem. For this is what makes the region to the south mainland. He who tried to make the Peloponnesus an island gave up before digging through the Isthmus. Where they began to dig is still to be seen, but into the rock they did not advance at all. So it still is mainland as its nature is to be. Alexander the son of Philip wished to dig through Mimas, and his attempt to do this was his only unsuccessful project. The Cnidians began to dig through their isthmus, but the Pythian priestess stopped them. So difficult it is for man to alter by violence what Heaven has made.

[2.1.6] A legend of the Corinthians about their land is not peculiar to them, for I believe that the Athenians were the first to relate a similar story to glorify Attica. The Corinthians say that Poseidon had a dispute with Helius (Sun) about the land, and that Briareos arbitrated between them, assigning to Poseidon the Isthmus and the parts adjoining, and giving to Helius the height above the city. Ever since, they say, the Isthmus has belonged to Poseidon.

[2.1.7] Worth seeing here are a theater and a white-marble race-course. Within the sanctuary of the god stand on the one side portrait statues of athletes who have won victories at the Isthmian games, on the other side pine trees growing in a row, the greater number of them rising up straight. On the temple, which is not very large, stand bronze Tritons. In the fore-temple are images, two of Poseidon, a third of Amphitrite, and a Sea, which also is of bronze. The offerings inside were dedicated in our time by Herodes the Athenian, four horses, gilded except for the hoofs, which are of ivory,

[2.1.8] and two gold Tritons beside the horses, with the parts below the waist of ivory. On the car stand Amphitrite and Poseidon, and there is the boy Palaemon upright upon a dolphin. These too are made of ivory and gold. On the middle of the base on which the car is has been wrought a Sea holding up the young Aphrodite, and on either side are the nymphs called Nereids. I know that there are altars to these in other parts of Greece, and that some Greeks have even dedicated to them precincts by shores, where honors are also paid to Achilles. In Gabala is a holy sanctuary of Doto, where there was still remaining the robe by which the Greeks say that Eriphyle was bribed to wrong her son Alcmaeon.

[2.1.9] Among the reliefs on the base of the statue of Poseidon are the sons of Tyndareus, because these too are saviours of ships and of sea-faring men. The other offerings are images of Calm and of Sea, a horse like a whale from the

breast onward, Ino and Bellerophontes, and the horse Pegasus.

[2.2.1] II. Within the enclosure is on the left a temple of Palaemon, with images in it of Poseidon, Leucothea and Palaemon himself. There is also what is called his Holy of Holies, and an underground descent to it, where they say that Palaemon is concealed. Whosoever, whether Corinthian or stranger, swears falsely here, can by no means escape from his oath. There is also an ancient sanctuary called the altar of the Cyclopes, and they sacrifice to the Cyclopes upon it.

[2.2.2] The graves of Sisyphus and of Neleus – for they say that Neleus came to Corinth, died of disease, and was buried near the Isthmus – I do not think that anyone would look for after reading Eumelus. For he says that not even to Nestor did Sisyphus show the tomb of Neleus, because it must be kept unknown to everybody alike, and that Sisyphus is indeed buried on the Isthmus, but that few Corinthians, even those of his own day, knew where the grave was. The Isthmian games were not interrupted even when Corinth had been laid waste by Mummius, but so long as it lay deserted the celebration of the games was entrusted to the Sicyonians, and when it was rebuilt the honor was restored to the present inhabitants.

CORINTH

[2.2.3] The names of the Corinthian harbors were given them by Leches and Cenchrias, said to be the children of Poseidon and Peirene the daughter of Achelous, though in the poem called *The Great Eoëae* Peirene is said to be a daughter of Oebalus. In Lechaëum are a sanctuary and a bronze image of Poseidon, and on the road leading from the Isthmus to Cenchreae a temple and ancient wooden image of Artemis. In Cenchreae are a temple and a stone statue of Aphrodite, after it on the mole running into the sea a bronze image of Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbor sanctuaries of Asclepius and of Isis. Right opposite Cenchreae is Helen's Bath. It is a large stream of salt, tepid water, flowing from a rock into the sea.

[2.2.4] As one goes up to Corinth are tombs, and by the gate is buried Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks surname the Dog. Before the city is a grove of cypresses called Craneum. Here are a precinct of Bellerophontes, a temple of Aphrodite Melaenis and the grave of Lais, upon which is set a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws.

[2.2.5] There is in Thessaly another tomb which claims to be that of Lais, for she went to that country also when she fell in love with Hippostratus. The story is that originally she was of Hycara in Sicily. Taken captive while yet a girl by Nicias and the Athenians, she was sold and brought to Corinth, where she surpassed in beauty the courtesans of her time, and so won the admiration of the Corinthians that even now they claim Lais as their own.

[2.2.6] The things worthy of mention in the city include the extant remains of antiquity, but the greater number of them belong to the period of its second ascendancy. On the market-place, where most of the sanctuaries are, stand

Artemis surnamed Ephesian and wooden images of Dionysus, which are covered with gold with the exception of their faces; these are ornamented with red paint. They are called Lysius and Baccheus,

[2.2.7] and I too give the story told about them. They say that Pentheus treated Dionysus spitefully, his crowning outrage being that he went to Cithaeron, to spy upon the women, and climbing up a tree beheld what was done. When the women detected Pentheus, they immediately dragged him down, and joined in tearing him, living as he was, limb from limb. Afterwards, as the Corinthians say, the Pythian priestess commanded them by an oracle to discover that tree and to worship it equally with the god. For this reason they have made these images from the tree.

[2.2.8] There is also a temple of Fortune, with a standing image of Parian marble. Beside it is a sanctuary for all the gods. Hard by is built a fountain, on which is a bronze Poseidon; under the feet of Poseidon is a dolphin spouting water. There is also a bronze Apollo surnamed Clarius and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. There are two bronze, standing images of Hermes, for one of which a temple has been made. The images of Zeus also are in the open; one had not a surname, another they call Chthonius (of the Lower World) and the third Most High.

[2.3.1] III. In the middle of the market-place is a bronze Athena, on the pedestal of which are wrought in relief figures of the Muses. Above the market-place is a temple of Octavia the sister of Augustus, who was emperor of the Romans after Caesar, the founder of the modern Corinth.

[2.3.2] On leaving the market-place along the road to Lechaeum you come to a gateway, on which are two gilded chariots, one carrying Phaethon the son of Helius (Sun), the other Helius himself. A little farther away from the gateway, on the right as you go in, is a bronze Heracles. After this is the entrance to the water of Peirene. The legend about Peirene is that she was a woman who became a spring because of her tears shed in lamentation for her son Cenchrias, who was unintentionally killed by Artemis.

[2.3.3] The spring is ornamented with white marble, and there have been made chambers like caves, out of which the water flows into an open-air well. It is pleasant to drink, and they say that the Corinthian bronze, when red-hot, is tempered by this water, since bronze . . . the Corinthians have not. Moreover near Peirene are an image and a sacred enclosure of Apollo; in the latter is a painting of the exploit of Odysseus against the suitors.

[2.3.4] Proceeding on the direct road to Lechaeum we see a bronze image of a seated Hermes. By him stands a ram, for Hermes is the god who is thought most to care for and to increase flocks, as Homer puts it in the *Iliad*:—

Son was he of Phorbas, the dearest of Trojans to Hermes,
Rich in flocks, for the god vouchsafed him wealth in abundance. Hom. *Il.*
14.490

The story told at the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram I

know but do not relate. After the image of Hermes come Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon on a dolphin.

[2.3.5] The Corinthians have baths in many parts of the city, some put up at the public charge and one by the emperor Hadrian. The most famous of them is near the Poseidon. It was made by the Spartan Eurycles, who beautified it with various kinds of stone, especially the one quarried at Croceae in Laconia. On the left of the entrance stands a Poseidon, and after him Artemis hunting. Throughout the city are many wells, for the Corinthians have a copious supply of flowing water, besides the water which the emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus, but the most noteworthy is the one by the side of the image of Artemis. Over it is a Bellerophontes, and the water flows through the hoof of the horse Pegasus.

[2.3.6] As you go along another road from the market-place, which leads to Sicyon, you can see on the right of the road a temple and bronze image of Apollo, and a little farther on a well called the Well of Glauce. Into this they say she threw herself in the belief that the water would be a cure for the drugs of Medea. Above this well has been built what is called the Odeum (Music Hall), beside which is the tomb of Medea's children. Their names were Mermerus and Pheres, and they are said to have been stoned to death by the Corinthians owing to the gifts which legend says they brought to Glauce.

[2.3.7] But as their death was violent and illegal, the young babies of the Corinthians were destroyed by them until, at the command of the oracle, yearly sacrifices were established in their honor and a figure of Terror was set up. This figure still exists, being the likeness of a woman frightful to look upon but after Corinth was laid waste by the Romans and the old Corinthians were wiped out, the new settlers broke the custom of offering those sacrifices to the sons of Medea, nor do their children cut their hair for them or wear black clothes.

[2.3.8] On the occasion referred to Medea went to Athens and married Aegeus, but subsequently she was detected plotting against Theseus and fled from Athens also; coming to the land then called Aria she caused its inhabitants to be named after her Medes. The son, whom she brought with her in her flight to the Arii, they say she had by Aegeus, and that his name was Medus. Hellanicus, however, calls him Polyxenus and says that his father was Jason.

[2.3.9] The Greeks have an epic poem called Naupactia. In this Jason is represented as having removed his home after the death of Pelias from Iolcus to Corcyra, and Mermerus, the elder of his children, to have been killed by a lioness while hunting on the mainland opposite. Of Pheres is recorded nothing. But Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, another writer of pedigrees in verse, said that Jason's children by Medea were a son Medeus and a daughter Eriopis; he too, however, gives no further information about these children.

[2.3.10] Eumelus said that Helius (Sun) gave the Asopian land to Aloeus and Eplyraea to Aeetes. When Aeetes was departing for Colchis he entrusted his

land to Bunus, the son of Hermes and Alcideamea, and when Bunus died Epopeus the son of Aloeus extended his kingdom to include the Ephyraeans. Afterwards, when Corinthus, the son of Marathon, died childless, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolcus and bestowed upon her the kingdom.

[2.3.11] Through her Jason was king in Corinth, and Medea, as her children were born, carried each to the sanctuary of Hera and concealed them, doing so in the belief that so they would be immortal. At last she learned that her hopes were vain, and at the same time she was detected by Jason. When she begged for pardon he refused it, and sailed away to Iolcus. For these reasons Medea too departed, and handed over the kingdom to Sisyphus.

[2.4.1] IV. This is the account that I read, and not far from the tomb is the temple of Athena Chalinitis (Bridler). For Athena, they say, was the divinity who gave most help to Bellerophontes, and she delivered to him Pegasus, having herself broken in and bridled him. The image of her is of wood, but face, hands and feet are of white marble.

[2.4.2] That Bellerophontes was not an absolute king, but was subject to Proetus and the Argives is the belief of myself and of all who have read carefully the Homeric poems. When Bellerophontes migrated to Lycia it is clear that the Corinthians none the less were subject to the despots at Argos or Mycenae. By themselves they provided no leader for the campaign against Troy, but shared in the expedition as part of the forces, Mycenaean and other, led by Agamemnon.

[2.4.3] Sisyphus had other sons besides Glaucus, the father of Bellerophontes a second was Ornytion, and besides him there were Thersander and Almus. Ornytion had a son Phocus, reputed to have been begotten by Poseidon. He migrated to Tithorea in what is now called Phocis, but Thoas, the younger son of Ornytion, remained behind at Corinth. Thoas begat Damophon, Damophon begat Propodas, and Propodas begat Doridas and Hyanthidas. While these were kings the Dorians took the field against Corinth, their leader being Aletes, the son of Hippotas, the son of Phylas, the son of Antiochus, the son of Heracles. So Doridas and Hyanthidas gave up the kingship to Aletes and remained at Corinth, but the Corinthian people were conquered in battle and expelled by the Dorians.

[2.4.4] Aletes himself and his descendants reigned for five generations to Bacchis, the son of Prumnis, and, named after him, the Bacchidae reigned for five more generations to Telestes, the son of Aristodemus. Telestes was killed in hate by Arieus and Perantas, and there were no more kings, but Prytanēs (Presidents) taken from the Bacchidae and ruling for one year, until Cypselus, the son of Eetion, became tyrant and expelled the Bacchidae. Cypselus was a descendant of Melas, the son of Antasus. Melas from Gonussa above Sicyon joined the Dorians in the expedition against Corinth. When the god expressed disapproval Aletes at first ordered Melas to withdraw to other Greeks, but afterwards, mistaking the oracle, he received him as a settler. Such I found to be the history of the Corinthian kings.

[2.4.5] Now the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis is by their theater, and near is a naked wooden image of Heracles, said to be a work of Daedalus. All the works of this artist, although rather uncouth to look at, are nevertheless distinguished by a kind of inspiration. Above the theater is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed in the Latin tongue Capitulinus, which might be rendered into Greek “Coryphaeos”. Not far from this theater is the ancient gymnasium, and a spring called Lerna. Pillars stand around it, and seats have been made to refresh in summer time those who have entered it. By this gymnasium are temples of Zeus and Asclepius. The images of Asclepius and of Health are of white marble, that of Zeus is of bronze.

[2.4.6] The Acrocorinthus is a mountain peak above the city, assigned to Helius by Briareos when he acted as adjudicator, and handed over, the Corinthians say, by Helius to Aphrodite. As you go up this Acrocorinthus you see two precincts of Isis, one if Isis surnamed Pelagian (Marine) and the other of Egyptian Isis, and two of Serapis, one of them being of Serapis called “in Canopus.” After these are altars to Helius, and a sanctuary of Necessity and Force, into which it is not customary to enter.

[2.4.7] Above it are a temple of the Mother of the gods and a throne; the image and the throne are made of stone. The temple of the Fates and that of Demeter and the Maid have images that are not exposed to view. Here, too, is the temple of Hera Bunaia set up by Bunus the son of Hermes. It is for this reason that the goddess is called Bunaia.

[2.5.1] v. On the summit of the Acrocorinthus is a temple of Aphrodite. The images are Aphrodite armed, Helius, and Eros with a bow. The spring, which is behind the temple, they say was the gift of Asopus to Sisyphus. The latter knew, so runs the legend, that Zeus had ravished Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, but refused to give information to the seeker before he had a spring given him on the Acrocorinthus. When Asopus granted this request Sisyphus turned informer, and on this account he receives – if anyone believes the story – punishment in Hades. I have heard people say that this spring and Peirene are the same, the water in the city flowing hence under-ground.

[2.5.2] This Asopus rises in the Phliasian territory, flows through the Sicyonian, and empties itself into the sea here. His daughters, say the Phliasiens, were Corcyra, Aegina, and Thebe. Corcyra and Aegina gave new names to the islands called Scheria and Oenone, while from Thebe is named the city below the Cadmea. The Thebans do not agree, but say that Thebe was the daughter of the Boeotian, and not of the Phliasian, Asopus.

[2.5.3] The other stories about the river are current among both the Phliasiens and the Sicyonians, for instance that its water is foreign and not native, in that the Maeander, descending from Celaenae through Phrygia and Caria, and emptying itself into the sea at Miletus, goes to the Peloponnesus and forms the Asopus. I remember hearing a similar story from the Delians, that the stream which they call Inopus comes to them from the Nile. Further, there is a story that the Nile itself is the Euphrates, which disappears into a marsh, rises again

beyond Aethiopia and becomes the Nile.

[2.5.4] Such is the account I heard of the Asopus. When you have turned from the Acrocorinthus into the mountain road you see the Teneatic gate and a sanctuary of Eilethya. The town called Tenea is just about sixty stades distant. The inhabitants say that they are Trojans who were taken prisoners in Tenedos by the Greeks, and were permitted by Agamemnon to dwell in their present home. For this reason they honor Apollo more than any other god.

[2.5.5] As you go from Corinth, not into the interior but along the road to Sicyon, there is on the left not far from the city a burnt temple. There have, of course, been many wars carried on in Corinthian territory, and naturally houses and sanctuaries outside the wall have been fired. But this temple, they say, was Apollo's, and Pyrrhus the son of Achilles burned it down. Subsequently I heard another account, that the Corinthians built the temple for Olympian Zeus, and that suddenly fire from some quarter fell on it and destroyed it.

SICYON, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2.5.6] The Sicyonians, the neighbours of the Corinthians at this part of the border, say about their own land that Aegialeus was its first and aboriginal inhabitant, that the district of the Peloponnesus still called Aegialus was named after him because he reigned over it, and that he founded the city Aegialea on the plain. Their citadel, they say, was where is now their sanctuary of Athena; further, that Aegialeus begat Europs, Europs Telchis, and Telchis Apis.

[2.5.7] This Apis reached such a height of power before Pelops came to Olympia that all the territory south of the Isthmus was called after him Apia. Apis begat Thelxion, Thelxion Aegyus, the Thurimachus, and Thurimachus Leucippus. Leucippus had no male issue, only a daughter Calchinia. There is a story that this Calchinia mated with Poseidon; her child was reared by Leucippus, who at his death handed over to him the kingdom. His name was Peratus.

[2.5.8] What is reported of Plemnaeus, the son of Peratus, seemed to me very wonderful. All the children borne to him by his wife died the very first time they wailed. At last Demeter took pity on Plemnaeus, came to Aegialea in the guise of a strange woman, and reared for Plemnaeus his son Orthopolis. Orthopolis had a daughter Chrysorthe, who is thought to have borne a son named Coronus to Apollo. Coronus had two sons, Corax and a younger one Lamedon.

[2.6.1] VI. Corax died without issue, and at about this time came Epopeus from Thessaly and took the kingdom. In his reign the first hostile army is said to have invaded the land, which before this had enjoyed unbroken peace. The reason was this. Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, had a name among the Greeks for beauty, and there was also a report that her father was not Nycteus but Asopus, the river that separates the territories of Thebes and Plataea.

[2.6.2] This woman Epopeus carried off but I do not know whether he asked for her hand or adopted a bolder policy from the beginning. The Thebans came against him in arms, and in the battle Nycteus was wounded. Epopeus also was wounded, but won the day. Nycteus they carried back ill to Thebes, and when he was about to die he appointed to be regent of Thebes his brother Lycus for Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, being still a child, was the ward of Nycteus, who on this occasion entrusted the office of guardian to Lycus. He also besought him to attack Aegialea with a larger army and bring vengeance upon Epopeus; Antiope herself, if taken, was to be punished.

[2.6.3] As to Epopeus, he forthwith offered sacrifice for his victory and began a temple of Athena, and when this was complete he prayed the goddess to make known whether the temple was finished to her liking, and after the prayer they say that olive oil flowed before the temple. Afterwards Epopeus also died of his wound, which he had neglected at first, so that Lycus had now no need to wage war. For Lamedon, the son of Coronus, who became king after Epopeus, gave up Antiope. As she was being taken to Thebes by way of Eleutherae, she was delivered there on the road.

[2.6.4] On this matter Asius the son of Amphiptolemus says in his poem:—

Zethus and Amphion had Antiope for their mother,
Daughter of Asopus, the swift, deep-eddying river,
Having conceived of Zeus and Epopeus, shepherd of peoples. Asius, unknown
work

Homer traces their descent to the more august side of their family, and says that they were the first founders of Thebes, in my opinion distinguishing the lower city from the Cadmea.

[2.6.5] When Lamedon became king he took to wife an Athenian woman, Pheno, the daughter of Clytius. Afterwards also, when war had arisen between him and Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achaeus, he brought in as his ally Sicyon from Attica, and gave him Zeuxippe his daughter to wife. This man became king, and the land was named after him Sicyonia, and the city Sicyon instead of Aegiale. But they say that Sicyon was not the son of Marathon, the son of Epopeus, but of Metion the son of Erechtheus. Asius confirms their statement, while Hesiod makes Sicyon the son of Erechtheus, and Ibycus says that his father was Pelops.

[2.6.6] Sicyon had a daughter Chthonophyle, and they say that she and Hermes were the parents of Polybus. Afterwards she married Phlias, the son of Dionysus, and gave birth to Androdamas. Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa to Talaus the son of Bias, king of the Argives; and when Adrastus fled from Argos he came to Polybus at Sicyon, and afterwards on the death of Polybus he became king at Sicyon. When Adrastus returned to Argos, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius the father-in-law of Lamedon, came from Attica and was made king, and when Ianiscus died he was succeeded by

Phaestus, said to have been one of the children of Heracles.

[2.6.7] After Phaestus in obedience to an oracle migrated to Crete, the next king is said to have been Zeuxippus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis. On the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon led an army against Sicyon and king Hippolytus, the son of Rhopalus, the son of Phaestus. In terror of the army that was attacking him, Hippolytus agreed to become subject to Agamemnon and the Mycenaeans. This Hippolytus was the father of Lacestades. Phalces the son of Temenus, with the Dorians, surprised Sicyon by night, but did Lacestades no harm, because he too was one of the Heracleidae, and made him partner in the kingdom.

[2.7.1] VII. From that time the Sicyonians became Dorians and their land a part of the Argive territory. The city built by Aegialeus on the plain was destroyed by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who founded the modern city near what was once the ancient citadel. The reason why the Sicyonians grew weak it would be wrong to seek; we must be content with Homer's saying about Zeus:—

Many, indeed, are the cities of which he has levelled the strongholds.

When they had lost their power there came upon them an earthquake, which almost depopulated their city and took from them many of their famous sights. It damaged also the cities of Caria and Lycia, and the island of Rhodes was very violently shaken, so that it was thought that the Sibyl had had her utterance about Rhodes fulfilled.

SICYON

[2.7.2] When you have come from the Corinthian to the Sicyonian territory you see the tomb of Lycus the Messenian, whoever this Lycus may be; for I can discover no Messenian Lycus who practised the pentathlon or won a victory at Olympia. This tomb is a mound of earth, but the Sicyonians themselves usually bury their dead in a uniform manner. They cover the body in the ground, and over it they build a basement of stone upon which they set pillars. Above these they put something very like the pediment of a temple. They add no inscription, except that they give the dead man's name without that of his father and bid him farewell.

[2.7.3] After the tomb of Lycus, but on the other side of the Asopus, there is on the right the Olympium, and a little farther on, to the left of the road, the grave of Eupolis,⁴ the Athenian comic poet. Farther on, if you turn in the direction of the city, you see the tomb of Xenodice, who died in childbirth. It has not been made after the native fashion, but so as to harmonize best with the painting, which is very well worth seeing.

[2.7.4] Farther on from here is the grave of the Sicyonians who were killed at Pellene, at Dyme of the Achaeans, in Megalopolis and at Sellasia. Their story I will relate more fully presently. By the gate they have a spring in a cave, the water of which does not rise out of the earth, but flows down from the roof of the cave. For this reason it is called the Dripping Spring.

[2.7.5] On the modern citadel is a sanctuary of Fortune of the Height, and after it one of the Dioscuri. Their images and that of Fortune are of wood. On the stage of the theater built under the citadel is a statue of a man with a shield, who they say is Aratus, the son of Cleinias. After the theater is a temple of Dionysus. The god is of gold and ivory, and by his side are Bacchanals of white marble. These women they say are sacred to Dionysus and maddened by his inspiration. The Sicyonians have also some images which are kept secret. These one night in each year they carry to the temple of Dionysus from what they call the Cosmeterium (Tiring-room), and they do so with lighted torches and native hymns.

[2.7.6] The first is the one named Baccheus, set up by Androdamas, the son of Phlias, and this is followed by the one called Lysius (Deliverer), brought from Thebes by the Theban Phanes at the command of the Pythian priestess. Phanes came to Sicyon when Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, failed to understand the oracle given him, and therefore failed to return to the Peloponnesus. As you walk from the temple of Dionysus to the market-place you see on the right a temple of Artemis of the lake. A look shows that the roof has fallen in, but the inhabitants cannot tell whether the image has been removed or how it was destroyed on the spot.

[2.7.7] Within the market-place is a sanctuary of Persuasion; this too has no image. The worship of Persuasion was established among them for the following reason. When Apollo and Artemis had killed Pytho they came to Aegialea to obtain purification. Dread coming upon them at the place now named Fear, they turned aside to Carmanor in Crete, and the people of Aegialea were smitten by a plague. When the seers bade them propitiate Apollo and Artemis,

[2.7.8] they sent seven boys and seven maidens as suppliants to the river Sythas. They say that the deities, persuaded by these, came to what was then the citadel, and the place that they reached first is the sanctuary of Persuasion. Conformable with this story is the ceremony they perform at the present day; the children go to the Sythas at the feast of Apollo, and having brought, as they pretend, the deities to the sanctuary of Persuasion, they say that they take them back again to the temple of Apollo. The temple stands in the modern market-place, and was originally, it is said, made by Proetus, because in this place his daughters recovered from their madness.

[2.7.9] It is also said that in this temple Meleager dedicated the spear with which he slew the boar. There is also a story that the flutes of Marsyas are dedicated here. When the Silenus met with his disaster, the river Marsyas carried the flutes to the Maeander; reappearing in the Asopus they were cast ashore in the Sicyonian territory and given to Apollo by the shepherd who found them. I found none of these offerings still in existence, for they were destroyed by fire when the temple was burnt. The temple that I saw, and its image, were dedicated by Pythocles.

[2.8.1] VIII. The precinct near the sanctuary of Persuasion that is devoted to

Roman emperors was once the house of the tyrant Cleon. He became tyrant in the modern city there was another tyranny while the Sicyonians still lived in the lower city, that of Cleisthenes, the son of Aristonymus, the son of Myron. Before this house is a hero-shrine of Aratus, whose achievements eclipsed those of all contemporary Greeks. His history is as follows.

ARATUS OF SICYON, HISTORY

[2.8.2] After the despotism of Cleon, many of those in authority were seized with such an ungovernable passion for tyranny that two actually became tyrants together, Euthydemus and Timocleidas. These were expelled by the people, who made Cleinias, the father of Aratus, their champion. A few years afterwards Abantidas became tyrant. Before this time Cleinias had met his death, and Aratus went into exile, either of his own accord or because he was compelled to do so by Abantidas. Now Abantidas was killed by some natives, and his father Paseas immediately became tyrant.

[2.8.3] He was killed by Nicocles, who succeeded him. This Nicocles was attacked by Aratus with a force of Sicyonian exiles and Argive mercenaries. Making his attempt by night, he eluded some of the defenders in the darkness; the others he overcame, and forced his way within the wall. Day was now breaking, and taking the populace with him he hastened to the tyrant's house. This he easily captured, but Nicocles himself succeeded in making his escape. Aratus restored equality of political rights to the Sicyonians, striking a bargain for those in exile; he restored to them their houses and all their other possessions which had been sold, compensating the buyers out of his own purse.

[2.8.4] Moreover, as all the Greeks were afraid of the Macedonians and of Antigonus, the guardian of Philip, the son of Demetrius, he induced the Sicyonians, who were Dorians, to join the Achaean League. He was immediately elected general by the Achaeans, and leading them against the Locrians of Amphissa and into the land of the Aetolians, their enemies, he ravaged their territory. Corinth was held by Antigonus, and there was a Macedonian garrison in the city, but he threw them into a panic by the suddenness of his assault, winning a battle and killing among others Persaeus, the commander of the garrison, who had studied philosophy under Zeno, the son of Mnaseas.

[2.8.5] When Aratus had liberated Corinth, the League was joined by the Epidaurians and Troezenians inhabiting Argolian Acte, and by the Megarians among those beyond the Isthmus, while Ptolemy made an alliance with the Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians and king Agis, the son of Eudamidas, surprised and took Pellene by a sudden onslaught, but when Aratus and his army arrived they were defeated in an engagement, evacuated Pellene, and returned home under a truce.

[2.8.6] After his success in the Peloponnesus, Aratus thought it a shame to allow the Macedonians to hold unchallenged Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis,

and Sunium; but not expecting to be able to take them by force he bribed Diogenes, the commander of the garrisons, to give up the positions for a hundred and fifty talents, himself helping the Athenians by contributing a sixth part of the sum. He induced Aristomachus also, the tyrant of Argos, to restore to the Argives their democracy and to join the Achaean League; he captured Mantinea from the Lacedaemonians who held it. But no man finds all his plans turn out according to his liking, and even Aratus was compelled to become an ally of the Macedonians and Antigonus in the following way.

[2.9.1] IX. Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, having succeeded to the kingship at Sparta, resembled Pausanias in being dissatisfied with the established constitution and in aiming at a tyranny. A more fiery man than Pausanias, and no coward, he quickly succeeded by spirit and daring in accomplishing all his ambition. He poisoned Eurydamidas, the king of the other royal house, while yet a boy, raised to the throne by means of the ephors his brother Epicleidas, destroyed the power of the senate, and appointed in its stead a nominal Council of Fathers. Ambitious for greater things and for supremacy over the Greeks, he first attacked the Achaeans, hoping if successful to have them as allies, and especially wishing that they should not hinder his activities.

[2.9.2] Engaging them at Dyme beyond Patrae, Aratus being still leader of the Achaeans, he won the victory. In fear for the Achaeans and for Sicyon itself, Aratus was forced by this defeat to bring in Antigonus as an ally. Cleomenes had violated the peace which he had made with Antigonus and had openly acted in many ways contrary to treaty, especially in laying waste Megalopolis. So Antigonus crossed into the Peloponnesus and the Achaeans met Cleomenes at Sellasia. The Achaeans were victorious, the people of Sellasia were sold into slavery, and Lacedaemon itself was captured. Antigonus and the Achaeans restored to the Lacedaemonians the constitution of their fathers;

[2.9.3] but of the children of Leonidas, Epicleidas was killed in the battle, and Cleomenes fled to Egypt. Held in the highest honor by Ptolemy, he came to be cast into prison, being convicted of inciting Egyptians to rebel against their king. He made his escape from prison and began a riot among the Alexandrians, but at last, on being captured, he fell by his own hand. The Lacedaemonians, glad to be rid of Cleomenes, refused to be ruled by kings any longer, but the rest of their ancient constitution they have kept to the present day. Antigonus remained a constant friend of Aratus, looking upon him as a benefactor who had helped him to accomplish brilliant deeds.

[2.9.4] But when Philip succeeded to the throne, since Aratus did not approve of his violent treatment of his subjects, and in some cases even opposed the accomplishment of his purposes, he killed Aratus by giving him secretly a dose of poison. This fate came upon Aratus at Aegium, from which place he was carried to Sicyon and buried, and there is still in that city the hero-shrine of Aratus. Philip treated two Athenians, Eurycleides and Micon, in a similar way. These men also, who were orators enjoying the confidence of the people,

he killed by poison.

[2.9.5] After all, Philip himself in his turn was fated to suffer disaster through the fatal cup. Philip's son, Demetrius, was poisoned by Perseus, his younger son, and grief at the murder brought the father also to his grave. I mention the incident in passing, with my mind turned to the inspired words of the poet Hesiod, that he who plots mischief against his neighbor directs it first to himself.

[2.9.6] After the hero-shrine of Aratus is an altar to Isthmian Poseidon, and also a Zeus Meilichius (Gracious) and an Artemis named Patroa (Paternal), both of them very inartistic works. The Meilichius is like a pyramid, the Artemis like a pillar. Here too stand their council-chamber and a portico called Cleisthenean from the name of him who built it. It was built from spoils by Cleisthenes, who helped the Amphictyons in the war at Cirrha. In the market-place under the open sky is a bronze Zeus, a work of Lysippus, and by the side of it a gilded Artemis.

[2.9.7] Hard by is a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius (Wolf-god), now fallen into ruins and not worth any attention. For wolves once so preyed upon their flocks that there was no longer any profit therefrom, and the god, mentioning a certain place where lay a dry log, gave an oracle that the bark of this log mixed with meat was to be set out for the beasts to eat. As soon as they tasted it the bark killed them, and that log lay in my time in the sanctuary of the Wolf-god, but not even the guides of the Sicyonians knew what kind of tree it was.

[2.9.8] Next after this are bronze portrait statues, said to be the daughters of Proetus, but the inscription I found referred to other women. Here there is a bronze Heracles, made by Lysippus the Sicyonian, and hard by stands Hermes of the Market-place.

[2.10.1] X. In the gymnasium not far from the market-place is dedicated a stone Heracles made by Scopas. There is also in another place a sanctuary of Heracles. The whole of the enclosure here they name Paedize; in the middle of the enclosure is the sanctuary, and in it is an old wooden figure carved by Laphaes the Phliasian. I will now describe the ritual at the festival. The story is that on coming to the Sicyonian land Phaestus found the people giving offerings to Heracles as to a hero. Phaestus then refused to do anything of the kind, but insisted on sacrificing to him as to a god. Even at the present day the Sicyonians, after slaying a lamb and burning the thighs upon the altar, eat some of the meat as part of a victim given to a god, while the rest they offer as to a hero. The first day of the festival in honor of Heracles they name . . . ; the second they call Heraclea.

[2.10.2] From here is a way to a sanctuary of Asclepius. On passing into the enclosure you see on the left a building with two rooms. In the outer room lies a figure of Sleep, of which nothing remains now except the head. The inner room is given over to the Carnean Apollo; into it none may enter except the priests. In the portico lies a huge bone of a sea-monster, and after it an image

of the Dream-god and Sleep, surnamed Epidotes (Bountiful), lulling to sleep a lion. Within the sanctuary on either side of the entrance is an image, on the one hand Pan seated, on the other Artemis standing.

[2.10.3] When you have entered you see the god, a beardless figure of gold and ivory made by Calamis. He holds a staff in one hand, and a cone of the cultivated pine in the other. The Sicyonians say that the god was carried to them from Epidaurus on a carriage drawn by two mules, that he was in the likeness of a serpent, and that he was brought by Nicagora of Sicyon, the mother of Agasicles and the wife of Echetimus. Here are small figures hanging from the roof. She who is on the serpent they say is Aristodama, the mother of Aratus, whom they hold to be a son of Asclepius.

[2.10.4] Such are the noteworthy things that this enclosure presented to me, and opposite is another enclosure, sacred to Aphrodite. The first thing inside is a statue of Antiope. They say that her sons were Sicyonians, and because of them the Sicyonians will have it that Antiope herself is related to themselves. After this is the sanctuary of Aphrodite, into which enter only a female verger, who after her appointment may not have intercourse with a man, and a virgin, called the Bath-bearer, holding her sacred office for a year. All others are wont to behold the goddess from the entrance, and to pray from that place.

[2.10.5] The image, which is seated, was made by the Sicyonian Canachus, who also fashioned the Apollo at Didyma of the Milesians, and the Ismenian Apollo for the Thebans. It is made of gold and ivory, having on its head a *polos*, and carrying in one hand a poppy and in the other an apple. They offer the thighs of the victims, excepting pigs; the other parts they burn for the goddess with juniper wood, but as the thighs are burning they add to the offering a leaf of the paideros.

[2.10.6] This is a plant in the open parts of the enclosure, and it grows nowhere else either in Sicyonia or in any other land. Its leaves are smaller than those of the esculent oak, but larger than those of the holm; the shape is similar to that of the oak-leaf. One side is of a dark color, the other is white. You might best compare the color to that of white-poplar leaves.

[2.10.7] Ascending from here to the gymnasium you see in the right a sanctuary of Artemis Pheraea. It is said that the wooden image was brought from Pherae. This gymnasium was built for the Sicyonians by Cleinias, and they still train the youths here. White marble images are here, an Artemis wrought only to the waist, and a Heracles whose lower parts are similar to the square Hermae.

[2.11.1] XI. Turning away from here towards the gate called Holy you see, not far from the gate, a temple of Athena. Dedicated long ago by Epopeus, it surpassed all its contemporaries in size and splendor. Yet the memory of even this was doomed to perish through lapse of time – it was burnt down by lightning – but the altar there, which escaped injury, remains down to the present day as Epopeus made it. Before the altar a barrow has been raised for Epopeus himself, and near the grave are the gods Averters of evil. Near them

the Greeks perform such rites as they are wont to do in order to avert misfortunes. They say that the neighboring sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo was also made by Epopeus, and that of Hera after it by Adrastus. I found no images remaining in either. Behind the sanctuary of Hera he built an altar to Pan, and one to Helius (Sun) made of white marble.

[2.11.2] On the way down to the plain is a sanctuary of Demeter, said to have been founded by Plemnaeis as a thank-offering to the goddess for the rearing of his son. A little farther away from the sanctuary of Hera founded by Adrastus is a temple of the Carnean Apollo. Only the pillars are standing in it; you will no longer find there walls or roof, nor yet in that of Hera Pioneer. This temple was founded by Phalces, son of Temenus, who asserted that Hera guided him on the road to Sicyon.

NEAR SICYON

[2.11.3] On the direct road from Sicyon to Phlius, on the left of the road and just about ten stades from it, is a grove called Pyraea, and in it a sanctuary of Hera Protectress and the Maid. Here the men celebrate a festival by themselves, giving up to the women the temple called Nymphon for the purposes of their festival. In the Nymphon are images of Dionysus, Demeter, and the Maid, with only their faces exposed. The road to Titane is sixty stades long, and too narrow to be used by carriages drawn by a yoke.

[2.11.4] At a distance along it, in my opinion, of twenty stades, to the left on the other side of the Asopus, is a grove of holm oaks and a temple of the goddesses named by the Athenians the August, and by the Sicyonians the Kindly Ones. On one day in each year they celebrate a festival to them and offer sheep big with young as a burnt offering, and they are accustomed to use a libation of honey and water, and flowers instead of garlands. They practise similar rites at the altar of the Fates; it is in an open space in the grove.

TITANE

[2.11.5] On turning back to the road, and having crossed the Asopus again and reached the summit of the hill, you come to the place where the natives say that Titan first dwelt. They add that he was the brother of Helius (Sun), and that after him the place got the name Titane. My own view is that he proved clever at observing the seasons of the year and the times when the sun increases and ripens seeds and fruits, and for this reason was held to be the brother of Helius. Afterwards Alexanor, the son of Machaon, the son of Asclepius, came to Sicyonia and built the sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane.

[2.11.6] The neighbors are chiefly servants of the god, and within the enclosure are old cypress trees. One cannot learn of what wood or metal the image is, nor do they know the name of the maker, though one or two attribute it to Alexanor himself. Of the image can be seen only the face, hands, and feet, for it has about it a tunic of white wool and a cloak. There is a similar

image of Health; this, too, one cannot see easily because it is so surrounded with the locks of women, who cut them off and offer them to the goddess, and with strips of Babylonian raiment. With whichever of these a votary here is willing to propitiate heaven, the same instructions have been given to him, to worship this image which they are pleased to call Health.

[2.11.7] There are images also of Alexanor and of Euamerion; to the former they give offerings as to a hero after the setting of the sun; to Euamerion, as being a god, they give burnt sacrifices. If I conjecture aright, the Pergamenes, in accordance with an oracle, call this Euamerion Telesphorus (Accomplisher) while the Epidaurians call him Acesis (Cure). There is also a wooden image of Coronis, but it has no fixed position anywhere in the temple. While to the god are being sacrificed a bull, a lamb, and a pig, they remove Coronis to the sanctuary of Athena and honor her there. The parts of the victims which they offer as a burnt sacrifice, and they are not content with cutting out the thighs, they burn on the ground, except the birds, which they burn on the altar.

[2.11.8] In the gable at the ends are figures of Heracles and of Victories. In the portico are dedicated images of Dionysus and Hecate, with Aphrodite, the Mother of the gods, and Fortune. These are wooden, but Asclepius, surnamed Gortynian, is of stone. They are unwilling to enter among the sacred serpents through fear, but they place their food before the entrance and take no further trouble. Within the enclosure is a bronze statue of a Sicyonian named Granianus, who won the following victories at Olympia: the pentathlon twice, the foot-race, the double-course foot-race twice, once without and once with the shield.

[2.12.1] XII. In Titane there is also a sanctuary of Athena, into which they bring up the image of Coronis. In it is an old wooden figure of Athena, and I was told that it, too, was struck by lightning. The sanctuary is built upon a hill, at the bottom of which is an Altar of the Winds, and on it the priest sacrifices to the winds one night in every year. He also performs other secret rites at four pits, taming the fierceness of the blasts, and he is said to chant as well charms of Medea.

NEAR SICYON

[2.12.2] On reaching Sicyon from Titane, as you go down to the shore you see on the left of the road a temple of Hera having now neither image nor roof. They say that its founder was Proetus, the son of Abas. When you have gone down to the harbor called the Sicyonians' and turned towards Aristonautae, the Port of Pellene, you see a little above the road on the left hand a sanctuary of Poseidon. Farther along the highway is a river called the Helisson, and after it the Sythas, both emptying themselves into the sea.

PHLIUS

[2.12.3] Phliasia borders on Sicyonia. The city is just about forty stades distant

from Titane, and there is a straight road to it from Sicyon. That the Phliasians are in no way related to the Arcadians is shown by the passage in Homer that deals with the list of the Arcadians, in which the Sicyonians are not included among the Arcadian confederates. As my narrative progresses it will become clear that they were Argive originally, and became Dorian later after the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus. I know that most of the traditions concerning the Phliasians are contradictory, but I shall make use of those which have been most generally accepted.

[2.12.4] They say that the first man in this land was Aras, who sprang from the soil. He founded a city around that hillock which even down to our day is called the Arantine Hill, not far distant from a second hill on which the Phliasians have their citadel and their sanctuary of Hebe. Here, then, he founded a city, and after him in ancient times both the land and the city were called Arantia. While he was king, Asopus, said to be the son of Celusa and Poseidon, discovered for him the water of the river which the present inhabitants call after him Asopus. The tomb of Aras is in the place called Celeae, where they say is also buried Dysaules of Eleusis.

[2.12.5] Aras had a son Aoris and a daughter Araethyrea, who, the Phliasians say, were experienced hunters and brave warriors. Araethyrea died first, and Aoris, in memory of his sister, changed the name of the land to Araethyrea. This is why Homer, in making a list of Agamemnon's subjects, has the verse:

Orneae was their home and Araethyrea the delightful. Hom. *Il.* 2.571

The graves of the children of Aras are, in my opinion, on the Arantine Hill and not in any other part of the land. On the top of them are far-seen gravestones, and before the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter the people look at these tombs and call Aras and his children to the libations.

[2.12.6] The Argives say that Phlias, who has given the land its third name, was the son of Ceisus, the son of Temenus. This account I can by no means accept, but I know that he is called a son of Dionysus, and that he is said to have been one of those who sailed on the Argo. The verses of the Rhodian poet confirm me in my opinion:—

Came after these Phlias from Araethyrea to the muster;
Here did he dwell and prosper, because Dionysus his father
Cared for him well, and his home was near to the springs of Asopus.
Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.115-117.

The account goes on to say that the mother of Phlias was Araethyrea and not Chthonophyle. The latter was his wife and bore him Androdamas.

[2.13.1] XIII. On the return of the Heracleidae disturbances took place throughout the whole of the Peloponnesus except Arcadia, so that many of the cities received additional settlers from the Dorian race, and their inhabitants suffered yet more revolutions. The history of Phlius is as follows. The Dorian Rhegnidas, the son of Phalces, the son of Temenus, attacked it from Argos and Sicyonia. Some of the Phliasians were inclined to accept the offer of

Rhegnidas, which was that they should remain on their own estates and receive Rhegnidas as their king, giving the Dorians with him a share in the land.

[2.13.2] Hippiasus and his party, on the other hand, urged the citizens to defend themselves, and not to give up many advantages to the Dorians without striking a blow. The people, however, accepted the opposite policy, and so Hippiasus and any others who wished fled to Samos. Great-grandson of this Hippiasus was Pythagoras, the celebrated sage. For Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus, the son of Euphranor, the son of Hippiasus. This is the account the Phliasians give about themselves, and the Sicyonians in general agree with them.

[2.13.3] I will now add an account of the most remarkable of their famous sights. On the Phliasian citadel is a grove of cypress trees and a sanctuary which from ancient times has been held to be peculiarly holy. The earliest Phliasians named the goddess to whom the sanctuary belongs Ganymeda; but later authorities call her Hebe, whom Homer mentions in the duel between Menelaus and Alexander, saying that she was the cup-bearer of the gods; and again he says, in the descent of Odysseus to Hell, that she was the wife of Heracles. Olen, in his hymn to Hera, says that Hera was reared by the Seasons, and that her children were Ares and Hebe. Of the honors that the Phliasians pay to this goddess the greatest is the pardoning of suppliants.

[2.13.4] All those who seek sanctuary here receive full forgiveness, and prisoners, when set free, dedicate their fetters on the trees in the grove. The Phliasians also celebrate a yearly festival which they call Ivy-cutters. There is no image, either kept in secret or openly displayed, and the reason for this is set forth in a sacred legend of theirs though on the left as you go out is a temple of Hera with an image of Parian marble.

[2.13.5] On the citadel is another enclosure, which is sacred to Demeter, and in it are a temple and statue of Demeter and her daughter. Here there is also a bronze statue of Artemis, which appeared to me to be ancient. As you go down from the citadel you see on the right a temple of Asclepius with an image of the god as a beardless youth. Below this temple is built a theater. Not far from it is a sanctuary of Demeter and old, seated images.

[2.13.6] On the market-place is a votive offering, a bronze she-goat for the most part covered with gold. The following is the reason why it has received honors among the Phliasians. The constellation which they call the Goat on its rising causes continual damage to the vines. In order that they may suffer nothing unpleasant from it, the Phliasians pay honors to the bronze goat on the market-place and adorn the image with gold. Here also is the tomb of Aristias, the son of Pratinas. This Aristias and his father Pratinas composed satyric plays more popular than any save those of Aeschylus.

[2.13.7] Behind the market-place is a building which the Phliasians name the House of Divination. Into it Amphiaraus entered, slept the night there, and then first, say the Phliasians, began to divine. According to their account

Amphiaraus was for a time an ordinary person and no diviner. Ever since that time the building has been shut up. Not far away is what is called the Omphalos (Navel), the center of all the Peloponnesus, if they speak the truth about it. Farther on from the Omphalos they have an old sanctuary of Dionysus, a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Isis. The image of Dionysus is visible to all, and so also is that of Apollo, but the image of Isis only the priests may behold.

[2.13.8] The Phliasionians tell also the following legend. When Heracles came back safe from Libya, bringing the apples of the Hesperides, as they were called, he visited Phlius on some private matter. While he was staying there Oeneus came to him from Aetolia. He had already allied himself to the family of Heracles, and after his arrival on this occasion either he entertained Heracles or Heracles entertained him. Be this as it may, displeased with the drink given him Heracles struck on the head with one of his fingers the boy Cyathus, the cup-bearer of Oeneus, who died on the spot from the blow. A chapel keeps the memory of the deed fresh among the Phliasionians; it is built by the side of the sanctuary of Apollo, and it contains statues made of stone representing Cyathus holding out a cup to Heracles.

CELEAE

[2.14.1] XIV. Celeae is some five stades distant from the city, and here they celebrate the mysteries in honor of Demeter, not every year but every fourth year. The initiating priest is not appointed for life, but at each celebration they elect a fresh one, who takes, if he cares to do so, a wife. In this respect their custom differs from that at Eleusis, but the actual celebration is modelled on the Eleusinian rites. The Phliasionians themselves admit that they copy the “performance” at Eleusis.

[2.14.2] They say that it was Dysaules, the brother of Celeus, who came to their land and established the mysteries, and that he had been expelled from Eleusis by Ion, when Ion, the son of Xuthus, was chosen by the Athenians to be commander-in-chief in the Eleusinian war. Now I cannot possibly agree with the Phliasionians in supposing that an Eleusinian was conquered in battle and driven away into exile, for the war terminated in a treaty before it was fought out, and Eumolpus himself remained at Eleusis.

[2.14.3] But it is possible that Dysaules came to Phlius for some other reason than that given by the Phliasionians. I do not believe either that he was related to Celeus, or that he was in any way distinguished at Eleusis, otherwise Homer would never have passed him by in his poems. For Homer is one of those who have written in honor of Demeter, and when he is making a list of those to whom the goddess taught the mysteries he knows nothing of an Eleusinian named Dysaules. These are the verses:—

She to Triptolemus taught, and to Diocles, driver of horses,
Also to mighty Eumolpus, to Celeus, leader of peoples,

[2.14.4] At all events, this Dysaules, according to the Phliasians, established the mysteries here, and he it was who gave to the place the name Celeae. I have already said that the tomb of Dysaules is here. So the grave of Aras was made earlier, for according to the account of the Phliasians Dysaules did not arrive in the reign of Aras, but later. For Aras, they say, was a contemporary of Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, and three generations of men older than Pelasgus the son of Arcas and those called at Athens aboriginals. On the roof of what is called the Anactorum they say is dedicated the chariot of Pelops.

CLEONAE

[2.15.1] XV. These are the things that I found most worthy of mention among the Phliasians. On the road from Corinth to Argos is a small city Cleonae. They say that Cleones was a son of Pelops, though there are some who say that Cleone was one of the daughters of Asopus, that flows by the side of Sicyon. Be this as it may, one or other of these two accounts for the name of the city. Here there is a sanctuary of Athena, and the image is a work of Scyllis and Dipoenus. Some hold them to have been the pupils of Daedalus, but others will have it that Daedalus took a wife from Gortyn, and that Dipoenus and Scyllis were his sons by this woman. Cleonae possesses this sanctuary and the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus. The story is that as they were going as ambassadors from Elis to the Isthmian contest they were here shot by Heracles, who charged them with being his adversaries in the war against Augeas.

NEMEA

[2.15.2] From Cleonae to Argos are two roads; one is direct and only for active men, the other goes along the pass called Tretus (Pierced), is narrow like the other, being surrounded by mountains, but is nevertheless more suitable for carriages. In these mountains is still shown the cave of the famous lion, and the place Nemea is distant some fifteen stades. In Nemea is a noteworthy temple of Nemean Zeus, but I found that the roof had fallen in and that there was no longer remaining any image. Around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent.

[2.15.3] The Argives offer burnt sacrifices to Zeus in Nemea also, and elect a priest of Nemean Zeus; moreover they offer a prize for a race in armour at the winter celebration of the Nemean games. In this place is the grave of Opheltes; around it is a fence of stones, and within the enclosure are altars. There is also a mound of earth which is the tomb of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes. The spring they call Adrastea for some reason or other, perhaps because Adrastus found it. The land was named, they say, after Nemea, who

was another daughter of Asopus. Above Nemea is Mount Apesas, where they say that Perseus first sacrificed to Zeus of Apesas.

MYCENAE, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2.15.4] Ascending to Tretus, and again going along the road to Argos, you see on the left the ruins of Mycenae. The Greeks are aware that the founder of Mycenae was Perseus, so I will narrate the cause of its foundation and the reason why the Argives afterwards laid Mycenae waste. The oldest tradition in the region now called Argolis is that when Inachus was king he named the river after himself and sacrificed to Hera.

[2.15.5] There is also another legend which says that Phoroneus was the first inhabitant of this land, and that Inachus, the father of Phoroneus, was not a man but the river. This river, with the rivers Cephissus and Asterion, judged concerning the land between Poseidon and Hera. They decided that the land belonged to Hera, and so Poseidon made their waters disappear. For this reason neither Inachus nor either of the other rivers I have mentioned provides any water except after rain. In summer their streams are dry except those at Lerna. Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, was the first to gather together the inhabitants, who up to that time had been scattered and living as isolated families. The place into which they were first gathered was named the City of Phoroneus.

[2.16.1] XVI. Argus, the grandson of Phoroneus, succeeding to the throne after Phoroneus, gave his name to the land. Argus begat Peirasus and Phorbas, Phorbas begat Triopas, and Triopas begat Iasus and Agenor. Io, the daughter of Iasus, went to Egypt, whether the circumstances be as Herodotus records or as the Greeks say. After Iasus, Crotopus, the son of Agenor, came to the throne and begat Sthenelas, but Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas, and stayed the succession to the kingdom of the descendants of Agenor. What followed is known to all alike: the crime the daughters of Danaus committed against their cousins, and how, on the death of Danaus, Lynceus succeeded him.

[2.16.2] But the sons of Abas, the son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom between themselves; Acrisius remained where he was at Argos, and Proetus took over the Heraeum, Midea, Tiryns, and the Argive coast region. Traces of the residence of Proetus in Tiryns remain to the present day. Afterwards Acrisius, learning that Perseus himself was not only alive but accomplishing great achievements, retired to Larisa on the Peneus. And Perseus, wishing at all costs to see the father of his mother and to greet him with fair words and deeds, visited him at Larisa. Being in the prime of life and proud of his inventing the quoit, he gave displays before all, and Acrisius, as luck would have it, stepped unnoticed into the path of the quoit.

[2.16.3] So the prediction of the god to Acrisius found its fulfillment, nor was his fate prevented by his precautions against his daughter and grandson. Perseus, ashamed because of the gossip about the homicide, on his return to

Argos induced Megapenthes, the son of Proetus, to make an exchange of kingdoms; taking over himself that of Megapenthes, he founded Mycenae. For on its site the cap (myces) fell from his scabbard, and he regarded this as a sign to found a city. I have also heard the following account. He was thirsty, and the thought occurred to him to pick up a mushroom (myces) from the ground. Drinking with joy water that flowed from it, he gave to the place the name of Mycenae.

[2.16.4] Homer in the *Odyssey* mentions a woman Mycene in the following verse:—

Tyro and Alcmene and the fair-crowned lady Mycene. Hom. *Od.*

She is said to have been the daughter of Inachus and the wife of Arestor in the poem which the Greeks call the Great Eoeae. So they say that this lady has given her name to the city. But the account which is attributed to Acusilaus, that Myceneus was the son of Sparton, and Sparton of Phoroneus, I cannot accept, because the Lacedaemonians themselves do not accept it either. For the Lacedaemonians have at Amyclae a portrait statue of a woman named Sparte, but they would be amazed at the mere mention of a Sparton, son of Phoroneus.

[2.16.5] It was jealousy which caused the Argives to destroy Mycenae. For at the time of the Persian invasion the Argives made no move, but the Mycenaeans sent eighty men to Thermopylae who shared in the achievement of the Lacedaemonians. This eagerness for distinction brought ruin upon them by exasperating the Argives. There still remain, however, parts of the city wall, including the gate, upon which stand lions. These, too, are said to be the work of the Cyclopes, who made for Proetus the wall at Tiryns.

MYCENAE

[2.16.6] In the ruins of Mycenae is a fountain called Persea; there are also underground chambers of Atreus and his children, in which were stored their treasures. There is the grave of Atreus, along with the graves of such as returned with Agamemnon from Troy, and were murdered by Aegisthus after he had given them a banquet. As for the tomb of Cassandra, it is claimed by the Lacedaemonians who dwell around Amyclae. Agamemnon has his tomb, and so has Eurymedon the charioteer, while another is shared by Teledamus and Pelops, twin sons, they say, of Cassandra,

[2.16.7] whom while yet babies Aegisthus slew after their parents. Electra has her tomb, for Orestes married her to Pylades. Hellanicus adds that the children of Pylades by Electra were Medon and Strophius. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were buried at some little distance from the wall. They were thought unworthy of a place within it, where lay Agamemnon himself and those who were murdered with him.

THE HERAEUM

[2.17.1] XVII. Fifteen stades distant from Mycenae is on the left the Heraeum. Beside the road flows the brook called Water of Freedom. The priestesses use it in purifications and for such sacrifices as are secret. The sanctuary itself is on a lower part of Euboea. Euboea is the name they give to the hill here, saying that Asterion the river had three daughters, Euboea, Prosymna, and Acraea, and that they were nurses of Hera.

[2.17.2] The hill opposite the Heraeum they name after Acraea, the environs of the sanctuary they name after Euboea, and the land beneath the Heraeum after Prosymna. This Asterion flows above the Heraeum, and falling into a cleft disappears. On its banks grows a plant, which also is called asterion. They offer the plant itself to Hera, and from its leaves weave her garlands.

[2.17.3] It is said that the architect of the temple was Eupolemus, an Argive. The sculptures carved above the pillars refer either to the birth of Zeus and the battle between the gods and the giants, or to the Trojan war and the capture of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have been priestesses to Hera and of various heroes, including Orestes. They say that Orestes is the one with the inscription, that it represents the Emperor Augustus. In the fore-temple are on the one side ancient statues of the Graces, and on the right a couch of Hera and a votive offering, the shield which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus at Troy.

[2.17.4] The statue of Hera is seated on a throne; it is huge, made of gold and ivory, and is a work of Polycleitus. She is wearing a crown with Graces and Seasons worked upon it, and in one hand she carries a pomegranate and in the other a sceptre. About the pomegranate I must say nothing, for its story is somewhat of a holy mystery. The presence of a cuckoo seated on the sceptre they explain by the story that when Zeus was in love with Hera in her maidenhood he changed himself into this bird, and she caught it to be her pet. This tale and similar legends about the gods I relate without believing them, but I relate them nevertheless.

[2.17.5] By the side of Hera stands what is said to be an image of Hebe fashioned by Naucydes; it, too, is of ivory and gold. By its side is an old image of Hera on a pillar. The oldest image is made of wild-pear wood, and was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirasus, son of Argus, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns they carried it away to the Heraeum. I myself saw it, a small, seated image.

[2.17.6] Of the votive offerings the following are noteworthy. There is an altar upon which is wrought in relief the fabled marriage of Hebe and Heracles. This is of silver, but the peacock dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian is of gold and gleaming stones. He dedicated it because they hold the bird to be sacred to Hera. There lie here a golden crown and a purple robe, offerings of Nero.

[2.17.7] Above this temple are the foundations of the earlier temple and such parts of it as were spared by the flames. It was burnt down because sleep overpowered Chryseis, the priestess of Hera, when the lamp before the wreaths set fire to them. Chryseis went to Tegea and supplicated Athena Alea.

Although so great a disaster had befallen them the Argives did not take down the statue of Chryseis; it is still in position in front of the burnt temple.

ROAD TO ARGOS

[2.18.1] XVIII. By the side of the road from Mycenae to Argos there is on the left hand a hero-shrine of Perseus. The neighboring folk, then, pay him honors here, but the greatest honors are paid to him in Seriphus and among the Athenians, who have a precinct sacred to Perseus and an altar of Dictys and Clymene, who are called the saviours of Perseus. Advancing a little way in the Argive territory from this hero-shrine one sees on the right the grave of Thyestes. On it is a stone ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb after debauching his brother's wife. But Atreus was not restrained by prudence from retaliating, but contrived the slaughter of the children of Thyestes and the banquet of which the poets tell us.

[2.18.2] But as to what followed, I cannot say for certain whether Aegisthus began the sin or whether Agamemnon sinned first in murdering Tantalus, the son of Thyestes. It is said that Tantalus had received Clytaemnestra in marriage from Tyndareus when she was still a virgin. I myself do not wish to condemn them of having been wicked by nature; but if the pollution of Pelops and the avenging spirit of Myrtilus dogged their steps so long, it was after all only consistent that the Pythian priestess said to the Spartan Glaucus, the son of Epicydes, who consulted her about breaking his oath, that the punishment for this also comes upon the descendants of the sinner.

[2.18.3] A little beyond the Rams – this is the name they give to the tomb of Thyestes – there is on the left a place called Mysia and a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, so named from a man Mysius who, say the Argives, was one of those who entertained Demeter. Now this sanctuary has no roof, but in it is another temple, built of burnt brick, and wooden images of the Maid, Pluto and Demeter. Farther on is a river called Inachus, and on the other side of it an altar of Helius (the Sun). After this you will come to a gate named after the sanctuary near it. This sanctuary belongs to Eileithyia.

ARGOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2.18.4] The Argives are the only Greeks that I know of who have been divided into three kingdoms. For in the reign of Anaxagoras, son of Argeus, son of Megapenthes, the women were smitten with madness, and straying from their homes they roamed about the country, until Melampus the son of Amythaon cured them of the plague on condition that he himself and his brother Bias had a share of the kingdom equal to that of Anaxagoras. Now descended from Bias five men, Neleids on their mother's side, occupied the throne for four generations down to Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, and descended from Melampus six men in six generations down to Amphilocheus, son of Amphiarus.

[2.18.5] But the native house of the family of Anaxagoras ruled longer than the other two. For Iphis, son of Alector, son of Anaxagoras, left the throne to Sthenelus, son of Capaneus his brother. After the capture of Troy, Amphilochous migrated to the people now called the Amphilochians, and, Cyanippus having died without issue, Cylarabes, son of Sthenelus, became sole king. However, he too left no offspring, and Argos was seized by Orestes, son of Agamemnon, who was a neighbor. Besides his ancestral dominion, he had extended his rule over the greater part of Arcadia and had succeeded to the throne of Sparta; he also had a contingent of Phocian allies always ready to help him.

[2.18.6] When Orestes became king of the Lacedaemonians, they themselves consented to accept him for they considered that the sons of the daughter of Tyndareus had a claim to the throne prior to that of Nicostratus and Megapenthes, who were sons of Menelaus by a slave woman. On the death of Orestes, there succeeded to the throne Tisamenus, the son of Orestes and of Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus. The mother of Penthilus, the bastard son of Orestes, was, according to the poet Cinaethon, Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus.

[2.18.7] It was in the reign of this Tisamenus that the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus; they were Temenus and Cresphontes, the sons of Aristomachus, together with the sons of the third brother, Aristodemus, who had died. Their claim to Argos and to the throne of Argos was, in my opinion, most just, because Tisamenus was descended from Pelops, but the Heracleidae were descendants of Perseus. Tyndareus himself, they made out, had been expelled by Hippocoon, and they said that Heracles, having killed Hippocoon and his sons, had given the land in trust to Tyndareus. They gave the same kind of account about Messenia also, that it had been given in trust to Nestor by Heracles after he had taken Pylus.

[2.18.8] So they expelled Tisamenus from Lacedaemon and Argos, and the descendants of Nestor from Messenia, namely Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, son of Thrasymedes, Peisistratus, son of Peisistratus, and the sons of Paeon, son of Antilochus, and with them Melanthus, son of Andropompus, son of Borus, son of Penthilus, son of Periclymenus. So Tisamenus and his sons went with his army to the land that is now Achaia.

[2.18.9] To what people Peisistratus retreated I do not know, but the rest of the Neleidae went to Athens, and the clans of the Paeonidae and of the Alcmaeonidae were named after them. Melanthus even came to the throne, having deposed Thymoetes the son of Oxyntes; for Thymoetes was the last Athenian king descended from Theseus.

[2.19.1] XIX. It is not to my purpose that I should set forth here the history of Cresphontes and of the sons of Aristodemus. But Temenus openly employed, instead of his sons, Delphontes, son of Antimachus, son of Thrasyanor, son of Ctesippus, son of Heracles, as general in war and as adviser on all occasions. Even before this he had made him his son-in-law, while Hymetho was his

favorite daughter; he was accordingly suspected of intending to divert the throne to her and Delphontes. For this reason his sons plotted against him, and Ceisus, the eldest of them, seized the kingdom.

[2.19.2] But from the earliest times the Argives have loved freedom and self-government, and they limited to the utmost the authority of their kings, so that to Medon, the son of Ceisus, and to his descendants was left a kingdom that was such only in name. Meltas, the son of Lacedas, the tenth descendant of Medon, was condemned by the people and deposed altogether from the kingship.

ARGOS

[2.19.3] The most famous building in the city of Argos is the sanctuary of Apollo Lycius (Wolf-god). The modern image was made by the Athenian Attalus, but the original temple and wooden image were the offering of Danaus. I am of opinion that in those days all images, especially Egyptian images, were made of wood. The reason why Danaus founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius was this. On coming to Argos he claimed the kingdom against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas. Many plausible arguments were brought forward by both parties, and those of Sthenelas were considered as fair as those of his opponent; so the people, who were sitting in judgment, put off, they say, the decision to the following day.

[2.19.4] At dawn a wolf fell upon a herd of oxen that was pasturing before the wall, and attacked and fought with the bull that was the leader of the herd. It occurred to the Argives that Gelanor was like the bull and Danaus like the wolf, for as the wolf will not live with men, so Danaus up to that time had not lived with them. It was because the wolf overcame the bull that Danaus won the kingdom. Accordingly, believing that Apollo had brought the wolf on the herd, he founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius.

[2.19.5] Here is dedicated the throne of Danaus, and here is placed a statue of Biton, in the form of a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. According to the poet Lyceas, when the Argives were holding a sacrifice to Zeus at Nemea, Biton by sheer physical strength took up a bull and carried it there. Next to this statue is a fire which they keep burning, calling it the fire of Phoroneus. For they do not admit that fire was given to mankind by Prometheus, but insist in assigning the discovery of fire to Phoroneus.

[2.19.6] As to the wooden images of Aphrodite and Hermes, the one they say was made by Epeus, while the other is a votive offering of Hypermnestra. She was the only one of the daughters of Danaus who neglected his command, and was accordingly brought to justice by him, because he considered that his life was in danger so long as Lynceus was at large, and that the refusal to share in the crime of her sisters increased the disgrace of the contriver of the deed. On her trial she was acquitted by the Argives, and to commemorate her escape she dedicated an image of Aphrodite, the Bringer of Victory.

[2.19.7] Within the temple is a statue of Ladas, the swiftest runner of his time,

and one of Hermes with a tortoise which he has caught to make a lyre. Before the temple is a pit with a relief representing a fight between a bull and a wolf, and with them a maiden throwing a rock at the bull. The maiden is thought to be Artemis. Danaus dedicated these, and some pillars hard by and wooden images of Zeus and Artemis.

[2.19.8] Here are graves; one is that of Linus, the son of Apollo by Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus; the other, they say, is that of Linus the poet. The story of the latter Linus is more appropriate to another part of my narrative, and so I omit it here, while I have already given the history of the son of Psamathe in my account of Megara. After these is an image of Apollo, God of Streets, and an altar of Zeus, God of Rain, where those who were helping Polyneices in his efforts to be restored to Thebes swore an oath together that they would either capture Thebes or die. As to the tomb of Prometheus, their account seems to me to be less probable than that of the Opuntians, but they hold to it nevertheless.

[2.20.1] XX. Passing over a statue of Creugas, a boxer, and a trophy that was set up to celebrate a victory over the Corinthians, you come to a seated image of Zeus Meilichius (Gracious), made of white marble by Polycleitus. I discovered that it was made for the following reason. Ever since the Lacedaemonians began to make war upon the Argives there was no cessation of hostilities until Philip, the son of Amyntas, forced them to stay within the original boundaries of their territories. Before this, if the Lacedaemonians were not engaged on some business outside the Peloponnesus, they were always trying to annex a piece of Argive territory; or if they were busied with a war beyond their borders it was the turn of the Argives to retaliate.

[2.20.2] When the hatred of both sides was at its height, the Argives resolved to maintain a thousand picked men. The commander appointed over them was the Argive Bryas. His general behavior to the men of the people was violent, and a maiden who was being taken to the bridegroom he seized from those who were escorting her and ravished. When night came on, the girl waited until he was asleep and put out his eyes. Detected in the morning, she took refuge as a suppliant with the people. When they did not give her up to the Thousand for punishment both sides took up arms; the people won the day, and in their anger left none of their opponents alive. Subsequently they had recourse to purifications for shedding kindred blood; among other things they dedicated an image of Zeus Meilichius.

[2.20.3] Hard by are Cleobis and Biton carved in relief on stone, themselves drawing the carriage and taking in it their mother to the sanctuary of Hera. Opposite them is a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus, and an upright bronze statue of the god made by Lysippus. Going forward from this you see on the right the grave of Phoroneus, to whom even in our time they bring offerings as to a hero. Over against the Nemean Zeus is a temple of Fortune, which must be very old if it be the one in which Palamedes dedicated the dice that he had invented.

[2.20.4] The tomb near this they call that of the maenad Chorea, saying that she was one of the women who joined Dionysus in his expedition against Argos, and that Perseus, being victorious in the battle, put most of the women to the sword. To the rest they gave a common grave, but to Chorea they gave burial apart because of her high rank.

[2.20.5] A little farther on is a sanctuary of the Seasons. On coming back from here you see statues of Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, and of all the chieftains who with him were killed in battle at the wall of Thebes. These men Aeschylus has reduced to the number of seven only, although there were more chiefs than this in the expedition, from Argos, from Messene, with some even from Arcadia. But the Argives have adopted the number seven from the drama of Aeschylus, and near to their statues are the statues of those who took Thebes: Aegialeus, son of Adrastus; Promachus, son of Parthenopaeus, son of Talaus; Polydorus, son of Hippomedon; Thersander; Alcmaeon and Amphilocheus, the sons of Amphiarus; Diomedes, and Sthenelus. Among their company were also Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, and Adrastus and Timeas, sons of Polyneices.

[2.20.6] Not far from the statues are shown the tomb of Danaus and a cenotaph of the Argives who met their death at Troy or on the journey home. Here there is also a sanctuary of Zeus the Saviour. Beyond it is a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis. On the right of the entrance is the sanctuary of Cephissus. It is said that the water of this river was not utterly destroyed by Poseidon, but that just in this place, where the sanctuary is, it can be heard flowing under the earth.

[2.20.7] Beside the sanctuary of Cephissus is a head of Medusa made of stone, which is said to be another of the works of the Cyclopes. The ground behind it is called even at the present time the Place of Judgment, because it was here that they say Hypermnestra was brought to judgment by Danaus. Not far from this is a theater. In it are some noteworthy sights, including a representation of a man killing another, namely the Argive Perilaus, the son of Alcenor, killing the Spartan Othryadas. Before this, Perilaus had succeeded in winning the prize for wrestling at the Nemean games.

[2.20.8] Above the theater is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and before the image is a slab with a representation wrought on it in relief of Telesilla, the lyric poetess. Her books lie scattered at her feet, and she herself holds in her hand an helmet, which she is looking at and is about to place on her head. Telesilla was a distinguished woman who was especially renowned for her poetry. It happened that the Argives had suffered an awful defeat at the hands of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, and the Lacedaemonians. Some fell in the actual fighting; others, who had fled to the grove of Argus, also perished. At first they left sanctuary under an agreement, which was treacherously broken, and the survivors, when they realized this, were burnt to death in the grove. So when Cleomenes led his troops to Argos there were no men to defend it.

[2.20.9] But Telesilla mounted on the wall all the slaves and such as were incapable of bearing arms through youth or old age, and she herself, collecting the arms in the sanctuaries and those that were left in the houses, armed the women of vigorous age, and then posted them where she knew the enemy would attack. When the Lacedaemonians came on, the women were not dismayed at their battle-cry, but stood their ground and fought valiantly. Then the Lacedaemonians, realizing that to destroy the women would be an invidious success while defeat would mean a shameful disaster, gave way before the women.

[2.20.10] This fight had been foretold by the Pythian priestess in the oracle quoted by Herodotus, who perhaps understood to what it referred and perhaps did not:—

But when the time shall come that the female conquers in battle,
Driving away the male, and wins great glory in Argos,
Many an Argive woman will tear both cheeks in her sorrow. Hdt. 6.77

Such are the words of the oracle referring to the exploit of the women.

[2.21.1] XXI. Having descended thence, and having turned again to the marketplace, we come to the tomb of Cerdo, the wife of Phoroneus, and to a temple of Asclepius. The sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Persuasion, is another offering of Hypermnestra after winning the trial to which she was brought by her father because of Lynceus. Here there is also a bronze statue of Aeneas, and a place called Delta. I intentionally do not discuss the origin of the name, because I could not accept the traditional accounts.

[2.21.2] In front of it stands an altar of Zeus Phyxius (God of Fight), and near is the tomb of Hypermnestra, the mother of Amphiaraus, the other tomb being that of Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, with whom is also buried Lynceus. Opposite these is the grave of Talaus, the son of Bias; the history of Bias and his descendants I have already given.

[2.21.3] A sanctuary of Athena Trumpet they say was founded by Hegeleos. This Hegeleos, according to the story, was the son of Tyrsenus, and Tyrsenus was the son of Heracles and the Lydian woman; Tyrsenus invented the trumpet, and Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenus, taught the Dorians with Temenus how to play the instrument, and for this reason gave Athena the surname Trumpet. Before the temple of Athena is, they say, the grave of Epimenides. The Argive story is that the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Cnossians and took Epimenides alive; they then put him to death for not prophesying good luck to them, and the Argives taking his body buried it here.

[2.21.4] The building of white marble in just about the middle of the marketplace is not, as the Argives declare, a trophy in honor of a victory over Pyrrhus of Epeirus, but it can be shown that his body was burnt here, and that this is his monument, on which are carved in relief the elephants and his other instruments of warfare. This building then was set up where the pyre stood, but the bones of Pyrrhus lie in the sanctuary of Demeter, beside which, as I

have shown in my account of Attica, his death occurred. At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter you can see a bronze shield of Pyrrhus hanging dedicated over the door.

[2.21.5] Not far from the building in the market-place of Argos is a mound of earth, in which they say lies the head of the Gorgon Medusa. I omit the miraculous, but give the rational parts of the story about her. After the death of her father, Phorcus, she reigned over those living around Lake Tritonis, going out hunting and leading the Libyans to battle. On one such occasion, when she was encamped with an army over against the forces of Perseus, who was followed by picked troops from the Peloponnesus, she was assassinated by night. Perseus, admiring her beauty even in death, cut off her head and carried it to show the Greeks.

[2.21.6] But Procles, the son of Eucrates, a Carthaginian, thought a different account more plausible than the preceding. It is as follows. Among the incredible monsters to be found in the Libyan desert are wild men and wild women. Procles affirmed that he had seen a man from them who had been brought to Rome. So he guessed that a woman wandered from them, reached Lake Tritonis, and harried the neighbours until Perseus killed her; Athena was supposed to have helped him in this exploit, because the people who live around Lake Tritonis are sacred to her.

[2.21.7] In Argos, by the side of this monument of the Gorgon, is the grave of Gorgophone (Gorgon-killer), the daughter of Perseus. As soon as you hear the name you can understand the reason why it was given her. On the death of her husband, Perieres, the son of Aeolus, whom she married when a virgin, she married Oebalus, being the first woman, they say, to marry a second time; for before this wives were wont, on the death of their husbands, to live as widows.

[2.21.8] In front of the grave is a trophy of stone made to commemorate a victory over an Argive Laphaes. When this man was tyrant I write what the Argives themselves say concerning themselves – the people rose up against him and cast him out. He fled to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians tried to restore him to power, but were defeated by the Argives, who killed the greater part of them and Laphaes as well. Not far from the trophy is the sanctuary of Leto; the image is a work of Praxiteles.

[2.21.9] The statue of the maiden beside the goddess they call Chloris (Pale), saying that she was a daughter of Niobe, and that she was called Meliboea at the first. When the children of Amphion were destroyed by Apollo and Arternis, she alone of her sisters, along with Amyclas, escaped; their escape was due to their prayers to Leto. Meliboea was struck so pale by her fright, not only at the time but also for the rest of her life, that even her name was accordingly changed from Meliboea to Chloris.

[2.21.10] Now the Argives say that these two built originally the temple to Leto, but I think that none of Niobe's children survived, for I place more reliance than others on the poetry of Homer, one of whose verses bears out my

view:–

Though they were only two, yet they gave all to destruction. Hom. *Il.* 24.609

So Homer knows that the house of Amphion was utterly overthrown.

[2.22.1] XXII. The temple of Hera Anthea (Flowery) is on the right of the sanctuary of Leto, and before it is a grave of women. They were killed in a battle against the Argives under Perseus, having come from the Aegean Islands to help Dionysus in war; for which reason they are surnamed Haliae (Women of the Sea). Facing the tomb of the women is a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Pelasgian from Pelasgus, son of Triopas, its founder, and not far from the sanctuary is the grave of Pelasgus.

[2.22.2] Opposite the grave is a small bronze vessel supporting ancient images of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena. Now Lyceas in his poem says that the image is of Zeus Mechaneus (Contriver), and that here the Argives who set out against Troy swore to hold out in the war until they either took Troy or met their end fighting. Others have said that in the bronze vessel lie the bones of Tantalus.

[2.22.3] Now that the Tantalus is buried here who was the son of Thyestes or Broteas (both accounts are given) and married Clytaemnestra before Agamemnon did, I will not gainsay; but the grave of him who legend says was son of Zeus and Pluto – it is worth seeing – is on Mount Sipylus. I know because I saw it. Moreover, no constraint came upon him to flee from Sipylus, such as afterwards forced Pelops to run away when Ilus the Phrygian launched an army against him. But I must pursue the inquiry no further. The ritual performed at the pit hard by they say was instituted by Nicostratus, a native. Even at the present day they throw into the pit burning torches in honor of the Maid who is daughter of Demeter.

[2.22.4] Here is a sanctuary of Poseidon, surnamed Prosclystius (Flooder), for they say that Poseidon inundated the greater part of the country because Inachus and his assessors decided that the land belonged to Hera and not to him. Now it was Hera who induced Poseidon to send the sea back, but the Argives made a sanctuary to Poseidon Prosclystius at the spot where the tide ebbed.

[2.22.5] Going on a little further you see the grave of Argus, reputed to be the son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus. After these comes a temple of the Dioscuri. The images represent the Dioscuri themselves and their sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous, and with them are their mothers, Hilaeira and Phoebe. They are of ebony wood, and were made by Dipoenus and Scyllis. The horses, too, are mostly of ebony, but there is a little ivory also in their construction.

[2.22.6] Near the Lords is a sanctuary of Eilethyia, dedicated by Helen when, Theseus having gone away with Peirithous to Thesprotia, Aphidna had been captured by the Dioscuri and Helen was being brought to Lacedaemon. For it is said that she was with child, was delivered in Argos, and founded there the sanctuary of Eilethyia, giving the daughter she bore to Clytaemnestra, who was already wedded to Agamemnon, while she herself subsequently married

Menelaus.

[2.22.7] And on this matter the poets Euphion of Chalcis and Alexander of Pleuron, and even before them, Stesichorus of Himera, agree with the Argives in asserting that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus. Over against the sanctuary of Eilethyia is a temple of Hecate, and the image is a work of Scopas. This one is of stone, while the bronze images opposite, also of Hecate, were made respectively by Polycleitus and his brother Naucydes, son of Mothon.

[2.22.8] As you go along a straight road to a gymnasium, called Cylarabis after the son of Sthenelus, you come to the grave of Licymnius, the son of Electryon, who, Homer says, was killed by Tleptolemus, the son of Heracles for which homicide Tleptolemus was banished from Argos. On turning a little aside from the road to Cylarabis and to the gate there, you come to the tomb of Sacadas, who was the first to play at Delphi the Pythian flute-tune;

[2.22.9] the hostility of Apollo to flute-players, which had lasted ever since the rivalry of Marsyas the Silenus, is supposed to have stayed because of this Sacadas. In the gymnasium of Cylarabes is an Athena called Pania; they show also the graves of Sthenelus and of Cylarabes himself. Not far from the gymnasium has been built a common grave of those Argives who sailed with the Athenians to enslave Syracuse and Sicily.

[2.23.1] XXIII. As you go from here along a road called Hollow there is on the right a temple of Dionysus; the image, they say, is from Euboea. For when the Greeks, as they were returning from Troy, met with the shipwreck at Caphereus, those of the Argives who were able to escape to land suffered from cold and hunger. Having prayed that someone of the gods should prove himself a saviour in their present distress, straightway as they advanced they came upon a cave of Dionysus; in the cave was an image of the god, and on this occasion wild she-goats had gathered there to escape from the storm. These the Argives killed, using the flesh as food and the skins as raiment. When the storm was over and the Argives, having refitted their ships, were returning home, they took with them the wooden image from the cave, and continue to honor it to the present day.

[2.23.2] Very near to the temple of Dionysus you will see the house of Adrastus, farther on a sanctuary of Amphiaraus, and opposite the sanctuary the tomb of Eriphyle. Next to these is a precinct of Asclepius, and after them a sanctuary of Baton. Now Baton belonged to the same family as Amphiaraus, to the Melampodidae, and served as his charioteer when he went forth to battle. When the rout took place at the wall of Thebes, the earth opened and received Amphiaraus and his chariot, swallowing up this Baton at the same time.

[2.23.3] Returning from Hollow Street, you see what they say is the grave of Hymetho. If they allow that it is merely a cenotaph erected to the memory of the lady, their account is likely enough but if they believe that the corpse lies here I cannot credit it, and leave anyone to do so who has not learnt the

history of Epidaurus.

[2.23.4] The most famous sanctuary of Asclepius at Argos contains at the present day a white-marble image of the god seated, and by his side stands Health. There are also seated figures of Xenophilus and Straton, who made the images. The original founder of the sanctuary was Sphyrus, son of Machaon and brother of the Alexanor who is honored among the Sicyonians in Titane.

[2.23.5] The Argives, like the Athenians and Sicyorians, worship Artemis Pheraea, and they, too, assert that the image of the goddess was brought from Pherae in Thessaly. But I cannot agree with them when they say that in Argos are the tombs of Deianeira, the daughter of Oeneus, and of Helenus, son of Priam, and that there is among them the image of Athena that was brought from Troy, thus causing the capture of that city. For the Palladium, as it is called, was manifestly brought to Italy by Aeneas. As to Deianeira, we know that her death took place near Trachis and not in Argos, and her grave is near Heraclea, at the foot of Mount Oeta.

[2.23.6] The story of Helenus, son of Priam, I have already given: that he went to Epeirus with Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles; that, wedded to Andromache, he was guardian to the children of Pyrrhus and that the district called Cestrine received its name from Cestrinus, son of Helenus. Now even the guides of the Argives themselves are aware that their account is not entirely correct. Nevertheless they hold to their opinion, for it is not easy to make the multitude change their views. The Argives have other things worth seeing;

[2.23.7] for instance, an underground building over which was the bronze chamber which Acrisius once made to guard his daughter. Perilaus, however, when he became tyrant, pulled it down. Besides this building there is the tomb of Crotopus and a temple of Cretan Dionysus. For they say that the god, having made war on Perseus, afterwards laid aside his enmity, and received great honors at the hands of the Argives, including this precinct set specially apart for himself.

[2.23.8] It was afterwards called the precinct of the Cretan god, because, when Ariadne died, Dionysus buried her here. But Lyceas says that when the temple was being rebuilt an earthenware coffin was found, and that it was Ariadne's. He also said that both he himself and other Argives had seen it. Near the temple of Dionysus is a temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.

ACROPOLIS OF ARGOS

[2.24.1] XXIV. The citadel they call Larisa, after the daughter of Pelasgus. After her were also named two of the cities in Thessaly, the one by the sea and the one on the Peneus. As you go up the citadel you come to the sanctuary of Hera of the Height, and also a temple of Apollo, which is said to have been first built by Pythaeus when he came from Delphi. The present image is a bronze standing figure called Apollo Deiradiotes, because this place, too, is called

Deiras (Ridge). Oracular responses are still given here, and the oracle acts in the following way. There is a woman who prophesies, being debarred from intercourse with a man. Every month a lamb is sacrificed at night, and the woman, after tasting the blood, becomes inspired by the god.

[2.24.2] Adjoining the temple of Apollo Deiradiotes is a sanctuary of Athena Oxyderces (Sharp-sighted), dedicated by Diomedes, because once when he was fighting at Troy the goddess removed the mist from his eyes. Adjoining it is the race-course, in which they hold the games in honor of Nemean Zeus and the festival of Hera. As you go to the citadel there is on the left of the road another tomb of the children of Aegyptus. For here are the heads apart from the bodies, which are at Lerna. For it was at Lerna that the youths were murdered, and when they were dead their wives cut off their heads, to prove to their father that they had done the dreadful deed.

[2.24.3] On the top of Larisa is a temple of Zeus, surnamed Larisaeon, which has no roof; the wooden image I found no longer standing upon its pedestal. There is also a temple of Athena worth seeing. Here are placed votive offerings, including a wooden image of Zeus, which has two eyes in the natural place and a third on its forehead. This Zeus, they say, was a paternal god of Priam, the son of Laomedon, set up in the uncovered part of his court, and when Troy was taken by the Greeks Priam took sanctuary at the altar of this god. When the spoils were divided, Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, received the image, and for this reason it has been dedicated here.

[2.24.4] The reason for its three eyes one might infer to be this. That Zeus is king in heaven is a saying common to all men. As for him who is said to rule under the earth, there is a verse of Homer which calls him, too, Zeus:—

Zeus of the Underworld, and the august Persephonea. Hom. *Il.* 9.457

The god in the sea, also, is called Zeus by Aeschylus, the son of Euphorion. So whoever made the image made it with three eyes, as signifying that this same god rules in all the three “allotments” of the Universe, as they are called.

MT LYCONE & MT CHAON

[2.24.5] From Argos are roads to various parts of the Peloponnesus, including one to Tegea on the side towards Arcadia. On the right is Mount Lycone, which has trees on it, chiefly cypresses. On the top of the mountain is built a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (of the Steep), and there have been made white-marble images of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, which they say are works of Polycleitus. On descending again from the mountain you see on the left of the highway a temple of Artemis.

[2.24.6] A little farther on there is on the right of the road a mountain called Chaon. At its foot grow cultivated trees, and here the water of the Erasinus rises to the surface. Up to this point it flows from Stymphalus in Arcadia, just as the Rheiti, near the sea at Eleusis, flow from the Euripus. At the places where the Erasinus gushes forth from the mountain they sacrifice to Dionysus

and to Pan, and to Dionysus they also hold a festival called Tyrbe (Throng).

CENCHREAE & HYSIAE

[2.24.7] On returning to the road that leads to Tegea you see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. Why the place received this name they do not say. Perhaps in this case also it was Cenchrias, son of Peirene, that caused it to be so called. Here are common graves of the Argives who conquered the Lacedaemonians in battle at Hysiae. This fight took place, I discovered, when Peisistratus was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, in which the Athenian, Eurybotus, won the foot-race. On coming down to a lower level you reach the ruins of Hysiae, which once was a city in Argolis, and here it is that they say the Lacedaemonians suffered their reverse.

OENOE & MT ARTEMISIUS

[2.25.1] XXV. The road from Argos to Mantinea is not the same as that to Tegea, but begins from the gate at the Ridge. On this road is a sanctuary built with two rooms, having an entrance on the west side and another on the east. At the latter is a wooden image of Aphrodite, and at the west entrance one of Ares. They say that the images are votive offerings of Polyneices and of the Argives who joined him in the campaign to redress his wrongs.

[2.25.2] Farther on from here, across the torrent called Charadrus (Gully), is Oenoe, named, the Argives say, after Oeneus. The story is that Oeneus, who was king in Aetolia, on being driven from his throne by the sons of Agrius, took refuge with Diomedes at Argos, who aided him by an expedition into Calydonia, but said that he could not remain with him, and urged Oeneus to accompany him, if he wished, to Argos. When he came, he gave him all the attention that it was right to give a father's father, and on his death buried him here. After him the Argives name the place Oenoe.

[2.25.3] Above Oenoe is Mount Artemisius, with a sanctuary of Artemis on the top. On this mountain are also the springs of the river Inachus. For it really has springs, though the water does not run far.

LYRCEA & ORNEAE

[2.25.4] Here I found nothing else that is worth seeing. There is another road, that leads to Lyrcea from the gate at the Ridge. The story is that to this place came Lynceus, being the only one of the fifty brothers to escape death, and that on his escape he raised a beacon here. Now to raise the beacon was the signal he had agreed with Hypermnestra to give if he should escape Danaus and reach a place of safety. She also, they say, lighted a beacon on Larisa as a sign that she too was now out of danger. For this reason the Argives hold every year a beacon festival.

[2.25.5] At the first the place was called Lyncea; its present name is derived

from Lyrceus, a bastard son of Abas, who afterwards dwelt there. Among the ruins are several things not worth mentioning, besides a figure of Lyrceus upon a slab. The distance from Argos to Lyrcea is about sixty stades, and the distance from Lyrcea to Orneae is the same. Homer in the Catalogue makes no mention of the city Lyrcea, because at the time of the Greek expedition against Troy it already lay deserted; Orneae, however, was inhabited, and in his poem he places it on the list before Phlius and Sicyon, which order corresponds to the position of the towns in the Argive territory.

[2.25.6] The name is derived from Orneus, the son of Erechtheus. This Orneus begat Peteos, and Peteos begat Menestheus, who, with a body of Athenians, helped Agamemnon to destroy the kingdom of Priam. From him then did Orneae get its name, and afterwards the Argives removed all its citizens, who thereupon came to live at Argos. At Orneae are a sanctuary and an upright wooden image of Artemis; there is besides a temple devoted to all the gods in common. On the further side of Orneae are Sicyonia and Phliasia.

TIRYNS & MIDEA

[2.25.7] On the way from Argos to Epidauria there is on the right a building made very like a pyramid, and on it in relief are wrought shields of the Argive shape. Here took place a fight for the throne between Proetus and Acrisius; the contest, they say, ended in a draw, and a reconciliation resulted afterwards, as neither could gain a decisive victory. The story is that they and their hosts were armed with shields, which were first used in this battle. For those that fell on either side was built here a common tomb, as they were fellow citizens and kinsmen.

[2.25.8] Going on from here and turning to the right, you come to the ruins of Tiryns. The Tirynthians also were removed by the Argives, who wished to make Argos more powerful by adding to the population. The hero Tiryns, from whom the city derived its name, is said to have been a son of Argus, a son of Zeus. The wall, which is the only part of the ruins still remaining, is a work of the Cyclopes made of unwrought stones, each stone being so big that a pair of mules could not move the smallest from its place to the slightest degree. Long ago small stones were so inserted that each of them binds the large blocks firmly together.

[2.25.9] Going down seawards, you come to the chambers of the daughters of Proetus. On returning to the highway you will reach Medea on the left hand. They say that Electryon, the father of Alcmena, was king of Medea, but in my time nothing was left of it except the foundations.

LESSA & MT ARACHNAEUS

[2.25.10] On the straight road to Epidaurus is a village Lessa, in which is a temple of Athena with a wooden image exactly like the one on the citadel Larisa. Above Lessa is Mount Arachnaeus, which long ago, in the time of

Inachus, was named Sapsylaton. On it are altars to Zeus and Hera. When rain is needed they sacrifice to them here.

EPIDAUROS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2.26.1] XXVI. At Lessa the Argive territory joins that of Epidaurus. But before you reach Epidaurus itself you will come to the sanctuary of Asclepius. Who dwelt in this land before Epidaurus came to it I do not know, nor could I discover from the natives the descendants of Epidaurus either. But the last king before the Dorians arrived in the Peloponnesus was, they say, Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, son of Xuthus, and they relate that he handed over the land to Deiphontes and the Argives without a struggle.

[2.26.2] He went to Athens with his people and dwelt there, while Deiphontes and the Argives took possession of Epidauria. These on the death of Temenus seceded from the other Argives; Deiphontes and Hymetho through hatred of the sons of Temenus, and the army with them, because it respected Deiphontes and Hymetho more than Ceisus and his brothers. Epidaurus, who gave the land its name, was, the Eleans say, a son of Pelops but, according to Argive opinion and the poem the *Great Eoëae*, the father of Epidaurus was Argus, son of Zeus, while the Epidaurians maintain that Epidaurus was the child of Apollo.

[2.26.3] That the land is especially sacred to Asclepius is due to the following reason. The Epidaurians say that Phlegyas came to the Peloponnesus, ostensibly to see the land, but really to spy out the number of the inhabitants, and whether the greater part of them was warlike. For Phlegyas was the greatest soldier of his time, and making forays in all directions he carried off the crops and lifted the cattle.

[2.26.4] When he went to the Peloponnesus, he was accompanied by his daughter, who all along had kept hidden from her father that she was with child by Apollo. In the country of the Epidaurians she bore a son, and exposed him on the mountain called Nipple at the present day, but then named Myrtium. As the child lay exposed he was given milk by one of the goats that pastured about the mountain, and was guarded by the watch-dog of the herd. And when Aresthanas (for this was the herdsman's name)

[2.26.5] discovered that the tale of the goats was not full, and that the watch-dog also was absent from the herd, he left, they say, no stone unturned, and on finding the child desired to take him up. As he drew near he saw lightning that flashed from the child, and, thinking that it was something divine, as in fact it was, he turned away. Presently it was reported over every land and sea that Asclepius was discovering everything he wished to heal the sick, and that he was raising dead men to life.

[2.26.6] There is also another tradition concerning him. Coronis, they say, when with child with Asclepius, had intercourse with Ischys, son of Elatus. She was killed by Artemis to punish her for the insult done to Apollo, but when the pyre was already lighted Hermes is said to have snatched the child

from the flames.

[2.26.7] The third account is, in my opinion, the farthest from the truth; it makes Asclepius to be the son of Arsinoe, the daughter of Leucippus. For when Apollophanes the Arcadian, came to Delphi and asked the god if Asclepius was the son of Arsinoe and therefore a Messenian, the Pythian priestess gave this response:—

Asclepius, born to bestow great joy upon mortals,
Pledge of the mutual love I enjoyed with Phlegyas' daughter,
Lovely Coronis, who bare thee in rugged land Epidaurus.

This oracle makes it quite certain that Asclepius was not a son of Arsinoe, and that the story was a fiction invented by Hesiod, or by one of Hesiod's interpolators, just to please the Messenians.

[2.26.8] There is other evidence that the god was born in Epidaurus for I find that the most famous sanctuaries of Asclepius had their origin from Epidaurus. In the first place, the Athenians, who say that they gave a share of their mystic rites to Asclepius, call this day of the festival Epidauria, and they allege that their worship of Asclepius dates from then. Again, when Archias, son of Aristaechnus, was healed in Epidauria after spraining himself while hunting about Pindasus, he brought the cult to Pergamus.

[2.26.9] From the one at Pergamus has been built in our own day the sanctuary of Asclepius by the sea at Smyrna. Further, at Balagrae of the Cyreneans there is an Asclepius called Healer, who like the others came from Epidaurus. From the one at Cyrene was founded the sanctuary of Asclepius at Lebene, in Crete. There is this difference between the Cyreneans and the Epidaurians, that whereas the former sacrifice goats, it is against the custom of the Epidaurians to do so.

[2.26.10] That Asclepius was considered a god from the first, and did not receive the title only in course of time, I infer from several signs, including the evidence of Homer, who makes Agamemnon say about Machaon:—

Talhybius, with all speed go summon me hither Machaon,
Mortal son of Asclepius. Hom. *Il.* 4.193

As who should say, "human son of a god."

THE ASCLEPION OF EPIDAUROS

[2.27.1] XXVII. The sacred grove of Asclepius is surrounded on all sides by boundary marks. No death or birth takes place within the enclosure the same custom prevails also in the island of Delos. All the offerings, whether the offerer be one of the Epidaurians themselves or a stranger, are entirely consumed within the bounds. At Titane too, I know, there is the same rule.

[2.27.2] The image of Asclepius is, in size, half as big as the Olympian Zeus

at Athens, and is made of ivory and gold. An inscription tells us that the artist was Thrasymedes, a Parian, son of Arignotus. The god is sitting on a seat grasping a staff; the other hand he is holding above the head of the serpent; there is also a figure of a dog lying by his side. On the seat are wrought in relief the exploits of Argive heroes, that of Bellerophontes against the Chimaera, and Perseus, who has cut off the head of Medusa. Over against the temple is the place where the suppliants of the god sleep.

[2.27.3] Near has been built a circular building of white marble, called Tholos (Round House), which is worth seeing. In it is a picture by Pausias representing Love, who has cast aside his bow and arrows, and is carrying instead of them a lyre that he has taken up. Here there is also another work of Pausias, Drunkenness drinking out of a crystal cup. You can see even in the painting a crystal cup and a woman's face through it. Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but of old there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric.

[2.27.4] Apart from the others is an old slab, which declares that Hippolytus dedicated twenty horses to the god. The Aricians tell a tale that agrees with the inscription on this slab, that when Hippolytus was killed, owing to the curses of Theseus, Asclepius raised him from the dead. On coming to life again he refused to forgive his father rejecting his prayers, he went to the Aricians in Italy. There he became king and devoted a precinct to Artemis, where down to my time the prize for the victor in single combat was the priesthood of the goddess. The contest was open to no freeman, but only to slaves who had run away from their masters.

[2.27.5] The Epidaurians have a theater within the sanctuary, in my opinion very well worth seeing. For while the Roman theaters are far superior to those anywhere else in their splendor, and the Arcadian theater at Megalopolis is unequalled for size, what architect could seriously rival Polycleitus in symmetry and beauty? For it was Polycleitus who built both this theater and the circular building. Within the grove are a temple of Artemis, an image of Epione, a sanctuary of Aphrodite and Themis, a race-course consisting, like most Greek race-courses, of a bank of earth, and a fountain worth seeing for its roof and general splendour.

[2.27.6] A Roman senator, Antoninus, made in our own day a bath of Asclepius and a sanctuary of the gods they call Bountiful. He made also a temple to Health, Asclepius, and Apollo, the last two surnamed Egyptian. He moreover restored the portico that was named the Portico of Cotys, which, as the brick of which it was made had been unburnt, had fallen into utter ruin after it had lost its roof. As the Epidaurians about the sanctuary were in great distress, because their women had no shelter in which to be delivered and the sick breathed their last in the open, he provided a dwelling, so that these grievances also were redressed. Here at last was a place in which without sin a

human being could die and a woman be delivered.

[2.27.7] Above the grove are the Nipple and another mountain called Cynortium; on the latter is a sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo. The sanctuary itself is an ancient one, but among the things Antoninus made for the Epidaurians are various appurtenances for the sanctuary of the Maleatian, including a reservoir into which the rain-water collects for their use.

[2.28.1] XXVIII. The serpents, including a peculiar kind of a yellowish color, are considered sacred to Asclepius, and are tame with men. These are peculiar to Epidauria, and I have noticed that other lands have their peculiar animals. For in Libya only are to be found land crocodiles at least two cubits long; from India alone are brought, among other creatures, parrots. But the big snakes that grow to more than thirty cubits, such as are found in India and in Libya, are said by the Epidaurians not to be serpents, but some other kind of creature.

EPIDAUROS

[2.28.2] As you go up to Mount Coryphum you see by the road an olive tree called Twisted. It was Heracles who gave it this shape by bending it round with his hand, but I cannot say whether he set it to be a boundary mark against the Asinaeans in Argolis, since in no land, which has been depopulated, is it easy to discover the truth about the boundaries. On the Top of the mountain there is a sanctuary of Artemis Coryphaea (of the Peak), of which Telesilla made mention in an ode.

[2.28.3] On going down to the city of the Epidaurians, you come to a place where wild olives grow; they call it Hynethium. I will relate the story of it, which is probable enough, as given by the Epidaurians. Ceisus and the other sons of Temenus knew that they would grieve Deiphontes most if they could find a way to part him and Hynetho. So Cerynes and Phalces (for Agraeus, the youngest, disapproved of their plan) came to Epidaurus. Staying their chariot under the wall, they sent a herald to their sister, pretending that they wished to parley with her.

[2.28.4] When she obeyed their summons, the young men began to make many accusations against Deiphontes, and besought her much that she would return to Argos, promising, among other things, to give her to a husband in every respect better than Deiphontes, one who ruled over more subjects and a more prosperous country. But Hynetho, pained at their words, gave as good as she had received, retorting that Deiphontes was a dear husband to her, and had shown himself a blameless son-in-law to Temenus; as for them, they ought to be called the murderers of Temenus rather than his sons.

[2.28.5] Without further reply the youths seized her, placed her in the chariot, and drove away. An Epidaurian told Deiphontes that Cerynes and Phalces had gone, taking with them Hynetho against her will; he himself rushed to the rescue with all speed, and as the Epidaurians learned the news they reinforced him. On overtaking the runaways, Deiphontes shot Cerynes and killed him, but he was afraid to shoot at Phalces, who was holding Hynetho, lest he should miss him and become the slayer of his wife; so he closed with them and tried to get her away. But Phalces, holding on and dragging her with greater violence, killed her, as she was with child.

[2.28.6] Realizing what he had done to his sister, he began to drive the chariot more recklessly, as he was anxious to gain a start before all the Epidaurians could gather against him. Deiphontes and his children – for before this children had been born to him, Antimenes, Xanthippus, and Argeus, and a daughter, Orsobia, who, they say, after-wards married Pamphylus, son of Aegimius – took up the dead body of Hynetho and carried it to this place, which in course of time was named Hynethium.

[2.28.7] They built for her a hero-shrine, and bestowed upon her various honors; in particular, the custom was established that nobody should carry home, or use for any purpose, the pieces that break off the olive trees, or any other trees, that grow there; these are left there on the spot to be sacred to Hynetho.

[2.28.8] Not far from the city is the tomb of Melissa, who married Periander, the son of Cypselus, and another of Procles, the father of Melissa. He, too, was tyrant of Epidaurus, as Periander, his son-in-law, was tyrant of Corinth.

[2.29.1] XXIX. The most noteworthy things which I found the city of Epidaurus itself had to show are these. There is, of course, a precinct of Asclepius, with images of the god himself and of Epione. Epione, they say, was the wife of Asclepius. These are of Parian marble, and are set up in the open. There is also in the city a temple of Dionysus and one of Artemis. The figure of Artemis one might take to be the goddess hunting. There is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite, while the one at the harbor, on a height that juts out into the sea, they say is Hera's. The Athena on the citadel, a wooden image worth seeing, they surname Cissaea (Ivy Goddess).

AEGINA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2.29.2] The Aeginetans dwell in the island over against Epidauria. It is said that

in the beginning there were no men in it; but after Zeus brought to it, when uninhabited, Aegina, daughter of Asopus, its name was changed from Oenone to Aegina; and when Aeacus, on growing up, asked Zeus for settlers, the god, they say, raised up the inhabitants out of the earth. They can mention no king of the island except Aeacus, since we know of none even of the sons of Aeacus who stayed there; for to Peleus and Telamon befell exile for the murder of Phocus, while the sons of Phocus made their home about Parnassus, in the land that is now called Phocis.

[2.29.3] This name had already been given to the land, at the time when Phocus, son of Ornytion, came to it a generation previously. In the time, then, of this Phocus only the district about Tithorea and Parnassus was called Phocis, but in the time of Aeacus the name spread to all from the borders of the Minyae at Orchomenos to Scarpheia among the Locri.

[2.29.4] From Peleus sprang the kings in Epeirus; but as for the sons of Telamon, the family of Ajax is undistinguished, because he was a man who lived a private life; though Miltiades, who led the Athenians to Marathon, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, achieved renown; but the family of Teucer continued to be the royal house in Cyprus down to the time of Evagoras. Asiatic the epic poet says that to Phocus were born Panopeus and Crisus. To Panopeus was born Epeus, who made, according to Homer, the wooden horse; and the grandson of Crisus was Pylades, whose father was Strophius, son of Crisus, while his mother was Anaxibia, sister of Agamemnon. Such was the pedigree of the Aeacidae (family of Aeacus), as they are called, but they departed from the beginning to other lands.

[2.29.5] Subsequently a division of the Argives who, under Deiphontes, had seized Epidaurus, crossed to Aegina, and, settling among the old Aeginetans, established in the island Dorian manners and the Dorian dialect. Although the Aeginetans rose to great power, so that their navy was superior to that of Athens, and in the Persian war supplied more ships than any state except Athens, yet their prosperity was not permanent but when the island was depopulated by the Athenians, they took up their abode at Thyrea, in Argolis, which the Lacedaemonians gave them to dwell in. They recovered their island when the Athenian warships were captured in the Hellespont, yet it was never given them to rise again to their old wealth or power.

AEGINA

[2.29.6] Of the Greek islands, Aegina is the most difficult of access, for it is surrounded by sunken rocks and reefs which rise up. The story is that Aeacus devised this feature of set purpose, because he feared piratical raids by sea, and wished the approach to be perilous to enemies. Near the harbor in which vessels mostly anchor is a temple of Aphrodite, and in the most conspicuous part of the city what is called the shrine of Aeacus, a quadrangular enclosure of white marble.

[2.29.7] Wrought in relief at the entrance are the envoys whom the Greeks

once dispatched to Aeacus. The reason for the embassy given by the Aeginetans is the same as that which the other Greeks assign. A drought had for some time afflicted Greece, and no rain fell either beyond the Isthmus or in the Peloponnesus, until at last they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what was the cause and to beg for deliverance from the evil. The Pythian priestess bade them propitiate Zeus, saying that he would not listen to them unless the one to supplicate him were Aeacus.

[2.29.8] And so envoys came with a request to Aeacus from each city. By sacrifice and prayer to Zeus, God of all the Greeks (Panellenios), he caused rain to fall upon the earth, and the Aeginetans made these likenesses of those who came to him. Within the enclosure are olive trees that have grown there from of old, and there is an altar which is raised but a little from the ground. That this altar is also the tomb of Aeacus is told as a holy secret.

[2.29.9] Beside the shrine of Aeacus is the grave of Phocus, a barrow surrounded by a basement, and on it lies a rough stone. When Telamon and Peleus had induced Phocus to compete at the pentathlon, and it was now the turn of Peleus to hurl the stone, which they were using for a quoit, he intentionally hit Phocus. The act was done to please their mother; for, while they were both born of the daughter of Sciron, Phocus was not, being, if indeed the report of the Greeks be true, the son of a sister of Thetis. I believe it was for this reason, and not only out of friendship for Orestes, that Pylades plotted the murder of Neoptolemus.

[2.29.10] When this blow of the quoit killed Phocus, the sons of Endeis boarded a ship and fled. Afterwards Telamon sent a herald denying that he had plotted the death of Phocus. Aeacus, however, refused to allow him to land on the island, and bade him make his defence standing on board ship, or if he wished, from a mole raised in the sea. So he sailed into the harbor called Secret, and proceeded to make a mole by night. This was finished, and still remains at the present day. But Telamon, being condemned as implicated in the murder of Phocus, sailed away a second time and came to Salamis.

[2.29.11] Not far from the Secret Harbor is a theater worth seeing; it is very similar to the one at Epidaurus, both in size and in style. Behind it is built one side of a race-course, which not only itself holds up the theater, but also in turn uses it as a support.

[2.30.1] XXX. There are three temples close together, one of Apollo, one of Artemis, and a third of Dionysus. Apollo has a naked wooden image of native workmanship, but Artemis is dressed, and so, too, is Dionysus, who is, moreover, represented with a beard. The sanctuary of Asclepius is not here, but in another place, and his image is of stone, and seated.

[2.30.2] Of the gods, the Aeginetans worship most Hecate, in whose honor every year they celebrate mystic rites which, they say, Orpheus the Thracian established among them. Within the enclosure is a temple; its wooden image is the work of Myron, and it has one face and one body. It was Alcamenes, in my opinion, who first made three images of Hecate attached to one another, a

figure called by the Athenians Epipurgidia (on the Tower); it stands beside the temple of the Wingless Victory.

[2.30.3] In Aegina, as you go towards the mountain of Zeus, God of all the Greeks, you reach a sanctuary of Aphaea, in whose honor Pindar composed an ode for the Aeginetans. The Cretans say (the story of Aphaea is Cretan) that Carmanor, who purified Apollo after he had killed Pytho, was the father of Lubulus, and that the daughter of Zeus and of Carme, the daughter of Eubulus, was Britomartis. She took delight, they say, in running and in the chase, and was very dear to Artemis. Fleeing from Minos, who had fallen in love with her, she threw herself into nets which had been cast (aphemena) for a draught of fishes. She was made a goddess by Artemis, and she is worshipped, not only by the Cretans, but also by the Aeginetans, who say that Britomartis shows herself in their island. Her surname among the Aeginetans is Aphaea; in Crete it is Dictynna (Goddess of Nets).

[2.30.4] The Mount of all the Greeks, except for the sanctuary of Zeus, has, I found, nothing else worthy of mention. This sanctuary, they say, was made for Zeus by Aeacus. The story of Auxesia and Damia, how the Epidaurians suffered from drought, how in obedience to an oracle they had these wooden images made of olive wood that they received from the Athenians, how the Epidaurians left off paying to the Athenians what they had agreed to pay, on the ground that the Aeginetans had the images, how the Athenians perished who crossed over to Aegina to fetch them – all this, as Herodotus has described it accurately and in detail, I have no intention of relating, because the story has been well told already; but I will add that I saw the images, and sacrificed to them in the same way as it is customary to sacrifice at Eleusis.

TROEZEN, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2.30.5] So much I must relate about Aegina, for the sake of Aeacus and his exploits. Bordering on Epidauria are the Troezenians, unrivalled glorifiers of their own country. They say that Orus was the first to be born in their land. Now, in my opinion, Orus is an Egyptian name and utterly un-Greek; but they assert that he became their king, and that the land was called Oraea after him and that Althepus, the son of Poseidon and of Leis, the daughter of Orus, inheriting the kingdom after Orus, named the land Althepia.

[2.30.6] During his reign, they say, Athena and Poseidon disputed about the land, and after disputing held it in common, as Zeus commanded them to do. For this reason they worship both Athena, whom they name both Polias (Urban) and Sthenias (Strong), and also Poseidon, under the surname of King. And moreover their old coins have as device a trident and a face of Athena.

[2.30.7] After Althepus, Saron became king. They said that this man built the sanctuary for Saronian Artemis by a sea which is marshy and shallow, so that for this reason it was called the Phoebaean lagoon. Now Saron was very fond of hunting. As he was chasing a doe, it so chanced that it dashed into the sea and he dashed in after it. The doe swam further and further from the shore,

and Saron kept close to his prey, until his ardor brought him to the open ocean. Here his strength failed, and he was drowned in the waves. The body was cast ashore at the grove of Artemis by the Phoebean lagoon, and they buried it within the sacred enclosure, and after him they named the sea in these parts the Saronic instead of the Phoebean lagoon.

[2.30.8] They know nothing of the later kings down to Hyperes and Anthas. These they assert to be sons of Poseidon and of Alcyone, daughter of Atlas, adding that they founded in the country the cities of Hyperea and Anthea; Aetius, however, the son of Anthas, on inheriting the kingdoms of his father and of his uncle, named one of the cities Poseidonias. When Troezen and Pittheus came to Aetius there were three kings instead of one, but the sons of Pelops enjoyed the balance of power.

[2.30.9] Here is evidence of it. When Troezen died, Pittheus gathered the inhabitants together, incorporating both Hyperea and Anthea into the modern city, which he named Troezen after his brother. Many years afterwards the descendants of Aetius, son of Anthas, were dispatched as colonists from Troezen, and founded Halicarnassus and Myndus in Caria. Anaphlystus and Sphettus, sons of Troezen, migrated to Attica, and the parishes are named after them. As my readers know it already, I shall not relate the story of Theseus, the grandson of Pittheus. There is, however, one incident that I must add.

[2.30.10] On the return of the Heracleidae, the Troezenians too received Dorian settlers from Argos. They had been subject at even an earlier date to the Argives; Homer, too, in the Catalogue, says that their commander was Diomedes. For Diomedes and Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, who were guardians of the boy Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, led the Argives to Troy. Sthenelus, as I have related above, came of a more illustrious family, called the Anaxagoridae, and he had the best claim to the Kingdom of Argos. Such is the story of the Troezenians, with the exception of the cities that claim to be their colonies. I will now proceed to describe the appointments of their sanctuaries and the remarkable sights of their country.

TROEZEN

[2.31.1] XXXI. In the market-place of Troezen is a temple of Artemis Saviour, with images of the goddess. It was said that the temple was founded and the name Saviour given by Theseus when he returned from Crete after overcoming Asterion the son of Minos. This victory he considered the most noteworthy of his achievements, not so much, in my opinion, because Asterion was the bravest of those killed by Theseus, but because his success in unravelling the difficult Maze and in escaping unnoticed after the exploit made credible the saying that it was divine providence that brought Theseus and his company back in safety.

[2.31.2] In this temple are altars to the gods said to rule under the earth. It is here that they say Semele was brought out of Hell by Dionysus, and that

Heracles dragged up the Hound of Hell. But I cannot bring myself to believe even that Semele died at all, seeing that she was the wife of Zeus; while, as for the so-called Hound of Hell, I will give my views in another place.

[2.31.3] Behind the temple is the tomb of Pittheus, on which are placed three seats of white marble. On them they say that Pittheus and two men with him used to sit in judgment. Not far off is a sanctuary of the Muses, made, they told me, by Ardalus, son of Hephaestus. This Ardalus they hold to have invented the flute, and after him they name the Muses Ardalides. Here, they say, Pittheus taught the art of rhetoric, and I have myself read a book purporting to be a treatise by Pittheus, published by a citizen of Epidaurus. Not far from the Muses' Hall is an old altar, which also, according to report, was dedicated by Ardalus. Upon it they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, saying that Sleep is the god that is dearest to the Muses.

[2.31.4] Near the theater a temple of Artemis Lycea (Wolfish) was made by Hippolytus. About this surname I could learn nothing from the local guides, but I gathered that either Hippolytus destroyed wolves that were ravaging the land of Troezen, or else that Lycea is a surname of Artemis among the Amazons, from whom he was descended through his mother. Perhaps there may be another explanation that I am unaware of. The stone in front of the temple, called the Sacred Stone, they say is that on which nine men of Troezen once purified Orestes from the stain of matricide.

[2.31.5] Not far from Artemis Lycea are altars close to one another. The first of them is to Dionysus, surnamed, in accordance with an oracle, Saotes (Saviour); the second is named the altar of the Themides (Laws), and was dedicated, they say, by Pittheus. They had every reason, it seems to me, for making an altar to Helius Eleutherius (Sun, God of Freedom), seeing that they escaped being enslaved by Xerxes and the Persians.

[2.31.6] The sanctuary of Thearian Apollo, they told me, was set up by Pittheus; it is the oldest I know of. Now the Phocaeans, too, in Ionia have an old temple of Athena, which was once burnt by Harpagus the Persian, and the Samians also have an old one of Pythian Apollo; these, however, were built much later than the sanctuary at Troezen. The modern image was dedicated by Auliscus, and made by Hermon of Troezen. This Hermon made also the wooden images of the Dioscuri.

[2.31.7] Under a portico in the market-place are set up women; both they and their children are of stone. They are the women and children whom the Athenians gave to the Troezenians to be kept safe, when they had resolved to evacuate Athens and not to await the attack of the Persians by land. They are said to have dedicated likenesses, not of all the women – for, as a matter of fact, the statues are not many – but only of those who were of high rank.

[2.31.8] In front of the sanctuary of Apollo is a building called the Booth of Orestes. For before he was cleansed for shedding his mother's blood, no citizen of Troezen would receive him into his home; so they lodged him here and gave him entertainment while they cleansed him, until they had finished

the purification. Down to the present day the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes dine here on appointed days. A little way from the booth were buried, they say, the means of cleansing, and from them grew up a bay tree, which, indeed, still remains, being the one before this booth.

[2.31.9] Among the means of cleansing which they say they used to cleanse Orestes was water from Hippocrene (Horse's Fount) for the Troezenians too have a fountain called the Horse's, and the legend about it does not differ from the one which prevails in Boeotia. For they, too, say that the earth sent up the water when the horse Pegasus struck the ground with his hoof, and that Bellerophontes came to Troezen to ask Pittheus to give him Aethra to wife, but before the marriage took place he was banished from Corinth.

[2.31.10] Here there is also a Hermes called Polygius. Against this image, they say, Heracles leaned his club. Now this club, which was of wild olive, taking root in the earth (if anyone cares to believe the story), grew up again and is still alive; Heracles, they say, discovering the wild olive by the Saronic Sea, cut a club from it. There is also a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Saviour, which, they say, was made by Aetius, the son of Anthas, when he was king. To a water they give the name River of Gold. They say that when the land was afflicted with a drought for nine years, during which no rain fell, all the other waters dried up, but this River of Gold even then continued to flow as before.

[2.32.1] XXXII. To Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, is devoted a very famous precinct, in which is a temple with an old image. Diomedes, they say, made these, and, moreover, was the first to sacrifice to Hippolytus. The Troezenians have a priest of Hippolytus, who holds his sacred office for life, and annual sacrifices have been established. They also observe the following custom. Every maiden before marriage cuts off a lock for Hippolytus, and, having cut it, she brings it to the temple and dedicates it. They will not have it that he was dragged to death by his horses, and, though they know his grave, they do not show it. But they believe that what is called the Charioteer in the sky is the Hippolytus of the legend, such being the honor he enjoys from the gods.

[2.32.2] Within this enclosure is a temple of Apollo Seafaring, an offering of Diomedes for having weathered the storm that came upon the Greeks as they were returning from Troy. They say that Diomedes was also the first to hold the Pythian games in honor of Apollo. Of Damia and Auxesia (for the Troezenians, too, share in their worship) they do not give the same account as the Epidaurians and Aeginetans, but say that they were maidens who came from Crete. A general insurrection having arisen in the city, these too, they say, were stoned to death by the opposite party; and they hold a festival in their honor that they call Stoning.

[2.32.3] In the other part of the enclosure is a race-course called that of Hippolytus, and above it a temple of Aphrodite Spy. For from here, whenever Hippolytus practised his exercises, Phaedra, who was in love with him, used to gaze upon him. Here there still grew the myrtle, with its leaves, as I have described above, pierced with holes. When Phaedra was in despair and could

find no relief for her passion, she used to vent her spleen upon the leaves of this myrtle.

[2.32.4] There is also the grave of Phaedra, not far from the tomb of Hippolytus, which is a barrow near the myrtle. The image of Asclepius was made by Timotheus, but the Troezenians say that it is not Asclepius, but a likeness of Hippolytus. I remember, too, seeing the house of Hippolytus; before it is what is called the Fountain of Heracles, for Heracles, say the Troezenians, discovered the water.

[2.32.5] On the citadel is a temple of Athena, called Sthenias. The wooden image itself of the goddess I was made by Callon, of Aegina. Callon was a pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion, who made the image of Apollo for the Delians. Angelion and Tectaeus were trained in the school of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

[2.32.6] On going down from here you come to a sanctuary of Pan Lyterius (Releasing), so named because he showed to the Troezenian magistrates dreams which supplied a cure for the epidemic that had afflicted Troezenia, and the Athenians more than any other people. Having crossed the sanctuary, you can see a temple of Isis, and above it one of Aphrodite of the Height. The temple of Isis was made by the Halicarnassians in Troezen, because this is their mother-city, but the image of Isis was dedicated by the people of Troezen.

[2.32.7] On the road that leads through the mountains to Hermione is a spring of the river Hyllicus, originally called Taurius (Bull-like), and a rock called the Rock of Theseus; when Theseus took up the boots and sword of Aegeus under it, it, too, changed its name, for before it was called the altar of Zeus Sthenius (Strong). Near the rock is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Nymphia (Bridal), made by Theseus when he took Helen to wife.

[2.32.8] Outside the wall there is also a sanctuary of Poseidon Nurturer (Phytalmios). For they say that, being wroth with them, Poseidon smote the land with barrenness, brine (halme) reaching the seeds and the roots of the plants (*phyta*), until, appeased by sacrifices and prayers, he ceased to send up the brine upon the earth. Above the temple of Poseidon is Demeter Lawbringer (Thesmophoros), set up, they say, by Altheus.

[2.32.9] On going down to the harbor at what is called Celenderis, you come to a place called Birthplace (Genethlion), where Theseus is said to have been born. Before this place is a temple of Ares, for here also did Theseus conquer the Amazons in battle. These must have belonged to the army that strove in Attica against Theseus and the Athenians.

[2.32.10] As you make your way to the Psiphacian Sea you see a wild olive growing, which they call the Bent Rhacos. The Troezenians call *rhacos* every kind of barren olive – *cotinos*, *phylia*, or *elaios* – and this tree they call Bent because it was when the reins caught in it that the chariot of Hippolytus was upset. Not far from this stands the sanctuary of Saronian Artemis, and I have already given an account of it. I must add that every year they hold in honor

SPHAERA & CALAUREA

[2.33.1] XXXIII. The Troezenians possess islands, one of which is near the mainland, and it is possible to wade across the channel. This was formerly called Sphaeria, but its name was changed to Sacred Island for the following reason. In it is the tomb of Sphaerus, who, they say, was charioteer to Pelops. In obedience forsooth to a dream from Athena, Aethra crossed over into the island with libations for Sphaerus. After she had crossed, Poseidon is said to have had intercourse with her here. So for this reason Aethra set up here a temple of Athena Apaturia, and changed the name from Sphaeria to Sacred Island. She also established a custom for the Troezenian maidens of dedicating their girdles before wedlock to Athena Apaturia.

[2.33.2] Calaurea, they say, was sacred to Apollo of old, at the time when Delphi was sacred to Poseidon. Legend adds that the two gods exchanged the two places. They still say this, and quote an oracle:—

Delos and Calaurea alike thou lovest to dwell in,
Pytho, too, the holy, and Taenarum swept by the high winds.

At any rate, there is a holy sanctuary of Poseidon here, and it is served by a maiden priestess until she reaches an age fit for marriage.

[2.33.3] Within the enclosure is also the tomb of Demosthenes. His fate, and that of Homer before him, have, in my opinion, showed most plainly how spiteful the deity is; for Homer, after losing his sight, was, in addition to this great affliction, cursed with a second — a poverty which drove him in beggary to every land; while to Demosthenes it befell to experience exile in his old age and to meet with such a violent end. Now, although concerning him, not only others, but Demosthenes himself, have again and again declared that assuredly he took no part of the money that Harpalus brought from Asia,

[2.33.4] yet I must relate the circumstances of the statement made subsequently. Shortly after Harpalus ran away from Athens and crossed with a squadron to Crete, he was put to death by the servants who were attending him, though some assert that he was assassinated by Pausanias, a Macedonian. The steward of his money fled to Rhodes, and was arrested by a Macedonian, Philoxenus, who also had demanded Harpalus from the Athenians. Having this slave in his power, he proceeded to examine him, until he learned everything about such as had allowed themselves to accept a bribe from Harpalus. On obtaining this information he sent a dispatch to Athens,

[2.33.5] in which he gave a list of such as had taken a bribe from Harpalus, both their names and the sums each had received. Demosthenes, however, he never mentioned at all, although Alexander held him in bitter hatred, and he himself had a private quarrel with him. So Demosthenes is honored in many parts of Greece, and especially by the dwellers in Calaurea.

[2.34.1] XXXIV. Stretching out far into the sea from Troezenia is a peninsula, on the coast of which has been founded a little town called Methana. Here there is a sanctuary of Isis, and on the market-place is an image of Hermes, and also one of Heracles. Some thirty stades distant from the town are hot baths. They say that it was when Antigonus, son of Demetrius, was king of Macedon that the water first appeared, and that what appeared at once was not water, but fire that gushed in great volume from the ground, and when this died down the water flowed; indeed, even at the present day it wells up hot and exceedingly salt. A bather here finds no cold water at hand, and if he dives into the sea his swim is full of danger. For wild creatures live in it, and it swarms with sharks.

[2.34.2] I will also relate what astonished me most in Methana. The wind called Lips, striking the budding vines from the Saronic Gulf, blights their buds. So while the wind is still rushing on, two men cut in two a cock whose feathers are all white, and run round the vines in opposite directions, each carrying half of the cock. When they meet at their starting place, they bury the pieces there.

[2.34.3] Such are the means they have devised against the Lips. The islets, nine in number, lying off the land are called the Isles of Pelops, and they say that when it rains one of them is not touched. If this be the case I do not know, though the people around Methana said that it was true, and I have seen before now men trying to keep off hail by sacrifices and spells.

HERMIONE

[2.34.4] Methana, then, is a peninsula of the Peloponnesus. Within it, bordering on the land of Troezen, is Hermione. The founder of the old city, the Hermionians say, was Hermion, the son of Europs. Now Europs, whose father was certainly Phoroneus, Herophanes of Troezen said was an illegitimate child. For surely the kingdom of Argos would never have devolved upon Argus, Niobe's son, the grandchild of Phoroneus, in the presence of a legitimate son.

[2.34.5] But even supposing that Europs was a legitimate child who died before Phoroneus, I am quite sure that his son was not likely to stand a fair chance against Niobe's child, whose father was supposed to be Zeus. Subsequently the Dorians from Argos settled, among other places, at Hermion, but I do not think there was war between the two peoples, or it would have been spoken of by the Argives.

[2.34.6] There is a road from Troezen to Hermion by way of the rock which aforetime was called the altar of Zeus Sthenius (Strong) but afterwards Theseus took up the tokens, and people now call it the Rock of Theseus. As you go, then, along a mountain road by way of this rock, you reach a temple of Apollo surnamed Platanistius (God of the Plane-tree Grove), and a place called Eilei, where are sanctuaries of Demeter and of her daughter Core

(Maid). Seawards, on the borders of Hermionis, is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Thermasia (Warmth).

[2.34.7] Just about eighty stades away is a headland Scyllaeum, which is named after the daughter of Nisus. For when, owing to her treachery, Minos had taken Nisaea and Megara, he said that now he would not have her to wife, and ordered his Cretans to throw her from the ship. She was drowned, and the waves cast up her body on this headland. They do not show a grave of her, but say that the sea birds were allowed to tear the corpse to pieces.

[2.34.8] As you sail from Scyllaeum in the direction of the city, you reach another headland, called Bucephala (Ox-head), and, after the headland, islands, the first of which is Haliussa (Salt Island). This provides a harbor where there is good anchorage. After it comes Pityussa (Pine Island), and the third they call Aristerae. On sailing past these you come to another headland, Colyergia, jutting out from the mainland, and after it to an island, called Tricrana (Three Heads), and a mountain, projecting into the sea from the Peloponnesus, called Buporthmus (Oxford). On Buporthmus has been built a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter, as well as one of Athena, surnamed Promachorma (Champion of the Anchorage).

[2.34.9] Before Buporthmus lies an island called Aperopia, not far from which is another island, Hydrea. After it the mainland is skirted by a crescent-shaped beach and after the beach there is a spit of land up to a sanctuary of Poseidon, beginning at the sea on the east and extending westwards. It possesses harbors, and is some seven stades in length, and not more than three stades in breadth where it is broadest.

[2.34.10] Here the Hermionians had their former city. They still have sanctuaries here: one of Poseidon at the east end of the spit, and a temple of Athena further inland by the side of the latter are the foundations of a race-course, in which legend says the sons of Tyndareus contended. There is also another sanctuary of Athena, of no great size, the roof of which has fallen in. There is a temple to Helios (Sun), another to the Graces, and a third to Serapis and Isis. There are also circuits of large unhewn stones, within which they perform mystic ritual to Demeter.

[2.34.11] Such are the possessions of the Hermionians in these parts. The modern city is just about four stades distant from the headland, upon which is the sanctuary of Poseidon, and it lies on a site which is level at first, gently rising up a slope, which presently merges into Pron, for so they name this mountain. A wall stands all round Hermione, a city which I found afforded much to write about, and among the things which I thought I myself must certainly mention are a temple of Aphrodite, surnamed both Pontia (of the Deep Sea) and Limenia (of the Harbor), and a white-marble image of huge size, and worth seeing for its artistic excellence.

[2.34.12] There is also another temple of Aphrodite. Among the honors paid her by the Hermionians is this custom: maidens, and widows about to remarry, all sacrifice to her before wedding. Sanctuaries have also been built of

Demeter Thermasia (Warmth), one at the border towards Troezenia, as I have stated above, while there is another in Hermione itself.

[2.35.1] XXXV. Near the latter is a temple of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin. In his honor every year they hold a competition in music, and they offer prizes for swimming-races and boat-races. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Iphigenia, and a bronze Poseidon with one foot upon a dolphin. Passing by this into the sanctuary of Hestia, we see no image, but only an altar, and they sacrifice to Hestia upon it.

[2.35.2] Of Apollo there are three temples and three images. One has no surname; the second they call Pythaeus, and the third Horijs (of the Borders). The name Pythaeus they have learned from the Argives, for Telesilla tells us that they were the first Greeks to whose country came Pythaeus, who was a son of Apollo. I cannot say for certain why they call the third Horijs, but I conjecture that they won a victory, either in war or by arbitration, in a dispute concerning the borders (horoi) of their land, and for this reason paid honors to Apollo Horijs.

[2.35.3] The sanctuary of Fortune is said by the Hermionians to be the newest in their city; a colossus of Parian marble stands there. Of their wells, one is very old; nobody can see the water flowing into it, but it would never run dry, even if everybody descended and drew water from it. Another well they made in our own day, and the name of the place from which the water flows into it is Leimon (Meadow).

[2.35.4] The object most worthy of mention is a sanctuary of Demeter on Pron. This sanctuary is said by the Hermionians to have been founded by Clymenus, son of Phoroneus, and Chthonia, sister of Clymenus. But the Argive account is that when Demeter came to Argolis, while Atheras and Mysius afforded hospitality to the goddess, Colontas neither received her into his home nor paid her any other mark of respect. His daughter Chthoia disapproved of this conduct. They say that Colontas was punished by being burnt up along with his house, while Chthonia was brought to Hermion by Demeter, and made the sanctuary for the Hermionians.

[2.35.5] At any rate, the goddess herself is called Chthonia, and Chthonia is the name of the festival they hold in the summer of every year. The manner of it is this. The procession is headed by the priests of the gods and by all those who hold the annual magistracies; these are followed by both men and women. It is now a custom that some who are still children should honor the goddess in the procession. These are dressed in white, and wear wreaths upon their heads. Their wreaths are woven of the flower called by the natives cosmosandalon, which, from its size and color, seems to me to be an iris; it even has inscribed upon it the same letters of mourning.

[2.35.6] Those who form the procession are followed by men leading from the herd a full-grown cow, fastened with ropes, and still untamed and frisky. Having driven the cow to the temple, some loose her from the ropes that she may rush into the sanctuary, others, who hitherto have been holding the doors

open, when they see the cow within the temple, close the doors.

[2.35.7] Four old women, left behind inside, are they who dispatch the cow. Whichever gets the chance cuts the throat of the cow with a sickle. Afterwards the doors are opened, and those who are appointed drive up a second cow, and a third after that, and yet a fourth. All are dispatched in the same way by the old women, and the sacrifice has yet another strange feature. On whichever of her sides the first cow falls, all the others must fall on the same.

[2.35.8] Such is the manner in which the sacrifice is performed by the Hermionians. Before the temple stand a few statues of the women who have served Demeter as her priestess, and on passing inside you see seats on which the old women wait for the cows to be driven in one by one, and images, of no great age, of Athena and Demeter. But the thing itself that they worship more than all else, I never saw, nor yet has any other man, whether stranger or Hermionian. The old women may keep their knowledge of its nature to themselves.

[2.35.9] There is also another temple, all round which stand statues. This temple is right opposite that of Chthonia, and is called that of Clymenus, and they sacrifice to Clymenus here. I do not believe that Clymenus was an Argive who came to Hermion “Clymenus” is the surname of the god, whoever legend says is king in the underworld.

[2.35.10] Beside this temple is another; it is of Ares, and has an image of the god, while to the right of the sanctuary of Chthonia is a portico, called by the natives the Portico of Echo. It is such that if a man speaks it reverberates at least three times. Behind the temple of Chthonia are three places which the Hermionians call that of Clymenus, that of Pluto, and the Acherusian Lake. All are surrounded by fences of stones, while in the place of Clymenus there is also a chasm in the earth. Through this, according to the legend of the Hermionians, Heracles brought up the Hound of Hell.

[2.35.11] At the gate through which there is a straight road leading to Mases, there is a sanctuary of Eileithyia within the wall. Every day, both with sacrifices and with incense, they magnificently propitiate the goddess, and, moreover, there is a vast number of votive gifts offered to Eileithyia. But the image no one may see, except, perhaps, the priestesses.

MT PRON & MT COCCUX

[2.36.1] XXXVI. Proceeding about seven stades along the straight road to Mases, you reach, on turning to the left, a road to Halice. At the present day Halice is deserted, but once it, too, had inhabitants, and there is mention made of citizens of Halice on the Epidaurian slabs on which are inscribed the cures of Asclepius. I know, however, no other authentic document in which mention is made either of the city Halice or of its citizens. Well, to this city also there is a road, which lies midway between Pron and another mountain, called in old days Thornax; but they say that the name was changed because, according to legend, it was here that the transformation of Zeus into a cuckoo took place.

[2.36.2] Even to the present day there are sanctuaries on the tops of the mountains: on Mount Cuckoo one of Zeus, on Pron one of Hera. At the foot of Mount Cuckoo is a temple, but there are no doors standing, and I found it without a roof or an image inside. The temple was said to be Apollo's. by the side of it runs a road to Mases for those who have turned aside from the straight road. Mases was in old days a city, even as Homer represents it in the catalogue of the Argives, but in my time the Hermionians were using it as a seaport.

NEAR MASES

[2.36.3] From Mases there is a road on the right to a headland called Struthus (Sparrow Peak). From this headland by way of the summits of the mountains the distance to the place called Philanorium and to the Boleoi is two hundred and fifty stades. These Boleoi are heaps of unhewn stones. Another place, called Twins, is twenty stades distant from here. There is here a sanctuary of Apollo, a sanctuary of Poseidon, and in addition one of Demeter. The images are of white marble, and are upright.

ASINE

[2.36.4] Next comes a district, belonging to the Argives, that once was called Asinaea, and by the sea are ruins of Asine. When the Lacedaemonians and their king Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, invaded Argolis with an army, the Asinaeans joined in the invasion, and with them ravaged the land of the Argives. When the Lacedaemonian expedition departed home, the Argives under their king Eratus attacked Asine.

[2.36.5] For a time the Asinaeans defended themselves from their wall, and killed among others Lysistratus, one of the most notable men of Argos. But when the wall was lost, the citizens put their wives and children on board their vessels and abandoned their own country; the Argives, while levelling Asine to the ground and annexing its territory to their own, left the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus, which is still visible, and by it they buried Lysistratus.

LERNA

[2.36.6] Distant from Argos forty stades and no more is the sea at Lerna. On the way down to Lerna the first thing on the road is the Erasinus, which empties itself into the Phrixus, and the Phrixus into the sea between Temenium and Lerna. About eight stades to the left from the Erasinus is a sanctuary of the Lords Dioscuri (Sons of Zeus). Their wooden images have been made similar to those in the city.

[2.36.7] On returning to the straight road, you will cross the Erasinus and reach the river Cheimarrus (Winter-torrent). Near it is a circuit of stones, and

they say that Pluto, after carrying off, according to the story, Core, the daughter of Demeter, descended here to his fabled kingdom underground. Lerna is, I have already stated, by the sea, and here they celebrate mysteries in honor of Lernaean Demeter.

[2.36.8] There is a sacred grove beginning on the mountain they call Pontinus. Now Mount Pontinus does not let the rain-water flow away, but absorbs it into itself. From it flows a river, also called Pontinus. Upon the top of the mountain is a sanctuary of Athena Saitis, now merely a ruin; there are also the foundations of a house of Hippomedon, who went to Thebes to redress the wrongs of Polyneices, son of Oedipus.

[2.37.1] XXXVII. At this mountain begins the grove, which consists chiefly of plane trees, and reaches down to the sea. Its boundaries are, on the one side the river Pantinus, on the other side another river, called Amymane, after the daughter of Danaus. Within the grove are images of Demeter Prosymne and of Dionysus. Of Demeter there is a seated image of no great size.

[2.37.2] Both are of stone, but in another temple is a seated wooden image of Dionysus Saotes (Savior), while by the sea is a stone image of Aphrodite. They say that the daughters of Danaus dedicated it, while Danaus himself made the sanctuary of Athena by the Pontinus. The mysteries of the Lernaean were established, they say, by Philammon. Now the words which accompany the ritual are evidently of no antiquity

[2.37.3] and the inscription also, which I have heard is written on the heart made of orichalcum, was shown not to be Philammon's by Arriphon, an Aetolian of Triconium by descent, who now enjoys a reputation second to none among the Lycians; excellent at original research, he found the clue to this problem in the following way: the verses, and the prose interspersed among the verses, are all written in Doric. But before the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians, and in Philammon's day I do not suppose that even the name Dorians was familiar to all Greek ears.

[2.37.4] All this was proved in the demonstration. At the source of the Amymon grows a plane tree, beneath which, they say, the hydra (water-snake) grew. I am ready to believe that this beast was superior in size to other water-snakes, and that its poison had something in it so deadly that Heracles treated the points of his arrows with its gall. It had, however, in my opinion, one head, and not several. It was Peisander of Camirus who, in order that the beast might appear more frightful and his poetry might be more remarkable, represented the hydra with its many heads.

[2.37.5] I saw also what is called the Spring of Amphiarus and the Alcyonian Lake, through which the Argives say Dionysus went down to Hell to bring up Semele, adding that the descent here was shown him by Palymnus. There is no limit to the depth of the Alcyonian Lake, and I know of nobody who by any contrivance has been able to reach the bottom of it since not even Nero, who had ropes made several stades long and fastened them together, tying

lead to them, and omitting nothing that might help his experiment, was able to discover any limit to its depth.

[2.37.6] This, too, I heard. The water of the lake is, to all appearance, calm and quiet but, although it is such to look at, every swimmer who ventures to cross it is dragged down, sucked into the depths, and swept away. The circumference of the lake is not great, being about one-third of a stade. Upon its banks grow grass and rushes. The nocturnal rites performed every year in honor of Dionysus I must not divulge to the world at large.

TEMENIUM & NAUPLIA

[2.38.1] XXXVIII. Temenium is in Argive territory, and was named after Temenus, the son of Aristomachus. For, having seized and strengthened the position, he waged therefrom with the Dorians the war against Tisamenus and the Achaeans. On the way to Temenium from Lerna the river Phrixus empties itself into the sea, and in Temenium is built a sanctuary of Poseidon, as well as one of Aphrodite; there is also the tomb of Temenus, which is worshipped by the Dorians in Argos.

[2.38.2] Fifty stades, I conjecture, from Temenium is Nauplia, which at the present day is uninhabited; its founder was Nauplius, reputed to be a son of Poseidon and Amymone. Of the walls, too, ruins still remain and in Nauplia are a sanctuary of Poseidon, harbors, and a spring called Canathus. Here, say the Argives, Hera bathes every year and recovers her maidenhood.

[2.38.3] This is one of the sayings told as a holy secret at the mysteries which they celebrate in honor of Hera. The story told by the people in Nauplia about the ass, how by nibbling down the shoots of a vine he caused a more plenteous crop of grapes in the future, and how for this reason they have carved an ass on a rock, because he taught the pruning of vines – all this I pass over as trivial.

GENESIUM & THYREATIS

[2.38.4] From Lerna there is also another road, which skirts the sea and leads to a place called Genesium. By the sea is a small sanctuary of Poseidon Genesius. Next to this is another place, called Apobathmi (Steps). The story is that this is the first place in Argolis where Danaus landed with his daughters. From here we pass through what is called Anigraea, along a narrow and difficult road, until we reach a tract on the left which stretches down to the sea;

[2.38.5] it is fertile in trees, especially the olive. As you go up inland from this is a place where three hundred picked Argives fought for this land with an equal number of specially chosen Lacedaemonian warriors. All were killed except one Spartan and two Argives, and here were raised the graves for the dead. But the Lacedaemonians, having fought against the Argives with all their forces, won a decisive victory; at first they themselves enjoyed the fruits of the land, but afterwards they assigned it to the Aeginetans, when they were

expelled from their island by the Athenians. In my time Thyreatis was inhabited by the Argives, who say that they recovered it by the award of an arbitration.

NERIS, EUA & MT PARNON

[2.38.6] As you go from these common graves you come to Athene, where Aeginetans once made their home, another village Neris, and a third Eua, the largest of the villages, in which there is a sanctuary of Polemocrates. This Polemocrates is one of the sons of Machaon, and the brother of Alexanor; he cures the people of the district, and receives honors from the neighbours.

[7] Above the villages extends Mount Parnon, on which the Lacedaemonian border meets the borders of the Argives and Tegeatae. On the borders stand stone figures of Hermes, from which the name of the place is derived. A river called Tanaus, which is the only one descending from Mount Parnon, flows through the Argive territory and empties itself into the Gulf of Thyrea.

BOOK III.

SPARTA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[3.1.1] After the figures of Hermes we reach Laconia on the west. According to the tradition of the Lacedaemonians themselves, Lelex, an aboriginal was the first king in this land, after whom his subjects were named Leleges. Lelex had a son Myles, and a younger one Polycæon. Polycæon retired into exile, the place of this retirement and its reason I will set forth elsewhere. On the death of Myles his son Eurotas succeeded to the throne. He led down to the sea by means of a trench the stagnant water on the plain, and when it had flowed away, as what was left formed a river-stream, he named it Eurotas.

[3.1.2] Having no male issue, he left the kingdom to Lacedaemon, whose mother was Taygete, after whom the mountain was named, while according to report his father was none other than Zeus. Lacedaemon was wedded to Sparta, a daughter of Eurotas. When he came to the throne, he first changed the names of the land and its inhabitants, calling them after himself, and next he founded and named after his wife a city, which even down to our own day has been called Sparta.

[3.1.3] Amyclas, too, son of Lacedaemon, wished to leave some memorial behind him, and built a town in Laconia. Hyacinthus, the youngest and most beautiful of his sons, died before his father, and his tomb is in Amyclæ below the image of Apollo. On the death of Amyclas the empire came to Aigalus, the eldest of his sons, and afterwards, when Aigalus died, to Cynortas. Cynortas had a son Oebalus.

[3.1.4] He took a wife from Argos, Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, and begat a son Tyndareus, with whom Hippocoon disputed about the kingship, claiming the throne on the ground of being the eldest. With the end of Icarus and his partisans he had surpassed Tyndareus in power, and forced him to retire in fear; the Lacedaemonians say that he went to Pellana, but a Messenian legend about him is that he fled to Aphareus in Messenia, Aphareus being the son of Perieres and the brother of Tyndareus on his mother's side. The story goes on to say that he settled at Thalamæ in Messenia, and that his children were born to him when he was living there.

[3.1.5] Subsequently Tyndareus was brought back by Heracles and recovered his throne. His sons too became kings, as did Menelaus the son of Atreus and son-in-law of Tyndareus, and Orestes the husband of Hermione the daughter of Menelaus. On the return of the Heracleidae in the reign of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, both districts, Messene and Argos, had kings put over them; Argos had Temenus and Messene Cresphontes. In Lacedaemon, as the sons of Aristodemus were twins, there arose two royal houses; for they say that the Pythian priestess approved.

[3.1.6] Tradition has it that Aristodemus himself died at Delphi before the

Dorians returned to the Peloponnesus, but those who glorify his fate assert that he was shot by Apollo for not going to the oracle, having learned from Heracles, who met him before he arrived there, that the Dorians would make this return to the Peloponnesus. But the more correct account is that Aristodemus was murdered by the sons of Pylades and Electra, who were cousins of Tisamenus son of Orestes.

SPARTA, HISTORY

[3.1.7] The names given to the sons of Aristodemus were Procles and Eurysthenes, and although they were twins they were bitter enemies. Their enmity reached a high pitch, but nevertheless they combined to help Theras, the son of Autesion and the brother of their mother Argeia and their guardian as well, to found a colony. This colony Theras was dispatching to the island that was then called Calliste, and he hoped that the descendants of Membliarus would of their own accord give up the kingship to him. This as a matter of fact they did,

[3.1.8] taking into account that the family of Theras went back to Cadmus himself, while they were only descendants of Membliarus, who was a man of the people whom Cadmus left in the island to be the leader of the settlers. And Theras changed the name of the island, renaming it after himself, and even at the present day the people of Thera every year offer to him as their founder the sacrifices that are given to a hero. Procles and Eurysthenes were of one mind in their eagerness to serve Theras; but in all else their purposes were always widely different.

[3.1.9] Even if they had agreed together, I should never have ventured to include their descendants in a common list; for they did not altogether coincide in respect of age, so that cousins, cousins' children, and later generations were not born so as to make the steps in one pedigree coincide with those of the other. So I shall give the history of each house by itself separately, instead of combining them both in one narrative.

[3.2.1] II. Eurysthenes, the elder of the sons of Aristodemus, had, they say, a son Agis, after whom the family of Eurysthenes is called the Agiadae. In his time, when Patreus the son of Preuges was founding in Achaea a city which even at the present day is called Patrae from this Patreus, the Lacedaemonians took part in the settlement. They also joined in an expedition overseas to found a colony. Gras the son of Echelas the son of Penthilus the son of Orestes was the leader, who was destined to occupy the land between Ionia and Mysia, called at the present day Aeolis; his ancestor Penthilus had even before this seized the island of Lesbos that lies over against this part of the mainland.

[3.2.2] When Echestratus, son of Agis, was king at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians removed all the Cynurians of military age, alleging as a reason that freebooters from the Cynurian territory were harrying Argolis, the Argives being their kinsmen, and that the Cynurians themselves openly made

forays into the land. The Cynurians are said to be Argives by descent, and tradition has it that their founder was Cynurus, son of Perseus.

[3.2.3] Not many years afterwards Labotas, son of Echestratus, became king in Sparta. This Labotas Herodotus, in his history of Croesus, says was in his childhood the ward of Lycurgus the lawgiver, but he calls him Leobotes and not Labotas. It was then that the Lacedaemonians first resolved to make war upon the Argives, bringing as charges against them that they were annexing the Cynurian territory which they themselves had captured, and were causing revolts among their subjects the Perioeci (Dwellers around). On this occasion neither of the belligerents, according to the account, achieved anything worthy of mention,

[3.2.4] and the next kings of this house, Doryssus, son of Labotas, and Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, were soon both killed. Lycurgus too laid down their laws for the Lacedaemonians in the reign of Artesilaus; some say that he was taught how to do this by the Pythian priestess, others that he introduced Cretan institutions. The Cretans say that these laws of theirs were laid down by Minos, and that Minos was not without divine aid in his deliberations concerning them. Homer too, I think, refers in riddling words to the legislation of Minos in the following verses:—

Cnossus too, great city, among them, where Minos for nine years
Ruled as king, and enjoyed familiar converse with great Zeus. *Hom. Od.*
19.178

[3.2.5] Of Lycurgus I shall make further mention later. Agesilaus had a son Archelaus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians took by force of arms Aegys, a city of the Perioeci, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, suspecting them of Arcadian sympathies. Charilaus, the king of the other house, helped Archelaus to destroy Aegys, but the exploits he achieved when leading the Lacedaemonians by himself, these too I shall relate when my narrative comes to treat of those called the Eurypontidae.

[3.2.6] Archelaus had a son Teleclus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians conquered in war and reduced Amyclae, Pharis, and Geranthrae, cities of the Perioeci, which were still in the possession of the Achaeans. The inhabitants of Pharis and Geranthrae, panic-stricken at the onslaught of the Dorians, made an agreement to retire from the Peloponnesus under a truce, but those of Amyclae were not driven out at the first assault, but only after a long and stubborn resistance, in which they distinguished themselves by glorious achievements. To this heroism the Dorians bore witness by raising a trophy against the Amyclaeans, implying that their success was the most memorable exploit of that time. Not long after this Teleclus was murdered by Messenians in a sanctuary of Artemis. This sanctuary was built on the frontier of Laconia and Messenia, in a place called Limniae (Lakes).

[3.2.7] After the death of Teleclus, Alcamenes his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent to Crete Charmidas the son of Euthys,

who was a distinguished Spartan, to put down the civil strife among the Cretans, to persuade them to abandon the weak, inland towns, and to help them to people instead those that were conveniently situated for the coasting voyage. They also laid waste Helos, an Achaean town on the coast, and won a battle against the Argives who came to give aid to the Helots.

[3.3.1] III. On the death of Alcamenes, Polydorus his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent colonies to Croton in Italy and to the Locri by the Western headland. The war called the Messenian reached its height in the reign of this king. As to the causes of the war, the Lacedaemonian version differs from the Messenian.

[3.3.2] The accounts given by the belligerents, and the manner in which this war ended, will be set forth later in my narrative. For the present I must state thus much; the chief leader of the Lacedaemonians in the first war against the Messenians was Theopompus the son of Nicander, a king of the other house. When the war against Messene had been fought to a finish, and Messenia was enslaved to the Lacedaemonians, Polydorus, who had a great reputation at Sparta and was very popular with the masses – for he never did a violent act or said an insulting word to anyone, while as a judge he was both upright and humane –

[3.3.3] his fame having by this time spread throughout Greece, was murdered by Polemarchus, a member of a distinguished family in Lacedaemon, but, as he showed, a man of an unscrupulous temper. After his death Polydorus received many signal marks of respect from the Lacedaemonians. However, Polemarchus too has a tomb in Sparta; either he had been considered a good man before this murder, or perhaps his relatives buried him secretly.

[3.3.4] During the reign of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, the Messenians submitted to be subjects of the Lacedaemonians, neither did any trouble befall from the Argive people. But in the reign of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates – for destiny was by this time driving the Messenians out of all the Peloponnesus – the Messenians revolted from the Lacedaemonians. For a time they held out by force of arms, but at last they were overcome and retired from the Peloponnesus under a truce. The remnant of them left behind in the land became the slaves of the Lacedaemonians, with the exception of those in the towns on the coast.

[3.3.5] The incidents of the war which the Messenians waged after the revolt from the Lacedaemonians it is not pertinent that I should set forth in the present part of my narrative. Anaxander had a son Eurycrates, and this second Eurycrates a son Leon. While these two kings were on the throne the Lacedaemonians were generally unsuccessful in the war with Tegea. But in the reign of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, the Lacedaemonians won the war with Tegea in the following manner. A Lacedaemonian, by name Lichas, came to Tegea when there chanced to be a truce between the cities.

[3.3.6] When Lichas arrived the Spartans were seeking the bones of Orestes in accordance with an oracle. Now Lichas inferred that they were buried in a

smithy, the reason for this inference being this. Everything that he saw in the smithy he compared with the oracle from Delphi, likening to the winds the bellows, for that they too sent forth a violent blast, the hammer to the “stroke,” the anvil to the “counterstroke” to it, while the iron is naturally a “woe to man,” because already men were using iron in warfare. In the time of those called heroes the god would have called bronze a woe to man.

[3.3.7] Similar to the oracle about the bones of Orestes was the one afterwards given to the Athenians, that they were to bring back Theseus from Scyros to Athens otherwise they could not take Scyros. Now the bones of Theseus were discovered by Cimon the son of Miltiades, who displayed similar sharpness of wit, and shortly afterwards took Scyros.

[3.3.8] I have evidence that in the heroic age weapons were universally of bronze in the verses of Homer about the axe of Peisander and the arrow of Meriones. My statement is likewise confirmed by the spear of Achilles dedicated in the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis, and by the sword of Memnon in the Nicomedian temple of Asclepius. The point and butt-spike of the spear and the whole of the sword are made of bronze. The truth of these statements I can vouch for.

[3.3.9] Anaxandrides the son of Leon was the only Lacedaemonian to possess at one and the same time two wives and two households. For his first consort, though an excellent wife, had the misfortune to be barren. When the ephors bade him put her away he firmly refused to do so, but made this concession to them, that he would take another wife in addition to her. The fruit of this union was a son, Cleomenes; and the former wife, who up to this time had not conceived, after the birth of Cleomenes bore Dorieus, then Leonidas, and finally Cleombrotus.

[3.4.10] And when Anaxandrides died, the Lacedaemonians, believing Dorieus to be both of a sounder judgment than Cleomenes and a better soldier, much against their will rejected him as their king, and obeyed the laws by giving the throne to the elder claimant Cleomenes.

[3.4.1] IV. Now Dorieus could not bear to stay at Lacedaemon and be subject to his brother, and so he went on a colonizing expedition. As soon as he became king, Cleomenes gathered together an army, both of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies, and invaded Argolis. The Argives came out under arms to meet them, but Cleomenes won the day. Near the battlefield was a grove sacred to Argus, son of Niobe, and on being routed some five thousand of the Argives took refuge therein. Cleomenes was subject to fits of mad excitement, and on this occasion he ordered the Helots to set the grove on fire, and the flames spread all over the grove, which, as it burned, burned up the suppliants with it.

[3.4.2] He also conducted campaigns against Athens, by the first of which he delivered the Athenians from the sons of Peisistratus and won a good report among the Greeks both for himself personally and for the Lacedaemonians; while the second campaign was to please an Athenian, Isagoras, by helping

him to establish a tyranny over Athens. When he was disappointed, and the Athenians fought strenuously for their freedom, Cleomenes devastated the country, including, they say, the district called Orgas, which was sacred to the deities in Eleusis. He advanced as far as Aegina, and proceeded to arrest such influential Aeginetans as had shown Persian sympathies, and had persuaded the citizens to give earth and water to king Dareius, son of Hystaspes.

[3.4.3] While Cleomenes was occupied in Aegina, Demaratus, the king of the other house, was slandering him to the Lacedaemonian populace. On his return from Aegina, Cleomenes began to intrigue for the deposition of king Demaratus. He bribed the Pythian prophetess to frame responses about Demaratus according to his instructions, and instigated Leotychides, a man of royal birth and of the same family as Demaratus, to put in a claim to the throne.

[3.4.4] Leotychides seized upon the remark that Ariston in his ignorance blurted out when Demaratus was born, denying that he was his child. On the present occasion the Lacedaemonians, according to their wont, referred to the oracle at Delphi the claim against Demaratus, and the prophetess gave them a response which favoured the designs of Cleomenes.

[3.4.5] So Demaratus was deposed, not rightfully, but because Cleomenes hated him. Subsequently Cleomenes met his end in a fit of madness for seizing a sword he began to wound himself, and hacked and maimed his body all over. The Argives assert that the manner of his end was a punishment for his treatment of the suppliants of Argus; the Athenians say that it was because he had devastated Orgas; the Delphians put it down to the bribes he gave the Pythian prophetess, persuading her to give lying responses about Demaratus.

[3.4.6] It may well be too that the wrath of heroes and the wrath of gods united together to punish Cleomenes since it is a fact that for a personal wrong Protesilaus, a hero not a whit more illustrious than Argus, punished at Elaeus Artayctes, a Persian; while the Megarians never succeeded in propitiating the deities at Eleusis for having encroached upon the sacred land. As to the tampering with the oracle, we know of nobody, with the exception of Cleomenes, who has had the audacity even to attempt it.

[3.4.7] Cleomenes had no male issue, and the kingdom devolved on Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides and full brother of Dorieus. At this time Xerxes led his host against Greece, and Leonidas with three hundred Lacedaemonians met him at Thermopylae. Now although the Greeks have waged many wars, and so have foreigners among themselves, yet there are but few that have been made more illustrious by the exceptional valor of one man, in the way that Achilles shed luster on the Trojan war and Miltiades on the engagement at Marathon. But in truth the success of Leonidas surpassed, in my opinion, all later as well as all previous achievements.

[3.4.8] For Xerxes, the proudest of all who have reigned over the Medes, or over the Persians who succeeded them, the achiever of such brilliant exploits, was met on his march by Leonidas and the handful of men he led to

Thermopylae, and they would have prevented him from even seeing Greece at all, and from ever burning Athens, if the man of Trachis had not guided the army with Hydarnes by the path that stretches across Oeta, and enabled the enemy to surround the Greeks; so Leonidas was overwhelmed and the foreigners passed along into Greece.

[3.4.9] Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus never became king. For while guardian of Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was a child when his father died, he led the Lacedaemonians to Plataea, and afterwards with their fleet to the Hellespont. I cannot praise too highly the way in which Pausanias treated the Coan lady, who was the daughter of a man of distinction among the Coans, Hegetorides the son of Antagoras, and the unwilling concubine of a Persian, Pharandates the son of Teaspis.

[3.4.10] When Mardonius fell in the battle of Plataea, and the foreigners were destroyed, Pausanias sent the lady back to Cos, and she took with her the apparel that the Persian had procured for her as well as the rest of her belongings. Pausanias also refused to dishonor the body of Mardonius, as Lampon the Aeginetan advised him to do.

[3.5.1] v. Shortly after Pleistarchus the son of Leonidas came to the throne he died, and the kingdom devolved on Pleistoanax, son of the Pausanias who commanded at Plataea. Pleistoanax had a son Pausanias; he was the Pausanias who invaded Attica, ostensibly to oppose Thrasybulus and the Athenians, but really to establish firmly the despotism of those to whom the government had been entrusted by Lysander. Although he won a battle against the Athenians holding the Peiraens, yet immediately after the battle he resolved to lead his army back home, and not to bring upon Sparta the most disgraceful of reproaches by increasing the despotic power of wicked men.

[3.5.2] When he returned from Athens with only a fruitless battle to his credit, he was brought to trial by his enemies. The court that sat to try a Lacedaemonian king consisted of the senate, "old men" as they were called, twenty eight in number, the members of the ephorate, and in addition the king of the other house. Fourteen senators, along with Agis, the king of the other house, declared that Pausanias was guilty; the rest of the court voted for his acquittal.

[3.5.3] Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians gathered an army against Thebes; the reason for so doing will be given in my account of Agesilaus. On this occasion Lysander came to Phocis, took along with him the entire Phocian army, and without any further delay entered Boeotia and began assaults upon the wall of Haliartus, the citizens of which refused to revolt from Thebes. Already a band of Thebans and Athenians had secretly entered the city; these came out and offered battle before the wall, and there fell here several Lacedaemonians, including Lysander himself.

[3.5.4] Pausanias was too late for the fight, having been collecting forces from Tegea and Arcadia generally; when he finally reached Boeotia, although he heard of the defeat of the forces with Lysander and of the death of

Lysander himself, he nevertheless led his army against Thebes and purposed to take the offensive. Thereupon the Thebans offered battle, and Thrasybulus was reported to be not far away with the Athenians. He was waiting for the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive, on which his intention was to launch an attack himself against their rear.

[3.5.5] So Pausanias, fearing lest he should be caught between two enemy forces, made a truce with the Thebans and took up for burial those who had fallen under the wall of Haliartus. The Lacedaemonians disapproved of this decision, but the following reason leads me to approve it. Pausanias was well aware that the disasters of the Lacedaemonians always took place when they had been caught between two enemy forces, and the defeats at Thermopylae and on the island of Sphacteria made him afraid lest he himself should prove the occasion of a third misfortune for them.

[3.5.6] But when his fellow citizens charged him with his slowness in this Boeotian campaign, he did not wait to stand his trial, but was received by the people of Tegea as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Now this sanctuary had been respected from early days by all the Peloponnesians, and afforded peculiar safety to its suppliants, as the Lacedaemonians showed in the case of Pausanias and of Leotychides before him, and the Argives in the case of Chrysis; they never wanted even to ask for these refugees, who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuary, to be given up.

[3.5.7] When Pausanias fled, his sons Agesipolis and Cleombrotus were still quite boys, and Aristodemus, their nearest relative, was their guardian. This Aristodemus was in command of the Lacedaemonians when they won their success at Corinth.

[3.5.8] When Agesipolis grew up and came to the throne, the first Peloponnesians against whom he waged war were the Argives. When he led his army from the territory of Tegea into that of Argos, the Argives sent a herald to make for them with Agesipolis a certain ancestral truce, which from ancient times had been an established custom between Dorians and Dorians. But Agesipolis did not make the truce with the herald, but advancing with his army proceeded to devastate the land. Then there was an earthquake, but not even so would Agesipolis consent to take away his forces. And yet more than any other Greeks were the Lacedaemonians (in this respect like the Athenians) frightened by signs from heaven.

[3.5.9] By the time that he was encamping under the wall of Argos, the earthquakes were still occurring, some of the troops had actually been killed by lightning, and some moreover had been driven out of their senses by the thunder. In this circumstance he reluctantly withdrew from Argive territory, and began another campaign, attacking Olynthus. Victorious in the war, having captured most of the cities in Chalcidice, and hoping to capture Olynthus itself, he was suddenly attacked by a disease which ended in his death.

[3.6.1] VI.As Agesipolis died childless, the kingdom devolved upon

Cleombrotus, who was general in the battle at Leuctra against the Boeotians. Cleombrotus showed personal bravery, but fell when the battle was only just beginning. In great disasters Providence is peculiarly apt to cut off early the general, just as the Athenians lost Hippocrates the son of Ariphron, who commanded at Delium, and later on Leosthenes in Thessaly.

[3.6.2] Agesipolis, the elder of the sons of Cleombrotus, is not a striking figure in history, and was succeeded by his younger brother Cleomenes. His first son was Acrotatus, his second Cleonymus. Acrotatus did not outlive his father, and when Cleomenes afterwards died, there arose a dispute about the throne between Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes and Areus the son of Acrotatus. So the senators acted as arbitrators, and decided that the dignity was the inheritance of Areus the son of Acrotatus, and not of Cleonymus.

[3.6.3] Deprived of his kingship Cleonymus became violently angry, and the ephors tried to soothe his feelings by bestowing upon him various honors, especially the leadership of the armies, so as to prevent his becoming one day an enemy of Sparta. But at last he committed many hostile acts against his fatherland, and induced Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides to invade Laconia.

[3.6.4] While Areus the son of Acrotatus was king in Sparta, Antigonus the son of Demetrius attacked Athens with an army and a fleet. To the help of the Athenians there came the Egyptian expedition with Patroclus, and every available man of the Lacedaemonians with Areus their king at their head.

[3.6.5] Antigonus invested Athens and prevented the Athenian reinforcements from entering the city; so Patroclus dispatched messengers urging Areus and the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive against Antigonus. On their doing so, he would himself, he said, attack the Macedonians in rear; but before such a move it was not fair for Egyptian sailors to attack Macedonians on land. The Lacedaemonians were eager to make the venture, both because of their friendship for Athens and also because they were ambitious to hand down to posterity a famous achievement,

[3.6.6] but as their supplies were exhausted Areus led his army back home, thinking that desperate measures should be reserved for one's own advantage and not risked recklessly for the benefit of others. After they had held out as long as they could, Antigonus made peace with the Athenians, on condition that he brought a garrison into the Museum to be a guard over them. After a time Antigonus himself removed the garrison from Athens of his own accord while Areus begat Acrotatus, and Acrotatus Areus, who died of disease when he was just about eight years old.

[3.6.7] And as the only male representative of the house of Eurysthenes was Leonidas the son of Cleonymus, by this time a very old man, the Lacedaemonians gave him the throne. Leonidas, it so happened, had a bitter opponent in Lysander, a descendant of Lysander the son of Aristocritus. This Lysander won over to his side Leonidas' son-in-law Cleombrotus. After gaining his support he brought various charges against Leonidas, in particular that when a boy he had sworn to his father Cleonymus to ruin Sparta.

[3.6.8] So Leonidas ceased to be king and Cleombrotus came to the throne in his stead. Now if Leonidas had given way to impulse and retired, like Demaratus the son of Ariston, either to the king of Macedonia or to the Egyptian king, he would have profited nothing even by the Spartans changing their minds. But as it was, when the citizens sentenced him to exile, he went to Arcadia, whence not many years later he was recalled by the Lacedaemonians, who made him king again.

[3.6.9] Now how Cleomenes the son of Leonidas performed daring feats of valor, and how after him the Spartans ceased to be ruled by kings, I have already shown in my account of Aratus of Sicyon. My narrative also included the manner of his death in Egypt.

[3.7.1] VII. So of the family of Eurysthenes, called the Agiadae, Cleomenes the son of Leonidas was the last king in Sparta. I will now relate what I have heard about the other house. Procles the son of Aristodemus called his son Sous, whose son Eurypon they say reached such a pitch of renown that this house, hitherto called the Procleidae, came to be named after him the Eurypontidae.

[3.7.2] The son of Eurypon was Prytanis, in whose reign began the enmity of the Lacedaemonians against the Argives, although even before this quarrel they made war against the Cynurians. During the generations immediately succeeding this, while Eunomus the son of Prytanis and Polydectes the son of Eunomus were on the throne, Sparta continued at peace,

[3.7.3] but Charillus the son of Polydectes devastated the land of the Argives – for he it was who invaded Argolis – and not many years afterwards, under the leadership of Charillus, took place the campaign of the Spartans against Tegea, when lured on by a deceptive oracle the Lacedaemonians hoped to capture the city and to annex the Tegean plain from Arcadia.

[3.7.4] After the death of Charillus, Nicander his son succeeded to the throne, in whose reign the Messenians murdered, in the sanctuary of the Lady of the Lake, Teleclus the king of the other house. Nicander also invaded Argolis with an army, and laid waste the greater part of the land. The Asinaeans took part in this action with the Lacedaemonians, and shortly after were punished by the Argives, who inflicted great destruction on their fatherland and drove out the inhabitants.

[3.7.5] About Theopompus, the son of Nicander, who ascended the throne after him, I shall have more to say later on, when I come to the history of Messenia. While Theopompus was still king in Sparta there also took place the struggle of the Lacedaemonians with the Argives for what is called the Thyreatid district. Theopompus personally took no part in the affair, chiefly because of old age and sorrow, for while he was yet alive Archidamus died.

[3.7.6] Nevertheless Archidamus did not die childless, but left a son Zeuxidamus, whose son Anaxidamus succeeded to the throne. In his reign the Messenians were expelled from the Peloponnesus, being vanquished for the second time by the Spartans. Anaxidamus begat Archidamus, and Archidamus

begat Agesicles. It was the lot of both of these to pass all their lives in peace, undisturbed by any wars.

[3.7.7] Ariston, son of Agesicles, married a wife who, they say, was the ugliest maiden in Sparta, but became the most beautiful of her women, because Helen changed her; seven months only after his marriage with her Ariston had born to him a son, Demaratus. As he was sitting in council with the ephors there came to him a servant with the news that a child was born to him. Ariston, forgetting the lines in the Iliad about the birth of Eurystheus, or else never having understood them at all, declared that because of the number of months the child was not his.

[3.7.8] Afterwards he repented of his words. Demaratus, a king of good repute at Sparta, particularly for his helping Cleomenes to free Athens from the Peisistratidae, became a private citizen through the thoughtlessness of Ariston and the hatred of Cleomenes. He retired to king Dareius in Persia, and they say that his descendants remained in Asia for a long time.

[3.7.9] Leotychides, on coming to the throne in place of Demaratus, took part with the Athenians and the Athenian general Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, in the engagement of Mycale, and afterwards undertook a campaign against the Aleuadae in Thessaly. Although his uninterrupted victories in the fighting might have enabled him to reduce all Thessaly, he accepted bribes from the Aleuadae.

[3.7.10] Or, being brought to trial in Lacedaemon he voluntarily went into exile to Tegea, where he sought sanctuary as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Zeuxidamus, the son of Leotychides, died of disease while Leotychides was still alive and before he retired into exile so his son Archidamus succeeded to the throne after the departure of Leotychides for Tegea. This Archidamus did terrible damage to the land of the Athenians, invading Attica with an army every year, on each occasion carrying destruction from end to end; he also besieged and took Plataea, which was friendly to Athens.

[3.7.11] Nevertheless he was not eager that war should be declared between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, but to the utmost of his power tried to keep the truce between them unbroken. It was Sthenelaidas, an influential Spartan who was an ephor at the time, who was chiefly responsible for the war. Greece, that still stood firm, was shaken to its foundations by this war, and afterwards, when the structure had given way and was far from sound, was finally overthrown by Philip the son of Amyntas.

AGIS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

[3.8.1] VIII. Archidamus left sons when he died, of whom Agis was the elder and inherited the throne instead of Agesilaus. Archidamus had also a daughter, whose name was Cynisca; she was exceedingly ambitious to succeed at the Olympic games, and was the first woman to breed horses and the first to win an Olympic victory. After Cynisca other women, especially women of Lacedaemon, have won Olympic victories, but none of them was more

distinguished for their victories than she.

[3.8.2] The Spartans seem to me to be of all men the least moved by poetry and the praise of poets. For with the exception of the epigram upon Cynisca, of uncertain authorship, and the still earlier one upon Pausanias that Simonides wrote on the tripod dedicated at Delphi, there is no poetic composition to commemorate the doings of the royal houses of the Lacedaemonians.

[3.8.3] In the reign of Agis the son of Archidamus the Lacedaemonians had several grievances against the people of Elis, being especially exasperated because they were debarred from the Olympic games and the sanctuary at Olympia. So they dispatched a herald commanding the people of Elis to grant home-rule to Lepreum and to any other of their neighbors that were subject to them. The people of Elis replied that, when they saw the cities free that were neighbors of Sparta, they would without delay set free their own subjects; whereupon the Lacedaemonians under king Agis invaded the territory of Elis.

[3.8.4] On this occasion there occurred an earthquake, and the army retired home after advancing as far as Olympia and the Alpheus but in the next year Agis devastated the country and carried off most of the booty. Xenias, a man of Elis who was a personal friend of Agis and the state-friend of the Lacedaemonians, rose up with the rich citizens against the people but before Agis and his army could come to their aid, Thrasydaeus, who at this time championed the interests of the popular party at Elis, overthrew in battle Xenias and his followers and cast them out of the city.

[3.8.5] When Agis led back his army, he left behind Lysistratus, a Spartan, with a portion of his forces, along with the Elean refugees, that they might help the Lepreans to ravage the land. In the third year of the war the Lacedaemonians under Agis again prepared to invade the territory of Elis. So Thrasydaeus and the Eleans, reduced to dire extremities, agreed to forgo their supremacy over their neighbors, to dismantle the fortifications of their city, and to allow the Lacedaemonians to sacrifice to the god and to compete in the games at Olympia.

[3.8.6] Agis used also to make continual incursions into Attica, and established the fortified post at Decelea to annoy the Athenians. When the Athenian navy was destroyed at Aegospotami, Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and Agis violated the oaths which the Lacedaemonians as a state had sworn by the gods to the Athenians, and it was on their own initiative, and without the approval of the Spartan state, that they put before their allies the proposal to destroy Athens root and branch.

[3.8.7] Such were the most remarkable military achievements of Agis. The rash remark that Ariston made about Demaratus was also made by Agis about his son Leotychides; at the suggestion of some evil spirit he said in the hearing of the ephors that he did not believe Leotychides to be his son. Yet Agis, too, repented afterwards; he was at the time being carried home sick from Arcadia, and when he reached Heraea, he not only called the people to

witness that he sincerely believed Leotychides to be his very own son, but also with prayers and tears charged them to take the tidings to the Lacedaemonians.

AGESILAEUS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

[3.8.8] After the death of Agis, Agesilaus tried to keep Leotychides from the throne, recalling to the minds of the Lacedaemonians what Agis once said about Leotychides. But the Arcadians from Heraea arrived and bore witness for Leotychides, stating what they had heard the dying Agis say.

[3.8.9] Yet further fuel for the controversy between Agesilaus and Leotychides was supplied by the oracle that was delivered at Delphi to this effect:—

Sparta beware! though haughty, pay heed to the warning I give thee.
Never let thy sound limbs give birth to a kingdom that lame is.
Too long then shalt thou lie in the clutches of desperate hardships;
Turmoil of war shall arise, o'erwhelming men in its billows.

[3.8.10] Leotychides on this occasion said that these words pointed to Agesilaus, who was lame in one of his feet, while Agesilaus interpreted them as alluding to the illegitimacy of Leotychides. Although they might have done so, the Lacedaemonians did not refer the disputed point to Delphi; the reason was in my opinion that Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, an active supporter of Agesilaus, would have him king at all costs.

[3.9.1] IX. So Agesilaus, son of Archidamus, became king, and the Lacedaemonians resolved to cross with a fleet to Asia in order to put down Artaxerxes, son of Dareius. For they were informed by several of their magistrates, especially by Lysander, that it was not Artaxerxes but Cyrus who had been supplying the pay for the fleet during the war with Athens. Agesilaus, who was appointed to lead the expedition across to Asia and to be in command of the land forces, sent round to all parts of the Peloponnesus, except Argos, and to the Greeks north of the Isthmus, asking for allies.

[3.9.2] Now the Corinthians were most eager to take part in the expedition to Asia, but considering it a bad omen that their temple of Zeus surnamed Olympian had been suddenly burnt down, they reluctantly remained behind. The Athenians excused themselves on the ground that their city was returning to its former state of prosperity after the Peloponnesian war and the epidemic of plague, and the news brought by messengers, that Conon, son of Timotheus, had gone up to the Persian king, strongly confirmed them in their policy of inactivity.

[3.9.3] The envoy dispatched to Thebes was Aristomelidas, the father of the mother of Agesilaus, a close friend of the Thebans who, when the wall of Plataea had been taken, had been one of the judges voting that the remnant of the garrison should be put to death. Now the Thebans like the Athenians

refused, saying that they would give no help. When Agesilaus had assembled his Lacedaemonian forces and those of the allies, and at the same time the fleet was ready, he went to Aulis to sacrifice to Artemis, because Agamemnon too had propitiated the goddess here before leading the expedition to Troy.

[3.9.4] Agesilaus, then, claimed to be king of a more prosperous city than was Agamemnon, and to be like him overlord of all Greece, and that it would be a more glorious success to conquer Artaxerxes and acquire the riches of Persia than to destroy the empire of Priam. but even as he was sacrificing armed Thebans came upon him, threw down from the altar the still burning thighbones of the victims, and drove him from the sanctuary.

[3.9.5] Though vexed that the sacrifice was not completed, Agesilaus nevertheless crossed into Asia and launched an attack against Sardes for Lydia at this period was the most important district of lower Asia, and Sardes, pre-eminent for its wealth and resources, had been assigned as a residence to the satrap of the coast region, just as Susa had been to the king himself.

[3.9.6] A battle was fought on the plain of the Hermus with Tissaphernes, satrap of the parts around Ionia, in which Agesilaus conquered the cavalry of the Persians and the infantry, of which the muster on this occasion had been surpassed only in the expedition of Xerxes and in the earlier ones of Darius against the Scythians and against Athens. The Lacedaemonians, admiring the energy of Agesilaus, added to his command the control of the fleet. But Agesilaus made his brother-in-law, Peisander, admiral, and devoted himself to carrying on the war vigorously by land.

[3.9.7] The jealousy of some deity prevented him from bringing his plans to their conclusion. For when Artaxerxes heard of the victories won by Agesilaus, and how, by attending to the task that lay before him, he advanced with his army even further and further, he put Tissaphernes to death in spite of his previous services, and sent down to the sea Tithraustes, a clever schemer who had some grudge against the Lacedaemonians.

[3.9.8] On his arrival at Sardes he at once thought out a plan by which to force the Lacedaemonians to recall their army from Asia. He sent Timocrates, a Rhodian, to Greece with money, instructing him to stir up in Greece a war against the Lacedaemonians. Those who shared in this money are said to have been the Argives Cylon and Sodamas, the Thebans Androcleides, Ismenias and Amphithemis, the Athenians Cephalus and Epicrates, with the Corinthians who had Argive sympathies, Polyantes and Timolaus.

[3.9.9] But those who first openly started the war were the Locrians from Amphissa. For there happened to be a piece of land the ownership of which was a matter of dispute between the Locrians and the Phocians. Egged on by Ismenias and his party at Thebes, the Locrians cut the ripe corn in this land and drove off the booty. The Phocians on their side invaded Locris with all their forces, and laid waste the land.

[3.9.10] So the Locrians brought in the Thebans as allies, and devastated Phocis. Going to Lacedaemon the Phocians inveighed against the Thebans,

and set forth what they had suffered at their hands. The Lacedaemonians determined to make war against Thebes, chief among their grievances being the outrageous way the Thebans behaved towards Agesilaus when he was sacrificing at Aulis.

[3.9.11] The Athenians receiving early intimation of the Lacedaemonians' intentions, sent to Sparta begging them to submit their grievances to a court of arbitration instead of appealing to arms, but the Lacedaemonians dismissed the envoys in anger. The sequel, how the Lacedaemonians set forth and how Lysander died, I have already described in my account of Pausanias.

[3.9.12] And what was called the Corinthian war, which continually became more serious, had its origin in the expedition of the Lacedaemonians into Boeotia. So these circumstances compelled Agesilaus to lead his army back from Asia. Crossing with his fleet from Abydos to Sestos he passed through Thrace as far as Thessaly, where the Thessalians, to please the Thebans, tried to prevent his further progress; there was also an old friendship between them and Athens.

[3.9.13] But Agesilaus put the Thessalian cavalry to flight and passed through Thessaly, and again made his way through Boeotia, winning a victory over Thebes and the allies at Coronea. When the Boeotians were put to flight, certain of them took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena surnamed Itonia. Agesilaus, although suffering from a wound received in the battle, did not sin against the suppliants.

[3.10.1] X. Not long afterwards the Corinthians in exile for pro-Spartan sympathies held the Isthmian games. The Corinthians in the city made no move at the time, through their fear of Agesilaus but when he marched to Sparta, they too celebrated the Isthmian games along with the Argives. Agesilaus again marched with an army against Corinth, and, as the festival Hyacinthia was at hand, he gave the Amycleans leave to go back home and perform the traditional rites in honor of Apollo and Hyacinthus. This battalion was attacked on the way and annihilated by the Athenians under Iphicrates.

[3.10.2] Agesilaus went also to Aetolia to give assistance to the Aetolians, who were hard pressed in a war with, the Acarnanians; these he compelled to put an end to the war, although they had come very near capturing Calydon and the other towns of the Aetolians. Afterwards he sailed to Egypt, to succor the Egyptians who had revolted from the king of Persia. Agesilaus performed many noteworthy achievements in Egypt, but, being by this time an old man, he died on the march. then his dead body was brought home, the Lacedaemonians buried it with greater honors than they had given to any other king.

ARCHIDAMAS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

[3.10.3] In the reign of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, the Phocians seized the sanctuary at Delphi. To help in a war with Thebes the Phocians hired with its wealth independent mercenaries, but they here also aided publicly by the

Lacedaemonians and Athenians, the latter calling to mind some old service rendered by the Phocians, the former, too, pretending to be friends when their real reason was, I think, hatred of the Thebans. Theopompus, son of Damasistratus, said that Archidamus himself had a share of the Delphic money, and further that Deinicha the wife of Archidamus, receiving a bribe from the chief men of the Phocians, made Archidamus more ready to bring them reinforcements.

[3.10.4] To accept sacred money and to help men who had pillaged the most famous of oracles I do not hold praiseworthy, but the following incident does redound to his praise. The Phocians were contemplating the cruel course of killing the Delphians of vigorous age, enslaving the women and children, and levelling the city itself to the ground; it was due to the intercession of Archidamus that they escaped this fate at the hands of the Phocians.

[3.10.5] Archidamus afterwards also crossed over into Italy to help the Tarentines to wage war against their foreign neighbors. Here he was killed by the foreigners, and his corpse missed burial owing to the anger of Apollo. Agis, the elder son of this Archidamus, met his death fighting against Antipater and the Macedonians, but while the younger son, Eudamidas, was king, the Lacedaemonians enjoyed peace. The history of Agis, son of Eudamidas, and of Eurydamidas, son of Agis, my account of Sicyon has already set forth.

SCOTITAS

[3.10.6] On the way from the Hermae the whole of the region is full of oak-trees. The name of the district, Scotitas (Dark), is not due to the unbroken woods but to Zeus surnamed Scotitas, and there is a sanctuary of Zeus Scotitas on the left of the road and about ten stades from it. If you go back from the sanctuary to the road, advance a little and then turn again to the left, you come to an image of Heracles and a trophy, which I was told Heracles raised after killing Hippocoon and his sons.

CARYAE & THORNAX

[3.10.7] The third branch from the straight road is on the right, and leads to Caryae (Walnut-trees) and to the sanctuary of Artemis. For Caryae is a region sacred to Artemis and the nymphs, and here stands in the open an image of Artemis Caryatis. Here every year the Lacedaemonian maidens hold choruses, and they have a traditional native dance. On returning, as you go along the highway, you come to the ruins of Sellasia. The people of this city, as I have stated already, were sold into slavery by the Achaeans after they had conquered in battle the Lacedaemonians under their king Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas.

[3.10.8] In Thornax, which you will reach as you go along, is an image of Apollo Pythaeus, made after the style of the one at Amyclae; the fashion of it

I will describe when I come to speak of the latter. For in the eyes of the Lacedaemonians the cult of the Amyclaeon is the more distinguished, so that they spent on adorning the image in Amyclae even the gold which Croesus the Lydian sent for Apollo Pythaeus.

SPARTA

[3.11.1] XI. Farther on from Thornax is the city, which was originally named Sparta, but in course of time came to be called Lacedaemon as well, a name which till then belonged to the land. To prevent misconception, I added in my account of Attica that I had not mentioned everything in order, but had made a selection of what was most noteworthy. This I will repeat before beginning my account of Sparta; for from the beginning the plan of my work has been to discard the many trivial stories current among the several communities, and to pick out the things most worthy of mention – an excellent rule which I will never violate.

[3.11.2] The Lacedaemonians who live in Sparta have a market-place worth seeing; the council-chamber of the senate, and the offices of the ephors, of the guardians of the laws, and of those called the Bidiaeans, are all in the market-place. The senate is the council which has the supreme control of the Lacedaemonian constitution, the other officials form the executive. Both the ephors and the Bidiaeans are five in number; it is customary for the latter to hold competitions for the lads, particularly the one at the place called Platanistas (Plane-tree Grove), while the ephors transact the most serious business, one of them giving his name to the year, just as at Athens this privilege belongs to one of those called the Nine Archons.

[3.11.3] The most striking feature in the marketplace is the portico which they call Persian because it was made from spoils taken in the Persian wars. In course of time they have altered it until it is as large and as splendid as it is now. On the pillars are white-marble figures of Persians, including Mardonius, son of Gobryas. There is also a figure of Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis and queen of Halicarnassus. It is said that this lady voluntarily joined the expedition of Xerxes against Greece and distinguished herself at the naval engagement off Salamis.

[3.11.4] On the market-place are temples; there is one of Caesar, the first Roman to covet monarchy and the first emperor under the present constitution, and also one to his son Augustus, who put the empire on a firmer footing, and became a more famous and a more powerful man than his father. His name “Augustus” means in Greek *sebastos* (reverend).

[3.11.5] At the altar of Augustus they show a bronze statue of Agias. This Agias, they say, by divining for Lysander captured the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami with the exception of ten ships of war. These made their escape to Cyprus; all the rest the Lacedaemonians captured along with their crews. Agias was a son of Agelochus, a son of Tisamenus.

[3.11.6] Tisamenus belonged to the family of the Iamidae at Elis, and an oracle was given to him that he should win five most famous contests. So he trained for the pentathlon at Olympia, but came away defeated. And yet he was first in two events, beating Hieronymus of Andros in running and in jumping. But when he lost the wrestling bout to this competitor, and so missed the prize, he understood what the oracle meant, that the god granted him to win five contests in war by his divinations.

[3.11.7] The Lacedaemonians, hearing of the oracle the Pythian priestess had given to Tisamenus, persuaded him to migrate from Elis and to be state-diviner at Sparta. And Tisamenus won them five contests in war. The first was at Plataea against the Persians; the second was at Tegea, when the Lacedaemonians had engaged the Tegeans and Argives; the third was at Dipaea, an Arcadian town in Maenalia, when all the Arcadians except the Mantineans were arrayed against them.

[3.11.8] His fourth contest was against the Helots who had rebelled and left the Isthmus for Ithome. Not all the Helots revolted, only the Messenian element, which separated itself off from the old Helots. These events I shall relate presently. On the occasion I mention the Lacedaemonians allowed the rebels to depart under a truce, in accordance with the advice of Tisamenus and of the oracle at Delphi. The last time Tisamenus divined for them was at Tanagra, an engagement taking place with the Argives and Athenians.

[3.11.9] Such I learned was the history of Tisamenus. On their market-place the Spartans have images of Apollo Pythaeus, of Artemis and of Leto. The whole of this region is called Choros (Dancing), because at the Gymnopaediae, a festival which the Lacedaemonians take more seriously than any other, the lads perform dances in honor of Apollo. Not far from them is a sanctuary of Earth and of Zeus of the Market-place, another of Athena of the Market-place and of Poseidon surnamed Securer, and likewise one of Apollo and of Hera.

[3.11.10] There is also dedicated a colossal statue of the Spartan People. The Lacedaemonians have also a sanctuary of the Fates, by which is the grave of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. For when the bones of Orestes were brought from Tegea in accordance with an oracle they were buried here. Beside the grave of Orestes is a statue of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, a king who rose to such honor that the magistrates seal with his likeness everything that requires sealing.

[3.11.11] There is also Hermes of the Market-place carrying Dionysus as a child, besides the old Courts of the Ephors, as they are called, in which are the tombs of Epimenides the Cretan and of Aphareus the son of Perieres. As to Epimenides, I think the Lacedaemonian story is more probable than the Argive. Here, where the Fates are, the Lacedaemonians also have a sanctuary of Hestia. There is also Zeus Hospitable and Athena Hospitable.

[3.12.1] XII. As you go from the market-place by the road they name the Aphetaid Road, you come to the so-called Booneta. But my narrative must first explain why the road has this name.

[3.12.2] It is said that Icarius proposed a foot-race for the wooers of Penelope; that Odysseus won is plain, but they say that the competitors were let go (aphethenai) for the race along the Aphetaid Road. In my opinion, Icarius was imitating Danaus when he held the running-race. For Danaus contrived the following plan to solve the difficulty about his daughters. Nobody would take a wife from among them because of their pollution so Danaus sent round a notice that he would give away his daughters without bride-gifts, and that each suitor could choose the one whose beauty pleased him most. A few men came, among whom he held a foot-race the first comer was allowed to choose before all the others, after him the second, and so on to the last. The daughters that were left had to wait until other suitors arrived and competed in another foot-race.

[3.12.3] On this road the Lacedaemonians have, as I have already said, what is called the Booneta, which once was the house of their king Polydorus. When he died, they bought it from his widow, paying the price in oxen. For at that time there was as yet neither silver nor gold coinage, but they still bartered in the old way with oxen, slaves, and uncoined silver and gold.

[3.12.4] Those who sail to India say that the natives give other merchandise in exchange for Greek cargoes, knowing nothing about coinage, and that though they have plenty of gold and of bronze.

On the opposite side of the office of the Bidiaeans is a sanctuary of Athena. Odysseus is said to have set up the image and to have named it Keleuthea (Lady of the Road), when he had beaten the suitors of Penelope in the foot-race. Of Keleuthea he set up sanctuaries, three in number, at some distance from each other.

[3.12.5] Farther along the Aphetaid Road are hero-shrines, of Iops, who is supposed to have been born in the time of Lelex or. Myles, and of Amphiaraus the son of Oicles. The last they think was made by the sons of Tyndareus, for that Amphiaraus was their cousin. There is a hero-shrine of Lelex himself. Not far from these is a precinct of Poseidon of Taenarum, which is the surname given him, and near by an image of Athena, which is said to have been dedicated by the colonists

[3.12.6] who left for Tarentum in Italy. As to the place they call the Hellenium, it has been stated that those of the Greeks who were preparing to repel Xerxes when he was crossing into Europe deliberated at this place how they should resist. The other story is that those who made the expedition against Troy to please Menelaus deliberated here how they could sail out to Troy and exact satisfaction from Alexander for carrying off Helen.

[3.12.7] Near the Hellenium they point out the tomb of Talthybius. The Achaeans of Aegium too say that a tomb which they show on their market-place belongs to Talthybius. It was this Talthybius whose wrath at the murder

of the heralds, who were sent to Greece by king Dareius to demand earth and water, left its mark upon the whole state of the Lacedaemonians, but in Athens fell upon individuals, the members of the house of one man, Miltiades the son of Cimon. Miltiades was responsible for the death at the hands of the Athenians of those of the heralds who came to Attica.

[3.12.8] The Lacedaemonians have an altar of Apollo Acritas, and a sanctuary, surnamed Gasepton, of Earth. Above it is set up Maleatian Apollo. At the end of the Aphetaid Road, quite close to the wall, are a sanctuary of Dictynna and the royal graves of those called the Eurypontidae. Beside the Hellenium is a sanctuary of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus and sister of the wives of Polydeuces and Castor. At the place called the Forts is a temple of Artemis, and a little further on has been built a tomb for the diviners from Elis, called the Iamidae.

[3.12.9] There is also a sanctuary of Maron and of Alpheius. Of the Lacedaemonians who served at Thermopylae they consider that these men distinguished themselves in the fighting more than any save Leonidas himself. The sanctuary of Zeus Tropaeon (He who turns to flight) was made by the Dorians, when they had conquered in war the Amyclaeans, as well as the other Achaeans, who at that time occupied Laconia. The sanctuary of the Great Mother has paid to it the most extraordinary honors. After it come the hero-shrines of Hippolytus, son of Theseus, and of the Arcadian Aulon, son of Tlesimenes. Some say that Tlesimenes was a brother, others a son of Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion.

[3.12.10] Leading from the market-place is another road, on which they have built what is called Scias (Canopy), where even at the present day they hold their meetings of the Assembly. This Canopy was made, they say, by Theodorus of Samos, who discovered the melting of iron and the moulding of images from it. Here the Lacedaemonians hung the harp of Timotheus of Miletus, to express their disapproval of his innovation in harping, the addition of four strings to the seven old ones.

[3.12.11] By the Canopy is a circular building, and in it images of Zeus and Aphrodite surnamed Olympian. This, they say, was set up by Epimenides, but their account of him does not agree with that of the Argives, for the Lacedaemonians deny that they ever fought with the Cnossians.

[3.13.1] XIII. Hard by is the grave of Cynortas son of Amyclas, together with the tomb of Castor, and over the tomb there has also been made a sanctuary, for they say that it was not before the fortieth year after the fight with Idas and Lynceus that divine honors were paid to the sons of Tyndareus. By the Canopy is also shown the grave of Idas and Lynceus. Now it fits in best with their history to hold that they were buried not here but in Messenia.

[3.13.2] But the disasters of the Messenians, and the length of their exile from the Peloponnesus, even after their return wrapped in darkness much of their ancient history, and their ignorance makes it easy for any who wish to dispute a claim with them.

Opposite the Olympian Aphrodite the Lacedaemonians have a temple of the Saviour Maid. Some say that it was made by Orpheus the Thracian, others by Abairis when he had come from the Hyperboreans.

[3.13.3] Carneus, whom they surname “of the House,” had honors in Sparta even before the return of the Heracleidae, his seat being in the house of a seer, Crius (Ram) the son of Theocles. The daughter of this Crius was met as she was filling her pitcher by spies of the Dorians, who entered into conversation with her, visited Crius and learned from him how to capture Sparta.

[3.13.4] The cult of Apollo Carneus has been established among all the Dorians ever since Carnus, an Acarnanian by birth, who was a seer of Apollo. When he was killed by Hippotes the son of Phylas, the wrath of Apollo fell upon the camp of the Dorians Hippotes went into banishment because of the bloodguilt, and from this time the custom was established among the Dorians of propitiating the Acarnanian seer. But this Carnus is not the Lacedaemonian Carneus of the House, who was worshipped in the house of Crius the seer while the Achaeans were still in possession of Sparta.

[3.13.5] The poetess Praxilla represents Carneus as the son of Europa, Apollo and Leto being his nurses. There is also another account of the name; in Trojan Ida there grew in a grove of Apollo cornel-trees, which the Greeks cut down to make the Wooden Horse. Learning that the god was wroth with them they propitiated him with sacrifices and named Apollo Carneus from the cornel-tree (*craneia*), a custom prevalent in the olden time making them transpose the *r* and the *a*.

[3.13.6] Not far from Carneus is what is called the image of Aphetaeus. Here they say was the starting-place of the race run by the suitors of Penelope. There is a place having its porticoes in the form of a square, where of old stuff used to be sold to the people. By this is an altar of Zeus Counsellor and of Athena Counsellor, also of the Dioscuri, likewise surnamed Counsellors.

[3.13.7] Opposite is what is called the Knoll, with a temple of Dionysus of the Knoll, by which is a precinct of the hero who they say guided Dionysus on the way to Sparta. To this hero sacrifices are offered before they are offered to the god by the daughters of Dionysus and the daughters of Leucippus. For the other eleven ladies who are named daughters of Dionysus there is held a footrace; this custom came to Sparta from Delphi.

[3.13.8] Not far from the Dionysus is a sanctuary of Zeus of Fair Wind, on the right of which is a hero-shrine of Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus were descended on their mother’s side from Pleuron, for Asius in his poem says that Thestius the father of Leda was the son of Agenor the son of Pleuron. Not far from the hero-shrine is a hill, and on the hill a temple of Argive Hera, set up, they say, by Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedaemon and the wife of Acrisius the son of Abas. An oracular utterance caused to be built a sanctuary of Hera Hyperchemia (she whose hand is above) at a time when the Eurotas was flooding a great part of the land.

[3.13.9] An old wooden image they call that of Aphrodite Hera. A mother is

wont to sacrifice to the goddess when a daughter is married. On the road to the right of the hill is a statue of Hetoemocles. Both Hetoemocles himself and his father Hipposthenes won Olympic victories for wrestling the two together won eleven, but Hipposthenes succeeded in beating his son by one victory.

SPARTA

[3.14.1] XIV. On going westwards from the market-place is a cenotaph of Brasidas the son of Tellis. Not far from it is the theater, made of white marble and worth seeing. Opposite the theater are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is set up a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians.

[3.14.2] There is a place in Sparta called Theomelida. In this part of the city are the graves of the Agiad kings, and near is what is called the lounge of the Crotani, who form a part of the Pitaneans. Not far from the lounge is a sanctuary of Asclepius, called "in the place of the Agiadae." Farther on is the tomb of Taenarus, after whom they say the headland was named that juts out into the sea. Here are sanctuaries of Poseidon Hippiocurius (Horse-tending) and of Artemis Aiginaea (Goat-goddess?). On returning to the lounge you see a sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. They surname her also Lady of the Lake, though she is not really Artemis but Britomartis of Crete. I deal with her in my account of Aegina.

[3.14.3] Very near to the tombs which have been built for the Agiadae you will see a slab, on which are written the victories in the foot-race won, at Olympia and elsewhere, by Chionis, a Lacedaemonian. The Olympian victories were seven, four in the single-stade race and three in the double-stade race. The race with the shield, that takes place at the end of the contest, was not at that time one of the events. It is said that Chionis also took part in the expedition of Battus of Thera, helped him to found Cyrene and to reduce the neighboring Libyans.

[3.14.4] The sanctuary of Thetis was set up, they say, for the following reason. The Lacedaemonians were making war against the Messenians, who had revolted, and their king Anaxander, having invaded Messenia, took prisoners certain women, and among them Cleo, priestess of Thetis. This Cleo the wife of Anaxander asked for from her husband, and discovering that she had the wooden image of Thetis, she set up with her a temple for the goddess. This Leandris did because of a vision in a dream,

[3.14.5] but the wooden image of Thetis is guarded in secret. The cult of Demeter Chthonia (of the Lower World) the Lacedaemonians say was handed on to them by Orpheus, but in my opinion it was because of the sanctuary in Hermione that the Lacedaemonians also began to worship Demeter Chthonia.

The Spartans have also a sanctuary of Serapis, the newest sanctuary in the city, and one of Zeus surnamed Olympian.

[3.14.6] The Lacedaemonians give the name Running Course to the place where it is the custom for the young men even down to the present day to practise running. As you go to this Course from the grave of the Agiadae, you see on the left the tomb of Eumedes – this Eumedes was one of the children of Hippocoon – and also an old image of Heracles, to whom sacrifice is paid by the Sphaereis. These are those who are just passing from youth to manhood. In the Course are two gymnastic schools, one being a votive gift of Eurycles, a Spartan. Outside the Course, over against the image of Heracles, there is a house belonging now to a private individual, but in olden times to Menelaus. Farther away from the Course are sanctuaries of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, of Eileithyia, of Apollo Carneus, and of Artemis Leader.

[3.14.7] The sanctuary of Agnitas has been made on the right of the Course; Agnitas is a surname of Asclepius, because the god had a wooden image of agnus castus. The agnus is a willow like the thorn. Not far from Asclepius stands a trophy, raised, they say, by Polydeuces to celebrate his victory over Lynceus. This is one of the pieces of evidence that confirm my statement that the sons of Aphareus were not buried in Sparta. At the beginning of the Course are the Dioscuri Starters, and a little farther on a hero-shrine of Alcon, who they say was a son of Hippocoon. Beside the shrine of Alcon is a sanctuary of Poseidon, whom they surname “of the House.”

[3.14.8] And there is a place called Platanistas (Plane-tree Grove) from the unbroken ring of tall plane trees growing round it. The place itself, where it is customary for the youths to fight, is surrounded by a moat just like an island in the sea; you enter it by bridges. On each of the two bridges stand images; on one side an image of Heracles, on the other a likeness of Lycurgus. Among the laws Lycurgus laid down for the constitution are those regulating the fighting of the youths.

[3.14.9] There are other acts performed by the youths, which I will now describe. Before the fighting they sacrifice in the Phoebeum, which is outside the city, not far distant from Therapne. Here each company of youths sacrifices a puppy to Enyalios, holding that the most valiant of tame animals is an acceptable victim to the most valiant of the gods. I know of no other Greeks who are accustomed to sacrifice puppies except the people of Colophon; these too sacrifice a puppy, a black bitch, to the Wayside Goddess. Both the sacrifice of the Colophonians and that of the youths at Sparta are appointed to take place at night.

[3.14.10] At the sacrifice the youths set trained boars to fight; the company whose boar happens to win generally gains the victory in Plane-tree Grove. Such are the performances in the Phoebeum. A little before the middle of the next day they enter by the bridges into the place I have mentioned. They cast lots during the night to decide by which entrance each band is to go in. In fighting they use their hands, kick with their feet, bite, and gouge out the eyes

of their opponents. Man to man they fight in the way I have described, but in the melee they charge violently and push one another into the water.

[3.15.1] XV. At Plane-tree Grove there is also a hero-shrine of Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus king of the Spartans. She was the first woman to breed horses, and the first to win a chariot race at Olympia. Behind the portico built by the side of Plane-tree Grove are other hero-shrines, of Alcimus, of Enaraephorus, at a little distance away one of Dorceus, and close to it one of Sebrus.

[3.15.2] These are said to be sons of Hippocoon. The fountain near the hero-shrine of Dorceus they call Dorcean after him; the place Sebrium is named after Sebrus. On the right of Sebrium is the tomb of Alcman, the lyric poet, the charm of whose works was not in the least spoilt by the Laconian dialect, which is the least musical of them all.

[3.15.3] There are sanctuaries of Helen and of Heracles; the former is near the grave of Alcman, the latter is quite close to the wall and contains an armed image of Heracles. The attitude of the image is due, they say, to the fight with Hippocoon and his sons. The enmity of Heracles towards the family of Hippocoon is said to have sprung out of their refusing to cleanse him when he came to Sparta for cleansing after the death of Iphitus.

[3.15.4] The following incident, too, helped to begin the feud. Oeonus, a stripling cousin of Heracles – he was the son of Licymnius the brother of Alcmena – came to Sparta along with Heracles, and went round to view the city. When he came to the house of Hippocoon, a house-dog attacked him. Oeonus happened to throw a stone which knocked over the dog. So the sons of Hippocoon ran out, and dispatched Oeonus with their clubs.

[3.15.5] This made Heracles most bitterly wroth with Hippocoon and his sons, and straightway, angry as he was, he set out to give them battle. On this occasion he was wounded, and made good his retreat by stealth but afterwards he made an expedition against Sparta and succeeded in avenging himself on Hippocoon, and also on the sons of Hippocoon for their murder of Oeonus. The tomb of Oeonus is built by the side of the sanctuary of Heracles.

[3.15.6] As you go from the Course towards the east, there is a path on the right, with a sanctuary of Athena called Axiopoinos (Just Requitel or Tit for Tat). For when Heracles, in avenging himself on Hippocoon and his sons, had inflicted upon them a just requital for their treatment of his relative, he founded a sanctuary of Athena, and surnamed her Axiopoinos because the ancients used to call vengeance poinai. There is another sanctuary of Athena on another road from the Course. It was dedicated, they say, by Theras son of Autesion son of Tisamenus son of Thersander, when he was leading a colony to the island now called Thera after him, the name of which in ancient times was Calliste (Fairest).

[3.15.7] Near is a temple of Hipposthenes, who won so many victories in wrestling. They worship Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, paying him honors as to Poseidon. Opposite this temple is an old image of Enyalios

in fetters. The idea the Lacedaemonians express by this image is the same as the Athenians express by their Wingless Victory; the former think that Enyalios will never run away from them, being bound in the fetters, while the Athenians think that Victory, having no wings, will always remain where she is.

[3.15.8] In this fashion, and with such a belief have these cities set up the wooden images. In Sparta is a lounge called Painted, and by it hero-shrines of Cadmus the son of Agenor, and of his descendants Oeolycus, son of Theras, and Aegeus, son of Oeolycus. They are said to have been made by Maesis, Laeas and Europas, sons of Hyraeus, son of Aegeus. They made for Amphilochus too his hero-shrine, because their ancestor Tisamenus had for his mother Demonassa, the sister of Amphilochus.

[3.15.9] The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks who surname Hera Goat-eater, and sacrifice goats to the goddess. They say that Heracles founded the sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because in his fight against Hippocoon and his children he met with no hindrance from Hera, although in his other adventures he thought that the goddess opposed him. He sacrificed goats, they say, because he lacked other kinds of victims.

[3.15.10] Not far from the theater is a sanctuary of Poseidon God of Kin, and there are hero-shrines of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and of Oebalus. The most famous of their sanctuaries of Asclepius has been built near Booneta, and on the left is the hero-shrine of Teleclus. I shall mention him again later in my history of Messenia. A little farther on is a small hill, on which is an ancient temple with a wooden image of Aphrodite armed. This is the only temple I know that has an upper storey built upon it.

[3.15.11] It is a sanctuary of Morpho, a surname of Aphrodite, who sits wearing a veil and with fetters on her feet. The story is that the fetters were put on her by Tyndareus, who symbolized by the bonds the faithfulness of wives to their husbands. The other account, that Tyndareus punished the goddess with fetters because he thought that from Aphrodite had come the shame of his daughters, I will not admit for a moment. For it were surely altogether silly to expect to punish the goddess by making a cedar figure and naming it Aphrodite.

[3.16.1] XVI. Near is a sanctuary of Hilaeira and of Phoebe. The author of the poem *Cypria* calls them daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are young maidens, called, as are also the goddesses, Leucippides (Daughter of Leucippus). One of the images was adorned by a Leucippis who had served the goddesses as a priestess. She gave it a face of modern workmanship instead of the old one; she was forbidden by a dream to adorn the other one as well. Here there has been hung from the roof an egg tied to ribands, and they say that it is the famous egg that legend says Leda brought forth.

[3.16.2] Each year the women weave a tunic for the Apollo at Amyclae, and they call Tunic the chamber in which they do their weaving. Near it is built a house, said to have been occupied originally by the sons of Tyndareus, but

afterwards it was acquired by Phormion, a Spartan. To him came the Dioscuri in the likeness of strangers. They said that they had come from Cyrene, and asked to lodge with him, requesting to have the chamber which had pleased them most when they dwelt among men.

[3.16.3] He replied that they might lodge in any other part of the house they wished, but that they could not have the chamber.

For it so happened that his maiden daughter was living in it. By the next day this maiden and all her girlish apparel had disappeared, and in the room were found images of the Dioscuri, a table, and silphium upon it.

[3.16.4] Such is the story. As you go from the Tunic in the direction of the gate there is a hero-shrine of Cheilon, who is considered one of the Seven Sages, and also of Athenodorus, one of those who with Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides set out for Sicily. The reason of their setting out was that they held that the Erycine district belonged to the descendants of Heracles and not to the foreigners who held it. The story is that Heracles wrestled with Eryx on these terms: if Heracles won, the land of Eryx was to belong to him but if he were beaten, Eryx was to depart with the cows of Geryon;

[3.16.5] for Heracles at the time was driving these away, and when they swam across to Sicily he too crossed over in search of them near the bent olive-tree. The favour of heaven was more partial to Heracles than it was afterwards to Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides; Heracles killed Eryx, but Dorieus himself and the greater part of his army were destroyed by the Egestaeans.

[3.16.6] The Lacedaemonians have also made a sanctuary for Lycurgus, who drew up the laws, looking upon him as a god. Behind the temple is the grave of Eucosmus, the son of Lycurgus, and by the altar the grave of Lathria and Anaxandra. Now these were themselves twins, and therefore the sons of Aristodemus, who also were twins likewise, took them to wife; they were daughters of Thersander son of Agamedidas, king of the Cleonaeans and great-grandson of Ctesippus, son of Heracles. Opposite the temple is the tomb of Theopompus son of Nicander, and also that of Eurybiades, who commanded the Lacedaemonian warships that fought the Persians at Artemisium and Salamis. Near is what is called the hero-shrine of Astrabacus.

THE LIMNAEUM OF SPARTA

[3.16.7] The place named Limnaeum (Marshy) is sacred to Artemis Orthia (Upright). The wooden image there they say is that which once Orestes and Iphigenia stole out of the Tauric land, and the Lacedaemonians say that it was brought to their land because there also Orestes was king. I think their story more probable than that of the Athenians. For what could have induced Iphigenia to leave the image behind at Brauron? Or why did the Athenians, when they were preparing to abandon their land, fail to include this image in what they put on board their ships?

[3.16.8] And yet, right down to the present day, the fame of the Tauric goddess has remained so high that the Cappadocians dwelling on the Euxine

claim that the image is among them, a like claim being made by those Lydians also who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaeitis. But the Athenians, we are asked to believe, made light of it becoming booty of the Persians. For the image at Brauron was brought to Susa, and afterwards Seleucus gave it to the Syrians of Laodicea, who still possess it.

[3.16.9] I will give other evidence that the Orthia in Lacedaemon is the wooden image from the foreigners. Firstly, Astrabacus and Alopecus, sons of Irbus, son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphicles, son of Agis, when they found the image straightway became insane. Secondly, the Spartan Limnatiens, the Cynosurians, and the people of Mesoia and Pitane, while sacrificing to Artemis, fell to quarreling, which led also to bloodshed; many were killed at the altar and the rest died of disease.

[3.16.10] Whereat an oracle was delivered to them, that they should stain the altar with human blood. He used to be sacrificed upon whomsoever the lot fell, but Lycurgus changed the custom to a scourging of the lads, and so in this way the altar is stained with human blood. By them stands the priestess, holding the wooden image. Now it is small and light,

[3.16.11] but if ever the scourgers spare the lash because of a lad's beauty or high rank, then at once the priestess finds the image grow so heavy that she can hardly carry it. She lays the blame on the scourgers, and says that it is their fault that she is being weighed down. So the image ever since the sacrifices in the Tauric land keeps its fondness for human blood. They call it not only Orthia, but also Lygodesma (Willow-bound), because it was found in a thicket of willows, and the encircling willow made the image stand upright.

THE ACROPOLIS OF SPARTA

[3.17.1] XVII. Not far from the Orthia is a sanctuary of Eileithyia. They say that they built it, and came to worship Eileithyia as a goddess, because of an oracle from Delphi.

The Lacedaemonians have no citadel rising to a conspicuous height like the Cadmea at Thebes and the Larisa at Argos. There are, however, hills in the city, and the highest of them they call the citadel.

[3.17.2] Here is built a sanctuary of Athena, who is called both City-protecting and Lady of the Bronze House. The building of the sanctuary was begun, they say, by Tyndareus. On his death his children were desirous of making a second attempt to complete the building, and the resources they intended to use were the spoils of Aphidna. They too left it unfinished, and it was many years afterwards that the Lacedaemonians made of bronze both the temple and the image of Athena. The builder was Gitiadas, a native of Sparta, who also composed Dorian lyrics, including a hymn to the goddess.

[3.17.3] On the bronze are wrought in relief many of the labours of Heracles and many of the voluntary exploits he successfully carried out, besides the rape of the daughters of Leucippus and other achievements of the sons of Tyndareus. There is also Hephaestus releasing his mother from the fetters. The

legend about this I have already related in my history of Attica. There are also represented nymphs bestowing upon Perseus, who is starting on his enterprise against Medusa in Libya, a cap and the shoes by which he was to be carried through the air. There are also wrought the birth of Athena, Amphitrite, and Poseidon, the largest figures, and those which I thought the best worth seeing.

[3.17.4] There is here another sanctuary of Athena; her surname is the Worker. As you go to the south portico there is a temple of Zeus surnamed Cosmetas (Orderer), and before it is the tomb of Tyndareus. The west portico has two eagles, and upon them are two Victories. Lysander dedicated them to commemorate both his exploits; the one was off Ephesus, when he conquered Antiochus, the captain of Alcibiades, and the Athenian warships and the second occurred later, when he destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami.

[3.17.5] On the left of the Lady of the Bronze House they have set up a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians used to go out to fight, not to the sound of the trumpet, but to the music of the flute and the accompaniment of lyre and harp. Behind the Lady of the Bronze House is a temple of Aphrodite Areia (Warlike). The wooden images are as old as any in Greece.

[3.17.6] On the right of the Lady of the Bronze House has been set up an image of Zeus Most High, the oldest image that is made of bronze. It is not wrought in one piece. Each of the limbs has been hammered separately; these are fitted together, being prevented from coming apart by nails. They say that the artist was Clearchus of Rhegium, who is said by some to have been a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis, by others of Daedalus himself. By what is called the Scenoma (Tent) there is a statue of a woman, whom the Lacedaemonians say is Euryleonis. She won a victory at Olympia with a two-horse chariot.

[3.17.7] By the side of the altar of the Lady of the Bronze House stand two statues of Pausanias, the general at Plataea. His history, as it is known, I will not relate. The accurate accounts of my predecessors suffice; I shall content myself with adding to them what I heard from a man of Byzantium. Pausanias was detected in his treachery, and was the only suppliant of the Lady of the Bronze House who failed to win security, solely because he had been unable to wipe away a defilement of bloodshed.

[3.17.8] When he was cruising about the Hellespont with the Lacedaemonian and allied fleets, he fell in love with a Byzantine maiden. And straightway at the beginning of night Cleonice – that was the girl's name – was brought by those who had been ordered to do so. But Pausanias was asleep at the time and the noise awoke him. For as she came to him she unintentionally dropped her lighted lamp. And Pausanias, conscious of his treason to Greece, and therefore always nervous and fearful, jumped up then and struck the girl with his sword.

[3.17.9] From this defilement Pausanias could not escape, although he underwent all sorts of purifications and became a suppliant of Zeus Phyxius (God of Flight), and finally went to the wizards at Phigalia in Arcadia but he

paid a fitting penalty to Cleonice and to the god. The Lacedaemonians, in fulfillment of a command from Delphi, had the bronze images made and honor the spirit Bountiful, saying that it was this Bountiful that turns aside the wrath that the God of Suppliants shows because of Pausanias.

[3.18.1] XVIII. Near the statues of Pausanias is an image of Aphrodite Ambologera (Postponer of Old Age), which was set up in accordance with an oracle; there are also images of Sleep and of Death. They think them brothers, in accordance with the verses in the Iliad.

[3.18.2] As you go towards what is called the Alpium is a temple of Athena Ophthalmitis (Goddess of the Eye). They say that Lycurgus dedicated it when one of his eyes had been struck out by Alcander, because the laws he had made happened not to find favour with Alcander. Having fled to this place he was saved by the Lacedaemonians from losing his remaining eye, and so he made this temple of Athena Ophthalmitis.

[3.18.3] Farther on from here is a sanctuary of Ammon. From the first the Lacedaemonians are known to have used the oracle in Libya more than any other Greeks. It is said also that when Lysander was besieging Aphytis in Pallene Ammon appeared by night and declared that it would be better for him and for Lacedaemon if they ceased from warring against Aphytis. And so Lysander raised the siege, and induced the Lacedaemonians to worship the god still more. The people of Aphytis honor Ammon no less than the Ammonian Libyans.

[3.18.4] The story of Artemis Cnagia is as follows. Cnageus, they say, was a native who joined the Dioscuri in their expedition against Aphidna. Being taken prisoner in the battle and sold into Crete, he lived as a slave where the Cretans had a sanctuary of Artemis; but in course of time he ran away in the company of the maiden priestess, who took the image with her. It is for this reason that they name Artemis Cnagia.

[3.18.5] But I am of opinion that Cnageus came to Crete in some other way, and not in the manner the Lacedaemonians state; for I do not think there was a battle at Aphidna at all, Theseus being detained among the Thesprotians and the Athenians not being unanimous, their sympathies inclining towards Menestheus. Moreover, even if a fight occurred, nobody would believe that prisoners were taken from the conquerors, especially as the victory was overwhelming, so that Aphidna itself was captured.

AMYCLAE

[3.18.6] I must now end my criticisms. As you go down to Amyclae from Sparta you come to a river called Tiasa. They hold that Tiasa was a daughter of Eurotas, and by it is a sanctuary of Graces, Phaenna and Cleta, as Alcman calls them in a poem. They believe that Lacedaemon founded the sanctuary for the Graces here, and gave them their names.

[3.18.7] The things worth seeing in Amyclae include a victor in the pentathlon, named Aenetus, on a slab. The story is that he won a victory at

Olympia, but died while the crown was being placed on his head. So there is the statue of this man; there are also bronze tripods. The older ones are said to be a tithe of the Messenian war.

[3.18.8] Under the first tripod stood an image of Aphrodite, and under the second an Artemis. The two tripods themselves and the reliefs are the work of Gitiadas. The third was made by Gallon of Aegina, and under it stands an image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Aristander of Paros and Polycleitus of Argos have statues here; the former a woman with a lyre, supposed to be Sparta, the latter an Aphrodite called “beside the Amyclaeon.” These tripods are larger than the others, and were dedicated from the spoils of the victory at Aegospotami.

THRONE OF THE AMYCLAEAN

[3.18.9] Bathycles of Magnesia, who made the throne of the Amyclaeon, dedicated, on the completion of the throne, Graces and an image of Artemis Leucophryene. Whose pupil this Bathycles was, and who was king of Lacedaemon when he made the throne, I pass over; but I saw the throne and will describe its details.

[3.18.10] It is supported in front, and similarly behind, by two Graces and two Seasons. On the left stand Echidna and Typhos, on the right Tritons. To describe the reliefs one by one in detail would have merely bored my readers; but to be brief and concise (for the greater number of them are not unknown either) Poseidon and Zeus are carrying Taygete, daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone. There are also reliefs of Atlas, the single combat of Heracles and Cynus, and the battle of the Centaurs at the cave of Pholus.

[3.18.11] I cannot say why Bathycles has represented the so-called Bull of Minos bound, and being led along alive by Theseus. There is also on the throne a band of Phaeacian dancers, and Demodocus singing. Perseus, too, is represented killing Medusa. Passing over the fight of Heracles with the giant Thurius and that of Tyndareus with Eurytus, we have next the rape of the daughters of Leucippus. Here are Dionysus, too, and Heracles; Hermes is bearing the infant Dionysus to heaven, and Athena is taking Heracles to dwell henceforth with the gods.

[3.18.12] There is Peleus handing over Achilles to be reared by Cheiron, who is also said to have been his teacher. There is Cephalus, too, carried off by Day because of his beauty. The gods are bringing gifts to the marriage of Harmonia. There is wrought also the single combat of Achilles and Memnon, and Heracles avenging himself upon Diomedes the Thracian, and upon Nessus at the river Euenus. Hermes is bringing the goddesses to Alexander to be judged. Adrastus and Tydeus are staying the fight between Amphiaraus and Lycurgus the son of Pronax.

[3.18.13] Hera is gazing at Io, the daughter of Inachus, who is already a cow, and Athena is running away from Hephaestus, who chases her. Next to these have been wrought two of the exploits of Heracles – his slaying the hydra, and

his bringing up the Hound of Hell. Anaxias and Mnasinous are each seated on horseback, but there is one horse only carrying Megapenthes, the son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus. Bellerophontes is destroying the beast in Lycia, and Heracles is driving off the cows of Geryones.

[3.18.14] At the upper edge of the throne are wrought, one on each side, the sons of Tyndareus on horses. There are sphinxes under the horses, and beasts running upwards, on the one side a leopard, by Polydeuces a lioness. On the very top of the throne has been wrought a band of dancers, the Magnesians who helped Bathycles to make the throne.

[3.18.15] Underneath the throne, the inner part away from the Tritons contains the hunting of the Calydonian boar and Heracles killing the children of Actor. Calais and Zetes are driving the Harpies away from Phineus. Peirithous and Theseus have seized Helen, and Heracles is strangling the lion. Apollo and Artemis are shooting Tityus.

[3.18.16] There is represented the fight between Heracles and Oreius the Centaur, and also that between Theseus and the Bull of Minos. There are also represented the wrestling of Heracles with Achelous, the fabled binding of Hera by Hephaestus, the games Acastus held in honor of his father, and the story of Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus from the Odyssey. Lastly there is Admetus yoking a boar and a lion to his chariot, and the Trojans are bringing libations to Hector.

[3.19.1] XIX. The part of the throne where the god would sit is not continuous; there are several seats, and by the side of each seat is left a wide empty space, the middle, whereon the image stands, being the widest of them.

[3.19.2] I know of nobody who has measured the height of the image, but at a guess one would estimate it to be as much as thirty cubits. It is not the work of Bathycles, being old and uncouth; for though it has face, feet, and hands, the rest resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it has a helmet, in its hands a spear and a bow.

ALTAR OF THE AMYCLAEAN

[3.19.3] The pedestal of the statue is fashioned into the shape of an altar and they say that Hyacinthus is buried in it, and at the Hyacinthia, before the sacrifice to Apollo, they devote offerings to Hyacinthus as to a hero into this altar through a bronze door, which is on the left of the altar. On the altar are wrought in relief, here an image of Biris, there Amphitrite and Poseidon. Zeus and Hermes are conversing; near stand Dionysus and Semele, with Ino by her side.

[3.19.4] On the altar are also Demeter, the Maid, Pluto, next to them Fates and Seasons, and with them Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis. They are carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and Polyboea, the sister, they say, of Hyacinthus, who died a maid. Now this statue of Hyacinthus represents him as bearded, but Nicias, son of Nicomedes, has painted him in the very prime of youthful beauty, hinting at the love of Apollo for Hyacinthus of which legend tells.

[3.19.5] Wrought on the altar is also Heracles; he too is being led to heaven by Athena and the other gods. On the altar are also the daughters of Thestius, Muses and Seasons. As for the West Wind, how Apollo unintentionally killed Hyacinthus, and the story of the flower, we must be content with the legends, although perhaps they are not true history.

AMYCLAE

[3.19.6] Amyclae was laid waste by the Dorians, and since that time has remained a village; I found there a sanctuary and image of Alexandra worth seeing. Alexandra is said by the Amyclaeans to be Cassandra, the daughter of Priam. Here is also a statue of Clytaemnestra, together with what is supposed to be the tomb of Agamemnon. The natives worship the Amyclaeon god and Dionysus, surnaming the latter, quite correctly I think, Psilax. For *psila* is Doric for wings, and wine uplifts men and lightens their spirit no less than wings do birds. Such I found were the things worth mentioning about Amyclae.

ROAD TO THERAPNE

[3.19.7] Another road from the city leads to Therapne, and on this road is a wooden image of Athena Alea. Before the Eurotas is crossed, a little above the bank is shown a sanctuary of Zeus Wealthy. Across the river is a temple of Asclepius Cotyleus (of the Hip-joint); it was made by Heracles, who named Asclepius Cotyleus, because he was cured of the wound in the hip-joint that he received in the former fight with Hippocoon and his sons. Of all the objects along this road the oldest is a sanctuary of Ares. This is on the left of the road, and the image is said to have been brought from Colchis by the Dioscuri.

[3.19.8] They surname him Theritas after Thero, who is said to have been the nurse of Ares. Perhaps it was from the Colchians that they heard the name Theritas, since the Greeks know of no Thero, nurse of Ares. My own belief is that the surname Theritas was not given to Ares because of his nurse, but because when a man meets an enemy in battle he must cast aside all gentleness, as Homer says of Achilles: And he is fierce as a lion. Hom. *Il.* 24.41

THERAPNE

[3.19.9] The name of Therapne is derived from the daughter of Lelex, and in it is a temple of Menelaus; they say that Menelaus and Helen were buried here. The account of the Rhodians is different. They say that when Menelaus was dead, and Orestes still a wanderer, Helen was driven out by Nicostratus and Megapenthes and came to Rhodes, where she had a friend in Polyxo,

[3.19.10] the wife of Tlepolemus. For Polyxo, they say, was an Argive by descent, and when she was already married to Tlepolemus shared his flight to

Rhodes. At the time she was queen of the island, having been left with an orphan boy. They say that this Polyxo desired to avenge the death of Tlepolemus on Helen, now that she had her in her power. So she sent against her when she was bathing handmaidens dressed up as Furies, who seized Helen and hanged her on a tree, and for this reason the Rhodians have a sanctuary of Helen of the Tree.

[3.19.11] A story too I will tell which I know the people of Crotona tell about Helen. The people of Himera too agree with this account. In the Euxine at the mouths of the Ister is an island sacred to Achilles. It is called White Island, and its circumference is twenty stades. It is wooded throughout and abounds in animals, wild and tame, while on it is a temple of Achilles with an image of him.

[3.19.12] The first to sail thither legend says was Leonymus of Crotona. For when war had arisen between the people of Crotona and the Locri in Italy, the Locri, in virtue of the relationship between them and the Opuntians, called upon Ajax son of Oileus to help them in battle. So Leonymus the general of the people of Crotona attacked his enemy at that point where he heard that Ajax was posted in the front line. Now he was wounded in the breast, and weak with his hurt came to Delphi. When he arrived the Pythian priestess sent Leonynius to White Island, telling him that there Ajax would appear to him and cure his wound.

[3.19.13] In time he was healed and returned from White Island, where, he used to declare, he saw Achilles, as well as Ajax the son of Oileus and Ajax the son of Telamon. With them, he said, were Patroclus and Antilochus; Helen was wedded to Achilles, and had bidden him sail to Stesichorus at Himera, and announce that the loss of his sight was caused by her wrath.

[3.20.1] XX. Therefore Stesichorus composed his recantation. In Therapne I remember seeing the fountain Messeis. Some of the Lacedaemonians, however, have declared that of old the name Messeis was given, not to the fountain at Therapne, but to the one we call Polydeucea. The fountain Polydeucea and a sanctuary of Polydeuces are on the right of the road to Therapne.

[3.20.2] Not far from Therapne is what is called Phoebaeum, in which is a temple of the Dioscuri. Here the youths sacrifice to Enyalios. At no great distance from it stands a sanctuary of Poseidon surnamed Earth-embracer. Going on from here in the direction of Taygetus you come to a place called Alesiae (Place of Grinding) they say that Myles (Mill-man) the son of Lelex was the first human being to invent a mill, and that he ground corn in this Alesiae. Here they have a hero-shrine of Lacedaemon, the son of Taygete.

PHARIS & BRYSEAE

[3.20.3] Crossing from here a river Phellia, and going past Amyclae along a road leading straight towards the sea, you come to the site of Pharis, which was once a city of Laconia. Turning away from the Phellia to the right is the road

that leads to Mount Taygetus. On the plain is a precinct of Zeus Messapeus, who is surnamed, they say, after a man who served the god as his priest. Leaving Taygetus from here you come to the site of the city Bryseae. There still remains here a temple of Dionysus with an image in the open. But the image in the temple women only may see, for women by themselves perform in secret the sacrificial rites.

MT TAYGETUS & THERAE

[3.20.4] Above Bryseae rises Taletum, a peak of Taygetus. They call it sacred to Helius (the Sun), and among the sacrifices they offer here to Helius are horses. I am aware that the Persians also are wont to offer the same sacrifice. Not far from Taletum is a place called Euoras, the haunt of wild animals, especially wild goats. In fact all Taygetus is a hunting-ground for these goats and for boars, and it is well stocked with both deer and bears.

[3.20.5] Between Taletum and Euoras is a place they name Therae, where they say Leto from the Peaks of Taygetus . . . is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian. Here according to the Lacedaemonian story Heracles was hidden by Asclepius while he was being healed of a wound. In the sanctuary is a wooden image of Orpheus, a work, they say, of Pelasgians.

HELOS, LAPITHAEUM & DEREUM

[3.20.6] I know also of the following rite which is performed here. By the sea was a city Helos, which Homer too has mentioned in his list of the Lacedaemonians:

These had their home in Amyclae, and in Helos the town by the seaside.
Hom. *II.* 2.584

It was founded by Helius, the youngest of the sons of Perseus, and the Dorians afterwards reduced it by siege. Its inhabitants became the first slaves of the Lacedaemonian state, and were the first to be called Helots, as in fact Helots they were. The slaves afterwards acquired, although they were Dorians of Messenia, also came to be called Helots, just as the whole Greek race were called Hellenes from the region in Thessaly once called Hellas.

[3.20.7] From this Helos, on stated days, they bring up to the sanctuary of the Eleusinian a wooden image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Fifteen stades distant from the sanctuary is Lapithaeum, named after Lapithus, a native of the district. So this Lapithaeum is on Taygetus, and not far off is Dereium, where is in the open an image of Artemis Dereatis, and beside it is a spring which they name Anonus. About twenty stades past Dereum is Harpleia, which extends as far as the plain.

ROAD TO ARCADIA

[3.20.8] On the road from Sparta to Arcadia there stands in the open an image of

Athena surnamed Pareia, and after it is a sanctuary of Achilles. This it is not customary to open, but all the youths who are going to take part in the contest in Plane-tree Grove are wont to sacrifice to Achilles before the fight. The Spartans say that the sanctuary was made for them by Prax, a grandson of Pergamus the son of Neoptolemus.

[3.20.9] Further on is what is called the Tomb of Horse. For Tyndareus, having sacrificed a horse here, administered an oath to the suitors of Helen, making them stand upon the pieces of the horse. The oath was to defend Helen and him who might be chosen to marry her if ever they should be wronged. When he had sworn the suitors he buried the horse here. Seven pillars, which are not far from this tomb . . . in the ancient manner, I believe, which they say are images of the planets. On the road is a precinct of Cranius surnamed Stemmatis, and a sanctuary of Mysian Artemis.

[3.20.10] The image of Modesty, some thirty stades distant from the city, they say was dedicated by Icarius, the following being the reason for making it. When Icarius gave Penelope in marriage to Odysseus, he tried to make Odysseus himself settle in Lacedaemon, but failing in the attempt, he next besought his daughter to remain behind, and when she was setting forth to Ithaca he followed the chariot, begging her to stay.

[3.20.11] Odysseus endured it for a time, but at last he bade Penelope either to accompany him willingly, or else, if she preferred her father, to go back to Lacedaemon. They say that she made no reply, but covered her face with a veil in reply to the question, so that Icarios, realizing that she wished to depart with Odysseus, let her go, and dedicated an image of Modesty; for Penelope, they say, had reached this point of the road when she veiled herself.

[3.21.1] XXI. Twenty stades from here the stream of the Eurotas comes very near to the road, and here is the tomb of Ladas, the fastest runner of his day. He was crowned at Olympia for a victory in the long race, and falling ill, I take it, immediately after the victory he was on his way home; his death took place here, and his grave is above the highway. His namesake, who also won at Olympia a victory, not in the long race but in the short race, is stated in the Elean records of Olympic victors to have been a native of Aegium in Achaia.

PELLANA & BELEMINA

[3.21.2] Farther on in the direction of Pellana is what is called Characoma (Trench); and after it Pellana, which in the olden time was a city. They say that Tyndareus dwelt here when he fled from Sparta before Hippocoon and his sons. Remarkable sights I remember seeing here were a sanctuary of Asclepius and the spring Pellanis. Into it they say a maiden fell when she was drawing water, and when she had disappeared the veil on her head reappeared in another spring, Lancia.

[3.21.3] A hundred stades away from Pellana is the place called Belemina. It is naturally The best watered region of Laconia, seeing that The river Eurotas passes through it, while it has abundant springs of its own.

[3.21.4] As you go down to the sea towards Gythium you come to a village called Croceae and a quarry. It is not a continuous stretch of rock, but the stones they dig out are shaped like river pebbles; they are hard to work, but when worked sanctuaries of the gods might be adorned with them, while they are especially adapted for beautifying swimming-baths and fountains. Here before the village stands an image of Zeus of Croceae in marble, and the Dioscuri in bronze are at the quarry.

AEGIAE & GYTHIUM

[3.21.5] After Croceae, turning away to the right from the straight road to Gythium, you will reach a city Aegiae. They say that this is the city which Homer in his poem calls *Augeae*. Here is a lake called Poseidon's, and by the lake is a temple with an image of the god. They are afraid to take out the fish, saying that a fisherman in these waters turns into the fish called the fisher.

[3.21.6] Gythium is thirty stades distant from Aegiae, built by the sea in the territory of the Free Laconians, whom the emperor Augustus freed from the bondage in which they had been to the Lacedaemonians in Sparta. All the Peloponnesus, except the Isthmus of Corinth, is surrounded by sea, but the best shell-fish for the manufacture of purple dye after those of the Phoenician sea are to be found on the coast of Laconia.

[3.21.7] The Free Laconians have eighteen cities; the first as you go down from Aegiae to the sea is Gythium; after it come Teuthrone and Las and Pyrrhichus; on Taenarum are Caenepolis, Oetylus, Leuctra and Thalamae, and in addition Alagoma and Gerenia. On the other side of Clythium by the sea are Asopus, Acraiae, Boeae, Larax, Epidaurus Limera, Brasiae, Geronthrae and Marius. These are all that are left to the Free Laconians out of twenty-four cities which once were theirs. All the other cities with which my narrative will deal belong, it must be remembered, to Sparta, and are not independent like those I have already mentioned.

[3.21.8] The people of Gythium say that their city had no human founder, but that Heracles and Apollo, when they were reconciled after their strife for the possession of the tripod, united to found the city. In the market-place they have images of Apollo and of Heracles, and a Dionysus stands near them. In another part of the city are Carnean Apollo, a sanctuary of Ammon and a bronze image of Asclepius, whose temple is roofless, a spring belonging to the god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter and an image of Poseidon Earth-embracer.

[3.21.9] Him whom the people of Gythium name Old Man, saying that he lives in the sea, I found to be Nereus. They got this name originally from Homer, who says in a part of the Iliad, where Thetis is speaking:—

Into the broad expanse, and into the bosom of ocean

Plunge, to behold the old man of the sea and the home of your father. Hom. *Il.*
18.140-141

Here is also a gate called the Gate of Castor, and on the citadel have been built a temple and image of Athena.

[3.22.1] XXII. Just about three stades from Gythium is an unwrought stone. Legend has it that when Orestes sat down upon it his madness left him. For this reason the stone was named in the Dorian tongue Zeus Cappotas.

CRANAE

Before Gythium lies the island Cranae, and Homer says that when Alexander had carried off Helen he had intercourse with her there for the first time. On the mainland opposite the island is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Migonitis (Union), and the whole place is called Migonium.

[3.22.2] This sanctuary, they say, was made by Alexander. But when Menelaus had taken Ilium and had returned safe home eight years after the sack of Troy, he set up near the sanctuary of Migonitis an image of Thetis and the goddesses Praxidicae (Exacters of Justice). Above Migonium is a mountain called Larysium sacred to Dionysus, and at the beginning of spring they hold a festival in honor of Dionysus, and among the things they say about the ritual is that they find here a ripe bunch of grapes.

TRINASUS & ACRIAE

[3.22.3] Some thirty stades beyond Gythium on the left there are on the mainland walls of a place called Trinasus (Three Islands), which was in my opinion a fort and not a city. Its name I think is derived from the islets which lie off the coast here, three in number. About eighty stades beyond Trinasus I came to the ruins of Helos,

[3.22.4] and some thirty stades farther is Acriae, a city on the coast. Well worth seeing here are a temple and marble image of the Mother of the Gods. The people of Acriae say that this is the oldest sanctuary of this goddess in the Peloponnesus, although the Magnesians, who live to the north of Mount Sipylus, have on the rock Coddinus the most ancient of all the images of the Mother of the gods. The Magnesians say that it was made by Broteas the son of Tantalus.

[3.22.5] The people of Acriae once produced an Olympian victor, Nicocles, who at two Olympian festivals carried off five prizes for running. There has been raised to him a monument between the gymnasium and the wall by the harbor.

GERONTHRAE & MARIUS

[3.22.6] A hundred and twenty stades inland from Acriae is Geronthrae. It was

inhabited before the Heracleidae came to Peloponnesus, but the Dorians of Lacedaemon expelled the Achaean inhabitants and afterwards sent to it settlers of their own; but in my time it belonged to the Free Laconians. On the road from Acrae to Geronthrae is a village called Palaea (Old), and in Geronthrae itself are a temple and grove of Ares.

[3.22.7] Every year they hold a festival in honor of the God, at which women are forbidden to enter the grove. Around the market-place are their springs of drinking-water. On the citadel is a temple of Apollo with the head of an ivory image. The rest of the image was destroyed by fire along with the former temple.

[3.22.8] Marius is another town of the Free Laconians, distant from Geronthrae one hundred stades. Here is an ancient sanctuary common to all the gods, and around it is a grove containing springs. In a sanctuary of Artemis also there are springs. In fact Marius has an unsurpassed supply of water. Above the town, and like it in the interior, is a village, Glyppia. From Geronthrae to another village, Selinus, is a journey of twenty stades.

ASOPUS

[3.22.9] These places are inland from Acrae. By the sea is a city Asopus, sixty stades distant from Acrae. In it is a temple of the Roman emperors, and about twelve stades inland from the city is a sanctuary of Asclepius. They call the god Philolaus, and the bones in the gymnasium, which they worship, are human, although of superhuman size. On the citadel is also a sanctuary of Athena, surnamed Cyparissia (Cypress Goddess). At the foot of the citadel are the ruins of a city called the City of the Paracyparissian Achaeans.

[3.22.10] There is also in this district a sanctuary of Asclepius, about fifty stades from Asopus the place where the sanctuary is they name Hyperteleatium. Two hundred stades from Asopus there juts out into the sea a headland, which they call Onugnathus (Jaw of an Ass). Here is a sanctuary of Athena, having neither image nor roof. Agamemnon is said to have made it. There is also the tomb of Cinadus, one of the pilots of the ship of Menelaus.

BOEAE

[3.22.11] After the peak there runs into the land the Gulf of Boeae, and the city of Boeae is at the head of the gulf. This was founded by Boeus, one of the Heracleidae, and he is said to have collected inhabitants for it from three cities, Etis, Aphrodisias and Side. Of the ancient cities two are said to have been founded by Aeneas when he was fleeing to Italy and had been driven into this gulf by storms. Etias, they allege, was a daughter of Aeneas. The third city they say was named after Side, daughter of Danaus.

[3.22.12] When the inhabitants of these cities were expelled, they were anxious to know where they ought to settle, and an oracle was given them that Artemis would show them where they were to dwell. When therefore they had

gone on shore, and a hare appeared to them, they looked upon the hare as their guide on the way. When it dived into a myrtle tree, they built a city on the site of the myrtle, and down to this day they worship that myrtle tree, and name Artemis Saviour.

[3.22.13] In the market-place of Boeae is a temple of Apollo, and in another part of the town are temples of Asclepius, of Serapis, and of Isis. The ruins of Etis are not more than seven stades distant from Boeae. On the way to them there stands on the left a stone image of Hermes. Among the ruins is a not insignificant sanctuary of Asclepius and Health.

CYTHERA

[3.23.1] XXIII. Cythera lies opposite Boeae; to the promontory of Platanistus, the point where the island lies nearest to the mainland, it is a voyage of forty stades from a promontory on the mainland called Onugnathus. In Cythera is a port Scandeia on the coast, but the town Cythera is about ten stades inland from Scandeia. The sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (the Heavenly) is most holy, and it is the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Aphrodite among the Greeks. The goddess herself is represented by an armed image of wood.

NYMPHAEUM & EPIDELIUM

[3.23.2] On the voyage from Boeae towards the point of Malea is a harbor called Nymphaeum, with a statue of Poseidon standing, and a cave close to the sea; in it is a spring of sweet water. There is a large population in the district. After doubling the point of Malea and proceeding a hundred stades, you reach a place on the coast within the frontier of the Boeatae, which is sacred to Apollo and called Epidelium.

[3.23.3] For the wooden image which is now here, once stood in Delos. Delos was then a Greek market, and seemed to offer security to traders on account of the god; but as the place was unfortified and the inhabitants unarmed, Menophanes, an officer of Mithridates, attacked it with a fleet, to show his contempt for the god, or acting on the orders of Mithridates; for to a man whose object is gain what is sacred is of less account than what is profitable.

[3.23.4] This Menophanes put to death the foreigners residing there and the Delians themselves, and after plundering much property belonging to the traders and all the offerings, and also carrying women and children away as slaves, he razed Delos itself to the ground. As it was being sacked and pillaged, one of the barbarians wantonly flung this image into the sea; but the wave took it and brought it to land here in the country of the Boeatae. For this reason they call the place Epidelium.

[3.23.5] But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates himself escaped the wrath of the god. Menophanes, as he was putting to sea after the sack of Delos was sunk at once by those of the merchants who had escaped; for they lay in wait for him in ships. The god caused Mithridates at a later date to lay hands upon

himself, when his empire had been destroyed and he himself was being hunted on all sides by the Romans. There are some who say that he obtained a violent death as a favour at the hands of one of his mercenaries. This was the reward of their impiety.

EPIDAUROS LIMERA

[3.23.6] The country of the Boeatae is adjoined by Epidaurus Limera, distant some two hundred stades from Epidelium. The people say that they are not descended from the Lacedaemonians but from the Epidaurians of the Argolid, and that they touched at this point in Laconia when sailing on public business to Asclepius in Cos. Warned by dreams that appeared to them, they remained and settled here.

[3.23.7] They also say that a snake, which they were bringing from their home in Epidaurus, escaped from the ship, and disappeared into the ground not far from the sea. As a result of the portent of the snake together with the vision in their dreams they resolved to remain and settle here. There are altars to Asclepius where the snake disappeared, with olive trees growing round them.

[3.23.8] About two stades to the right is the water of Ino, as it is called, in extent like a small lake, but going deeper into the earth. Into this water they throw cakes of barley meal at the festival of Ino. If good luck is portended to the thrower, the water keeps them under. But if it brings them to the surface, it is judged a bad sign.

[3.23.9] The craters in Aetna have the same feature; for they lower into them objects of gold and silver and also all kinds of victims. If the fire receives and consumes them, they rejoice at the appearance of a good sign, but if it casts up what has been thrown in, they think misfortune will befall the man to whom this happens.

[3.23.10] By the road leading from Boeae to Epidaurus Limera is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (Of the Lake) in the country of the Epidaurians. The city lies on high ground, not far from the sea. Here the sanctuary of Artemis is worth seeing, also that of Asclepius with a standing statue of stone, a temple of Athena on the acropolis, and of Zeus with the title Saviour in front of the harbor.

[3.23.11] A promontory called Minoa projects into the sea near the town. The bay has nothing to distinguish it from all the other inlets of the sea in Laconia, but the beach here contains pebbles of prettier form and of all colors.

ZARAX & CYPHANTA

[3.24.1] XXIV. A hundred stades from Epidaurus is Zarax; though possessing a good harbor, it is the most ruinous of the towns of the Free Laconians, since it was the only town of theirs to be depopulated by Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, son of Agesipolis. I have told the story of Cleomenes elsewhere. There is nothing in Zarax except a temple of Apollo, with a statue holding a

lyre, at the head of the harbor.

[3.24.2] The road from Zarax follows the coast for about a hundred stades, and there strikes inland. After an ascent of ten stades inland are the ruins of the so-called Cyphanta, among which is a cave sacred to Asclepius; the image is of stone. There is a fountain of cold water springing from the rock, where they say that Atalanta, distressed by thirst when hunting, struck the rock with her spear, so that the water gushed forth.

BRASIAE

[3.24.3] Brasiae is the last town on the coast belonging to the Free Laconians in this direction. It is distant two hundred stades by sea from Cyphanta. The inhabitants have a story, found nowhere else in Greece, that Semele, after giving birth to her son by Zeus, was discovered by Cadmus and put with Dionysus into a chest, which was washed up by the waves in their country. Semele, who was no longer alive when found, received a splendid funeral, but they brought up Dionysus.

[3.24.4] For this reason the name of their city, hitherto called Oreiatae, was changed to Brasiae after the washing up of the chest to land; so too in our time the common word used of the waves casting things ashore is ekbrazein. The people of Brasiae add that Ino in the course of her wanderings came to the country, and agreed to become the nurse of Dionysus. They show the cave where Ino nursed him, and call the plain the garden of Dionysus.

[3.24.5] The temples here are those of Asclepius and of Achilles, in whose honor they hold an annual festival. There is a small promontory at Brasiae, which projects gently into the sea; on it stand bronze figures, not more than a foot high, with caps on their heads. I am not sure whether they consider them to be Dioscuri or Corybants. They are three in number; a statue of Athena makes a fourth.

LAS & HYP SOI

[3.24.6] To the right of Gythium is Las, ten stades from the sea and forty from Gythium. The site of the present town extends over the ground between the mountains called Ilius, Asia and Cnacadium; formerly it lay on the summit of Mount Asia. Even now there are ruins of the old town, with a statue of Heracles outside the walls, and a trophy for a victory over the Macedonians. These formed a detachment of Philip's army, when he invaded Laconia, but were separated from the main body and were plundering the coastal districts.

[3.24.7] Among the ruins is a temple of Athena named Asia, made, it is said, by Polydeuces and Castor on their return home from Colchis; for the Colchians had a shrine of Athena Asia. I know that the sons of Tyndareus took part in Jason's expedition. As to the Colchians honoring Athena Asia, I give what I heard from the Lacedaemonians. Near the present town is a spring called Galaco (Milky) from the color of the water, and beside the spring a

gymnasium, which contains an ancient statue of Hermes.

[3.24.8] On Mount Ilius is a temple of Dionysus, and of Asclepius at the very summit. On Cnacadium is an Apollo called Carneius.

Some thirty stades from the Apollo is a place Hypsoi, within the Spartan frontier. Here is a sanctuary of Asclepius and of Artemis called Daphnaea (of the laurel).

[3.24.9] By the sea is a temple of Artemis Dictynna on a promontory, in whose honor they hold an annual festival. A river Smenus reaches the sea to the left of the promontory; its water is extremely sweet to drink; its sources are in Mount Taygetus, and it passes within five stades of the town.

[3.24.10] At a spot called Arainus is the tomb of Las with a statue upon it. The natives say that Las was their founder and was killed by Achilles, and that Achilles put in to their country to ask the hand of Helen of Tyndareus. In point of fact it was Patroclus who killed Las, for it was he who was Helen's suitor. We need not regard it as a proof that Achilles did not ask for Helen because he is not mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women* as one of her suitors.

[3.24.11] But at the beginning of his poem Homer says that Achilles came to Troy as a favour to the sons of Atreus, and not because he was bound by the oaths which Tyndareus exacted; and in the Games he makes Antilohus say that Odysseus was a generation older than he, whereas Odysseus, telling Alcinous of his descent to Hades and other adventures, said that he wished to see Theseus and Peirithous, men of an earlier age. We know that Theseus carried off Helen, so that it is quite impossible that Achilles could have been her suitor.

[3.25.1] XXV. Beyond the tomb a river named Scyros enters the sea. Formerly it was without a name, but was so called, because Pyrrhus the son of Achilles put in here when he sailed from Scyros to wed Hermione. Across the river is an ancient shrine . . . further from an altar of Zeus.

PYRRHICHUS

Inland, forty stades from the river, lies Pyrrhichus, the name of which is said to be derived from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles;

[3.25.2] but according to another account Pyrrhichus was one of the gods called Curetes. Others say that Silenus came from Malea and settled here. That Silenus was brought up in Malea is clear from these words in an ode of Pindar:

The mighty one, the dancer, whom the mount of Malea nurtured, husband of Nais, Silenus. Pind. *Frag.* 156 (Schröder)

Not that Pindar said his name was Pyrrhichus; that is a statement of the men of Malea.

[3.25.3] At Pyrrhichus there is a well in the market-place, considered to be the gift of Silenus. If this were to fail, they would be short of water. The sanctuaries of the gods, that they have in the country, are of Artemis, called Astrateia, because the Amazons stayed their advance (*strateia*) here, and an Apollo Amazonius. Both gods are represented by wooden images, said to have been dedicated by the women from Thermodon.

TEUTHRONE & TAENARUM

[3.25.4] From Pyrrhichus the road comes down to the sea at Teuthrone. The

inhabitants declare that their founder was Teuthras, an Athenian. They honor Artemis Issoria most of the Gods, and have a spring Naia. The promontory of Taenarum projects into the sea 150 stades from Teuthrone, with the harbors Achilleius and Psamathus. On the promontory is a temple like a cave, with a statue of Poseidon in front of it.

[3.25.5] Some of the Greek poets state that Heracles brought up the hound of Hades here, though there is no road that leads underground through the cave, and it is not easy to believe that the gods possess any underground dwelling where the souls collect. But Hecataeus of Miletus gave a plausible explanation, stating that a terrible serpent lived on Taenarum, and was called the hound of Hades, because any one bitten was bound to die of the poison at once, and it was this snake, he said, that was brought by Heracles to Eurystheus.

[3.25.6] But Homer, who was the first to call the creature brought by Heracles the hound of Hades, did not give it a name or describe it as of manifold form, as he did in the case of the Chimaera. Later poets gave the name Cerberus, and though in other respects they made him resemble a dog, they say that he had three heads. Homer, however, does not imply that he was a dog, the friend of man, any more than if he had called a real serpent the hound of Hades.

[3.25.7] Among other offerings on Taenarum is a bronze statue of Arion the harper on a dolphin. Herodotus has told the story of Arion and the dolphin, as he heard it, in his history of Lydia. I have seen the dolphin at Poroselene that rewards the boy for saving his life. It had been damaged by fishermen and he cured it. I saw this dolphin obeying his call and carrying him whenever he wanted to ride on it.

[3.25.8] There is a spring also on Taenarum but now it possesses nothing marvellous. Formerly, as they say, it showed harbors and ships to those who looked into the water. These sights in the water were brought to an end for good and all by a woman washing dirty clothes in it.

[3.25.9] From the point of Taenarum Caenepolis is distant forty stades by sea. Its name also was formerly Taenarum. In it is a hall of Demeter, and a temple of Aphrodite on the shore, with a standing statue of stone. Thirty stades distant is Thyrides, a headland of Taenarum, with the ruins of a city Hippola; among them is a sanctuary of Athena Hippolaitis. A little further are the town and harbor of Messa.

OETYLUS, THALAMAE & PEPHNUUS

[3.25.10] From this harbor it is 150 stades to Oetylus. The hero, from whom the city received its name, was an Argive by descent, son of Amphianax, the son of Antimachus. In Oetylus the sanctuary of Sarapis, and in the market-place a wooden image of Apollo Carneius are worth seeing.

[3.26.1] XXVI. From Oetylus to Thalamae the road is about eighty stades long. On it is a sanctuary of Ino and an oracle. They consult the oracle in sleep, and the goddess reveals whatever they wish to learn, in dreams. Bronze statues of

Pasiphae and of Helios stand in the unroofed part of the sanctuary. It was not possible to see the one within the temple clearly, owing to the garlands, but they say this too is of bronze. Water, sweet to drink, flows from a sacred spring. Pasiphae is a title of the Moon, and is not a local goddess of the people of Thalamae.

[3.26.2] Twenty stades from Thalamae is a place called Pephnus on the coast. In front of it lies a small island no larger than a big rock, also called Pephnus. The people of Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born here. I know that Alcman too says this in a song: but they do not say that they remained to be brought up in Pephnus, but that it was Hermes who took them to Pellana.

[3.26.3] In this little island there are bronze statues of the Dioscuri, a foot high, in the open air. The sea will not move them, though in winter-time it washes over the rock, which is wonderful. Also the ants here have a whiter color than is usual. The Messenians say that this district was originally theirs, and so they think that the Dioscuri belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians.

LEUCTRA

[3.26.4] Twenty stades from Pephnus is Leuctra. I do not know why the city has this name. If indeed it is derived from Leucippus the son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, it is for this reason, I think, that the inhabitants honor Asclepius most of the gods, supposing him to be the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus. There is a stone statue of Asclepius, and of Ino in another place.

[3.26.5] Also a temple and statue have been erected to Cassandra the daughter of Priam, called Alexandra by the natives. There are wooden images of Apollo Carneius according to the same custom that prevails among the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. On the acropolis is a sanctuary and image of Athena, and there is a temple and grove of Eros in Leuctra. Water flows through the grove in winter-time, but the leaves which are shaken from the trees by the wind would not be carried away by the water even in flood.

[3.26.6] I record an event which I know to have taken place in my time on the coast of Leuctra. A fire carried by the wind into a wood destroyed most of the trees, and when the place showed bare, a statue of Zeus of Ithome was found to have been dedicated there. The Messenians say that this is evidence that Leuctra was formerly a part of Messenia. But it is possible, if the Lacedaemonians originally lived in Leuctra, that Zeus of Ithome might be worshipped among them.

CARDAMYLE

[3.26.7] Cardamyle, which is mentioned by Homer in the Gifts promised by Agamemnon, is subject to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, having been separated from Messenia by the emperor Augustus. It is eight stades from the

sea and sixty from Leuctra. Here not far from the beach is a precinct sacred to the daughters of Nereus. They say that they came up from the sea to this spot to see Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, when he was going to Sparta to wed Hermione. In the town is a sanctuary of Athena, and an Apollo Carneius according to the local Dorian custom.

GERENIA, MT CALATHIUM & ALAGONIA

[3.26.8] A city, called in Homer's poems Enope, with Messenian inhabitants but belonging to the league of the Free Laconians, is called in our time Gerenia. One account states that Nestor was brought up in this city, another that he took refuge here, when Pylos was captured by Heracles.

[3.26.9] Here in Gerenia is a tomb of Machaon, son of Asclepius, and a holy sanctuary. In his temple men may find cures for diseases. They call the holy spot Rhodos; there is a standing bronze statue of Machaon, with a crown on his head which the Messenians in the local speech call kiphos. The author of the epic *The Little Iliad* says that Machaon was killed by Eurypylus, son of Telephus.

[3.26.10] I myself know that to be the reason of the practice at the temple of Asclepius at Pergamum, where they begin their hymns with Telephus but make no reference to Eurypylus, or care to mention his name in the temple at all, as they know that he was the slayer of Machaon. It is said that the bones of Machaon were brought home by Nestor, but that Podaleirius, as they were returning after the sack of Troy, was carried out of his course and reached Syrnus on the Carian mainland in safety and settled there.

[3.26.11] In the territory of Gerenia is a mountain, Calathium; on it is a sanctuary of Claea with a cave close beside it; it has a narrow entrance, but contains objects which are worth seeing. Thirty stades inland from Gerenia is Alagonia, a town which I have already mentioned in the list of the Free Laconians. Worth seeing here are temples of Dionysus and of Artemis.

BOOK IV.

MESSENIAN, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[4.1.1] 1. The frontier between Messenia and that part of it which was incorporated by the emperor in Laconia towards Gerenia is formed in our time by the valley called Choerius. They say that this country, being unoccupied, received its first inhabitants in the following manner: On the death of Lelex, who ruled in the present Laconia, then called after him Lelegia, Myles, the elder of his sons, received the kingdom. Polycaon was the younger and for this reason a private person, until he took to wife Messene, the daughter of Triopas, son of Phorbas, from Argos.

[4.1.2] Messene, being proud of her origin, for her father was the chief of the Greeks of his day in reputation and power, was not content that her husband should be a private person. They collected a force from Argos and from Lacedaemon and came to this country, the whole land receiving the name Messene from the wife of Polycaon. Together with other cities, they founded Andania, where their palace was built.

[4.1.3] Before the battle which the Thebans fought with the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, and the foundation of the present city of Messene under Ithome, I think that no city had the name Messene. I base this conclusion principally on Homer's lines. In the catalogue of those who came to Troy he enumerated Pylos, Arene and other towns, but called no town Messene. In the *Odyssey* he shows that the Messenians were a tribe and not a city by the following:—

For Messenian men carried away sheep from Ithaca. Hom. *Od.* 21.18

[4.1.4] He is still more clear when speaking about the bow of Iphitus:—

They met one another in Messene in the dwelling of Ortilochus. Hom. *Od.* 21.15

By the dwelling of Ortilochus he meant the city of Pherae in Messene, and explained this himself in the visit of Peisistratus to Menelaus:—

They came to Pherae to the house of Diocleus,
son of Ortilochus. Hom. *Od.* 3.488

[4.1.5] The first rulers then in this country were Polycaon, the son of Lelex, and Messene his wife. It was to her that Caucon, the son of Celaenus, son of Phlyus, brought the rites of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis. Phlyus himself is said by the Athenians to have been the son of Earth, and the hymn of Musaeus to Demeter made for the Lycomidae agrees.

[4.1.6] But the mysteries of the Great Goddesses were raised to greater honor many years later than Caucon by Lycus, the son of Pandion, an oak-wood, where he purified the celebrants, being still called Lycus' wood. That there is a wood in this land so called is stated by Rhianus the Cretan:—

By rugged Elaeum above Lycus' wood.

[4.1.7] That this Lycus was the son of Pandion is made clear by the lines on the statue of Methapus, who made certain improvements in the mysteries. Methapus was an Athenian by birth, an expert in the mysteries and founder of all kinds of rites. It was he who established the mysteries of the Cabiri at Thebes, and dedicated in the hut of the Lycomidae a statue with an inscription that amongst other things helps to confirm my account:—

[4.1.8] I sanctified houses of Hermes and paths of holy Demeter and Kore her firstborn, where they say that Messene established the feast of the Great Goddesses, taught by Caucon, sprung from Phlyus' noble son. And I wondered that Lycus, son of Pandion, brought all the Attic rite to wise Andania.

[4.1.9] This inscription shows that Caucon who came to Messene was a descendant of Phlyus, and proves my other statements with regard to Lycus, and that the mysteries were originally at Andania. And it seems natural to me that Messene should have established the mysteries where she and Polycaon lived, not anywhere else.

[4.2.1] II. As I was extremely anxious to learn what children were born to Polycaon by Messene, I read the poem called Eoeae and the epic Naupactia, and in addition to these all the genealogies of Cinaethon and Asius. However, they made no reference to this matter, although I know that the Great Eoeae says that Polycaon, the son of Butes, married Euaichme, the daughter of Hyllus, son of Heracles, but it omits all reference to the husband of Messene and to Messene herself.

[4.2.2] Some time later, as no descendant of Polycaon survived (in my opinion his house lasted for five generations, but no more), they summoned Perieres, the son of Aeolus, as king. To him, the Messenians say, came Melaneus, a good archer and considered for this reason to be a son of Apollo; Perieres assigned to him as a dwelling a part of the country now called the Carnasium, but which then received the name Oechalia, derived, as they say, from the wife of Melaneus.

[4.2.3] Most matters of Greek history have come to be disputed. The Thessalians say that Eurytium, which to-day is not inhabited, was formerly a city and was called Oechalia. The account given by the Euboeans agrees with the statements of Creophylus in his *Heraeleia*; and Hecataeus of Miletus stated that Oechalia is in Scius, a part of the territory of Eretria. Nevertheless, I think that the whole version of the Messenians is more probable than these, particularly on account of the bones of Eurytus, which my story will deal with later.

[4.2.4] Perieres had issue by Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, Aphareus and Leucippus, and after his death they inherited the Messenian kingdom. But Aphareus had the greater authority. On his accession he founded a city Arene, named after the daughter of Oebalus, who was both his wife and sister by the same mother. For Gorgophone was married to Oebalus. The facts regarding her have already been given twice, in my account of the Argolid and of

Laconia.

[4.2.5] Aphareus then founded the city of Arena in Messenia, and received into his house his cousin Neleus the son of Cretheus, son of Aeolus (he was also called a son of Poseidon), when he was driven from Iolcos by Pelias. He gave him the maritime part of the land, where with other towns was Pylos, in which Neleus settled and established his palace.

[4.2.6] Lycus the son of Pandion also came to Arene, when he too was driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus, and revealed the rites of the Great Goddesses to Aphareus and his children and to his wife Arene; but it was to Andania that he brought the rites and revealed them there, as it was there that Caucon initiated Messene.

[4.2.7] Of the children born to Aphareus Idas was the elder and more brave, Lynceus the younger; he, if Pindar's words are credible, possessed eyesight so keen that he saw through the trunk of an oak. We know of no child of Lynceus, but Idas had by Marpessa a daughter Cleopatra, who married Meleager. The writer of the epic Cypria says that the wife of Protesilaus, the first who dared to land when the Greeks reached Troy, was named Polydora, whom he calls a daughter of Meleager the son of Oeneus. If this is correct, these three women, the first of whom was Marpessa, all slew themselves on the death of their husbands.

[4.3.1] III. After the fight about the cattle between the sons of Aphareus and their cousins the Dioscuri, when Lynceus was killed by Polydeuces and Idas met his doom from the lightning, the house of Aphareus was bereft of all male descendants, and the kingdom of Messenia passed to Nestor the son of Neleus, including all the part ruled formerly by Idas, but not that subject to the sons of Asclepius.

[4.3.2] For they say that the sons of Asclepius who went to Troy were Messenians, Asclepius being the son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, not the son of Coronis, and they call a desolate spot in Messenia by the name Tricca and quote the lines of Homer, in which Nestor tends Machaon kindly, when he has been wounded by the arrow. He would not have shown such readiness except to a neighbor and king of a kindred people. But the surest warrant for their account of the Asclepiadae is that they point to a tomb of Machaon in Gerenia and to the sanctuary of his sons at Pharae.

[4.3.3] After the conclusion of the Trojan war and the death of Nestor after his return home, the Dorian expedition and return of the Heracleidae, which took place two generations later, drove the descendants of Nestor from Messenia. This has already formed a part of my account of Tisamenus.

MESSENIAN HISTORY

I will only add the following: When the Dorians assigned Argos to Temenus, Cresphontes asked them for the land of Messenia, in that he was older than Aristodemus.

[4.3.4] Aristodemus was now dead, but Cresphontes was vigorously opposed

by Theras the son of Autesion, who was of Theban origin and fourth in descent from Polyneices the son of Oedipus. He was at that time guardian of the sons of Aristodemus, being their uncle on the mother's side, Aristodemus having married a daughter of Autesion, called Argeia. Cresphontes, wishing to obtain Messenia as his portion at all costs, approached Temenus, and having suborned him pretended to leave the decision to the lot.

[4.3.5] Temenus put the lots of the children of Aristodemus and of Cresphontes into a jar containing water, the terms being that the party whose lot came up first should be the first to choose a portion of the country. Temenus had caused both lots to be made of clay, but for the sons of Aristodemus sun-dried, for Cresphontes baked with fire. So the lot of the sons of Aristodemus was dissolved, and Cresphontes, winning in this way, chose Messenia.

[4.3.6] The common people of the old Messenians were not dispossessed by the Dorians, but agreed to be ruled by Cresphontes and to divide the land with the Dorians. They were induced to give way to them in this by the suspicion which they felt for their rulers, as the Neleidae were originally of Iolcos. Cresphontes took to wife Merope the daughter of Cypselus, then king of the Arcadians, by whom with other children was born to him Aepytus his youngest.

[4.3.7] He had the palace, which he and his children were to occupy, built in Stenyclerus. Originally Perieres and the other kings dwelt at Andania, but when Aphareus founded Arene, he and his sons settled there. In the time of Nestor and his descendants the palace was at Pylos, but Cresphontes ordained that the king should live in Stenyclerus. As his government for the most part was directed in favour of the people, the rich rebelled and killed Cresphontes and all his sons except Aepytus.

[4.3.8] He was still a boy and being brought up by Cypselus, and was the sole survivor of his house. When he reached manhood, he was brought back by the Arcadians to Messene, the other Dorian kings, the sons of Aristodemus and Isthmius, the son of Temenus, helping to restore him. On becoming king, Aepytus punished his father's murderers and all who had been accessories to the crime. By winning the Messenian nobles to his side by deference, and all who were of the people by gifts, he attained to such honor that his descendants were given the name of Aepytidae instead of Heracleidae.

[4.3.9] Glaucus, his son and successor, was content to imitate his father in all other matters, both publicly and in his treatment of individuals, but attained to greater piety. For the precinct of Zeus on the summit of Ithome, having been consecrated by Polycaon and Messene, had hitherto received no honor among the Dorians, and it was Glaucus who established this worship among them and he was the first to sacrifice to Machaon the son of Asclepius in Gerenia, and to assign to Messene, the daughter of Triopas, the honors customarily paid to heroes.

[4.3.10] Isthmius the son of Glaucus built a shrine also to Gorgasus and

Nicomachus which is in Pharae. Isthmius had a son Dotadas, who constructed the harbor at Mothone, though Messenia contained others. Sybotas the son of Dotadas established the annual sacrifice by the king to the river Pamisus and also the offering to the hero Eurytus the son of Melaneus at Oechalia before the mysteries of the great Goddesses, which were still held at Andania.

[4.4.1] IV. In the reign of Phintas the son of Sybotas the Messenians for the first time sent an offering and chorus of men to Apollo at Delos. Their processional hymn to the god was composed by Eumelus, this poem being the only one of his that is considered genuine. It was in the reign of Phintas that a quarrel first took place with the Lacedaemonians. The very cause is disputed, but is said to have been as follows:

[4.4.2] There is a sanctuary of Artemis called Limnatis (of the Lake) on the frontier of Messenian, in which the Messenians and the Lacedaemonians alone of the Dorians shared. According to the Lacedaemonians their maidens coming to the festival were violated by Messenian men and their king was killed in trying to prevent it. He was Teleclus the son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Labotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis. In addition to this they say that the maidens who were violated killed themselves for shame.

[4.4.3] The Messenians say that a plot was formed by Teleclus against persons of the highest rank in Messene who had come to the sanctuary, his incentive being the excellence of the Messenian land; in furtherance of his design he selected some Spartan youths, all without beards, dressed them in girls' clothes and ornaments, and providing them with daggers introduced them among the Messenians when they were resting; the Messenians, in defending themselves, killed the beardless youths and Teleclus himself; but the Lacedaemonians, they say, whose king did not plan this without the general consent, being conscious that they had begun the wrong, did not demand justice for the murder of Teleclus. These are the accounts given by the two sides; one may believe them according to one's feelings towards either side.

FIRST MESSENIAN WAR, HISTORY

[4.4.4] A generation later in the reign of Alcamenes the son of Teleclus in Lacedaemon — the king of the other house was Theopompus the son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon in Messenia Antiochus and Androcles, the sons of Phintas were reigning — the mutual hatred of the Lacedaemonians and Messenians was aroused, and the Lacedaemonians began war, obtaining a pretext which was not only sufficient for them, eager for a quarrel as they were and resolved on war at all costs, but also plausible in the highest degree, although with a more peaceful disposition it could have been settled by the decision of a court. What happened was as follows.

[4.4.5] There was a Messenian Polychares, a man of no small distinction in

all respects and an Olympic victor. (The Eleians were holding the fourth Olympiad, the only event being the short foot-race, when Polychares won his victory.) This man, possessing cattle without land of his own to provide them with sufficient grazing, gave them to a Spartan Euaepnus to feed on his own land, Euaepnus to have a share of the produce.

[4.4.6] Now Euaepnus was a man who set unjust gain above loyalty, and a trickster besides. He sold the cattle of Polychares to some merchants who put in to Laconia, and went himself to inform Polychares but he said that pirates had landed in the country, had overcome him and carried off the cattle and the herdsmen. While he was trying to deceive him by his lies, one of the herdsmen, escaping in the meantime from the merchants, returned and found Euaepnus there with his master, and convicted him before Polychares.

[4.4.7] Thus caught and unable to deny it, he made many appeals to Polychares himself and to his son to grant him pardon; for among the many inducements to be found in human nature which drive us to wrongdoing the love of gain exercises the greatest power. He stated the price which he had received for the cattle and begged that the son of Polychares should come with him to receive it. When on their way they reached Laconia, Euaepnus dared a deed more impious than the first; he murdered Polychares' son.

[4.4.8] Polychares, when he heard of this new misfortune, went to Lacedaemon and plagued the kings and ephors, loudly lamenting his son and recounting the wrongs that he had suffered from Euaepnus, whom he had made his friend and trusted above all the Lacedaemonians. Obtaining no redress in spite of continual visits to the authorities, Polychares at last was driven out of his mind, gave way to his rage, and, regardless of himself, dared to murder every Lacedaemonian whom he could capture.

[4.5.1] v. The Lacedaemonians say that they went to war because Polychares was not surrendered to them, and on account of the murder of Teleclus; even before this they had been suspicious on account of the wrongdoing of Cresphontes in the matter of the lot. The Messenians make the reply that I have already given with regard to Teleclus, and point to the fact that the sons of Aristodemus helped to restore Aepytus the son of Cresphontes, which they would never have done if they had been at variance with Cresphontes.

[4.5.2] They say that they did not surrender Polychares to the Lacedaemonians for punishment because they also had not surrendered Euaepnus, but that they offered to stand trial at the meeting of the league before the Argives, kinsmen of both parties, and to submit the matter to the court at Athens called the Areopagus, as this court was held to exercise an ancient jurisdiction in cases pertaining to murder.

[4.5.3] They say that these were not the reasons of the Lacedaemonians in going to war, but that they had formed designs on their country through covetousness, as in others of their actions, bringing forward against them their treatment of the Arcadians and of the Argives; for in both cases they have never been satisfied with their continual encroachments. When Croesus sent

them presents they were the first to become friends with the barbarian, after he had reduced the other Greeks of Asia Minor and all the Dorians who live on the Carian mainland.

[4.5.4] They point out too that when the Phocian leaders had seized the temple at Delphi, the kings and every Spartan of repute privately, and the board of ephors and senate publicly, had a share of the god's property. As the most convincing proof that the Lacedaemonians would stick at nothing for the sake of gain, they reproach them with their alliance with Apollodorus, who became tyrant in Cassandreia.

[4.5.5] I could not introduce into the present account the reasons why the Messenians have come to regard this as so bitter a reproach. Although the courage of the Messenians and the length of time for which they fought differ from the facts of the tyranny of Apollodorus, in their disastrous character the sufferings of the people of Cassandreia would not fall far short of the Messenian.

[4.5.6] These then are the reasons for the war which the two sides allege. An embassy then came from the Lacedaemonians to demand the surrender of Polychares. The Messenian kings replied to the ambassadors that after deliberation with the people they would send the findings to Sparta and after their departure they themselves summoned the citizens to a meeting. The views put forward differed widely, Androcles urging the surrender of Polychares as guilty of an impious and abominable crime. Antiochus among other arguments urged against him that it would be the most piteous thing that Polychares should suffer before the eyes of Euaephus, and enumerated in detail all that he would have to undergo.

[4.5.7] Finally the supporters of Androcles and of Antiochus were so carried away that they took up arms. But the battle did not last long, for the party of Antiochus, far outnumbering the other, killed Androcles and his principal supporters, Antiochus, now sole king, sent to Sparta that he was ready to submit the matter to the courts which I have already mentioned. But the Lacedaemonians are said to have made no reply to the bearers of the letter.

[4.5.8] Not many months later Antiochus died and his son Euphaes succeeded to the kingdom. The Lacedaemonians, without sending a herald to declare war on the Messenians or renouncing their friendship beforehand, had made their preparations secretly and with all the concealment possible; they first took an oath that neither the length of the war, should it not be decided soon, nor their disasters, however great they might be, would deter them until they won the land of Messenia by the sword.

[4.5.9] After taking this oath, they attacked Ampheia by night, appointing Alcamenes the son of Teleclus leader of the force. Ampheia is a small town in Messenia near the Laconian border, of no great size, but situated on a high hill and possessing copious springs of water. It seemed generally a suitable base for the whole war. The gates being open and the town not garrisoned, they took it and killed the Messenians captured there, some still in their beds and

others who had taken refuge at the sanctuaries and altars of the gods when they realized what had happened. Those who escaped were few.

[4.5.10] This was the first attack which the Lacedaemonians made on the Messenians, in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, when Xenodocus of Messenia won the short foot-race. In Athens there were not as yet the archons appointed annually by lot for at first the people deprived the descendants of Melanthus, called Medontidae, of most of their power, transforming the kingship into a constitutional office; afterwards they limited their tenure of office to ten years. At the time of the seizure of Ampheia, Aesimides the son of Aeschylus was holding his fifth year office at Athens.

[4.6.1] VI. Before I wrote the history of the war and all the sufferings and actions that heaven prepared in it for both sides, I wished to reach a decision regarding the age of a certain Messenian. This war was fought between the Lacedaemonians with their allies and the Messenians with their supporters, but received its name not from the invaders like the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, but was called Messenian from their disasters, just as the name Trojan war, rather than Greek, came to be universally applied to the war at Troy. An account of this war of the Messenians has been given by Rhianus of Bene in his epic, and by Myron of Priene. Myron's history is in prose.

[4.6.2] Neither writer achieved a complete and continuous account of the whole war from its beginning to the end, but only of the part which each selected: Myron narrated the capture of Ampheia and subsequent events down to the death of Aristodemus; Rhianus did not touch this first war at all. He described the events that in time befell the Messenians after their revolt from the Lacedaemonians, not indeed the whole of them, but those subsequent to the battle which they fought at the Great Trench, as it is called.

[4.6.3] The Messenian, Aristomenes, on whose account I have made my whole mention of Rhianus and Myron, was the man who first and foremost raised the name of Messene to renown. He was introduced by Myron into his history, while to Rhianus in his epic Aristomenes is as great a man as is the Achilles of the Iliad to Homer. As their statements differ so widely, it remained for me to adopt one or other of the accounts, but not both together, and Rhianus appeared to me to have given the more probable account as to the age of Aristomenes.

[4.6.4] One may realize in others of his works that Myron gives no heed to the question of his statements seeming to lack truth and credibility, and particularly in this Messenian history. For he has made Aristomenes kill Theopompus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, shortly before the death of Aristodemus but we know that Theopompus was not killed either in battle or in any other way before the war was concluded.

[4.6.5] It was this Theopompus who put an end to the war, and my evidence is the lines of Tyrtaeus, which say:—

To our king beloved of the gods, Theopompus, through whom we took Messene with wide dancing-grounds. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

Aristomenes then in my view belongs to the time of the second war, and I will relate his history when I come to this.

[4.6.6] The Messenians, when they heard of the events at Ampheia from the actual survivors from the captured town, mustered in Stenyclerus from their cities. When the people had gathered in the assembly, first the leading men and finally the king exhorted them not to be panic-stricken at the sack of Ampheia, or to suppose that the issue of the whole war had already been decided thereby, or to be afraid of the power of the Lacedaemonians as superior to their own. For the Lacedaemonians had longer practice in warfare, but they themselves had a stronger necessity to show themselves brave men, and greater goodwill would be shown by the gods to men defending their country, who were not the authors of injustice.

[4.7.1] VII. With these words Euphaes dismissed the gathering, and henceforward kept all the Messenians under arms, compelling the untrained to learn the art of war and the trained men to undergo a more rigorous discipline than before. The Lacedaemonians carried out raids into Messenia, but did no harm to the country, regarding it as their own, nor did they cut down trees or demolish buildings, but they drove off any cattle that they met with, and carried off the corn and other produce.

[4.7.2] They made assaults on the towns but captured none, as they were fortified with walls and carefully garrisoned. They withdrew with loss and without effecting anything, and finally gave up attempting the towns. The Messenians also ravaged the Laconian coast and all the cultivated land round Taygetos.

[4.7.3] Three years after the capture of Ampheia, being eager to put to use the spirit of the Messenians, now at the height of their passion against the Lacedaemonians, and considering too that they had undergone sufficient training, Euphaes ordered an advance. He bade the slaves also accompany him, bringing wood and all else that was required for the making of an entrenched camp. The Lacedaemonians heard from their garrison at Ampheia that the Messenians were marching out, so they also came out to battle.

[4.7.4] There was a place in Messenia which was in other ways suitable for an engagement, but had a deep ravine in front of it. Here Euphaes drew up the Messenians and appointed Cleonnis general; the cavalry and light-armed, together amounting to less than 500, were commanded by Pytharatus and Antander.

[4.7.5] As the two forces were about to engage, the ravine which divided them prevented the heavy-armed from coming to close quarters, though they approached one another eagerly and with a recklessness born of hate. The cavalry and light-armed engaged above the ravine, but as they were equally matched in numbers and skill, for this reason the fight was indecisive.

[4.7.6] While they were involved, Euphaes ordered the slaves to fortify with a palisade first the rear of his force and afterwards both flanks, and when the battle had been broken off at nightfall, they fortified his front also on the

ravine. So at daybreak the Lacedaemonians realized the forethought of Euphaes. They had no means of fighting the Messenians unless they came out from the stockade, and despaired of forming a siege, for which they were unprepared in all things alike.

[4.7.7] They then returned home; but a year later, when the older men reviled them and taunted them both with cowardice and disregard of their oath, they made a second expedition openly against the Messenians. Both kings were in command, Theopompus the son of Nicander and Polydorus the son of Alcamenes, Alcamenes being no longer alive. The Messenians encamped opposite them, and when the Spartans endeavored to join battle, went out to meet them.

[4.7.8] The Lacedaemonian commander on the left wing was Polydorus, and Theopompus on the right. The center was held by Euryleon, now a Lacedaemonian, but of Theban origin of the house of Cadmus, fourth in descent from Aegeus the son of Oeolycus, son of Theras, son of Autesion. On the side of the Messenians Antander and Euphaes were posted opposite the Lacedaemonian right; the other wing, opposite Polydorus, was held by Pytharatus, with Cleonnis in the center.

[4.7.9] As they were about to engage, the kings came forward to encourage their men. The words of encouragement addressed by Theopompus to the Lacedaemonians were few, according to their native custom. He reminded them of their oath against the Messenians, and said how noble was their ambition, to prove themselves to have done a deed more glorious than their fathers, who subdued the neighboring peoples, and to have won a more fortunate land. Euphaes spoke at greater length than the Spartan, but no more than he saw the occasion admitted.

[4.7.10] He declared that the contest would be not only for land and possessions, but he knew well what would overtake them if defeated. Their wives and children would be carried off as slaves, and death unaccompanied by outrage would be the mildest fate for their grown men their sanctuaries would be despoiled and their ancestral homes burnt. His words were not supposition, the fate of the men captured at Ampheia was evidence that all could see.

[4.7.11] Better a noble death than such evils; it was far easier for them, while still undefeated and equally matched in courage, to outdo their adversaries in zeal than to repair their losses when once they had lost heart.

[4.8.1] VIII. Such were the words of Euphaes. When the leaders on either side gave the signal, the Messenians charged the Lacedaemonians recklessly like men eager for death in their wrath, each one of them eager to be the first to join battle. The Lacedaemonians also advanced to meet them eagerly, but were careful not to break their ranks.

[4.8.2] When they were about to come to close quarters, they threatened one another by brandishing their arms and with fierce looks, and fell to recriminations, these calling the Messenians already their slaves, no freer than

the Helots; the others answering that they were impious in their undertaking, who for the sake of gain attacked their kinsmen and outraged all the ancestral gods of the Dorians, and Heracles above all. And now with their taunts they come to deeds, mass thrusting against mass, especially on the Lacedaemonian side, and man attacking man.

[4.8.3] The Lacedaemonians were far superior both in tactics and training, and also in numbers, for they had with them the neighboring peoples already reduced and serving in their ranks, and the Dryopes of Asine, who a generation earlier had been driven out of their own country by the Argives and had come as suppliants to Lacedaemon, were forced to serve in the army. Against the Messenian light-armed they employed Cretan archers as mercenaries.

[4.8.4] The Messenians were inspired alike by desperation and readiness to face death, regarding all their sufferings as necessary rather than terrible to men who honored their country, and exaggerating their achievements and the consequences to the Lacedaemonians. Some of them leapt forth from the ranks, displaying glorious deeds of valor, in others fatally wounded and scarce breathing the frenzy of despair still reigned.

[4.8.5] They encouraged one another, the living and unwounded urging the stricken before their last moment came to sell their lives as dearly as they could and accept their fate with joy. And the wounded, when they felt their strength ebbing and breath failing, urged the unwounded to prove themselves no less valorous than they and not to render their death of no avail to their fatherland.

[4.8.6] The Lacedaemonians refrained from exhorting one another, and were less inclined than the Messenians to engage in striking deeds of valor. As they were versed in warfare from boyhood, they employed a deeper formation and hoped that the Messenians would not endure the contest for so long as they, or sustain the toil of battle or wounds.

[4.8.7] These were the differences in both sets of combatants in action and in feeling; but on both sides alike the conquered made no appeals or promises of ransom, perhaps in their enmity despairing of getting quarter, but mainly because they scorned to disgrace their previous achievements. The victorious refrained alike from boasting and from taunts, neither side having yet sure hopes of victory. The most remarkable was the death of those who tried to strip any of the fallen. For if they exposed any part of their bodies, they were struck with javelins or were struck down while intent on their present occupation, or were killed by those whom they were plundering who still lived.

[4.8.8] The kings fought in a manner that deserves mention. Theopompus rushed wildly forward to slay Euphaes himself. Euphaes, seeing him advancing, said to Antander that the action of Theopompus was no different from the attempt of his ancestor Polyneices; for Polyneices led an army from Argos against his fatherland, and slaying his brother with his own hand was

slain by him. Theopompus was ready to involve the race of the Heracleidae in pollution as great as that of the house of Laius and Oedipus, but he would not leave the field unscathed. With these words he too advanced.

[4.8.9] Thereupon the battle, though the combatants had wearied, everywhere broke out again in full force. Their strength was renewed and recklessness of death heightened on both sides, so that it might have been thought that they were engaging for the first time. Finally Euphaes and his men in a frenzy of despair that was near to madness (for picked Messenian troops formed the whole of the king's bodyguard), overpowering the enemy by their valor, drove back Theopompus himself and routed the Lacedaemonian troops opposed to them.

[4.8.10] But the other Messenian wing was in difficulties, for the general Pytharatus had been killed, and the men, without a commander, were fighting in a disorganized and confused manner, though not without heart. Polydorus did not pursue the Messenians when they gave way, nor Euphaes' men the Lacedaemonians. It seemed better to him and his men to support the defeated wing; they did not, however, engage with Polydorus' force, for darkness had already descended on the field;

[4.8.11] moreover, the Lacedaemonians were prevented from following the retiring force further not least by their ignorance of the country. Also it was an ancient practice with them not to carry out a pursuit too quickly, as they were more careful about maintaining their formation than about slaying the flying. In the center, where Euryleon was commanding the Lacedaemonians, and Cleonnis on the Messenian side, the contest was undecided; the coming of night separated them here also.

[4.8.12] This battle was fought principally or entirely by the heavy-armed troops on both sides. The mounted men were few and achieved nothing worth mention; for the Peloponnesians were not good horsemen then. The Messenian light-armed and the Cretans on the Lacedaemonian side did not engage at all; for on both sides according to the ancient practice they were posted in reserve to their own infantry.

[4.8.13] The following day neither side was minded to begin battle or to be the first to set up a trophy, but as the day advanced they made proposals for taking up the dead; when this was agreed on both sides, they proceeded to bury them.

[4.9.1] IX. But after the battle the affairs of the Messenians began to get serious. They were exhausted by the expenditure of money devoted to the garrisoning of the towns, and their slaves were deserting to the Lacedaemonians. They were visited also by disease, which caused alarm, as resembling plague, although it did not attack all. In these circumstances they resolved to desert all their numerous towns inland and to settle on Mount Ithome.

[4.9.2] A small town existed here, which they say Homer mentions in the *Catalogue*:

To this town they withdrew, extending the old circuit to form a sufficient protection for them all. The place was strong in other respects, for Ithome falls short of none of the mountains within the Isthmus in height and at this point was most difficult to climb.

[4.9.3] They also resolved to send an envoy to Delphi, and despatched Tisis the son of Alcis, a man of the highest reputation, considered to be fully versed in divination. While he was returning from Delphi men from the Lacedaemonian garrison at Ampheia laid an ambush for him. Though trapped, he did not submit to be made a prisoner, but stood his ground to resist in spite of the wounds he received, until a voice was heard from an unseen quarter, "Let the bearer of the oracle go free."

[4.9.4] Tisis, reaching Ithome with all speed, delivered the oracle to the king, and soon afterwards died of his wounds. Euphaes assembled the Messenians and made known the oracle:

Ye shall sacrifice a pure maiden to the gods below, appointed by lot of the blood of the sons of Aepytus, and slay her by night. But if that ye cannot do, offer a maiden from another house, if the father gives her freely for the slaughter.

[4.9.5] When the god declared this, all the maidens of the house of the Aepytidae forthwith cast lots, and the lot fell on the daughter of Lyciscus. But Epebolus the seer forbade them to offer her, for she was not the daughter of Lyciscus, but the woman who was married to Lyciscus being unable to bear a child had palmed off the girl as hers. While Epebolus was making this declaration, Lyciscus took the girl away and deserted to Sparta.

[4.9.6] The Messenians were in despair when they saw that Lyciscus had fled; thereupon Aristodemus, a son of the house of the Aepytidae, of higher standing than Lyciscus both in reputation and in war, freely offered his daughter for the sacrifice. But human affairs and human purpose above all are obscured by fate, just as the mud of a river hides a pebble; for when Aristodemus was striving his utmost to save Messene, fate set this obstacle in his path.

[4.9.7] A Messenian, whose name is not recorded, was in love with the daughter of Aristodemus, and was already about to make her his wife. He at first disputed the rights of Aristodemus over the girl for Aristodemus, since he had betrothed her to himself had no further rights over the girl, but he to whom she was betrothed had greater rights than the father. Next, when he saw that this was of no avail, he had recourse to a shameless plea, that the girl was with child by him.

[4.9.8] At last he drove Aristodemus to such a fury of passion that he killed his daughter; then cutting her open he showed that she was not pregnant. Epebolus, who was present, ordered another man to come forward and offer his daughter, for the daughter of Aristodemus was of no avail to them dead; for the father had murdered her, not offered her to the gods whom the Pythia

ordained.

[4.9.9] When the seer said this, the multitude of the Messenians rushed on the girl's lover to kill him, since he had fixed the guilt of bloodshed on Aristodemus to no purpose, and had made their hopes of safety doubtful. But as he was a close friend of Euphaes, Euphaes persuaded the Messenians that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of the girl and that the deed done by Aristodemus sufficed for them.

[4.9.10] When he said this, all the members of the house of the Aepeyidae said that he spoke truth, for each was eager to be rid of the terror threatening his daughter. The people took the advice of the king and broke up the assembly and thereupon turned to sacrifices to the gods and feasting.

[4.10.1] X. But the Lacedaemonians, when they heard the oracle given to the Messenians, were in despair, both they and their kings, and for the future shrank from offering battle.

But five years after the escape of Lyciscus from Ithome, the victims being auspicious, the Lacedaemonians marched against Ithome. The Cretans were no longer with them. The allies of the Messenians also were late, for the Spartans had now incurred the suspicion of others of the Peloponnesians, especially of the Arcadians and Argives. The Argives intended to come without the knowledge of the Lacedaemonians, and by private enterprise rather than by public declaration. The expedition was openly proclaimed among the Arcadians, but they did not arrive either. For the Messenians were induced by the credit placed in the oracle to face the risk without allies.

[4.10.2] This engagement did not differ in most points from the first, as on this occasion too daylight failed the combatants, but they record that on neither side was a wing or division broken, as they did not maintain the formation in which they were originally posted, champions on either side meeting in the middle, and there supporting the whole combat.

[4.10.3] Euphaes, who showed more eagerness than a king should and recklessly attacked Theopompus' bodyguard, received a number of mortal wounds. When he swooned and fell, the Lacedaemonians did their utmost to drag him into their own ranks, as he still breathed. But the Messenians were roused by the affection which they felt for their king and by the reproach which would be theirs. It seemed better to die for their kings and sacrifice their lives than that he should be abandoned while one of them escaped.

[4.10.4] So the fall of Euphaes prolonged the battle and called forth further deeds of daring on both sides. He came to himself later and saw that his men had not had the worst of the fight, but he died in a few days, having reigned thirteen years over the Messenians, and having been at war with the Lacedaemonians for the whole of his reign.

[4.10.6] Euphaes, having no children, left his kingdom to the man chosen by the people. Cleonnis and Damis came forward to dispute it with Aristodemus, as they were considered superior to him in war and all else. Antander had been killed by the enemy, risking his life for Euphaes in the battle. The views

of both the seers, Epebolus and Ophioneus, were identical, that they should not give the honors of Aepytus and his descendants to a man who was accursed and polluted by the murder of his daughter. Nevertheless Aristodemus was chosen and became king.

[4.10.6] This Ophioneus, the Messenian seer, was blind from birth and practised the following method of divination. By learning the facts relevant to each case, both private and public, he thus foretold the future. This then was the way he practised his art. Aristodemus, becoming king, constantly was ready to show all reasonable favour to the people, and held all the nobles in honor, especially Cleonnis and Damis. He maintained good relations with the allies, sending gifts to the Arcadian leaders and to Argos and Sicyon.

[4.10.7] They carried on the war during his reign by means of constant forays with small parties, and made incursions into one another's country at harvest time, the Messenians being supported by the Arcadians in their raids into Laconia. The Argives did not think fit to declare their hatred for the Lacedaemonians beforehand, but prepared to take part in the contest when it came.

[4.11.1] XI. In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, being exhausted by the length of the war and by their expenditure, after due notice that a battle would be fought, both sides were joined by their allies, the Lacedaemonians by the Corinthians alone of the Peloponnesians, the Messenians by the full muster of the Arcadians and by picked troops from Argos and Sicyon. The Lacedaemonians entrusted their center to the Corinthians, Helots and all the neighboring peoples who were serving with them; they themselves and the kings were posted on the wings in a deeper and closer formation than ever before.

[4.11.2] The dispositions of Aristodemus and his men were as follows: he selected the most serviceable of the arms for all the Arcadians and Messenians who were physically strong and stout hearted but did not possess powerful weapons, and as the matter was urgent, posted them with the Argives and Sicyonians, extending the line that they might not be surrounded by the enemy. He also took care that they should be drawn up with Mount Ithome in their rear. Placing Cleonnis in command of these troops,

[4.11.3] he himself and Damis remained in reserve with the light troops consisting of a few slingers or archers, the bulk of the force being physically suited to rapid assaults and retirements and lightly armed. Not all of them possessed a breastplate or shield, but those who lacked them were protected with the skins of goats and sheep, some of them, particularly the Arcadian mountaineers, having the hides of wild beasts, wolves and bears.

[4.11.4] Each carried several javelins, and some of them spears. While these were in ambush in a part of Ithome where they were least likely to be visible, the heavy-armed troops of the Messenians and their allies withstood the first assault of the Lacedaemonians, and continued after this to show courage in every way. They were inferior in numbers to the enemy, but were picked men

fighting against levies, not selected troops like themselves, and so, by their bravery and training were more able to maintain a lengthy resistance.

[4.11.5] Then the mobile Messenian force, when the signal was given to them, charged the Lacedaemonians and enveloping them threw javelins on their flanks. All who were of higher courage ran in and struck at close quarters. The Lacedaemonians, faced simultaneously with a second and unforeseen danger, were not demoralized, but turning on the light troops, tried to defend themselves. But, as the enemy with their light equipment drew off without difficulty, the Lacedaemonians were filled with perplexity and, as a consequence, with anger.

[4.11.6] Men are apt to be most annoyed by what they regard as beneath them. So then the Spartans who had already been wounded and all who after the fall of their comrades were the first to meet the attack of the light troops, ran out to meet them when they saw the light troops advancing and hotly extended the pursuit as they retired. The Messenian light troops maintained their original tactics, striking and shooting at them when they stood still, and outstripping them in flight when they pursued, attacking again as they tried to retire.

[4.11.7] They did this in separate parties and at different points of the enemy's line. The Messenian heavy-armed and their allies meantime pressed more boldly on the troops facing them. Finally the Lacedaemonians, worn out by the length of the battle and their wounds, and demoralized contrary to their custom by the light troops, broke their ranks. When they had been routed, the light troops inflicted greater damage on them.

[4.11.8] It was impossible to reckon the Lacedaemonian losses in the battle, but I for my part am convinced that they were heavy. The rest made their retreat homewards without molestation, but for the Corinthians it was likely to be difficult, for whether they tried to retire through the Argolid or by Sicyon, in either case it was through enemy country.

[4.12.1] XII. The Lacedaemonians were distressed by the reverse that had befallen them. Their losses in the battle were great and included important men, and they were inclined to despair of all hope in the war. For this reason they sent envoys to Delphi, who received the following reply from the Pythia:

Phoebus bids thee pursue not only the task of war with the hand, but by guile a people holds the Messenian land, and by the same arts as they first employed shall the people fall.

[4.12.2] At this the kings and ephors were eager to invent stratagems, but failed. They imitated that deed of Odysseus at Troy, and sent a hundred men to Ithome to observe what the enemy were planning, but pretending to be deserters. A sentence of banishment had been openly pronounced on them. On their arrival Aristodemus at once sent them away, saying that the crimes of the Lacedaemonians were new, but their tricks old.

[4.12.3] Failing in their attempt, the Lacedaemonians next attempted to break up the Messenian alliance. But when repulsed by the Arcadians, to whom their ambassadors came first, they put off going to Argos. Aristodemus,

hearing of the Lacedaemonian intrigues, also sent men to enquire of the god. And the Pythia replied to them:

[4.12.4]

The god gives thee glory in war, but beware lest by guile the hated company of Sparta scale the well-built walls, for mightier is their god of war. And harsh shall be the dwellers in the circle of the dancing ground, when the two have started forth by one chance from the hidden ambush. Yet the holy day shall not behold this ending until their doom o’ertake those which have changed their nature.

At the time Aristodemus and the seers were at a loss to interpret the saying, but in a few years the god was like to reveal it and bring it to fulfillment.

[4.12.5] Other things befell the Messenians at that time: while Lyciscus was

living abroad in Sparta, death overtook the daughter whom he carried with him on his flight from Messene. As he often visited her tomb, Arcadian horsemen lay in wait and captured him. When carried to Ithome and brought into the assembly he urged that he had not departed a traitor to his country, but because he believed the words of the seer that the girl was not his own.

[4.12.6] His defence did not win credence until the woman who was then

holding the priesthood of Hera came into the theater. She confessed that she was the mother of the girl and had given her to Lyciscus’ wife to pass off as her own. “And now,” she said, “revealing the secret, I have come to lay down my office.” She said this because it was an established custom in Messene that, if a child of a man or woman holding a priesthood died before its parent, the office should pass to another. Accepting the truth of her statement, they chose another woman to take her place as priestess of the goddess, and said that Lyciscus’ deed was pardonable.

[4.12.7] After this, as the twentieth year of the war was approaching, they

resolved to send again to Delphi to ask concerning victory. The Pythia made answer to their question:

To those who first around the altar set up tripods ten times ten to Zeus of Ithome, heaven grants glory in war and the Messenian land. For thus hath Zeus ordained. Deceit raised thee up and punishment follows after, nor would’st thou deceive the god. Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this man before that.

[4.12.8] Hearing this they thought that the oracle was in their favour and

granted them victory; for as they themselves possessed the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome within the walls, the Lacedaemonians could not forestall them in making the dedication. They set about making tripods of wood, as they had not money enough to make them of bronze. But one of the Delphians reported the oracle to Sparta. When they heard it, no plan occurred to them in public,

[4.12.9] but Oebalus, a man of no repute in general, but evidently shrewd,

made a hundred tripods, as best he might, of clay, and hiding them in a bag, carried nets with them like a hunter. As he was unknown even to most of the Lacedaemonians, he would more easily escape detection by the Messenians. Joining some countrymen, he entered Ithome with them, and as soon as night

fell, dedicated these tripods of clay to the god, and returned to Sparta to tell the Lacedaemonians.

[4.12.10] The Messenians, when they saw them, were greatly disturbed, thinking, rightly enough, that they were from the Lacedaemonians. Nevertheless Aristodemus encouraged them, saying what the occasion demanded, and setting up the wooden tripods, which had already been made, round the altar of the god of Ithome. It happened also that Ophioneus, the seer who had been blind from birth, received his sight in the most remarkable way. He was seized with a violent pain in the head, and thereupon received his sight.

[4.13.1] XIII. Next, as fate was already inclining towards the conquest of the Messenians, the god revealed to them the future. For the armed statue of Artemis, which was all of bronze, let its shield fall. And as Aristodemus was about to sacrifice the victims to Zeus of Ithome, the rams of their own accord leapt towards the altar, and dashing their horns violently against it were killed by the force of the blow. A third portent befell them. The dogs assembled together and howled every night, and at last fled together to the camp of the Lacedaemonians.

[4.13.2] Aristodemus was alarmed by this and by the following dream which came to him. He thought that he was about to go forth armed to battle and the victims' entrails were lying before him on a table, when his daughter appeared, wearing a black robe and showing her breast and belly cut open; when she appeared she flung down what was on the table, stripped him of his arms, and instead set a golden crown on his head and put a white robe about him.

[4.13.3] Aristodemus, who was already in despair, thought the dream foretold the end of life for him, because the Messenians used to carry out their chiefs for burial wearing a crown and dressed in white garments. Then he received news that Ophioneus the seer could no longer see but had suddenly become blind, as he was at first. Then they understood the oracle, that by the two starting forth from the ambush and again meeting their doom the Pythia meant the eyes of Ophioneus.

[4.13.4] Then Aristodemus, reckoning up his private sorrows, that to no purpose he had become the slayer of his daughter, and seeing that no hope of safety remained for his country, slew himself upon the tomb of his child. He had done all that human calculation could do to save the Messenians, but fortune brought to naught both his achievements and his plans. He had reigned six years and a few months when he died.

[4.13.5] The Messenians were plunged into despair, and were even ready to send to the Lacedaemonians to ask mercy, so demoralized were they by the death of Aristodemus. Their pride, however, prevented them from doing this. But they met in the assembly and chose not a king, but Damis as general with absolute power. He selected Cleonnis and Phyleus as colleagues, and even with their present resources made ready to join battle. For he was forced to

this by the blockade, and above all by famine and by the consequent terror that they would be destroyed by want.

[4.13.6] Even then the Messenians were not inferior in courage and brave deeds, but all their generals were killed and their most notable men. After this they held out for some five months, but as the year was coming to an end deserted Ithome, the war having lasted twenty years in all, as is stated in the poems of Tyrtaeus:

But in the twentieth year they left their rich tilled lands, and fled from out the lofty mountains of Ithome. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[4.13.7] This war came to an end in the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad, when Dasmon of Corinth won the short footrace. At Athens the Medontidae were still holding the archonship as a ten years' office, Hippomenes having completed his fourth year.

[4.14.1] XIV. All the Messenians who had ties with Sicyon and Argos and among any of the Arcadians retired to these states, but those who belonged to the family of the Priests and performed the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, to Eleusis. The majority of the common people were scattered in their native towns, as before.

[4.14.2] The Lacedaemonians first razed Ithome to the ground, then attacked and captured the remaining towns. Of the spoils they dedicated bronze tripods to the god of Amyclae. A statue of Aphrodite stands under the first tripod, of Artemis under the second, of Kore or Demeter under the third.

[4.14.3] Dedicating these offerings at Amyclae, they gave to the people of Asine, who had been driven out by the Argives, that part of Messenia on the coast which they still occupy; to the descendants of Androcles (he had a daughter, who with her children had fled at his death and come to Sparta) they assigned the part called Hyamia.

[4.14.4] The Messenians themselves were treated in this way: First they exacted an oath that they would never rebel or attempt any kind of revolution. Secondly, though no fixed tribute was imposed on them, they used to bring the half of all the produce of their fields to Sparta. It was also ordained that for the funerals of the kings and other magistrates men should come from Messene with their wives in black garments, and a penalty was laid on those who disobeyed.

[4.14.5] As to the wanton punishments which they inflicted on the Messenians, this is what is said in Tyrtaeus' poems:—

Like asses worn by their great burdens, bringing of dire necessity to their masters the half of all the fruits the corn-land bears. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

That they were compelled to share their mourning, he shows by the following:—

Wailing for their masters, they and their wives alike, whensoever the baneful doom of death came upon any. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[4.14.6] In these straits the Messenians, foreseeing no kindness from the

Lacedaemonians, and thinking death in battle or a complete migration from Peloponnese preferable to their present lot, resolved at all costs to revolt. They were incited to this mainly by the younger men, who were still without experience of war but were of high spirit and preferred death in a free country, even though slavery might bring happiness in all else.

SECOND MESSENIAN WAR, HISTORY

[4.14.7] Of the young men who had grown up in Messenia the best and most numerous were round Andania, and among them was Aristomenes, who to this day is worshipped as a hero among the Messenians. They think that even the circumstances of his birth were notable, for they assert that a spirit or a god united with his mother, Nicoteleia, in the form of a serpent. I know that the Macedonians tell a similar story about Olympias, and the Sicyonians about Aristodama, but there is this difference:

[4.14.8] The Messenians do not make Aristomenes the son of Heracles or of Zeus, as the Macedonians do with Alexander and Ammon, and the Sicyonians with Aratus and Asclepius. Most of the Greeks say that Pyrrhus was the father of Aristomenes, but I myself know that in their libations the Messenians call him Aristomenes son of Nicomedes. He then, being in the full vigor of youth and courage, with others of the nobles incited them to revolt. This was not done openly at first, but they sent secretly to Argos and to the Arcadians, to ask if they were ready to help unhesitatingly and no less energetically than in the former war.

[4.15.1] XV. When all their preparations were made for the war, the readiness of their allies exceeding expectation (for now the hatred which the Argives and Arcadians felt for the Lacedaemonians had blazed up openly), they revolted in the thirty-ninth year after the capture of Ithome, and in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad, when Icarus of Hyeresia won the short footrace. At Athens the archonship was now of annual tenure, and Tlesias held office.

[4.15.2] Tyrtaeus has not recorded the names of the kings then reigning in Lacedaemon, but Rhianos stated in his epic that Leotychides was king at the time of this war. I cannot agree with him at all on this point. Though Tyrtaeus makes no statement, he may be regarded as having done so by the following; there are lines of his which refer to the first war:—

Around it they fought unceasingly for nineteen years, ever maintaining a stout heart, the warrior fathers of our fathers. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[4.15.3] It is obvious then that the Messenians went to war now in the second generation after the first war, and the sequence of time shows that the kings of Sparta at that time were Anaxander the son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, and of the other house Anaxidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, son of Archidamus, son of Theopompus. I go as far as the third in descent from Theopompus, because Archidamus the son of Theopompus died before his father, and the kingdom of Theopompus passed to his grandson, Zeuxidamus.

But Leotychides clearly succeeded Demaratus the son of Ariston, Ariston being sixth in descent from Theopompus.

[4.15.4] In the first year after the revolt the Messenians engaged the Lacedaemonians at a place called Derae in Messenia, both sides being without their allies. Neither side won a clear victory, but Aristomenes is said to have achieved more than it seemed that one man could, so that, as he was of the race of the Aepytidae, they were for making him king after the battle. As he declined, they appointed him general with absolute power.

[4.15.5] It was the view of Aristomenes that any man would be ready to die in battle if he had first done deeds worthy of record, but that it was his own especial task at the very beginning of the war to prove that he had struck terror into the Lacedaemonians and that he would be more terrible to them for the future. With this purpose he came by night to Lacedaemon and fixed on the temple of Athena of the Brazen House a shield inscribed "The Gift of Aristomenes to the Goddess, taken from Spartans."

[4.15.6] The Spartans received an oracle from Delphi that they should procure the Athenian as counsellor. So they sent messengers to Athens to announce the oracle, asking for a man to advise what they must do. The Athenians, who were not anxious either that the Lacedaemonians should add to their possessions the best part of Peloponnese without great dangers, or that they themselves should disobey the god, made their plans accordingly. There was a man Tyrtaeus, a teacher of letters, who was considered of poor intellect and was lame in one foot. Him they sent to Sparta. On his arrival he recited his poems in elegiacs and anapaests to the nobles in private and to all whom he could collect.

[4.15.7] A year after the fight at Derae, both sides being joined by their allies, they prepared to join battle at the Boar's Tomb, as it is called. The Messenians had the Eleians and Arcadians and also succors from Argos and from Sicyon. They were joined by all the Messenians who had previously been in voluntary exile, together with those from Eleusis, whose hereditary task it was to perform the rites of the Great Goddesses, and the descendants of Androcles. These indeed were their most zealous supporters.

[4.15.8] The Corinthians came to fight on the side of the Lacedaemonians, and some of the Lepreans owing to their hatred of the Eleians. But the people of Asine were bound by oaths to both sides. This spot, the Boar's Tomb, lies in Stenyclerus of Messenia, and there, as is said, Heracles exchanged oaths with the sons of Neleus over the pieces of a boar.

[4.16.1] XVI. Sacrifice was offered by the seers on both sides before the battle; on the Lacedaemonian side by Hecas, descendant and namesake of the Hecas who had come with the sons of Aristodemus to Sparta, on the Messenian side by Theoclus, who was descended from Eumantis, an Eleian of the house of the Iamidae, whom Cresphontes had brought to Messene. Then in the presence of the seers both sides were spurred by greater ardor for the fight.

[4.16.2] All showed the zeal that befitted their age and strength, but

Anaxander, the Lacedaemonian king, and his Spartan guard above all. On the Messenian side the descendants of Androcles, Phintas and Androcles, and their company tried to acquit themselves like brave men. Tyrtaeus and the chief priests of the Great Goddesses took no part in the action, but urged on the hindmost on their own sides.

[4.16.3] As to Aristomenes himself he had with him eighty picked men of the Messenians of the same age as himself, each one of them thinking it the highest honor that he had been thought worthy of a place in the troop with Aristomenes. They were quick to understand each other's movements, especially those of their leader, when he began or contemplated any manoeuvre. They themselves with Aristomenes were at first hard pressed in face of Anaxander and the Lacedaemonian champions, but receiving wounds unflinchingly and showing every form of desperate courage they repulsed Anaxander and his men by their long endurance and valor.

[4.16.4] As they fled, Aristomenes ordered another Messenian troop to undertake the pursuit. He himself attacked the enemies' line where it was firmest, and after breaking it at this point sought a new point of assault. Soon successful here, he was the more ready to assail those who stood their ground, until he threw into confusion the whole line of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies. They were now running without shame and without waiting for one another, while he assailed them with a terror that seemed more than one man's fury could inspire.

[4.16.5] There was a wild pear-tree growing in the plain, beyond which Theoclus the seer forbade him to pass, for he said that the Dioscuri were seated on the tree. Aristomenes, in the heat of passion, did not hear all that the seer said, and when he reached the tree, lost his shield, and his disobedience gave to the Lacedaemonians an opportunity for some to escape from the rout. For he lost time trying to recover his shield.

[4.16.6] The Lacedaemonians were thrown into despair after this blow and purposed to put an end to the war. But Tyrtaeus by reciting his poems contrived to dissuade them, and filled their ranks from the Helots to replace the slain. When Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women threw ribbons and flower blossoms over him, singing also a song which is sung to this day:—

To the middle of Stenyclerus' plain and to the hilltop Aristomenes followed after the Lacedaemonians. Unknown.

[4.16.7] He recovered his shield also, going to Delphi and descending into the holy shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia, as the Pythia bade. Afterwards he took the shield to Lebadeia and dedicated it, and I myself have seen it there among the offerings. The device on it is an eagle with both wings outspread to the rim. Now on his return from Boeotia having learnt of the shield at the shrine of Trophonius and recovered it, he at once engaged in greater deeds.

[4.16.8] Collecting a force of Messenians, together with his own picked troop, he waited for night and went to a city of Laconia whose ancient name in Homer's *Catalogue* is Pharis, but is called Pharae by the Spartans and

neighboring people. Arriving here he killed those who offered resistance and surrounding the cattle started to drive them off to Messene. On the way he was attacked by Lacedaemonian troops under king Anaxander, but put them to flight and began to pursue Anaxander; but he stopped the pursuit when wounded in the buttocks with a javelin; he did not, however, lose the booty which he was driving away.

[4.16.9] After waiting only for the wound to heal, he was making an attack by night on Sparta itself, but was deterred by the appearance of Helen and of the Dioscuri. But he lay in wait by day for the maidens who were performing the dances in honor of Artemis at Caryae, and capturing those who were wealthiest and of noblest birth, carried them off to a village in Messenia, entrusting them to men of his troop to guard, while he rested for the night.

[4.16.10] There the young men, intoxicated, I suppose, and without any self-control, attempted to violate the girls. When Aristomenes attempted to deter them from an action contrary to Greek usage, they paid no attention, so that he was compelled to kill the most disorderly. He released the captives for a large ransom, maidens, as when he captured them.

[4.17.1] XVII. There is a place Aegila in Laconia, where is a sanctuary sacred to Demeter. Aristomenes and his men knowing that the women were keeping festival there . . . the women were inspired by the goddess to defend themselves, and most of the Messenians were wounded with the knives with which the women sacrificed the victims and the spits on which they pierced and roasted the meat. Aristomenes was struck with the torches and taken alive. Nevertheless he escaped to Messenia during the same night. Archidameia, the priestess of Demeter, was charged with having released him, not for a bribe but because she had been in love with him before; but she maintained that Aristomenes had escaped by burning through his bonds.

[4.17.2] In the third year of the war, when an engagement was about to take place at what is called The Great Trench, and the Messenians had been joined by Arcadians from all the cities, the Lacedaemonians bribed Aristocrates the son of Hicetas of Trapezus, who was then king and general of the Arcadians. The Lacedaemonians were the first of whom we know to give bribes to an enemy, and the first to make victory in war a matter of purchase.

[4.17.3] Before the Lacedaemonians committed this crime in the Messenian war in the matter of the treachery of Aristocrates the Arcadian, the decision in battle was reached by valor and the fortune of heaven. Again it is clear that at a later date, when they were lying opposite the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians bought Adeimantus and other Athenian generals.

[4.17.4] However in course of time the punishment of Neoptolemus, as it is called, came upon the Lacedaemonians themselves in their turn. Now it was the fate of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, after killing Priam on the altar of Zeus Herkeios (Of the Courtyard), himself to be slain by the altar of Apollo in Delphi. Thenceforward to suffer what a man has himself done to another is called the Punishment of Neoptolemus.

[4.17.5] So in the case of the Lacedaemonians, when they were at the height of their power after the destruction of the Athenian fleet, and Agesilaus had already reduced the greater part of Asia, they were unable to capture the whole empire of the Persians but the barbarian overreached them with their own invention, sending money to Corinth, Argos, Athens and Thebes as the result of this bribery the so-called Corinthian war broke out, compelling Agesilaus to abandon his conquests in Asia.

[4.17.6] Thus it was the purpose of heaven to turn the trick employed by the Lacedaemonians against the Messenians to their own destruction. After receiving the money from Lacedaemon, Aristocrates concealed his plot from the Arcadians for the present, but when they were about to come into action, he alarmed them by saying that they were caught in a difficult place and there would be no means of retreat for them, if defeated, also that the offerings had not been satisfactory. He ordered everyone therefore to take to flight when he gave the signal.

[4.17.7] When the Lacedaemonians were about to close and the Messenians were occupied on their own front, then Aristocrates withdrew the Arcadians as the battle began, leaving the Messenian left and center without troops. For the Arcadians occupied both positions in the absence of the Eleians from the battle and of the Argives and Sicyonians. To complete his work Aristocrates caused his men to fly through the Messenians.

[4.17.8] They were amazed at the unexpected state of affairs, and moreover were thrown into confusion by the passage of the Arcadians through their ranks, so that they almost forgot what lay before them; for instead of the advance of the Lacedaemonians they watched the Arcadian retirement, some begging them to stand by them, others cursing them for traitors and scoundrels.

[4.17.9] It was not difficult for the Lacedaemonians to surround the Messenians thus isolated, and they won without trouble the easiest of victories. Aristomenes and his men held together and tried to check the fiercest of the Lacedaemonian assaults but, being few in number, were unable to render much assistance. So great were the numbers of the people of the Messenians slain that in lieu of their former thoughts of becoming the masters instead of the slaves of the Lacedaemonians they now despaired of safety itself. Among the chieftains killed were Androcles and Phintas, and Phanas after the most glorious resistance. He had previously been victorious in the long foot race at Olympia.

[4.17.10] Aristomenes collected the Messenian survivors after the battle and persuaded them to desert Andania and most of the other towns that lay in the interior and to settle on Mount Eira. When they had been driven to this spot, the Lacedaemonians sat down to besiege them, thinking that they would soon reduce them. Nevertheless the Messenians maintained their resistance for eleven years after the disaster at the Trench.

[4.17.11] The length of the siege is proved by these lines of the poet Rhianus,

regarding the Lacedaemonians:—

In the folds of the white mountain were they encamped, for two and twenty winters and green herbs. Rhianus, unknown location.

He reckons winters and summers, by “green herbs” meaning the green corn or the time just before harvest.

[4.18.1] XVIII. Settling on Eira and cut off from the rest of Messenia, except in so far as the people of Pylos and Mothone maintained the coastal districts for them, the Messenians plundered both Laconia and their own territory, regarding it now as enemy country. The men taking part in the raids were drawn from all sources, and Aristomenes raised the number of his chosen troop to three hundred.

[4.18.2] They harried and plundered whatever Lacedaemonian property they could; when corn, cattle and wine were captured, they were consumed, but movable property and men were sold. The Lacedaemonians, as their labours were more profitable to the men at Eira than to themselves, accordingly resolved that Messenia and the neighboring part of Laconia should be left uncultivated during the war.

[4.18.3] As a result scarcity arose in Sparta, and with it revolution. For those who had property here could not endure its lying idle. Their differences were being composed by Tyrtaeus, when Aristomenes and his troop, starting in the late evening and by rapid movement reaching Amyclae before sunrise, captured and plundered the town, retiring before a force from Sparta could come to its relief.

[4.18.4] He continued to overrun the country afterwards, until in an engagement with more than half the Lacedaemonian infantry and both the kings he received various wounds while defending himself and was struck on the head by a stone, so that his eyes became dizzy. When he fell a number of the Lacedaemonians closed upon him and took him alive with some fifty of his followers. The Lacedaemonians resolved to fling them all into the Ceadas, into which they throw men punished for the greatest crimes.

[4.18.5] The rest of the Messenians were killed at once as they fell, but Aristomenes now as on other occasions was preserved by one of the gods. His panegyrists say that, when Aristomenes was thrown into the Ceadas, an eagle flew below him and supported him with its wings, bringing him to the bottom without any damage to his body and without wound. Even from here, as it seems, it was the will of heaven to show him a means of escape.

[4.18.6] For when he came to the bottom of the chasm he lay down, and covering himself with his cloak awaited the death that fate had surely decreed. But after two days he heard a noise and uncovered, and being by this time able to see through the gloom, saw a fox devouring the dead bodies. Realizing that the beast must have some entrance, he waited for the fox to come near him, and then seized it. Whenever it turned on him he used one hand to hold out his cloak for it to bite. For the most part he kept pace with it as it ran, but over the more difficult ground he was dragged along by it. At last he saw a

hole big enough for a fox to get through and daylight showing through it.

[4.18.7] The fox, when released by Aristomenes, made of presumably, to its earth. But Aristomenes enlarged the hole, which was not large enough to let him through, with his hands and reached his home at Eira in safety, having undergone a remarkable chance in the matter of his capture, for his courage and prowess were so high that no one would have expected Aristomenes to be made a prisoner. Still more remarkable, and a convincing example of divine assistance, was his escape from the Ceadas.

[4.19.1] XIX. The Lacedaemonians at once received information from deserters that Aristomenes had returned in safety. Though they thought it as incredible as the news that anyone had risen from the dead, their belief was ensured by the following action on the part of Aristomenes himself. The Corinthians were sending a force to assist the Lacedaemonians in the reduction of Eira.

[4.19.2] Learning from his scouts that their march discipline was lax and that their encampments were made without precaution, Aristomenes attacked them by night. He slew most of them while the rest were still sleeping, and killed the leaders Hypermenides, Achladaeus, Lysistratus and Siectus. And having plundered the generals' tent, he made it clear to the Spartans that it was Aristomenes and no other Messenian who had done this.

[4.19.3] He also made the sacrifice called the Offering for the hundred slain to Zeus of Ithome. This was an old-established custom, all Messenians making it who had slain their hundred enemies. Aristomenes first offered it after the battle at the Boar's Tomb, his second offering was occasioned by the slaughter of the Corinthians in the night. It is said that he made a third offering as the result of his later raids.

[4.19.4] Now the Lacedaemonians, as the festival of Hyacinthus was approaching, made a truce of forty days with the men of Eira. They themselves returned home to keep the feast, but some Cretan archers, whom they had summoned as mercenaries from Lyctus and other cities, were patrolling Messenia for them. Aristomenes then, in view of the truce, was at a distance from Eira and was advancing somewhat carelessly, when seven of these archers laid an ambush for him. They captured him and bound him with the thongs which they had on their quivers, as evening was coming on.

[4.19.5] So two of them went to Sparta, bringing the glad news that Aristomenes had been captured. The rest went to one of the farms in Messenia, where there dwelt a fatherless girl with her mother. On the previous night the girl had seen a dream. Wolves brought a lion to their farm bound and without talons; but she herself loosed the lion from his bonds and found and gave to him his talons, and thus it seemed that the wolves were torn in pieces by the lion.

[4.19.6] And now when the Cretans brought in Aristomenes, the girl realized that the dream of the night had come true, and asked her mother who he was. On learning she was encouraged, and looking intently at him understood what she had been bidden to do. Accordingly she plied the Cretans with wine, and

when they were overcome with drunkenness she stole away the dagger of the man who was sleeping most heavily. Then the girl cut the bonds of Aristomenes, and he took the sword and despatched the men. This maiden was taken to wife by Gorgus the son of Aristomenes. Aristomenes gave him to the girl as a recompense for saving his life, for Gorgus had not yet completed his eighteenth year when he wedded her.

SECOND MESSENIAN WAR, HISTORY CONT.

[4.20.1] XX. But in the eleventh year of the siege it was fated that Eira should be taken and the Messenians dispersed, and the god fulfilled for them an oracle given to Aristomenes and Theoclus. They had come to Delphi after the disaster at the Trench and asked concerning safety, receiving this reply from the Pythia:

Whensoever a he-goat drinks of Neda's winding stream, no more do I protect Messene, for destruction is at hand.

[4.20.2] The springs of the Neda are in Mount Lycaeus. The river flows through the land of the Arcadians and turning again towards Messenia forms the boundary on the coast between Messenia and Elis. Then they were afraid of the he-goats drinking from the Neda, but it appeared that what the god foretold to them was this. Some of the Greeks call the wild fig-tree olynthe, but the Messenians themselves tragos (he-goat). Now at that time a wild fig-tree growing on the bank of the Neda had not grown straight up, but was bending towards the stream and touching the water with the tips of its leaves.

[4.20.3] When the seer Theoclus saw it, he guessed that the goat who drinks of the Neda foretold by the Pythia was this wild fig-tree, and that their fate had already come upon the Messenians. He kept it secret from the rest, but led Aristomenes to the fig-tree and showed him that their time of safety had gone by. Aristomenes believed that it was so and that there was no delaying their fate, and made provision such as circumstances demanded.

[4.20.4] For the Messenians possessed a secret thing. If it were destroyed, Messene would be overwhelmed and lost for ever, but if it were kept, the oracles of Lycus the son of Pandion said that after lapse of time the Messenians would recover their country. Aristomenes, knowing the oracles, took it towards nightfall, and coming to the most deserted part of Ithome, buried it on the mountain, calling on Zeus who keeps Ithome and the gods who had hitherto protected the Messenians to remain guardians of the pledge, and not to put their only hope of return into the power of the Lacedaemonians.

[4.20.5] After this, as formerly for the Trojans, the beginning of the Messenian misfortunes was in adultery. The Messenians commanded the mountain of Eira and its slopes as far as the Neda, some of them having their dwellings outside the gates. The only deserter that came to them from Laconia was a herdsman, slave of Emperamus, bringing his master's cattle. Emperamus was a man of repute in Sparta.

[4.20.6] This herdsman, who kept his cattle not far from the Neda, saw the

wife of one of the Messenians, who had their dwellings outside the wall, as she came to draw water. Falling in love with her, he dared to speak with her and seduced her with gifts. Thenceforward he marked the time when her husband went away to mount guard, garrison duty on the acropolis being undertaken by the Messenians in turn. For it was at this point that they were most afraid of the enemy making their way into the town. Whenever he went away, then the herdsman used to visit the lady.

[4.20.7] Now once when it happened that the turn for duty fell to him and others in the night, it chanced that there was heavy rain, and the Messenians deserted their post. For they were overcome by the density of the rain that streamed from heaven, as there were no battlements or towers erected on the wall owing to the hurried nature of its building; moreover they did not expect the Lacedaemonians even to stir on a moonless night that was so stormy.

[4.20.8] A few days earlier a merchant from Cephallenia, who was a friend of Aristomenes and was bringing to Eira all that they needed, had been captured by the Lacedaemonians and archers from Aptera, commanded by Euryalus the Spartan; Aristomenes rescued him and recovered all the goods that he was bringing, but had himself been wounded and was unable to visit rounds, as was his custom. This was the main reason that the acropolis was deserted.

[4.20.9] All of them left their posts and with them the husband of the woman seduced by the herdsman. She was entertaining the herdsman at the time but heard her husband coming and at once hid the man away as quickly as possible. When the husband entered, she treated him with greater affection than ever before and asked him what was the reason of his return. But knowing that she was unfaithful or that the herdsman was in the house, he told her the truth, that owing to the violence of the rain he and all the rest had deserted their post.

[4.20.10] The herdsman listened to him speaking, and learning the exact position, again deserted from the Messenians to the Lacedaemonians. The Kings were absent at the time from the Lacedaemonian camp, but Emperamus, his master, who was commandant, was conducting the siege of Eira. Coming to him he first begged forgiveness for his crime of deserting and then showed him that now was the time for them to take Eira, recounting everything that he had learnt from the Messenian.

[4.21.1] XXI. His story seemed to be reliable, and he led the way for Emperamus and the Spartans. Their march was difficult, as it was dark and the rain never ceased. Nevertheless they accomplished it in their eagerness, and arriving before the acropolis of Eira, mounted by raising ladders and in any other way that was possible. Various indications of the trouble that was upon them were given to the Messenians, especially by the dogs barking, not in their usual fashion, but uttering more loud and continuous howls. realizing that the supreme and most desperate crisis had come upon them, they did not wait to collect all their arms but snatched whatever lay ready to the hand of each, to defend the fatherland that alone was left to them of all Messenia.

[4.21.2] The first to realize that the enemy were within and to go against them were Gorgus the son of Aristomenes, Aristomenes himself, Theoclus the seer and Manticlus his son, and with them Euergetidas a man of high repute in Messenia who had attained to greater honor through his wife for he was wedded to Hagnagora, the sister of Aristomenes. Then the rest, though understanding that they were caught as in a net, nevertheless derived some hope even from their present plight.

[4.21.3] But Aristomenes and the seer knew that there was no putting off destruction for the Messenians, for they knew the riddle of the oracle which the Pythia had uttered concerning the goat. Nevertheless they would not declare it, and kept it secret from the rest. As they hastened through the city, visiting all, they exhorted those whom they encountered, when they saw that they were Messenians, to be brave men, and summoned from the houses those who still remained.

[4.21.4] During the night nothing worthy of mention was done on either side; for their ignorance of the ground and the daring of Aristomenes gave pause to the Lacedaemonians, while the Messenians had not previously received a watchword from their generals, and the rain would put out torches or any other light that they kindled.

[4.21.5] When it was day and they could see one another Aristomenes and Theoclus tried to rouse the fury of despair in the Messenians, setting forth all that suited the occasion and reminding them of the valor of the men of Smyrna, how, though an Ionian people, by their valor and courage they had driven out Cyges the son of Dascylus and the Lydians, when they were in occupation of their town.

[4.21.6] The Messenians, when they heard, were filled with desperate courage, and mustering as they happened to be gathered rushed on the Lacedaemonians. Women too were eager to fling tiles and what they could upon the enemy, yet the violence of the rain prevented them from doing this and from mounting to the house-tops. But they dared to take arms, and they too further inflamed the ardor of the men, when they saw their women preferring to perish with their fatherland rather than be taken as slaves to Lacedaemon, so that they might yet have been able to escape their fate.

[4.21.7] But the god caused the rain to descend more densely, with loud claps of thunder, and dazzled their eyes with lightning flashing in their faces. All this put courage in the Lacedaemonians, who said that heaven itself was helping them and as the lightning was on their right, Hecas the seer declared the sign of good omen.

[4.21.8] It was he who devised the following plan. The Lacedaemonians far outnumbered the Messenians, but as the battle was not being fought on open ground with troops in line, but they were fighting over different quarters of the town, the rearmost of each detachment were rendered useless. Hecas ordered these to retire to the camp, take food and sleep, and return before evening to relieve their own men who were to remain on duty.

[4.21.9] The Lacedaemonians, by resting and fighting by turns, held out the longer, but the Messenians were faced with difficulties on all sides. They fought continuously day and night until the third day with none to relieve them. When the next day dawned, worn out by lack of sleep and by the rain and cold from heaven, they were assailed by hunger and thirst. The women especially, unaccustomed to war, were exhausted by the continuous suffering.

[4.21.10] So the seer Theoclus came to Aristomenes' side and said: "Why vainly maintain this toil? The decree of fate stands fast that Messene should fall; long since the Pythia declared to us the disaster now before our eyes, and lately the fig-tree revealed it. On me the gods have laid one doom with my country, but do thou save the Messenians with what power thou hast and save thyself." When he had spoken to Aristomenes he rushed upon the enemy, and these were the words that he was constrained to fling at the Lacedaemonians. "Yet not for all time shall you enjoy the fruits of Messenia with impunity."

[4.21.11] Then falling upon the men who faced him he killed them and himself was wounded, and having sated his passion with the slaughter of his foes, he breathed his last. But Aristomenes called the Messenians back from the fight, except those who by virtue of their courage were fighting to cover them. These he allowed to remain at their post. The rest he ordered to receive the women and children within their ranks and follow him wherever he should show a passage.

[4.21.12] He appointed Gorgus and Manticlus to command the rear, he himself ran to the head of the company and by the gestures of his head and movement of his spear signified that he asked a passage and had resolved to depart. Emperamus and the Spartans present were pleased to let the Messenians pass, without further inflaming men who had reached the bounds of frenzy and despair. Moreover Hecas the seer ordered them to act thus.

[4.22.1] XXII. AS soon as the Arcadians heard of the Capture of Eira, they at once ordered Aristocrates to lead them to the rescue of the Messenians or to death with them. But he, being in receipt of bribes from Lacedaemon, refused to lead them, and said that he knew that no Messenian survived for them to help.

[4.22.2] When they obtained more certain news, that they survived and had been forced to desert Eira, they themselves proposed to receive them at Mount Lycaeus after preparing clothing and food, and sent some of their leading men to comfort the Messenians and also to be their guides on the way. After their safe arrival at Mount Lycaeus, the Arcadians entertained them and treated them kindly in every way, offering to distribute them among their towns and to make a new distribution of their land on their account.

[4.22.3] But Aristomenes' grief for the sack of Eira and his hatred of the Lacedaemonians suggested to him the following plan. He chose from the body of the Messenians five hundred men whom he knew to be the most unsparing of themselves, and asked them in the hearing of Aristocrates and the rest of the Arcadians if they were ready to die with him, avenging their country He

did not know that Aristocrates was a traitor, for he thought that he had fled from the battle formerly from lack of courage and through cowardice, not for any knavery; so he asked the five hundred in his presence.

[4.22.4] When they said that they were ready, he revealed the whole plan, that he proposed at all costs to lead them against Sparta during the following evening. For now was the time when the majority of the Lacedaemonians was away at Eira, and others were scouring Messenia for booty and plunder. "If we can capture and occupy Sparta," said Aristomenes, "we can give back to the Lacedaemonians what is theirs and receive our own. If we fail, we shall die together, having done a deed for posterity to remember."

[4.22.5] When he said this, as many as three hundred of the Arcadians were ready to share his enterprise. For the time they delayed their departure, as the victims were unfavorable, but on the following day they learnt that the Lacedaemonians had been forewarned of their secret, and that they themselves had been a second time betrayed by Aristocrates. For Aristocrates had at once written the designs of Aristomenes in a letter, and having entrusted it to the slave whom he knew to be most loyal, sent him to Anaxander in Sparta.

[4.22.6] As the slave was returning, he was intercepted by some of the Arcadians, who had formerly been at variance with Aristocrates and regarded him then with some suspicion. Having intercepted the slave they brought him before the Arcadians and made known to the people the answer from Lacedaemon. Anaxander was writing that his retreat from the Great Trench formerly had not gone unrewarded on the part of the Lacedaemonians and that he would receive an additional recompense for his information on the present occasion.

[4.22.7] When this was declared to all, the Arcadians themselves stoned Aristocrates and urged the Messenians to join them. They looked to Aristomenes. But he was weeping, with his eyes fixed on the ground. So the Arcadians stoned Aristocrates to death and flung him beyond their borders without burial, and set up a tablet in the precinct of Zeus Lycaeus with the words:—

Truly time hath declared justice upon an unjust king and with the help of Zeus hath easily declared the betrayer of Messene. Hard it is for a man forsworn to hide from God. Hail, king Zeus, and keep Arcadia safe.

[4.23.1] XXIII. All the Messenians, who were captured about Eira or anywhere else in Messenia, were reduced by the Lacedaemonians to serfdom. The people of Pylos and Mothone and all who occupied the maritime district retired in ships on the capture of Eira to Cyllene, the port of the Eleians. Thence they sent to the Messenians in Arcadia, proposing to unite their forces and seek a new country to dwell in, enjoining Aristomenes to lead them to a colony.

[4.23.2] But he said that while he lived, he would make war on the Lacedaemonians, as he knew well that trouble would always be brewing for

Sparta through him, but he gave them Gorgus and Mantichus as leaders. Euergetidas too had retired to Mount Lycaeus with the rest of the Messenians. From there, when he saw that Aristomenes' plan to seize Sparta had failed, he persuaded some fifty of the Messenians to go back with him to Eira and attack the Lacedaemonians,

[4.23.3] and coming upon them while they were still plundering, he turned their celebrations of victory to grief. He then met his doom there, but Aristomenes ordered all the Messenians who wished to take part in the colony to join the leaders at Cyllene. And all took part except those debarred by age or lack of funds for journeying abroad. These remained here with the Arcadians.

[4.23.4] Eira was taken, and the second war between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians completed in the archonship of Autosthenes at Athens, and in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, when Chionis the Laconian was victorious.

[4.23.5] When the Messenians assembled at Cyllene, they resolved to winter there for that season, the Eleians providing a market and funds. With the spring they began to debate where they should go. It was the view of Gorgus that they should occupy Zacynthos off Cephallenia, becoming islanders instead of mainlanders, and raid the coasts of Laconia with their ships and ravage the land. But Mantichus bade them forget Messene and their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, and sail to Sardinia and win an island which was of the largest extent and greatest fertility.

[4.23.6] Meantime Anaxilas sent to the Messenians and summoned them to Italy. He was tyrant of Rhegium, third in descent from Alcidas, who had left Messene for Rhegium after the death of king Aristodemus and the capture of Ithome. So now this Anaxilas summoned the Messenians. When they came, he said that the people of Zancle were at war with him, and that they possessed a prosperous land and city well placed in Sicily; and these he said he was ready to give them and help them to conquer. When they accepted the proposal, Anaxilas then transported them to Sicily.

[4.23.7] Zancle was originally occupied by pirates, who, as the land was uninhabited, walled off the harbor and used it as a base for their raids and cruises. Their leaders were Crataemenes a Samian and Perieres of Chalcis. Later Perieres and Crataemenes resolved to introduce other Greek settlers.

[4.23.8] Anaxilas defeated the Zancleans, when they put to sea to oppose him, and the Messenians did the like by land, and the Zancleans, blockaded on land by the Messenians and from the sea by the fleet of the Rhegines, when their wall was carried, fled for refuge to the altars of the gods and to the temples. Anaxilas, however, advised the Messenians to put to death the suppliant Zancleans and to enslave the rest together with the women and children.

[4.23.9] But Gorgus and Mantichus besought Anaxilas not to compel them, the victims of unholy treatment at the hands of kinsmen, to do the like to men of

Greek race. After this they made the Zancleaeans rise from the altars, and exchanging pledges with them, dwelt together in common. They changed the name of the city from Zancle to Messene.

[4.23.10] This event took place in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, when Chionis the Laconian was victorious for the second time. Miltiades was archon at Athens. Mantichus founded the temple of Heracles for the Messenians; the temple of the god is outside the walls and he is called Heracles Mantichus, just as Ammon in Libya and Belus in Babylon are named, the latter from an Egyptian, Belus the son of Libya, Ammon from the shepherd-founder. Thus the exiled Messenians reached the end of their wanderings.

[4.24.1] XXIV. After declining the leadership of the men setting forth to found a colony, Aristomenes gave his sister Hagnagora in marriage to Tharyx at Phigalia, and his daughters, both the eldest and the next in age, to Damothoidas of Lepreum and Theopompus of Heraea. He himself went to Delphi to enquire of the god. The reply that was given to Aristomenes is not recorded,

[4.24.2] but when Damagetus the Rhodian, who reigned at Ialysos, came to Apollo and asked whence he should take a wife, the Pythia bade him take a daughter of the bravest of the Greeks. As Aristomenes had a third daughter, he married her, considering that Aristomenes was by far the bravest of the Greeks of that age. Aristomenes, coming to Rhodes with his daughter, purposed to go up from there to Sardis to Ardys the son of Gyges, and to Ecbatana of the Medes to king Phraortes.

[4.24.3] But ere that he was overtaken by illness and death, for no further misfortune was to befall the Lacedaemonians at the hands of Aristomenes. On his death Damagetus and the Rhodians built him a splendid tomb and paid honor to him thenceforward. I omit what is recorded of the Diagoridae in Rhodes, as they are called, a line sprung from Diagoras the son of Damagetus, son of Dorieus, who was the son of Damagetus and of the daughter of Aristomenes, lest it should seem to be irrelevant.

[4.24.4] Now the Lacedaemonians, gaining possession of Messenia, divided it all among themselves, except the land belonging to the people of Asine; but they gave Mothone to the men of Nauplia, who had recently been driven from their town by the Argives.

[4.24.5] The Messenians who were captured in the country, reduced by force to the position of serfs, were later moved to revolt from the Lacedaemonians in the seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Xenophon the Corinthian was victorious. Archimedes was archon at Athens. The occasion which they found for the revolt was this. Certain Lacedaemonians who had been condemned to death on some charge fled as suppliants to Taenarum but the board of ephors dragged them from the altar there and put them to death.

[4.24.6] As the Spartans paid no heed to their being suppliants, the wrath of Poseidon came upon them, and the god razed all their city to the ground. At this disaster all the serfs who were of Messenian origin seceded to Mount

Ithome. Against them the Lacedaemonians, amongst other allies, called to their assistance Cimon the son of Miltiades, their patron in Athens, and an Athenian force. But when the Athenians arrived, they seem to have regarded them with suspicion that they were likely to promote revolution, and as a result of this suspicion to have soon dismissed them from Ithome.

MESSENIANS AT NAUPACTUS, HISTORY

[4.24.7] The Athenians, realizing the feelings of the Lacedaemonians towards them, made friends therefore with the Argives, and gave Naupactus to the Messenians besieged in Ithome, when they were allowed to depart under a truce. They had taken Naupactus from the Locrians adjoining Aetolia, called the Ozolian. The retirement of the Messenians from Ithome was secured by the strength of the place; also the Pythia announced to the Lacedaemonians that assuredly they would be punished if they committed a crime against the suppliant of Zeus of Ithome. For this reason then they were allowed to go from Peloponnese under a truce.

[4.25.1] XXV. When they occupied Naupactus it was not enough for them to have received a city and country at the hands of the Athenians, but they were filled with a strong desire to show that they had won something notable with their own hands. Knowing that the Acarnanians of Oeniadae possessed a good land and were continually at war with the Athenians, they marched against them. They had no numerical advantage, but defeating them by their superior courage, they shut them up in the fortress and besieged them.

[4.25.2] They neglected no human invention in the matter of siege-craft, tried to carry the town by raising scaling-ladders, mined the walls, and by bringing up such engines as could be made ready at short notice proceeded with the destruction of the fortifications. The inhabitants, fearing that if the city were taken they would be put to death and their wives and children enslaved, elected to withdraw on terms.

[4.25.3] The Messenians held the town and occupied the country for about a year. In the following year the Acarnanians collected a force from all their towns and discussed an attack on Naupactus. They rejected this, as they saw that their line of march would be through the Aetolians, who were always their enemies; moreover they suspected that the men of Naupactus possessed a fleet, which was the fact; and while they commanded the sea, it was impossible to achieve anything of importance with a land force.

[4.25.4] So they changed their plans and at once turned on the Messenians in Oeniadae and prepared to besiege them, for they never supposed that men so few in number would show such desperate courage as to fight against the full levy of the Acarnanians. The Messenians had previously prepared food and all else that was requisite, expecting to stand a long siege.

[4.25.5] But they were determined before the siege was formed to fight a battle in the open, and being Messenians, who had not been surpassed in valor even by Lacedaemonians, but in fortune only, were determined not to be

dismayed at the horde which had come from Acarnania. They recalled the achievement of the Athenians at Marathon, how thirty myriad Persians had been destroyed by men not numbering ten thousand.

[4.25.6] So they joined battle with the Acarnanians, and the course of the battle is said to have been thus. The enemy, being far superior in numbers, had no difficulty in surrounding the Messenians, except where prevented by the gates in the Messenian rear and by the zealous help of their men posted on the wall. Here they could not be surrounded, hut the Acarnanians enveloped both their flanks and shot volleys at them from all sides.

[4.25.7] The Messenians, in close formation, whenever they charged the Acarnanians in a body, threw the enemy at that point into confusion, killing and wounding many of them, but they could not effect a complete rout. For wherever the Acarnanians saw a part of their own line being broken by the Messenians they went to the support of their harassed troops at this point and checked the Messenians, overwhelming them by numbers.

[4.25.8] The Messenians, beaten back and again attempting to pierce the massed troops of the Acarnanians at another point, would meet with the same result. Wherever they attacked, they threw the enemy into confusion and drove them a short distance, but as the Acarnanians again streamed eagerly to this point, they were driven back against their will. The battle was evenly contested until evening, but when at nightfall the Acarnanians received reinforcements from their cities, the blockade of the Messenians was formed.

[4.25.9] They had no fear of the wall being taken by assault, either by the Acarnanians scaling it or by themselves being forced to abandon their posts. But in the eighth month all their provisions alike had been consumed.

[4.25.10] They shouted to the Acarnanians from the wall in mockery that their supplies would not fail them until the tenth year of the siege, but they themselves sallied out of Oeniadae at the time of the first sleep. Their escape became known to the Acarnanians and they were compelled to fight, losing some three hundred and killing still more of the enemy. But the greater part of them got through the Acarnanians, and reaching the territory of the Aetollans, who were their friends, arrived safely at Naupactus.

[4.26.1] XXVI. Afterwards, as at all times, they were stirred by their hatred against the Lacedaemonians, and provided the most striking example of their hostility towards them in the war which took place between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. For they offered Naupactus as a base against Peloponnese, and Messenian slingers from Naupactus helped to capture the Spartans cut off in Sphacteria.

[4.26.2] When the Athenian reverse at Aegospotami took place, the Lacedaemonians, having command of the sea, then drove the Messenians from Naupactus; they went to their kinsmen in Sicily and to Rhegium, but the majority came to Libya and to the Euesperitae there, who had suffered severely in war with barbarian neighbors and were inviting any Greek to join them. So the majority of the Messenians went to them, their leader being

Comon, who had commanded them in Sphacteria.

THIRD MESSENIAN WAR, HISTORY

[4.26.3] A year before the victory of the Thebans at Leuctra, heaven foretold their return to Peloponnese to the Messenians. It is said that in Messene on the Straits the priest of Heracles saw a vision in a dream: it seemed that Heracles Mantichus was bidden by Zeus as a guest to Ithome. Also among the Euesperitae Comon dreamt that he lay with his dead mother, but that afterwards she came to life again. He hoped that as the Athenians had recovered their seapower, they would be restored to Naupactus. But the dream really indicated the recovery of Messene.

[4.26.4] Not long afterwards the Lacedaemonians suffered at Leuctra the disaster that had long been due. For at the end of the oracle given to Aristodemus, who reigned over the Messenians, are the words:

Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this man before that,

signifying that he and the Messenians must suffer evil at the present, but that hereafter destruction would overtake Lacedaemon.

[4.26.5] Then after their victory at Leuctra the Thebans sent messengers to Italy, Sicily and to the Euesperitae, and summoned the Messenians to Peloponnese from every other quarter where they might be, and they, with longing for their country and through the hatred which had ever remained with them for the Lacedaemonians, assembled quicker than could have been expected.

[4.26.6] To Epaminondas it seemed in no way easy to found a city that could resist the Lacedaemonians, nor could he discover where in the land to build it. For the Messenians refused to settle again in Andania and Oechalia, because their disasters had befallen them when they dwelt there. To Epaminondas in his difficulty it is said that an ancient man, closely resembling a priest of Demeter, appeared in the night and said: "My gift to thee is that thou shalt conquer whomsoever thou dost assail; and when thou dost pass from men, Theban, I will cause thy name to be unforgotten and give thee glory. But do thou restore to the Messenians their fatherland and cities, for now the wrath of the Dioscuri against them hath ceased."

[4.26.7] This he said to Epaminondas, and revealed this to Epiteles the son of Aeschines, who had been chosen by the Argives to be their general and to refound Messene. He was bidden by the dream, wherever he found yew and myrtle growing on Ithome, to dig between them and recover the old woman, for, shut in her brazen chamber, she was overcome and well-nigh fainting. When day dawned, Epiteles went to the appointed place, and as he dug, came upon a brazen urn.

[4.26.8] He took it at once to Epaminondas, told him the dream and bade him remove the lid and see what was within. Epaminondas, after sacrifice and prayer to the vision that had appeared, opened the urn and having opened it found some tin foil, very thin, rolled like a book. On it were inscribed the

mysteries of the Great Goddesses, and this was the pledge deposited by Aristomenes. They say that the man who appeared to Epiteles and Epaminondas in their sleep was Caucon, who came from Athens to Messene the daughter of Triopas at Andania.

[4.27.1] XXVII. The wrath of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians began before the battle in Stenyclerus, and arose, I think, for the following reason. Panormus and Gonippus of Andania, young men in the bloom of youth, were close friends in all things, and marched together into battle and on raids into Laconia.

[4.27.2] The Lacedaemonians were keeping a feast of the Dioscuri in camp and had turned to drinking and sports after the midday meal, when Gonippus and Panormus appeared to them, riding on the finest horses and dressed in white tunics and scarlet cloaks, with caps on their heads and spears in their hands. When the Lacedaemonians saw them they bowed down and prayed, thinking that the Dioscuri themselves had come to their sacrifice.

[4.27.3] When once they had come among them, the youths rode right through them, striking with their spears, and when many had been killed, returned to Andania, having outraged the sacrifice to the Dioscuri. It was this, in my view, that roused the Dioscuri to their hatred of the Messenians. But now, as the dream declared to Epaminondas, the Dioscuri no longer opposed the return of the Messenians.

[4.27.4] Epaminondas was most strongly drawn to the foundation by the oracles of Bacis, who was inspired by the Nymphs and left prophecies regarding others of the Greeks as well as the return of the Messenians:

Then indeed shall the bright bloom of Sparta perish and Messene again shall be inhabited for all time.

I have discovered that Bacis also told in what manner Eira would be captured, and this too is one of his oracles:

The men of Messene o'ercome by the thunder's roll and spouting rain.

[4.27.5] When the mysteries were recovered, all who were of the priestly family set them down in books. As Epaminondas considered the spot where the city of the Messenians now stands most convenient for the foundation, he ordered enquiry to be made by the seers if the favour of the gods would follow him here. When they announced that the offerings were auspicious, he began preparations for the foundation, ordering stone to be brought, and summoning men skilled in laying out streets and in building houses, temples, and ring-walls.

[4.27.6] When all was in readiness, victims being provided by the Arcadians, Epaminondas himself and the Thebans then sacrificed to Dionysus and Apollo Ismenius in the accustomed manner, the Argives to Argive Hera and Nemean Zeus, the Messenians to Zeus of Ithome and the Dioscuri, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. And together they summoned heroes to return and dwell with them, first Messene the daughter of Triopas, after her Eurytus, Aphareus and his children, and of the sons of Heracles Cresphontes

and Aepytus. But the loudest summons from all alike was to Aristomenes.

[4.27.7] For that day they were engaged in sacrifice and prayer, but on the following days they raised the circuit of the walls, and within built houses and the temples. They worked to the sound of music, but only from Boeotian and Argive flutes, and the tunes of Sacadas and Pronomus were brought into keen competition. The city itself was given the name Messene, but they founded other towns. The men of Nauplia were not disturbed at Mothone,

[4.27.8] and they allowed the people of Asine to remain in their home, remembering their kindness when they refused to join the Lacedaemonians in the war against them. The men of Nauplia on the return of the Messenians to Peloponnese brought them such gifts as they had, and while praying continually to the gods for their return begged the Messenians to grant protection to themselves.

[4.27.9] The Messenians returned to Peloponnese and recovered their own land two hundred and eighty-seven years after the capture of Eira, in the archonship of Dyscinetus at Athens and in the third year of the hundred and second Olympiad, when Damon of Thurii was victorious for the second time. It was no short time for the Plataeans that they were in exile from their country, and for the Delians when they settled in Adramyttium after being expelled from their island by the Athenians.

[4.27.10] The Minyae, driven by the Thebans from Orchomenos after the battle of Leuctra, were restored to Boeotia by Philip the son of Amyntas, as were also the Plataeans. When Alexander had destroyed the city of the Thebans themselves, Cassander the son of Antipater rebuilt it after a few years. The exile of the Plataeans seems to have lasted the longest of those mentioned, but even this was not for more than two generations.

[4.27.11] But the wanderings of the Messenians outside the Peloponnese lasted almost three hundred years, during which it is clear that they did not depart in any way from their local customs, and did not lose their Doric dialect, but even to our day they have retained the purest Doric in Peloponnese.

MESSENIA, HISTORY

[4.28.1] XXVIII. After their return they had nothing to fear at first from the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, restrained by fear of the Thebans, submitted to the foundation of Messene and to the gathering of the Arcadians into one city. But when the Phocian or, as it is called, the Sacred War caused the Thebans to withdraw from Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians regained courage and could no longer refrain from attacking the Messenians.

[4.28.2] The Messenians maintained the war with the help of the Argives and Arcadians, and asked the Athenians for help. They refused to join in an attack on Laconia, but promised to render assistance in person if the Lacedaemonians began war and invaded Messenia. Finally the Messenians formed an alliance with Philip the son of Amyntas and the Macedonians; it

was this, they say, that prevented them from taking part in the battle which the Greeks fought at Chaeroneia. They refused, however, to bear arms against the Greeks.

[4.28.3] After the death of Alexander, when the Greeks had raised a second war against the Macedonians, the Messenians took part, as I have shown earlier in my account of Attica. They did not join the Greeks against the Gauls, as Cleonymus and the Lacedaemonians refused to grant them a truce.

[4.28.4] Not long afterwards the Messenians occupied Elis, employing strategy and daring alike. The Eleians in the earliest times were the most law-abiding of the Peloponnesians, but when Philip the son of Amyntas did all the harm to Greece that has been related, he also bribed the leading men in Elis; the Eleians were divided by factions for the first time and came to blows, it is said.

[4.28.5] Henceforward it was likely to be more easy for quarrels to arise among men whose counsels were divided on account of the Lacedaemonians, and they arrived at civil war. Learning this, the Lacedaemonians were preparing to assist their partisans in Elis. While they were being organized in squadrons and distributed in companies, a thousand picked Messenian troops arrived hurriedly at Elis with Laconian blazons on their shields.

[4.28.6] Seeing their shields, all the Laconising party in Elis thought their supporters had arrived and received them into the fortress. But having obtained admission in this way, the Messenians drove out the supporters of the Lacedaemonians and made over the city to their own partisans.

[4.28.7] The trick is Homer's, but the Messenians plainly imitated it opportunely, for Homer represents Patroclus in the *Iliad* clad in the arms of Achilles, and says that the barbarians were filled with the belief that it was Achilles attacking them, and that their front ranks were thrown into confusion. Other stratagems are the invention of Homer, the coming of the two Greek spies by night among the Trojans, instead of one and later a man coming to Troy, who pretends to be a deserter but actually is to find out their secrets.

[4.28.8] Again, the Trojans who, through youth or years were not of fighting age, he posted as garrison of the walls, while the men of military age were encamped against the Greeks. The wounded Greeks in Homer arm the fighting men, so that even they may not be altogether idle. Indeed Homer's ideas have proved useful to men in every matter.

[4.29.1] XXIX. Not long after the affair at Elis, the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, son of Demetrius, captured Messene. I have already, in my account of Sicyon, narrated most of the crimes of Perseus against Philip himself and against Demetrius the son of Philip. These are the facts relating to the capture of Messene.

[4.29.2] Philip was in need of money, and as it was necessary to raise it at all costs, he sent Demetrius with a fleet to Peloponnese. He put in to one of the less frequented harbors of the Argolid, and at once marched his army by the shortest route to Messene. With an advance guard consisting of all the light-

armed troops who knew the road to Ithome, he succeeded just before dawn in scaling the wall unnoticed at a point where it lay between the city and the peak of Ithome.

[4.29.3] When day dawned and the inhabitants had realized the danger that beset them, they were at first under the impression that the Lacedaemonians had forced an entry into the town, and attacked them more recklessly owing to their ancient hatred. But when they discovered from their equipment and speech that it was the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, they were filled with great fear, when they considered the Macedonian training in warfare and the good fortune which they saw that they enjoyed in all their ventures.

[4.29.4] Nevertheless the magnitude of the present evil caused them to display a courage beyond their strength, also they were inspired with hope for the best, since it seemed not without divine help that they had accomplished their return to Peloponnese after so long an absence. So the Messenians in the town went against the Macedonians full of courage, and the garrison on the acropolis attacked from the high ground above.

[4.29.5] In like manner the Macedonians, brave and experienced troops, at first offered a firm resistance. But worn out by their march, attacked by the men and bombarded with tiles and stones by the women, they took to flight in disorder. The majority were pushed over the precipices and killed, for Ithome is very steep at this point. A few escaped by throwing away their arms.

[4.29.6] The Messenians refrained at first from joining the Achaean league for the following reason, I think. When Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides made war on the Lacedaemonians, they came unasked to their assistance, and as a result of this service a more peaceful disposition towards them came to be established at Sparta. Therefore they were unwilling to revive the feud by joining the league, which was openly declared the bitterest enemy of the Lacedaemonians.

[4.29.7] I realize, as of course did the Messenians, that even without their joining the league the policy of the Achaeans was hostile to the Lacedaemonians. For the Argives and the Arcadian group formed not the smallest element in the league. However, in the course of time they joined the league. And not long afterwards Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, captured the Arcadian Megalopolis in peace-time.

[4.29.8] Of the people of Megalopolis who were caught in the city, some were killed at the time of its capture, but Philopoemen the son of Craugis and all who withdrew with him (the number of the citizens who escaped is said to have been more than two-thirds) were received by the Messenians, who for the sake of the former services rendered by the Arcadians in the time of Aristomenes and again at the founding of Messene now repaid the like.

[4.29.9] Such, it would seem, are the vicissitudes of human affairs, that it was the will of heaven that the Messenians should in their turn preserve the Arcadians, and what is still more surprising, that they should capture Sparta.

For they fought against Cleomenes at Sellasia and joined with Aratus and the Achaeans to capture Sparta.

[4.29.10] When the Lacedaemonians were rid of Cleomenes there rose to power a tyrant Machanidas, and after his death a second tyrant arose in Nabis. As he plundered human property and robbed temples alike, he amassed vast wealth in a short time and with it raised an army. This Nabis seized Messene, but when Philopoemen and the people of Megalopolis arrived during the same night,

[4.29.11] the Spartan tyrant retired on terms. But the Achaeans after this, having some quarrel with the Messenians, invaded them with all their forces and ravaged most of the country. On a second occasion they mustered when the corn was ripe to invade Messenia. But Deinocrates, the head of the government, who had been chosen to command the Messenians on that occasion, compelled Lycortas and his force to retire without effecting anything, by occupying beforehand the passes from Arcadia into Messenia with the Messenians from the city and troops from the surrounding districts that came to their assistance.

[4.29.12] Philopoemen arrived with a few cavalry some time later than the force with Lycortas and had been unable to obtain any news of it; the Messenians, having the advantage of the high ground, defeated him and took him alive. I will narrate the manner of Philopoemen's capture and death in my account of Arcadia later. The Messenians, who were responsible for his death, were punished and Messene was again brought into the Achaean league.

[4.29.13] Hitherto my account has dealt with the many sufferings of the Messenians, how fate scattered them to the ends of the earth, far from Peloponnese, and afterwards brought them safely home to their own country. Let us now turn to a description of the country and cities.

ABIA

[4.30.1] XXX. There is in our time a city Abia in Messenia on the coast, some twenty stades distant from the Choerius valley. They say that this was formerly called Ire and was one of the seven cities which Homer says that Agamemnon promised to Achilles. When Hyllus and the Dorians were defeated by the Achaeans, it is said that Abia, nurse of Glenus the son of Heracles, withdrew to Ire, and settling there built a temple to Heracles, and that afterwards for this reason Cresphontes, amongst other honors assigned to her, renamed the city after Abia. There was a notable temple of Heracles here, and also of Asclepius.

PHARAE

[4.30.2] Pharae is seventy stades distant from Abia. On the road is a salt spring. The Emperor Augustus caused the Messenians of Pharae to be incorporated in Laconia. The founder Pharis is said to have been the son of Hermes and Phylodameia the daughter of Danaus. He had no male children, but a daughter Telegone. Homer, tracing her descendants in the *Iliad*, says that twins,

Crethon and Ortilochus, were born to Diocles, Diocles himself being the son of Ortilochus son of Alpheius. He makes no reference to Telegone, who in the Messenian account bore Ortilochus to Alpheius.

[4.30.3] I heard also at Pharae that besides the twins a daughter Anticleia was born to Diocles, and that her children were Nicomachus and Gorgasus, by Machaon the son of Asclepius. They remained at Pharae and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Diocles. The power of healing diseases and curing the maimed has remained with them to this day, and in return for this, sacrifices and votive offerings are brought to their sanctuary. The people of Pharae possess also a temple of Fortune (Tyche) and an ancient image.

[4.30.4] Homer is the first whom I know to have mentioned Fortune in his poems. He did so in the Hymn to Demeter, where he enumerates the daughters of Ocean, telling how they played with Kore the daughter of Demeter, and making Fortune one of them. The lines are:—

We all in a lovely meadow, Leucippe, Phaeno, Electre and Ianthe, Melobosis and Tyche and Ocyrhoe with face like a flower. *HH Dem.* 5.420

[4.30.5] He said nothing further about this goddess being the mightiest of gods in human affairs and displaying greatest strength, as in the Iliad he represented Athena and Enyo as supreme in war, and Artemis feared in childbirth, and Aphrodite heeding the affairs of marriage. But he makes no other mention of Fortune.

[4.30.6] Bupalos a skilful temple-architect and carver of images, who made the statue of Fortune at Smyrna, was the first whom we know to have represented her with the heavenly sphere upon her head and carrying in one hand the horn of Amaltheia, as the Greeks call it, representing her functions to this extent. The poems of Pindar later contained references to Fortune, and it is he who called her Supporter of the City.

[4.31.1] XXXI. Not far from Pharae is a grove of Apollo Carneius and a spring of water in it. Pharae is about six stades from the sea.

THURIATAE

Eighty stades on the road which leads thence into the interior of Messenia is the city of the Thuriatae, which they say had the name Antheia in Homer's poems. Augustus gave Thuria into the possession of the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. For when Augustus was emperor of the Romans, Antony, himself a Roman, made war upon him and was joined by the Messenians and the rest of the Greeks, because the Lacedaemonians were on the side of Augustus.

[4.31.2] For this reason Augustus punished the Messenians and the rest of his adversaries, some more, some less. The people of Thuria left their town, which lay originally on high ground, and came down to live in the plain. Nevertheless the upper town is not entirely deserted, but there are remains of the wall and a temple there, called the temple of the Syrian Goddess. A river called Aris flows past the town in the plain.

[4.31.3] In the interior is a village Calamae and a place Limnae, where is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (Of the lake). They say that Teleclus king of Sparta met his end here.

PAMISUS SPRINGS & MT EVA

[4.31.4] On the road from Thuria towards Arcadia are the springs of the Pamisus, at which little children find cures. A road turns to the left from the springs, and after some forty stades is the city of the Messenians under Ithome. It is enclosed not only by Mount Ithome, but on the side towards the Pamisos by Mount Eva. The mountain is said to have obtained its name from the fact that the Bacchic cry of “Evoe” was first uttered here by Dionysus and his attendant women.

MESSENE

[4.31.5] Round Messene is a wall, the whole circuit of which is built of stone, with towers and battlements upon it. I have not seen the walls at Babylon or the walls of Memnon at Susa in Persia, nor have I heard the account of any eye-witness; but the walls at Ambrossos in Phocis, at Byzantium and at Rhodes, all of them the most strongly fortified places, are not so strong as the Messenian wall.

[4.31.6] The Messenians possess a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place and a fountain Arsinoe. It received its name from the daughter of Leucippus and is fed from a source called Clepsydra. There are sanctuaries of the gods Poseidon and Aphrodite, and, what is most deserving of mention, a statue of the Mother of the Gods, of Parian marble, the work of Damophon, the artist who repaired the Zeus at Olympia with extreme accuracy when the ivory parted. Honors have been granted to him by the people of Elis.

[4.31.7] By Damophon too is the so-called Laphria at Messene. The cult came to be established among them in the following way: Among the people of Calydon, Artemis, who was worshipped by them above all the gods, had the title Laphria, and the Messenians who received Naupactus from the Athenians, being at that time close neighbors of the Aetolians, adopted her from the people of Calydon. I will describe her appearance in another place. The name Laphria spread only to the Messenians and to the Achaeans of Patrae.

[4.31.8] But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honor above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of the Ephesians and the renown of the goddess who dwells there.

[4.31.9] The Messenians have a temple erected to Eileithyia with a stone statue, and near by a hall of the Curetes, where they make burnt offerings of every kind of living creature, thrusting into the flames not only cattle and goats, but finally birds as well. There is a holy shrine of Demeter at Messene and statues of the Dioscuri, carrying the daughters of Leucippus. I have already explained in an earlier passage that the Messenians argue that the sons of Tyndareus belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians.

[4.31.10] The most numerous statues and the most worth seeing are to be found in the sanctuary of Asclepius. For besides statues of the god and his sons, and besides statues of Apollo, the Muses and Heracles, the city of Thebes is represented and Epaminondas the son of Cleommi, Fortune, and Artemis Bringer of Light. The stone statues are the work of Damophon (I know of no other Messenian sculptor of merit apart from him); the statue of Epaminondas is of iron and the work of some other artist.

[4.31.11] There is also a temple of Messene the daughter of Triopas with a statue of gold and Parian marble. At the back of the temple are paintings of the kings of Messene: before the coming of the Dorian host to Peloponnese, Aphareus and his sons, after the return of the Heracleidae, Cresphontes the Dorian leader, of the inhabitants of Pylos, Nestor, Thrasymedes and Antilochus, singled out from among the sons of Nestor on the score of age and because they took part in the expedition to Troy.

[4.31.12] There is Leucippus brother of Aphareus, Hilaeira and Phoebe, and with them Arsinoe. Asclepius too is represented, being according to the Messenian account a son of Arsinoe, also Machaon and Podaleirius, as they also took part in the affair at Troy. These pictures were painted by Omphalion, pupil of Nicias the son of Nicomedes. Some say that he was also a slave in the house of Nicias and his favorite.

[4.32.1] XXXII. The place called Hierothesion by the Messenians contains statues of all the gods whom the Greeks worship, and also a bronze image of Epaminondas. Ancient tripods are dedicated there, which "have felt not the fire," as Homer says. The statues in the gymnasium are the work of Egyptian artists. They represent Hermes, Heracles and Theseus, who are honored in the gymnasium and wrestling-ground according to a practice universal among Greeks, and now common among barbarians...

[4.32.2] I learnt by enquiry that Aethidas was a man older than myself, who gained influence through his wealth and is honored by the Messenians as a hero. There are certain Messenians, who, while admitting that Aethidas was a man of great wealth, maintain that it is not he who is represented on the relief but an ancestor and namesake. The elder Aethidas was their leader, when Demetrius the son of Philip and his force surprised them in the night and succeeded in penetrating into the town unnoticed.

[4.32.3] There is also the tomb of Aristomenes here. They say that it is not a cenotaph, but when I asked whence and in what manner they recovered the bones of Aristomenes, they said that they sent to Rhodes for them, and that it

was the god of Delphi who ordered it. They also instructed me in the nature of the rites carried out at the tomb. The bull which is to be offered to the dead man is brought to the tomb and bound to the pillar which stands upon the grave. Being fierce and unused to bonds he will not stand; and if the pillar is moved by his struggles and bounds, it is a good omen to the Messenians, but if the pillar is not moved the sign portends misfortune.

[4.32.4] They have it that Aristomenes was present at the battle of Leuctra, though no longer among men, and say that he helped the Thebans and was the chief cause of the Lacedaemonian disaster. I know that the Chaldaeans and Indian sages were the first to say that the soul of man is immortal, and have been followed by some of the Greeks, particularly by Plato the son of Ariston. If all are willing to accept this, this too cannot be denied, that his hatred for the Lacedaemonians was imparted to Aristomenes for all time.

[4.32.5] What I myself heard in Thebes gives probability to the Messenian account, although it does not coincide in all respects. The Thebans say that when the battle of Leuctra was imminent, they sent to other oracles and to enquire of the god of Lebadeia. The replies of the Ismenian and Ptoan Apollo are recorded, also the responses given at Abae and at Delphi. Trophonius, they say, answered in hexameters:—

Or ever ye join battle with the foe, set up a trophy and deck it with my shield, which impetuous Aristomenes the Messenian placed in my temple. And I will destroy the host of foemen bearing shield.

[4.32.6] When the oracle was brought, they say that Epaminondas urged Xenocrates, who sent for the shield of Aristomenes and used it to adorn a trophy in a spot where it could be seen by the Lacedaemonians. Those of them who had seen the shield at Lebadeia in peace-time knew it, and all knew it by repute. After their victory the Thebans restored the offering to Trophonius. There is also a bronze statue of Aristomenes in the Messenian running-ground. Not far from the theater is a sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis.

MT ITHOME

[4.33.1] XXXIII. On the ascent to the summit of Ithome, which is the Messenian acropolis, is a spring Clepsydra. It is a hopeless task, however zealously undertaken, to enumerate all the peoples who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them. The Messenians have their share in the story for they too say that the god was brought up among them and that his nurses were Ithome and Neda, the river having received its name from the latter, while the former, Ithome, gave her name to the mountain. These nymphs are said to have bathed Zeus here, after he was stolen by the Curetes owing to the danger that threatened from his father, and it is said that it has its name from the Curetes' theft. Water is carried every day from the spring to the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome.

[4.33.2] The statue of Zeus is the work of Ageladas and was made originally for the Messenian settlers in Naupactus. The priest is chosen annually and

keeps the image in his house. They keep an annual festival, the Ithomaea, and originally a musical contest was held. This can be gathered from the epic lines of Eumelus and other sources. Eumelus, in his processional hymn to Delos, says:—

For dear to the God of Ithome was the Muse, whose <lute> is pure and free her sandals. Eumelus, unknown location.

I think that he wrote the lines because he knew that they held a musical contest.

RIVER BALYRA

[4.33.3] At the Arcadian gate leading to Megalopolis is a Herm of Attic style; for the square form of Herm is Athenian, and the rest adopted it thence. After a descent of thirty stades from the gate is the watercourse of Balyra. The river is said to have got its name from Thamyris throwing (*ballein*) his lyre away here after his blinding. He was the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope, who once dwelt on Parnassus, but settled among the Odrysae when pregnant, for Philammon refused to take her into his house. Thamyris is called an Odrysian and Thracian on these grounds. The watercourses Leucasia and Amphitos unite to form one stream.

THE CARNASIAN GROVE

[4.33.4] When these are crossed, there is a plain called the plain of Stenyclerus. Stenyclerus was a hero, it is said. Facing the plain is a site anciently called Oechalia, in our time the Carnasian grove, thickly grown with cypresses. There are statues of the gods Apollo Carneius <and Hagne>, also Hermes carrying a ram. Hagne (the holy one) is a title of Kore the daughter of Demeter. Water rises from a spring close to the statue.

[4.33.5] I may not reveal the rites of the Great Goddesses, for it is their mysteries which they celebrate in the Carnasian grove, and I regard them as second only to the Eleusinian in sanctity. But my dream did not prevent me from making known to all that the brazen urn, discovered by the Argive general, and the bones of Eurytus the son of Melaneus were kept here. A river Charadrus flows past the grove;

ANDANIA & DORIUM

[4.33.6] about eight stades along the road to the left are the ruins of Andania. The guides agree that the city got its name from a woman Andania, but I can say nothing as to her parents or her husband. On the road from Andania towards Cyparissiae is Polichne, as it is called, and the streams of Electra and Coeus. The names perhaps are to be connected with Electra the daughter of Atlas and Coeus the father of Leto, or Electra and Coeus may be two local heroes.

[4.33.7] When the Electra is crossed, there is a spring called Achaia, and the

ruins of a city Dorium. Homer states that the misfortune of Thamyris took place here in Dorium, because he said that he would overcome the Muses themselves in song. But Prodicus of Phocaea, if the epic called the *Minyad* is indeed his, says that Thamyris paid the penalty in Hades for his boast against the Muses. My view is that Thamyris lost his eyesight through disease, as happened later to Homer. Homer, however, continued making poetry all his life without giving way to his misfortune, while Thamyris forsook his art through stress of the trouble that afflicted him.

RIVER PAMISUS

[4.34.1] XXXIV. From Messene to the mouth of the Pamisus is a journey of eighty stades. The Pamisus is a pure stream flowing through cultivated lands, and is navigable some ten stades from the sea. Sea-fish run up it, especially in spring, as they do up the Rhine and Maeander. The chief run of fish is up the stream of the Achelous, which discharges opposite the Echinades islands.

[4.34.2] But the fish that enter the Pamisus are of quite a different kind, as the water is pure and not muddy like the rivers which I have mentioned. The grey mullet, a fish that loves mud, frequents the more turbid streams. The rivers of Greece contain no creatures dangerous to men as do the Indus and the Egyptian Nile, or again the Rhine and Danube, the Euphrates and Phasis. These indeed produce man-eating creatures of the worst, in shape resembling the cat-fish of the Hermus and Maeander, but of darker color and stronger. In these respects the cat-fish is inferior.

[4.34.3] The Indus and Nile both contain crocodiles, and the Nile river-horses as well, as dangerous to man as the crocodile. But the rivers of Greece contain no terrors from wild beasts, for the sharks of the Aous, which flows through Thesprotia, are not river beasts but migrants from the sea.

NEAR CORONE

[4.34.4] Corone is a city to the right of the Pamisus, on the sea-coast under Mount Mathia. On this road is a place on the coast regarded as sacred to Ino. For they say that she came up from the sea at this point, after her divinity had been accepted and her name changed from Ino to Leucothea. A short distance further the river Bias reaches the sea. The name is said to be derived from Bias the son of Amythaon. Twenty stades off the road is the fountain of Plataniston, the water of which flows out of a broad plane tree, which is hollow inside. The breadth of the tree gives the impression of a small cave; from it the drinking water flows to Corone.

CORONE

[4.34.5] The old name of Corone was Aepeia, but when the Messenians were restored to Peloponnese by the Thebans, it is said that Epimelides, who was

sent as founder, named it Coroneia after his native town in Boeotia. The Messenians got the name wrong from the start, and the mistake which they made gradually prevailed in course of time. Another story is told to the effect that, when digging the foundations of the city wall, they came upon a bronze crow, in Greek corone.

[4.34.6] The gods who have temples here are Artemis, called the “Nurse of Children,” Dionysus and Asclepius. The statues of Asclepius and Dionysus are of stone, but there is a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place made of bronze. The statue of Athena also on the acropolis is of bronze, and stands in the open air, holding a crow in her hand. I also saw the tomb of Epimelides. I do not know why they call the harbor “the harbor of the Achaeans.”

THE CORYNTHIUM

[4.34.7] Some eighty stades beyond Corone is a sanctuary of Apollo on the coast, venerated because it is very ancient according to Messenian tradition, and the god cures illnesses. They call him Apollo Corynthus. His image is of wood, but the statue of Apollo Argeotas, said to have been dedicated by the Argonauts, is of bronze.

COLONIDES

[4.34.8] The city of Corone is adjoined by Colonides. The inhabitants say that they are not Messenians but settlers from Attica brought by Colaenus, who followed a bird known as the crested lark to found the settlement in accordance with an oracle. They were, however, in the course of time to adopt the dialect and customs of the Dorians. The town of Colonides lies on high ground, a short distance from the sea.

ASINE

[4.34.9] The people of Asine originally adjoined the Lycoritae on Parnassus. Their name, which they maintained after their arrival in Peloponnese, was Dryopes, from their founder. Two generations after Dryops, in the reign of Phylas, the Dryopes were conquered in battle by Heracles and brought as an offering to Apollo at Delphi. When brought to Peloponnese according to the god’s instructions to Heracles, they first occupied Asine by Hermion. They were driven thence by the Argives and lived in Messenia. This was the gift of the Lacedaemonians, and when in the course of time the Messenians were restored, they were not driven from their city by the Messenians.

[4.34.10] But the people of Asine give this account of themselves. They admit that they were conquered by Heracles and their city in Parnassus captured, but they deny that they were made prisoners and brought to Apollo. But when the walls were carried by Heracles, they deserted the town and fled to the heights of Parnassus, and afterwards crossed the sea to Peloponnese and appealed to

Eurystheus. Being at feud with Heracles, he gave them Asine in the Argolid.

[4.34.11] The men of Asine are the only members of the race of the Dryopes to pride themselves on the name to this day. The case is very different with the Euboeans of Styra. They too are Dryopes in origin, who took no part in the battle with Heracles, as they dwelt at some distance from the city. Yet the people of Styra disdain the name of Dryopes, just as the Delphians have refused to be called Phocians. But the men of Asine take the greatest pleasure in being called Dryopes, and clearly have made the most holy of their sanctuaries in memory of those which they once had, established on Parnassus. For they have both a temple of Apollo and again a temple and ancient statue of Dryops, whose mysteries they celebrate every year, saying that he is the son of Apollo.

[4.34.12] The town itself lies on the coast just as the old Asine in Argive territory. It is a journey of forty stades from Colonides to Asine, and of an equal number from Asine to the promontory called Acritas. Acritas projects into the sea and has a deserted island, Theganussa, lying off it. After Acritas is the harbor Phoenixus and the Oenussae islands lying opposite.

MOTHONE

[4.35.1] XXXV. Before the mustering of the army for the Trojan war, and during the war, Mothone was called Pegasus. Later, as the people themselves say, it received a new name from the daughter of Oeneus. They say that Mothone was born of a concubine to Oeneus the son of Porthaon, when he had taken refuge with Diomedes in Peloponnese after the fall of Troy. But in my view it was the rock Mothon that gave the place its name. It is this which forms their harbor. For projecting under water, it makes the entrance for ships more narrow and also serves as a breakwater against a heavy swell.

MOTHONE, HISTORY

[4.35.2] I have shown in earlier passages that, when the Nauplians in the reign of Damocratidas in Argos were expelled for their Laconian sympathies, the Lacedaemonians gave them Mothone, and that no change was made regarding them on the part of the Messenians when they returned. The Nauplians in my view were Egyptians originally, who came by sea with Danaos to the Argolid, and two generations later were settled in Nauplia by Nauplius the son of Amyclone.

[4.35.3] The Emperor Trajan granted civic freedom and autonomy to the people of Mothone. In earlier days they were the only people of Messenia on the coast to suffer a disaster like the following: Thesprotian Epirus was ruined by anarchy. For Deidameia the daughter of Pyrrhus, being without children, handed over the government to the people when she was on the point of death. She was the daughter of Pyrrhus, son of Ptolemy, son of Alexander, son of Pyrrhus.

[4.35.4] I have told the facts relating to Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides in my account of the Athenians. Procles the Carthaginian indeed rated Alexander the son of Philip higher on account of his good fortune and for the brilliance of his achievements, but said that Pyrrhus was the better man in infantry and cavalry tactics and in the invention of stratagems of war.

[4.35.5] When the Epirots were rid of their kings, the people threw off all control and disdained to listen to their magistrates, and the Illyrians who live on the Ionian sea above Epirus reduced them by a raid. We have yet to hear of a democracy bringing prosperity to a nation other than the Athenians; the Athenians attained to greatness by its means, for they surpassed the Greek world in native wit, and least disregarded the established laws.

[4.35.6] Now the Illyrians, having tasted empire and being always desirous of more, built ships, and plundering others whom they fell in with, put in to the coast of Mothone and anchored as in a friendly port. Sending a messenger to the city they asked for wine to be brought to their ships. A few men came with it and they bought the wine at the price which the inhabitants asked, and themselves sold a part of their cargo.

[4.35.7] When on the following day a larger number arrived from the town, they allowed them also to make their profit. Finally women and men came down to the ships to sell wine and trade with the barbarians. Thereupon by a bold stroke the Illyrians carried off a number of men and still more of the women. Carrying them on board ship, they set sail for the Ionian sea, having desolated the city of the Mothonaeans.

[4.35.8] In Mothone is a temple of Athena Of the Winds, with a statue dedicated, it is said, by Diomede, who gave the goddess her name. The country being damaged by violent and unseasonable blasts, Diomede prayed to the goddess, and henceforward no disaster caused by the winds has visited their country. There is also a shrine of Artemis here and water in a well mixed with pitch, in appearance very like the iris-oil of Cyzicos. Water can assume every color and scent.

[4.35.9] The bluest that I know from personal experience is that at Thermopylae, not all of it, but that which flows into the swimming-baths, called locally the Women's Pots. Red water, in color like blood, is found in the land of the Hebrews near the city of Joppa. The water is close to the sea, and the account which the natives give of the spring is that Perseus, after destroying the sea-monster, to which the daughter of Cepheus was exposed, washed off the blood in the spring.

[4.35.10] I have myself seen water coming up black from springs at Astyra. Astyra opposite Lesbos is the name of the hot baths in the district called Atarneus. It was this Atarneus, which the Chians received as a reward from the Persians as a reward for surrendering the suppliant, Pactyas the Lydian. This water then has a black color; but the Romans have a white water, above the city across the river called Anio. When a man enters it, he is at first attacked with cold and shivering, but after a little time it warms him like the

hottest drug.

[4.35.11] All these springs that had something wonderful to show I have seen myself. For I pass over the less wonderful that I know, and it is no great marvel to find water that is salt and harsh. But there are two other kinds. The water in the White Plain, as it is called, in Caria, by the village with the name Dascylou Come, is warm and sweeter than milk to drink. I know that Herodotus says that a spring of bitter water flows into the river Hypanis. We can assuredly admit the truth of his statement, when in our days at Dicaearchia (Puteoli), in the land of the Tyrrhenians, a hot spring has been found, so acid that in a few years it dissolved the lead through which its water passed.

PYLOS

[4.36.1] XXXVI. It is a journey of about a hundred stades from Mothone to the promontory of Coryphasium, on which Pylos lies. This was founded by Pylos the son of Cleson, bringing from the Megarid the Leleges who then occupied the country. But he did not enjoy it, as he was driven out by Neleus and the Pelasgians of Iolcos, on which he departed to the adjoining country and there occupied the Pylos in Elis. When Neleus became king, he raised Pylos to such renown that Homer in his epics calls it the city of Neleus.

[4.36.2] It contains a sanctuary of Athena with the title Coryphasia, and a house called the house of Nestor, in which there is a painting of him. His tomb is inside the city; the tomb at a little distance from Pylos is said to be the tomb of Thrasymedes. There is a cave inside the town, in which it is said that the cattle belonging to Nestor and to Neleus before him were kept.

[4.36.3] These cattle must have been of Thessalian stock, having once belonged to Iphiclus the father of Protesilaus. Neleus demanded these cattle as bride gifts for his daughter from her suitors, and it was on their account that Melampus went to Thessaly to gratify his brother Bias. He was put in bonds by the herdsmen of Iphiclus, but received them as his reward for the prophecies which he gave to Iphiclus at his request. So it seems the men of those days made it their business to amass wealth of this kind, herds of horses and cattle, if it is the case that Nestor desired to get possession of the cattle of Iphiclus and that Eurystheus, in view of the reputation of the Iberian cattle, ordered Heracles to drive off the herd of Geryones.

[4.36.4] Eryx too, who was reigning then in Sicily, plainly had so violent a desire for the cattle from Erytheia that he wrestled with Heracles, staking his kingdom on the match against these cattle. As Homer says in the *Iliad*, a hundred kine were the first of the bride gifts paid by Iphidamas the son of Antenor to his bride's father. This confirms my argument that the men of those days took the greatest pleasure in cattle.

[4.36.5] But the cattle of Neleus were pastured for the most part across the border, I think. For the country of the Pylians in general is sandy and unable to provide so much grazing. Homer testifies to this, when he mentions Nestor,

always adding that he was king of sandy Pylos.

SPHACTERIA ISLE

[4.36.6] The island of Sphacteria lies in front of the harbor just as Rheneia off the anchorage at Delos. It seems that places hitherto unknown have been raised to fame by the fortunes of men. For Caphereus in Euboea is famous since the storm that here befell the Greeks with Agamemnon on their voyage from Troy. Psyttaleia by Salamis we know from the destruction of the Persians there. In like manner the Lacedaemonian reverse made Sphacteria known to all mankind. The Athenians dedicated a bronze statue of Victory also on the acropolis as a memorial of the events at Sphacteria.

CYPARISSIAE & AULON

[4.36.7] When Cyparissiae is reached from Pylos, there is a spring below the city near the sea, the water of which they say gushed forth for Dionysus when he struck the ground with a thyrsus. For this reason they call the spring Dionysias. There is a shrine of Apollo in Cyparissiae and of Athena with the title Cyparissia. In the depression called Aulon there is a temple and statue of Asclepius Aulonius. Here flows the river Neda, forming the boundary between Messenia and Elis.

BOOK V.

ELIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[5.1.1] 1. The Greeks who say that the Peloponnesus has five, and only five, divisions must agree that Arcadia contains both Arcadians and Eleans, that the second division belongs to the Achaeans, and the remaining three to the Dorians. Of the races dwelling in Peloponnesus the Arcadians and Achaeans are aborigines. When the Achaeans were driven from their land by the Dorians, they did not retire from Peloponnesus, but they cast out the Ionians and occupied the land called of old Aegialus, but now called Achaea from these Achaeans. The Arcadians, on the other hand, have from the beginning to the present time continued in possession of their own country.

[5.1.2] The rest of Peloponnesus belongs to immigrants. The modern Corinthians are the latest inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and from my time to the time when they received their land from the Roman Emperor is two hundred and seventeen years. The Dryopians reached the Peloponnesus from Parnassus, the Dorians from Oeta.

[5.1.3] The Eleans we know crossed over from Calydon and Aetolia generally. Their earlier history I found to be as follows. The first to rule in this land, they say, was Aethlius, who was the son of Zeus and of Protogeneia, the daughter of Deucalion, and the father of Endymion.

[5.1.4] The Moon, they say, fell in love with this Endymion and bore him fifty daughters. Others with greater probability say that Endymion took a wife Asterodia – others say she was Cromia, the daughter of Itonus, the son of Amphictyon; others again, Hyperippe, the daughter of Arcas – but all agree that Endymion begat Paeon, Epeius, Aetolus, and also a daughter Eurycyda. Endymion set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the throne; Epeius won, and obtained the kingdom, and his subjects were then named Epeans for the first time.

[5.1.5] Of his brothers they say that Aetolus remained at home, while Paeon, vexed at his defeat, went into the farthest exile possible, and that the region beyond the river Axius was named after him Paeonia. As to the death of Endymion, the people of Heracleia near Miletus do not agree with the Eleans for while the Eleans show a tomb of Endymion, the folk of Heracleia say that he retired to Mount Latmus and give him honor, there being a shrine of Endymion on Latmus.

[5.1.6] Epeius married Anaxiroe, the daughter of Coronus, and begat a daughter Hyrmina, but no male issue. In the reign of Epeius the following events also occurred. Oenomaus was the son of Alxion (though poets proclaimed his father to be Ares, and the common report agrees with them), but while lord of the land of Pisa he was put down by Pelops the Lydian, who crossed over from Asia.

[5.1.7] On the death of Oenomaus, Pelops took possession of the land of Pisa and its bordering country Olympia, separating it from the land of Epeius. The Eleans said that Pelops was the first to found a temple of Hermes in Peloponnesus and to sacrifice to the god, his purpose being to avert the wrath of the god for the death of Myrtilus.

[5.1.8] Aetolus, who came to the throne after Epeius, was made to flee from Peloponnesus, because the children of Apis tried and convicted him of unintentional homicide. For Apis, the son of Jason, from Pallantium in Arcadia, was run over and killed by the chariot of Aetolus at the games held in honor of Azan. Aetolus, son of Endymion, gave to the dwellers around the Achelous their name, when he fled to this part of the mainland. But the kingdom of the Epeans fell to Eleius, the son of Eurycyda, daughter of Endymion and, believe the tale who will, of Poseidon. It was Eleius who gave the inhabitants their present name of Eleans in place of Epeans.

[5.1.9] Eleius had a son Augeas. Those who exaggerate his glory give a turn to the name Eleius and make Helius to be the father of Augeas. This Augeas had so many cattle and flocks of goats that actually most of his land remained untilled because of the dung of the animals. Now he persuaded Heracles to cleanse for him the land from dung, either in return for a part of Elis or possibly for some other reward.

[5.1.10] Heracles accomplished this feat too, turning aside the stream of the Menius into the dung. But, because Heracles had accomplished his task by cunning, without toil, Augeas refused to give him his reward, and banished Phyleus, the elder of his two sons, for objecting that he was wronging a man who had been his benefactor. He made preparations himself to resist Heracles, should he attack Elis; more particularly he made friends with the sons of Actor and with Amarynceus. Amarynceus, besides being a good soldier,

[5.1.11] had a father, Pyttius, of Thessalian descent, who came from Thessaly to Elis. To Amarynceus, therefore, Augeas also gave a share in the government of Elis; Actor and his sons had a share in the kingdom and were natives of the country. For the father of Actor was Phorbas, son of Lapithus, and his mother was Hyrmina, daughter of Epeius. Actor named after her the city of Hyrmina, which he founded in Elis.

[5.2.1] II. Heracles accomplished no brilliant feat in the war with Augeas. For the sons of Actor were in the prime of courageous manhood, and always put to flight the allies under Heracles, until the Corinthians proclaimed the Isthmian truce, and the sons of Actor came as envoys to the meeting. Heracles set an ambush for them, at Cleonae and murdered them. As the murderer was unknown, Moline, more than any of the other children, devoted herself to detecting him.

[5.2.2] When she discovered him, the Eleans demanded satisfaction for the crime from the Argives, for at the time Heracles had his home at Tiryns. When the Argives refused them satisfaction, the Eleans as an alternative pressed the Corinthians entirely to exclude the Argive people from the

Isthmian games. When they failed in this also, Moline is said to have laid curses on her countrymen, should they refuse to boycott the Isthmian festival. The curses of Moline are respected right down to the present day, and no athlete of Elis is wont to compete in the Isthmian games.

[5.2.3] There are two other accounts, differing from the one that I have given. According to one of them Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, dedicated to Zeus a golden image at Olympia. As Cypselus died before inscribing his own name on the offering, the Corinthians asked of the Eleans leave to inscribe the name of Corinth on it, but were refused. Wroth with the Eleans, they proclaimed that they must keep away from the Isthmian games. But how could the Corinthians themselves take part in the Olympic games if the Eleans against their will were shut out by the Corinthians from the Isthmian games?

[5.2.4] The other account is this. Prolaus, a distinguished Elean, had two sons, Philanthus and Lampus, by his wife Lysippe. These two came to the Isthmian games¹ to compete in the boys' pancratium, and one of them intended to wrestle. Before they entered the ring they were strangled or done to death in some other way by their fellow competitors. Hence the curses of Lysippe on the Eleans, should they not voluntarily keep away from the Isthmian games. But this story too proves on examination to be silly.

[5.2.5] For Timon, a man of Elis, won victories in the pentathlum at the Greek games, and at Olympia there is even a statue of him, with an elegiac inscription giving the crowns he won and also the reason why he secured no Isthmian victory. The inscription sets forth the reason thus:—

But from going to the land of Sisyphus he was hindered by a quarrel
About the baleful death of the Molionids.

If the proposed emendation be adopted the meaning will be: "one to compete in the boys' pancratium, the other in wrestling."

[5.3.1] III. Enough of my discussion of this question. Heracles afterwards took Elis and sacked it, with an army he had raised of Argives, Thebans and Arcadians. The Eleans were aided by the men of Pisa and of Pylus in Elis. The men of Pylus were punished by Heracles, but his expedition against Pisa was stopped by an oracle from Delphi to this effect

My father cares for Pisa, but to me in the hollows of Pytho.

This oracle proved the salvation of Pisa. To Phyleus Heracles gave up the land of Elis and all the rest, more out of respect for Phyleus than because he wanted to do so: he allowed him to keep the prisoners, and Augeas to escape punishment.

[5.3.2] The women of Elis, it is said, seeing that their land had been deprived of its vigorous manhood, prayed to Athena that they might conceive at their first union with their husbands. Their prayer was answered, and they set up a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Mother. Both wives and husbands were so delighted at their union that they named the place itself, where they first met, Bady (sweet), and the river that runs thereby Bady Water, this being a word of

their native dialect.

[5.3.3] When Phyleus had returned to Dulichium after organizing the affairs of Elis, Augeas died at an advanced age, and the kingdom of Elis devolved on Agasthenes, the son of Augeas, and on Amphimachus and Thalpius. For the sons of Actor married twin sisters, the daughters of Dexamenus who was king at Olenus; Amphimachus was born to one son and Theronice, Thalpius to her sister TheraePHONE and Eurytus.

[5.3.4] However, neither Amarynceus himself nor his son DioreS remained common people. Incidentally this is shown by Homer in his list of the Eleans; he makes their whole fleet to consist of forty ships, half of them under the command of Amphimachus and Thalpius, and of the remaining twenty he puts ten under DioreS, the son of Amarynceus, and ten under Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes. Polyxenus came back safe from Troy and begat a son, Amphimachus. This name I think Polyxenus gave his son because of his friendship with Amphimachus, the son of Cteatus, who died at Troy.

[5.3.5] Amphimachus begat Eleius, and it was while Eleius was king in Elis that the assembly of the Dorian army under the sons of Aristomachus took place, with a view to returning to the Peloponnesus. To their kings was delivered this oracle, that they were to choose the "one with three eyes" to lead them on their return. When they were at a loss as to the meaning of the oracle, they were met by a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye.

[5.3.6] Cresphontes inferred that this was the man indicated by the oracle, and so the Dorians made him one of themselves. He urged them to descend upon the Peloponnesus in ships, and not to attempt to go across the Isthmus with a land army. Such was his advice, and at the same time he led them on the voyage from Naupactus to Molycrium. In return they agreed to give him at his request the land of Elis. The man was Oxylus, son of Haemon, the son of Thoas. This was the Thoas who helped the sons of Atreus to destroy the empire of Priam, and from Thoas to Aetolus the son of Endymion are six generations.

[5.3.7] There were ties of kindred between the Heracleidae and the kings of Aetolia; in particular the mothers of Thoas, the son of Andraemon, and of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, were sisters.

It fell to the lot of Oxylus to be an outlaw from Aetolia. The story goes that as he was throwing the quoit he missed the mark and committed unintentional homicide. The man killed by the quoit, according to one account, was Thermius, the brother of Oxylus; according to another it was Alciodocus, the son of Scopius.

[5.4.1] IV. The following story is also told of Oxylus. He suspected that, when the sons of Aristomachus saw that the land of Elis was a goodly one, and cultivated throughout, they would be no longer willing to give it to him. He accordingly led the Dorians through Arcadia and not through Elis. Oxylus was anxious to get the kingdom of Elis without a battle, but Dius would not give way; he proposed that, instead of their fighting a pitched battle with all their

forces, a single soldier should be chosen from each army to fight as its champion.

[5.4.2] This proposal chanced to find favour with both sides, and the champions chosen were the Elean Degmenus, an archer, and Pyraechmes, a slinger, to represent the Aetolians. Pyraechmes won and Oxylus got the kingdom. He allowed the old inhabitants, the Epeans, to keep their possessions, except that he introduced among them Aetolian colonists, giving them a share in the land. He assigned privileges to Dius, and kept up after the ancient manner the honors paid to heroes, especially the worship of Augeas, to whom even at the present day hero-sacrifice is offered.

[5.4.3] He is also said to have induced to come into the city the dwellers in the villages near the wall, and by increasing the number of the inhabitants to have made Elis larger and generally more prosperous. There also came to him an oracle from Delphi, that he should bring in as co-founder “the descendant of Pelops.” Oxylus made diligent search, and in his search he discovered Agorius, son of Damasius, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes. He brought Agorius himself from Helice in Achaia, and with him a small body of Achaeans.

[5.4.4] The wife of Oxylus they say was called Pieria, but beyond this nothing more about her is recorded. Oxylus is said to have had two sons, Aetolus and Laias. Aetolus died before his parents, who buried him in a tomb which they caused to be made right in the gate leading to Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus. That they buried him thus was due to an oracle forbidding the corpse to be laid either without the city or within it. Right down to our own day the gymnasiarch sacrifices to Aetolus as to a hero every year.

ELIS, HISTORY

[5.4.5] After Oxylus the kingdom devolved on Laias, son of Oxylus. His descendants, however, I find did not reign, and so I pass them by, though I know who they were; my narrative must not descend to men of common rank. Later on Iphitus, of the line of Oxylus and contemporary with Lycurgus, who drew up the code of laws for the Lacedaemonians, arranged the games at Olympia and reestablished afresh the Olympic festival and truce, after an interruption of uncertain length. The reason for this interruption I will set forth when my narrative deals with Olympia.

[5.4.6] At this time Greece was grievously worn by internal strife and plague, and it occurred to Iphitus to ask the god at Delphi for deliverance from these evils. The story goes that the Pythian priestess ordained that Iphitus himself and the Eleans must renew the Olympic games. Iphitus also induced the Eleans to sacrifice to Heracles as to a god, whom hitherto they had looked upon as their enemy. The inscription at Olympia calls Iphitus the son of Haemon, but most of the Greeks say that his father was Praxonides and not Haemon, while the ancient records of Elis traced him to a father of the same name.

[5.4.7] The Eleans played their part in the Trojan war, and also in the battles of the Persian invasion of Greece. I pass over their struggles with the Pisans and Arcadians for the management of the Olympian games. Against their will they joined the Lacedaemonians in their invasion of Athenian territory, and shortly afterwards they rose up with the Mantineans and Argives against the Lacedaemonians, inducing Athens too to join the alliance.

[5.4.8] When Agis invaded the land, and Xenias turned traitor, the Eleans won a battle near Olympia, routed the Lacedaemonians and drove them out of the sacred enclosure; but shortly afterwards the war was concluded by the treaty I have already spoken of in my account of the Lacedaemonians.

[5.4.9] When Philip the son of Amyntas would not let Greece alone, the Eleans, weakened by civil strife, joined the Macedonian alliance, but they could not bring themselves to fight against the Greeks at Chaeroneia. They joined Philip's attack on the Lacedaemonians because of their old hatred of that people, but on the death of Alexander they fought on the side of the Greeks against Antipater and the Macedonians.

[5.5.1] v. Later on Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, the son of Etymon, became despot of Elis, being aided in his attempt by Antigonos, the son of Demetrius, who was king in Macedonia. After a despotism of six months Aristotimus was deposed, a rising against him having been organized by Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis and Cylon; Cylon it was who with his own hand killed the despot when he had sought sanctuary at the altar of Zeus the Saviour. Such were the wars of the Eleans, of which my present enumeration must serve as a summary.

[5.5.2] The land of Elis contains two marvels. Here, and here only in Greece, does fine flax grow; and secondly, only over the border, and not within it, can the mares be impregnated by asses. The cause of this is said to have been a curse. The fine flax of Elis is as fine as that of the Hebrews, but it is not so yellow.

LEPREUS

[5.5.3] As you go from Elis there is a district stretching down to the sea. It is called Samicum, and above it on the right is what is called Triphylia, in which is the city Lepreus. The citizens of this city wish to belong to the Arcadians, but it is plain that from the beginning they have been subject to the Eleans. Such of them as have won Olympic victories have been announced by the herald as Eleans from Lepreus, and Aristophanes in a comedy calls Lepreus a town of the Eleans. Leaving the river Anigrus on the left there is a road leading to Lepreus; from Samicum another leads to it from Olympia and a third from Elis. The longest of them is a day's journey.

[5.5.4] The city got its name, they say, from its founder Lepreus the son of Pyrgeus. There was also a story that Lepreus contended with Heracles: that he was as good a trencherman. Each killed an ox at the same time and prepared it for the table. It turned out, even as Lepreus maintained, that he was as

powerful a trencherman as Heracles. Afterwards he made bold to challenge him to a duel. Lepreus, they say, lost, was killed, and was buried in the land of Phigaleia. The Phigalians, however, could not show a tomb of Lepreus.

[5.5.5] I have heard some who maintained that Lepreus was founded by Leprea, the daughter of Pyrgeus. Others say that the first dwellers in the land were afflicted with the disease leprosy, and that the city received its name from the misfortune of the inhabitants. The Lepreans told me that in their city once was a temple of Zeus Leucaeus (Of the White Poplar), the grave of Lycurgus, son of Aleus, and the grave of Caucon, over which was the figure of a man holding a lyre.

[5.5.6] But as far as I could see they had no tomb of distinction, and no sanctuary of any deity save one of Demeter. Even this was built of unburnt brick, and contained no image. Not far from the city of the Lepreans is a spring called Arene, and they say that it derives its name from the wife of Aphaereus.

THE RIVERS ANIGRUS & ACIDAS

[5.5.7] Returning again to Samicum, and passing through the district, we reach the mouth of the Anigrus. The current of this river is often held back by violent gales, which carry the sand from the open sea against it and stop the onward flow of the water. So whenever the sand has become soaked on both sides, by the sea without and by the river within, beasts and still more travellers on foot are in danger of sinking into it.

[5.5.8] The Anigrus descends from the mountain Lapithus in Arcadia, and right from its source its water does not smell sweet but actually stinks horribly. Before it receives the tributary Acidas it plainly cannot support fish-life at all. After the rivers unite, the fish that come down into the Anigrus with the water are uneatable, though before, if they are caught in the Acidas, they are eatable.

[5.5.9] I heard from an Ephesian that the Acidas was called Iardanus in ancient times. I repeat his statement, though I have nowhere found evidence in support of it. I am convinced that the peculiar odor of the Anigrus is due to the earth through which the water springs up, just as those rivers beyond Ionia, the exhalation from which is deadly to man, owe their peculiarity to the same cause. Some Greeks say that Chiron,

[5.5.10] others that Pylenor, another Centaur, when shot by Heracles fled wounded to this river and washed his hurt in it, and that it was the hydra's poison which gave the Anigrus its nasty smell. Others again attribute the quality of the river to Melampus the son of Amythaon, who threw into it the means he used to purify the daughters of Proetus.

[5.5.11] There is in Samicum a cave not far from the river, and called the Cave of the Anigris Nymphs. Whoever enters it suffering from *alphos* or *leuke* first has to pray to the nymphs and to promise some sacrifice or other, after which he wipes the unhealthy parts of his body. Then, swimming

through the river, he leaves his old uncleanness in its water, coming up sound and of one color.

SAMIA & ARENE

[5.6.1] VI. Crossing the Anigrus and going to Olympia by the straight road, not far away on the right of the road you reach a high district with a city called Samia on it. This they say Polysperchon the Aetolian used as a fortified post against the Arcadians.

[5.6.2] As to the ruins of Arene, no Messenian and no Elean could point them out to me with certainty. Those who care to do so may make all sorts of different guesses about it, but the most plausible account seemed to me that of those who held that in the heroic age and even earlier Samicum was called Arene. These quoted too the words of the *Iliad*:—

There is a river Minyeius flowing into the sea near Arene. Hom. *Il.* 11.722-3

[5.6.3] These ruins are very near to the Anigrus; and, although it might be questioned whether Samicum was called Arene, yet the Arcadians are agreed that of old the Anigrus was called the Minyeius. One might well hold that the Neda near the sea was made the boundary between Elis and Messenia at the time of the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus.

SCILLUS & THE RIVER SELINUS

[5.6.4] After the Anigrus, if you travel for a considerable distance through a district that is generally sandy and grows wild pines, you will see behind you on the left the ruins of Scillus. It was one of the cities of Triphylia but in the war between Pisa and Elis the citizens of Scillus openly helped Pisa against her enemy, and for this reason the Eleans utterly destroyed it.

[5.6.5] The Lacedaemonians afterwards separated Scillus from Elis and gave it to Xenophon, the son of Grylus, when he had been exiled from Athens. The reason for his banishment was that he had taken part in an expedition which Cyrus, the greatest enemy of the Athenian people, had organized against their friend, the Persian king. Cyrus, in fact, with his seat at Sardis, had been providing Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and the Lacedaemonians with money for their fleet. Xenophon, accordingly, was banished and having made Scillus his home he built in honor of Ephesian Artemis a temple with a sanctuary and a sacred enclosure.

[5.6.6] Scillus is also a hunting-ground for wild boars and deer, and the land is crossed by a river called the Selinus. The guides of Elis said that the Eleans recovered Scillus again, and that Xenophon was tried by the Olympic Council for accepting the land from the Lacedaemonians, and, obtaining pardon from the Eleans, dwelt securely in Scillus. Moreover, at a little distance from the sanctuary was shown a tomb, and upon the grave is a statue of marble from the Pentelic quarry. The neighbors say that it is the tomb of Xenophon.

[5.6.7] As you go from Scillus along the road to Olympia, before you cross the Alpheius, there is a mountain with high, precipitous cliffs. It is called Mount Typaeum. It is a law of Elis to cast down it any women who are caught present at the Olympic games, or even on the other side of the Alpheius, on the days prohibited to women. However, they say that no woman has been caught, except Callipateira only; some, however, give the lady the name of Pherenice and not Callipateira.

[5.6.8] She, being a widow, disguised herself exactly like a gymnastic trainer, and brought her son to compete at Olympia. Peisirodus, for so her son was called, was victorious, and Callipateira, as she was jumping over the enclosure in which they keep the trainers shut up, bared her person. So her sex was discovered, but they let her go unpunished out of respect for her father, her brothers and her son, all of whom had been victorious at Olympia. But a law was passed that for the future trainers should strip before entering the arena.

THE RIVER ALPHEIUS

[5.7.1] VII. By the time you reach Olympia the Alpheius is a large and very pleasant river to see, being fed by several tributaries, including seven very important ones. The Helisson joins the Alpheius passing through Megalopolis; the Brentheates comes out of the territory of that city; past Gortyna, where is a sanctuary of Asclepius, flows the Gortynius; from Melaeneae, between the territories of Megalopolis and Heraea, comes the Buphagus; from the land of the Clitorians the Ladon; from Mount Erymanthus a stream with the same name as the mountain. These come down into the Alpheius from Arcadia; the Cladeus comes from Elis to join it. The source of the Alpheius itself is in Arcadia, and not in Elis.

[5.7.2] There is another legend about the Alpheius. They say that there was a hunter called Alpheius, who fell in love with Arethusa, who was herself a huntress. Arethusa, unwilling to marry, crossed, they say, to the island opposite Syracuse called Ortygia, and there turned from a woman to a spring. Alpheius too was changed by his love into the river.

[5.7.3] This account of Alpheius . . . to Ortygia. But that the Alpheius passes through the sea and mingles his waters with the spring at this place I cannot disbelieve, as I know that the god at Delphi confirms the story. For when he despatched Archias the Corinthian to found Syracuse he uttered this oracle:

An isle, Ortygia, lies on the misty ocean
Over against Trinacria, where the mouth of Alpheius bubbles
Mingling with the springs of broad Arethusa.

For this reason, therefore, because the water of the Alpheius mingles with the Arethusa, I am convinced that the legend arose of the river's love-affair.

[5.7.4] Those Greeks or Egyptians who have gone up into Ethiopia beyond Syene as far as the Ethiopian city of Meroe all say that the Nile enters a lake, and passes through it as though it were dry land, and that after this it flows through lower Aethiopia into Egypt before coming down into the sea at Pharos. And in the land of the Hebrews, as I can myself bear witness, the river Jordan passes through a lake called Tiberias, and then, entering another lake called the Dead Sea, it disappears in it.

[5.7.5] The Dead Sea has the opposite qualities to those of any other water. Living creatures float in it naturally without swimming; dying creatures sink to the bottom. Hence the lake is barren of fish; their danger stares them in the face, and they flee back to the water which is their native element. The peculiarity of the Alpheius is shared by a river of Ionia. The source of it is on Mount Mycale, and having gone through the intervening sea the river rises again opposite Branchidae at the harbor called Panormus.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[5.7.6] These things then are as I have described them. As for the Olympic games, the most learned antiquaries of Elis say that Cronus was the first king of heaven, and that in his honor a temple was built in Olympia by the men of that age, who were named the Golden Race. When Zeus was born, Rhea entrusted the guardianship of her son to the Dactyls of Ida, who are the same as those called Curetes. They came from Cretan Ida – Heracles, Paeonaeus, Epimedes, Iasius and Idas.

[5.7.7] Heracles, being the eldest, matched his brothers, as a game, in a running-race, and crowned the winner with a branch of wild olive, of which they had such a copious supply that they slept on heaps of its leaves while still green. It is said to have been introduced into Greece by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans, men living beyond the home of the North Wind.

[5.7.8] Olen the Lycian, in his hymn to Achaea, was the first to say that from these Hyperboreans Achaea came to Delos. When Melanopus of Cyme composed an ode to Opis and Hecaege declaring that these, even before Achaea, came to Delos from the Hyperboreans.

[5.7.9] And Aristaeas of Proconnesus – for he too made mention of the Hyperboreans – may perhaps have learnt even more about them from the Issedones, to whom he says in his poem that he came. Heracles of Ida, therefore, has the reputation of being the first to have held, on the occasion I mentioned, the games, and to have called them Olympic. So he established the custom of holding them every fifth year, because he and his brothers were five in number.

[5.7.10] Now some say that Zeus wrestled here with Cronus himself for the throne, while others say that he held the games in honor of his victory over Cronus. The record of victors include Apollo, who outran Hermes and beat Ares at boxing. It is for this reason, they say, that the Pythian flute-song is played while the competitors in the pentathlon are jumping; for the flute-song

is sacred to Apollo, and Apollo won Olympic victories.

[5.8.1] VIII. Later on there came (they say) from Crete Clymenus, the son of Cardys, about fifty years after the flood came upon the Greeks in the time of Deucalion. He was descended from Heracles of Ida; he held the games at Olympia and set up an altar in honor of Heracles, his ancestor, and the other Curetes, giving to Heracles the surname of Parastates (Assistant). And Endymion, the son of Aethlius, deposed Clymenus, and set his sons a race in Olympia with the kingdom as the prize.

[5.8.2] And about a generation later than Endymion, Pelops held the games in honor of Olympian Zeus in a more splendid manner than any of his predecessors. When the sons of Pelops were scattered from Elis over all the rest of Peloponnesus, Amythaon, the son of Cretheus, and cousin of Endymion on his father's side (for they say that Aethlius too was the son of Aeolus, though supposed to be a son of Zeus), held the Olympian games, and after him Pelias and Neleus in common.

[5.8.3] Augeas too held them, and likewise Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, after the conquest of Elis. The victors crowned by Heracles include Iolaus, who won with the mares of Heracles. So of old a competitor was permitted to compete with mares which were not his own. Homer, at any rate, in the games held in honor of Patroclus, has told how Menelaus drove a pair of which one was Aetha, a mare of Agamemnon, while the other was his own horse.

[5.8.4] Moreover, Iolaus used to be charioteer to Heracles. So Iolaus won the chariot-race, and Iasius, an Arcadian, the horse-race; while of the sons of Tyndareus one won the foot-race and Polydeuces the boxing-match. Of Heracles himself it is said that he won victories at wrestling and the pancratium.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES, HISTORY

[5.8.5] After the reign of Oxylus, who also celebrated the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued until the reign of Iphitus. When Iphitus, as I have already related, renewed the games, men had by this time forgotten the ancient tradition, the memory of which revived bit by bit, and as it revived they made additions to the games.

[5.8.6] This I can prove; for when the unbroken tradition of the Olympiads began there was first the foot-race, and Coroebus an Elean was victor. There is no statue of Coroebus at Olympia, but his grave is on the borders of Elis. Afterwards, at the fourteenth Festival, the double foot-race was added: Hypenus of Pisa won the prize of wild olive in the double race, and at the next Festival Acanthus of Lacedaemon won in the long course.

[5.8.7] At the eighteenth Festival they remembered the pentathlum and wrestling. Lampis won the first and Eurybatus the second, these also being Lacedaemonians. At the twenty-third Festival they restored the prizes for boxing, and the victor was Onomastus of Smyrna, which already was a part of Ionia. At the twenty-fifth they recognized the race of full-grown horses, and

Pagondas of Thebes was proclaimed “victor in the chariot-race.”

[5.8.8] At the eighth Festival after this they admitted the pancratium for men and the horse-race. The horse-race was won by Crauxidas of Crannon, and Lygdamis of Syracuse overcame all who entered for the pancratium. Lygdamis has his tomb near the quarries at Syracuse, and according to the Syracusans he was as big as Heracles of Thebes, though I cannot vouch for the statement.

[5.8.9] The contests for boys have no authority in old tradition, but were established by the Eleans themselves because they approved of them. The prizes for running and wrestling open to boys were instituted at the thirty-seventh Festival; Hipposthenes of Lacedaemon won the prize for wrestling, and that for running was won by Polyneices of Elis. At the forty-first Festival they introduced boxing for boys, and the winner out of those who entered for it was Philytas of Sybaris.

[5.8.10] The race for men in armour was approved at the sixty-fifth Festival, to provide, I suppose, military training; the first winner of the race with shields was Damaretus of Heraea. The race for two full-grown horses, called synoris (chariot and pair), was instituted at the ninety-third Festival, and the winner was Evagoras of Elis. At the ninety-ninth Festival they resolved to hold contests for chariots drawn by foals, and Sybariades of Lacedaemon won the garland with his chariot and foals.

[5.8.11] Afterwards they added races for chariots and pairs of foals, and for single foals with rider. It is said that the victors proclaimed were: for the chariot and pair, Belistiche, a woman from the seaboard of Macedonia; for the ridden race, Tlepolemus of Lycia. Tlepolemus, they say, won at the hundred and thirty-first Festival, and Belistiche at the third before this. At the hundred and forty-fifth Festival prizes were offered for boys in the pancratium, the victory falling to Phaedimus, an Aeolian from the city Troas.

[5.9.1] IX. Certain contests, too, have been dropped at Olympia, the Eleans resolving to discontinue them. The pentathlum for boys was instituted at the thirty-eighth Festival; but after Eutelidas of Lacedaemon had received the wild olive for it, the Eleans disapproved of boys entering for this competition. The races for mule-carts, and the trotting-race, were instituted respectively at the seventieth Festival and the seventy-first, but were both abolished by proclamation at the eighty-fourth. When they were first instituted, Thersius of Thessaly won the race for mule-carts, while Pataecus, an Achaean from Dyme, won the trotting-race.

[5.9.2] The trotting-race was for mares, and in the last part of the course the riders jumped off and ran beside the mares, holding on to the bridle, just as at the present day those do who are called “mounters.” The mounters, however, differ from the riders in the trotting-race by having different badges, and by riding horses instead of mares. The cart-race was neither of venerable antiquity nor yet a graceful performance. Moreover, each cart was drawn by a pair of mules, not horses, and there is an ancient curse on the Eleans if this

animal is even born in Elis.

[5.9.3] The order of the games in our own day, which places the sacrifices to the god for the pentathlum and chariot-races second, and those for the other competitions first, was fixed at the seventy-seventh Festival. Previously the contests for men and for horses were held on the same day. But at the Festival I mentioned the pancratiasts prolonged their contests till night-fall, because they were not summoned to the arena soon enough. The cause of the delay was partly the chariot-race, but still more the pentathlum. Callias of Athens was champion of the pancratiasts on this occasion, but never afterwards was the pancratium to be interfered with by the pentathlum or the chariots.

[5.9.4] The rules for the presidents of the games are not the same now as they were at the first institution of the festival. Iphitus acted as sole president, as likewise did the descendants of Oxylyus after Iphitus. But at the fiftieth Festival two men, appointed by lot from all the Eleans, were entrusted with the management of the Olympic games, and for a long time after this the number of the presidents continued to be two.

[5.9.5] But at the ninety-fifth Festival nine umpires were appointed. To three of them were entrusted the chariot-races, another three were to supervise the pentathlum, the rest superintended the remaining contests. At the second Festival after this the tenth umpire was added. At the hundred and third Festival, the Eleans having twelve tribes, one umpire was chosen from each.

[5.9.6] But they were hard pressed in a war with the Arcadians and lost a portion of their territory, along with all the parishes included in the surrendered district, and so the number of tribes was reduced to eight in the hundred and fourth Olympiad. Thereupon were chosen umpires equal in number to the tribes. At the hundred and eighth Festival they returned again to the number of ten umpires, which has continued unchanged down to the present day.

THE TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS

[5.10.1] X. Many are the sights to be seen in Greece, and many are the wonders to be heard; but on nothing does Heaven bestow more care than on the Eleusinian rites and the Olympic games.

The sacred grove of Zeus has been called from of old Altis, a corruption of the word "alsos," which means a grove. Pindar too calls the place Altis in an ode composed for an Olympic victor.

[5.10.2] The temple and the image were made for Zeus from spoils, when Pisa was crushed in war by the Eleans, and with Pisa such of the subject peoples as conspired together with her. The image itself was wrought by Pheidias, as is testified by an inscription written under the feet of Zeus:—

Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian, made me.

The temple is in the Doric style, and the outside has columns all around it. It is built of native stone.

[5.10.3] Its height up to the pediment is sixty-eight feet, its breadth is ninety-

five, its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native. The tiles are not of baked earth, but of Pentelic marble cut into the shape of tiles. The invention is said to be that of Byzes of Naxos, who they say made the images in Naxos on which is the inscription:—

To the offspring of Leto was I dedicated by Euergus,
A Naxian, son of Byzes, who first made tiles of stone.

This Byzes lived about the time of Alyattes the Lydian, when Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, reigned over the Medes.

[5.10.4] At Olympia a gilt caldron stands on each end of the roof, and a Victory, also gilt, is set in about the middle of the pediment. Under the image of Victory has been dedicated a golden shield, with Medusa the Gorgon in relief. The inscription on the shield declares who dedicated it and the reason why they did so. It runs thus:—

The temple has a golden shield; from Tanagra
The Lacedaemonians and their allies dedicated it,
A gift taken from the Argives, Athenians and Ionians,
The tithe offered for victory in war.

This battle I also mentioned in my history of Attica, Then I described the tombs that are at Athens.

[5.10.5] On the outside of the frieze that runs round the temple at Olympia, above the columns, are gilt shields one and twenty in number, an offering made by the Roman general Mummius when he had conquered the Achaeans in war, captured Corinth, and driven out its Dorian inhabitants.

[5.10.6] To come to the pediments: in the front pediment there is, not yet begun, the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaus, and preparation for the actual race is being made by both. An image of Zeus has been carved in about the middle of the pediment; on the right of Zeus is Oenomaus with a helmet on his head, and by him Sterope his wife, who was one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus too, the charioteer of Oenomaus, sits in front of the horses, which are four in number. After him are two men. They have no names, but they too must be under orders from Oenomaus to attend to the horses.

[5.10.7] At the very edge lies Cladeus, the river which, in other ways also, the Eleans honor most after the Alpheius. On the left from Zeus are Pelops, Hippodameia, the charioteer of Pelops, horses, and two men, who are apparently grooms of Pelops. Then the pediment narrows again, and in this part of it is represented the Alpheius. The name of the charioteer of Pelops is, according to the account of the Troezenians, Sphaerus, but the guide at Olympia called him Cillas.

[5.10.8] The sculptures in the front pediment are by Paeonius, who came from Mende in Thrace; those in the back pediment are by Alcamenes, a

contemporary of Pheidias, ranking next after him for skill as a sculptor. What he carved on the pediment is the fight between the Lapithae and the Centaurs at the marriage of Peirithous. In the center of the pediment is Peirithous. On one side of him is Eurytion, who has seized the wife of Peirithous, with Caeneus bringing help to Peirithous, and on the other side is Theseus defending himself against the Centaurs with an axe. One Centaur has seized a maid, another a boy in the prime of youth. Alcamenes, I think, carved this scene, because he had learned from Homer's poem that Peirithous was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops.

[5.10.9] Most of the labours of Heracles are represented at Olympia. Above the doors of the temple is carved the hunting of the Arcadian boar, his exploit against Diomedes the Thracian, and that against Geryones at Erytheia; he is also about to receive the burden of Atlas, and he cleanses the land from dung for the Eleans. Above the doors of the rear chamber he is taking the girdle from the Amazon; and there are the affairs of the deer, of the bull at Cnossus, of the Stympalian birds, of the hydra, and of the Argive lion.

[5.10.10] As you enter the bronze doors you see on the right, before the pillar, Iphitus being crowned by a woman, Ececheiria (Truce), as the elegiac couplet on the statue says. Within the temple stand pillars, and inside also are porticoes above, with an approach through them to the image. There has also been constructed a winding ascent to the roof.

THE STATUE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS

[5.11.1] XI. The god sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. On his head lies a garland which is a copy of olive shoots. In his right hand he carries a Victory, which, like the statue, is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and – on her head – a garland. In the left hand of the god is a scepter, ornamented with every kind of metal, and the bird sitting on the scepter is the eagle. The sandals also of the god are of gold, as is likewise his robe. On the robe are embroidered figures of animals and the flowers of the lily.

[5.11.2] The throne is adorned with gold and with jewels, to say nothing of ebony and ivory. Upon it are painted figures and wrought images. There are four Victories, represented as dancing women, one at each foot of the throne, and two others at the base of each foot. On each of the two front feet are set Theban children ravished by sphinxes, while under the sphinxes Apollo and Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe.

[5.11.3] Between the feet of the throne are four rods, each one stretching from foot to foot. The rod straight opposite the entrance has on it seven images; how the eighth of them disappeared nobody knows. These must be intended to be copies of obsolete contests, since in the time of Pheidias contests for boys had not yet been introduced. The figure of one binding his own head with a ribbon is said to resemble in appearance Pantarces, a stripling of Elis said to have been the love of Pheidias. Pantarces too won the wrestling-bout for boys at the eighty-sixth Festival.

[5.11.4] On the other rods is the band that with Heracles fights against the Amazons. The number of figures in the two parties is twenty-nine, and Theseus too is ranged among the allies of Heracles. The throne is supported not only by the feet, but also by an equal number of pillars standing between the feet. It is impossible to go under the throne, in the way we enter the inner part of the throne at Amyclae. At Olympia there are screens constructed like walls which keep people out.

[5.11.5] Of these screens the part opposite the doors is only covered with dark-blue paint; the other parts show pictures by Panaenus. Among them is Atlas, supporting heaven and earth, by whose side stands Heracles ready to receive the load of Atlas, along with Theseus; Perithous, Hellas, and Salamis carrying in her hand the ornament made for the top of a ship's bows; then Heracles' exploit against the Nemean lion, the outrage committed by Ajax on Cassandra,

[5.11.6] Hippodameia the daughter of Oenomaus with her mother, and Prometheus still held by his chains, though Heracles has been raised up to him. For among the stories told about Heracles is one that he killed the eagle which tormented Prometheus in the Caucasus, and set free Prometheus himself from his chains. Last in the picture come Penthesileia giving up the ghost and Achilles supporting her; two Hesperides are carrying the apples, the keeping of which, legend says, had been entrusted to them. This Panaenus was a brother of Pheidias; he also painted the picture of the battle of Marathon in the painted portico at Athens.

[5.11.7] On the uppermost parts of the throne Pheidias has made, above the head of the image, three Graces on one side and three Seasons on the other. These in epic poetry are included among the daughters of Zeus. Homer too in the *Iliad* says that the Seasons have been entrusted with the sky, just like guards of a king's court. The footstool of Zeus, called by the Athenians thranion, has golden lions and, in relief, the fight of Theseus against the Amazons, the first brave deed of the Athenians against foreigners.

[5.11.8] On the pedestal supporting the throne and Zeus with all his adornments are works in gold: the Sun mounted on a chariot, Zeus and Hera, Hephaestus, and by his side Grace. Close to her comes Hermes, and close to Hermes Hestia. After Hestia is Eros receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea, and Aphrodite is being crowned by Persuasion. There are also reliefs of Apollo with Artemis, of Athena and of Heracles; and near the end of the pedestal Amphitrite and Poseidon, while the Moon is driving what I think is a horse. Some have said that the steed of the goddess is a mule not a horse, and they tell a silly story about the mule.

[5.11.9] I know that the height and breadth of the Olympic Zeus have been measured and recorded; but I shall not praise those who made the measurements, for even their records fall far short of the impression made by a sight of the image. Nay, the god himself according to legend bore witness to the artistic skill of Pheidias. For when the image was quite finished Pheidias

prayed the god to show by a sign whether the work was to his liking. Immediately, runs the legend, a thunderbolt fell on that part of the floor where down to the present day the bronze jar stood to cover the place.

[5.11.10] All the floor in front of the image is paved, not with white, but with black tiles. In a circle round the black stone runs a raised rim of Parian marble, to keep in the olive oil that is poured out. For olive oil is beneficial to the image at Olympia, and it is olive oil that keeps the ivory from being harmed by the marshiness of the Altis. On the Athenian Acropolis the ivory of the image they call the Maiden is benefited, not by olive oil, but by water. For the Acropolis, owing to its great height, is over-dry, so that the image, being made of ivory, needs water or dampness.

[5.11.11] When I asked at Epidaurus why they pour neither water nor olive oil on the image of Asclepius, the attendants at the sanctuary informed me that both the image of the god and the throne were built over a cistern.

[5.12.1] XII. Those who think that the projections from the mouth of an elephant are not horns but teeth of the animal should consider both the elk, a beast of the Celtic land, and also the Aethiopian bull. Male elks have horns on their brows, but the female does not grow them at all. Ethiopian bulls grow their horns on their noses. Who therefore would be greatly surprised at horns growing out of an animal's mouth?

[5.12.2] They may also correct their error from the following considerations. Horns drop off animals each year and grow again; the deer and the antelope undergo this experience, and so likewise does the elephant. But a tooth will never be found to grow again, at least after the animal is full-grown. So if the projections through the mouth were teeth and not horns, how could they grow up again? Again, a tooth refuses to yield to fire; but fire turns the horns of oxen and elephants from round to flat, and also into other shapes. However, the hippopotamus and the boar have tusks growing out of the lower jaw, but we do not see horns growing out of jaws.

[5.12.3] So be assured that an elephant's horns descend through the temples from above, and so bend outwards. My statement is not hearsay; I once saw an elephant's skull in the sanctuary of Artemis in Campania. The sanctuary is about thirty stades from Capua, which is the capital of Campania. So the elephant differs from all other animals in the way its horns grow, just as its size and shape are peculiar to itself. And the Greeks in my opinion showed an unsurpassed zeal and generosity in honoring the gods, in that they imported ivory from India and Aethiopia to make images.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS

[5.12.4] In Olympia there is a woollen curtain, adorned with Assyrian weaving and Phoenician purple, which was dedicated by Antiochus, who also gave as offerings the golden aegis with the Gorgon on it above the theater at Athens. This curtain is not drawn upwards to the roof as is that in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but it is let down to the ground by cords.

[5.12.5] The offerings inside, or in the fore-temple include: a throne of Arimnestus, king of Etruria, who was the first foreigner to present an offering to the Olympic Zeus, and bronze horses of Cynisca, tokens of an Olympic victory. These are not as large as real horses, and stand in the fore-temple on the right as you enter. There is also a tripod, plated with bronze, upon which, before the table was made, were displayed the crowns for the victors.

[5.12.6] There are statues of emperors: Hadrian, of Parian marble dedicated by the cities of the Achaean confederacy, and Trajan, dedicated by all the Greeks. This emperor subdued the Getae beyond Thrace, and made war on Osroes the descendant of Arsaces and on the Parthians. Of his architectural achievements the most remarkable are baths called after him, a large circular theater, a building for horse-races which is actually two stades long, and the Forum at Rome, worth seeing not only for its general beauty but especially for its roof made of bronze.

[5.12.7] Of the statues set up in the round buildings, the amber one represents Augustus the Roman emperor, the ivory one they told me was a portrait of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. After him the greatest city in Bithynia was renamed Nicomedeia; before him it was called Astacus, and its first founder was Zypoetes, a Thracian by birth to judge from his name. This amber of which the statue of Augustus is made, when found native in the sand of the Eridanus, is very rare and precious to men for many reasons; the other “amber” is an alloy of gold and silver.

[5.12.8] In the temple at Olympia are four offerings of Nero – three crowns representing wild-olive leaves, and one representing oak leaves. Here too are laid twenty-five bronze shields, which are for the armed men to carry in the race. Tablets too are set up, including one on which is written the oath sworn by the Eleans to the Athenians, the Argives and the Mantineans, that they would be their allies for a hundred years.

THE TEMPLE OF PELOPS AT OLYMPIA

[5.13.1] XIII. Within the Altis there is also a sacred enclosure consecrated to Pelops, whom the Eleans as much prefer in honor above the heroes of Olympia as they prefer Zeus over the other gods. To the right of the entrance of the temple of Zeus, on the north side, lies the Pelopium. It is far enough removed from the temple for statues and other offerings to stand in the intervening space, and beginning at about the middle of the temple it extends as far as the rear chamber. It is surrounded by a stone fence, within which trees grow and statues have been dedicated.

[5.13.2] The entrance is on the west. The sanctuary is said to have been set apart to Pelops by Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Heracles too was a great-grandson of Pelops, and he is also said to have sacrificed to him into the pit. Right down to the present day the magistrates of the year sacrifice to him, and the victim is a black ram. No portion of this sacrifice goes to the sooth-sayer, only the neck of the ram it is usual to give to the “woodman,” as he is called.

[5.13.3] The woodman is one of the servants of Zeus, and the task assigned to him is to supply cities and private individuals with wood for sacrifices at a fixed rate, wood of the white poplar, but of no other tree, being allowed. If anybody, whether Elean or stranger, eat of the meat of the victim sacrificed to Pelops, he may not enter the temple of Zeus. The same rule applies to those who sacrifice to Telephus at Pergamus on the river Caicus; these too may not go up to the temple of Asclepius before they have bathed.

[5.13.4] The following tale too is told. When the war of the Greeks against Troy was prolonged, the soothsayers prophesied to them that they would not take the city until they had fetched the bow and arrows of Heracles and a bone of Pelops. So it is said that they sent for Philoctetes to the camp, and from Pisa was brought to them a bone of Pelops – a shoulder-blade. As they were returning home, the ship carrying the bone of Pelops was wrecked off Euboea in the storm.

[5.13.5] Many years later than the capture of Troy, Damarmenus, a fisherman from Eretria, cast a net into the sea and drew up the bone. Marvelling at its size he kept it hidden in the sand. At last he went to Delphi, to inquire whose the bone was, and what he ought to do with it.

[5.13.6] It happened that by the providence of Heaven there was then at Delphi an Elean embassy praying for deliverance from a pestilence. So the Pythian priestess ordered the Eleans to recover the bones of Pelops, and Damarmenus to give back to the Eleans what he had found. He did so, and the Eleans repaid him by appointing him and his descendants to be guardians of the bone. The shoulder-blade of Pelops had disappeared by my time, because, I suppose, it had been hidden in the depths so long, and besides its age it was greatly decayed through the salt water.

[5.13.7] That Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in my country there have remained signs right down to the present day. There is a lake called after Tantalus and a famous grave, and on a peak of Mount Sipylus there is a throne of Pelops beyond the sanctuary of Plastene the Mother. If you cross the river Hermus you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnus made of a living myrtle-tree. It is a tradition among us that it was dedicated by Pelops when he was propitiating the goddess and asking for Hippodameia to be his bride.

THE ALTAR OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS

[5.13.8] The altar of Olympic Zeus is about equally distant from the Pelopium and the sanctuary of Hera, but it is in front of both. Some say that it was built by Idaeian Heracles, others by the local heroes two generations later than Heracles. It has been made from the ash of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus, as is also the altar at Pergamus. There is an ashen altar of Samian Hera not a bit grander than what in Attica the Athenians call “improvised hearths.”

[5.13.9] The first stage of the altar at Olympia, called prothesis, has a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet; the circumference of the

stage on the prothysis is thirty-two feet; the total height of the altar reaches to twenty-two feet. The victims themselves it is the custom to sacrifice on the lower stage, the prothysis. But the thighs they carry up to the highest part of the altar and burn them there.

[5.13.10] The steps that lead up to the prothysis from either side are made of stone, but those leading from the prothysis to the upper part of the altar are, like the altar itself, composed of ashes. The ascent to the prothysis may be made by maidens, and likewise by women, when they are not shut out from Olympia, but men only can ascend from the prothysis to the highest part of the altar. Even when the festival is not being held, sacrifice is offered to Zeus by private individuals and daily by the Eleans.

[5.13.11] Every year the soothsayers, keeping carefully to the nineteenth day of the month Elaphius, bring the ash from the town-hall, and making it into a paste with the water of the Alpheius they daub the altar therewith. But never may the ash be made into paste with other water, and for this reason the Alpheius is thought to be of all rivers the dearest to Olympic Zeus. There is also an altar at Didyma of the Milesians, which Heracles the Theban is said by the Milesians to have made from the blood of the victims. But in later times the blood of the sacrifices has not made the altar excessively large.

[5.14.1] XIV. The altar at Olympia shows another strange peculiarity, which is this. The kite, the bird of prey with the most rapacious nature, never harms those who are sacrificing at Olympia. Should ever a kite seize the entrails or some of the flesh, it is regarded as an unfavorable sign for the sacrificer. There is a story that when Heracles the son of Alcmena was sacrificing at Olympia he was much worried by the flies. So either on his own initiative or at somebody's suggestion he sacrificed to Zeus Averter of Flies, and thus the flies were diverted to the other side of the Alpheius. It is said that in the same way the Eleans too sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies, to drive the flies out of Olympia.

[5.14.2] The Eleans are wont to use for the sacrifices to Zeus the wood of the white poplar and of no other tree, preferring the white poplar, I think, simply and solely because Heracles brought it into Greece from Thesprotia. And it is my opinion that when Heracles sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia he himself burned the thigh bones of the victims upon wood of the white poplar. Heracles found the white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron, the river in Thesprotia, and for this reason Homer calls it "Acheroid."

[5.14.3] So from the first down to the present all rivers have not been equally suited for the growth of plants and trees. Tamarisks grow best and in the greatest numbers by the Maeander; the Boeotian Asopus can produce the tallest reeds; the persea tree flourishes only in the water of the Nile. So it is no wonder that the white poplar grew first by the Acheron and the wild olive by the Alpheius, and that the dark poplar is a nursling of the Celtic land of the Celtic Eridanus.

[5.14.4] Now that I have finished my account of the greatest altar, let me proceed to describe all the altars in Olympia. My narrative will follow in dealing with them the order in which the Eleans are wont to sacrifice on the altars. They sacrifice to Hestia first, secondly to Olympic Zeus, going to the altar within the temple, thirdly to Zeus Laoetas and to Poseidon Laoetas. This sacrifice too it is usual to offer on one altar. Fourthly and fifthly they sacrifice to Artemis and to Athena, Goddess of Booty,

[5.14.5] sixthly to the Worker Goddess. The descendants of Pheidias, called Cleansers, have received from the Eleans the privilege of cleaning the image of Zeus from the dirt that settles on it, and they sacrifice to the Worker Goddess before they begin to polish the image. There is another altar of Athena near the temple, and by it a square altar of Artemis rising gently to a height.

[5.14.6] After the altars I have enumerated there is one on which they sacrifice to Alpheius and Artemis together. The cause of this Pindar, I think, intimates in an ode, and I give it in my account of Letrini. Not far from it stands another altar of Alpheius, and by it one of Hephaestus. This altar of Hephaestus some Eleans call the altar of Warlike Zeus. These same Eleans also say that Oenomaus used to sacrifice to Warlike Zeus on this altar whenever he was about to begin a chariot-race with one of the suitors of Hippodameia.

[5.14.7] After this stands an altar of Heracles surnamed Parastates (Assistant); there are also altars of the brothers of Heracles – Epimedes, Idas, Paeonaeus, and Iasus; I am aware, however, that the altar of Idas is called by others the altar of Acesidas. At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaus stand two altars: one is of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaus appears to have had built himself, and the other of Zeus of the Thunderbolt, which I believe they built later, when the thunderbolt had struck the house of Oenomaus.

[5.14.8] An account of the great altar I gave a little way back; it is called the altar of Olympian Zeus. By it is an altar of Unknown Gods, and after this an altar of Zeus Purifier, one of Victory, and another of Zeus – this time surnamed Underground. There are also altars of all gods, and of Hera surnamed Olympian, this too being made of ashes. They say that it was dedicated by Clymenus. After this comes an altar of Apollo and Hermes in common, because the Greeks have a story about them that Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the lute.

[5.14.9] Next come an altar of Concord, another of Athena, and the altar of the Mother of the gods. Quite close to the entrance to the stadium are two altars; one they call the altar of Hermes of the Games, the other the altar of Opportunity. I know that a hymn to Opportunity is one of the poems of Ion of Chios; in the hymn Opportunity is made out to be the youngest child of Zeus.

Near the treasury of the Sicyonians is an altar of Heracles, either one of the Curetes or the son of Alcmena, for both accounts are given.

[5.14.10] On what is called the Gaeum (sanctuary of Earth) is an altar of Earth; it too is of ashes. In more ancient days they say that there was an oracle also of Earth in this place. On what is called the Stomium (Mouth) the altar to Themis has been built. All round the altar of Zeus Descender runs a fence; this altar is near the great altar made of the ashes. The reader must remember that the altars have not been enumerated in the order in which they stand, but the order followed by my narrative is that followed by the Eleans in their sacrifices. By the sacred enclosure of Pelops is an altar of Dionysus and the Graces in common; between them is an altar of the Muses, and next to these an altar of the Nymphs.

[5.15.1] XV. Outside the Altis there is a building called the workshop of Pheidias, where he wrought the image of Zeus piece by piece. In the building is an altar to all the gods in common. Now return back again to the Altis opposite the Leonidaem.

[5.15.2] The Leonidaem is outside the sacred enclosure, but at the processional entrance to the Altis, which is the only way open to those who take part in the processions. It was dedicated by Leonidas, a native, but in my time the Roman governors of Greece used it as their lodging. Between the processional entrance and the Leonidaem is a street, for the Eleans call streets what the Athenians call lanes.

[5.15.3] Well, there is in the Altis, when you are about to pass to the left of the Leonidaem, an altar of Aphrodite, and after it one of the Seasons. About opposite the rear chamber a wild olive is growing on the right. It is called the olive of the Beautiful Crown, and from its leaves are made the crowns which it is customary to give to winners of Olympic contests. Near this wild olive stands an altar of Nymphs; these too are styled Nymphs of the Beautiful Crowns.

[5.15.4] Outside the Altis, but on the right of the Leonidaem, is an altar of Artemis of the Market, and one has also been built for Mistresses, and in my account of Arcadia I will tell you about the goddess they call Mistress. After this is an altar of Zeus of the Market, and before what is called the Front Seats stands an altar of Apollo surnamed Pythian, and after it one of Dionysus. The last altar is said to be not old, and to have been dedicated by private individuals.

[5.15.5] As you go to the starting-point for the chariot-race there is an altar with an inscription "to the Bringer of Fate." This is plainly a surname of Zeus, who knows the affairs of men, all that the Fates give them, and all that is not destined for them. Near there is also an oblong altar of Fates, after it one of Hermes, and the next two are of Zeus Most High. At the starting-point for the chariot-race, just about opposite the middle of it, there are in the open altars of Poseidon Horse-god and Hera Horse-goddess, and near the pillar an altar of the Dioscuri.

[5.15.6] At the entrance to what is called the Wedge there is on one side an altar of Ares Horse-god, on the other one of Athena Horse-goddess. On entering the Wedge itself you see altars of Good Luck, Pan and Aphrodite; at the innermost part of the Wedge an altar of the Nymphs called Blooming. An altar of Artemis stands on the right as you return from the Portico that the Eleans call the Portico of Agnaptus, giving to the building the name of its architect.

[5.15.7] After re-entering the Altis by the processional gate there are behind the Heraeum altars of the river Cladeus and of Artemis; the one after them is Apollo's, the fourth is of Artemis surnamed Coccoca, and the fifth is of Apollo Thermius. As to the Elean surname Thermius, the conjecture occurred to me that in the Attic dialect it would be thesmios (god of laws), but why Artemis is surnamed Coccoca I could not discover.

[5.15.8] Before what is called Theëcoleon is a building, in a corner of which has been set up an altar of Pan. The Town Hall of the Eleans is within the Altis, and it has been built beside the exit beyond the gymnasium. In this gymnasium are the running-tracks and the wrestling-grounds for the athletes. In front of the door of the Town Hall is an altar of Artemis Huntress.

[5.15.9] In the Town Hall itself, on the right as you enter the room where they have the hearth, is an altar of Pan. This hearth too is made of ashes, and on it fire burns every day and likewise every night. The ashes from this hearth, according to the account I have already given, they bring to the altar of Olympian Zeus, and what is brought from the hearth contributes a great deal to the size of the altar.

[5.15.10] Each month the Eleans sacrifice once on all the altars I have enumerated. They sacrifice in an ancient manner; for they burn on the altars incense with wheat which has been kneaded with honey, placing also on the altars twigs of olive, and using wine for a libation. Only to the Nymphs and the Mistresses are they not wont to pour wine in libation, nor do they pour it on the altar common to all the gods. The care of the sacrifices is given to a priest, holding office for one month, to soothsayers and libation-bearers, and also to a guide, a flute-player and the woodman.

[5.15.11] The traditional words spoken by them in the Town Hall at the libations, and the hymns which they sing, it were not right for me to introduce into my narrative. They pour libations, not only to the Greek gods, but also to the god in Libya, to Hera Ammonia and to Parammon, which is a surname of Hermes. From very early times it is plain that they used the oracle in Libya, and in the temple of Ammon are altars which the Eleans dedicated. On them are engraved the questions of the Eleans, the replies of the god, and the names of the men who came to Ammon from Elis. These are in the temple of Ammon.

[5.15.12] The Eleans also pour libations to all heroes and wives of heroes who are honored either in Elis or among the Aetolians. The songs sung in the Town Hall are in the Doric dialect, but they do not say who it was that composed

them. The Eleans also have a banqueting room. This too is in the Town Hall, opposite the chamber where stands the hearth. In this room they entertain the winners in the Olympic games.

TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN HERA

[5.16.1] XVI. It remains after this for me to describe the temple of Hera and the noteworthy objects contained in it. The Elean account says that it was the people of Scillus, one of the cities in Triphylia, who built the temple about eight years after Oxylus came to the throne of Elis. The style of the temple is Doric, and pillars stand all round it. In the rear chamber one of the two pillars is of oak. The length of the temple is one hundred and sixty-nine feet, the breadth sixty-three feet, the height not short of fifty feet. Who the architect was they do not relate.

THE HERAEA GAMES

[5.16.2] Every fourth year there is woven for Hera a robe by the Sixteen women, and the same also hold games called Heraea. The games consist of foot-races for maidens. These are not all of the same age. The first to run are the youngest; after them come the next in age, and the last to run are the oldest of the maidens. They run in the following way:

[5.16.3] their hair hangs down, a tunic reaches to a little above the knee, and they bare the right shoulder as far as the breast. These too have the Olympic stadium reserved for their games, but the course of the stadium is shortened for them by about one-sixth of its length. To the winning maidens they give crowns of olive and a portion of the cow sacrificed to Hera. They may also dedicate statues with their names inscribed upon them. Those who administer to the Sixteen are, like the presidents of the games, married women.

[5.16.4] The games of the maidens too are traced back to ancient times; they say that, out of gratitude to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, Hippodameia assembled the Sixteen Women, and with them inaugurated the Heraea. They relate too that a victory was won by Chloris, the only surviving daughter of the house of Amphion, though with her they say survived one of her brothers. As to the children of Niobe, what I myself chanced to learn about them I have set forth in my account of Argos.

[5.16.5] Besides the account already given they tell another story about the Sixteen Women as follows. Damophon, it is said, when tyrant of Pisa did much grievous harm to the Eleans. But when he died, since the people of Pisa refused to participate as a people in their tyrant's sins, and the Eleans too became quite ready to lay aside their grievances, they chose a woman from each of the sixteen cities of Elis still inhabited at that time to settle their differences, this woman to be the oldest, the most noble, and the most esteemed of all the women.

[5.16.6] The cities from which they chose the women were Elis, . . . The

women from these cities made peace between Pisa and Elis. Later on they were entrusted with the management of the Heraean games, and with the weaving of the robe for Hera. The Sixteen Women also arrange two choral dances, one called that of Physcoa and the other that of Hippodameia. This Physcoa they say came from Elis in the Hollow, and the name of the parish where she lived was Orthia.

[5.16.7] She mated they say with Dionysus, and bore him a son called Narcaeus. When he grew up he made war against the neighboring folk, and rose to great power, setting up moreover a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Narcaea. They say too that Narcaeus and Physcoa were the first to pay worship to Dionysus. So various honors are paid to Physcoa, especially that of the choral dance, named after her and managed by the Sixteen Women. The Eleans still adhere to the other ancient customs, even though some of the cities have been destroyed. For they are now divided into eight tribes, and they choose two women from each.

[5.16.8] Whatever ritual it is the duty of either the Sixteen Women or the Elean umpires to perform, they do not perform before they have purified themselves with a pig meet for purification and with water. Their purification takes place at the spring Piera. You reach this spring as you go along the flat road from Olympia to Elis.

TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN HERA CONT.

[5.17.1] XVII. These things, then, are as I have already described. In the temple of Hera is an image of Zeus, and the image of Hera is sitting on a throne with Zeus standing by her, bearded and with a helmet on his head. They are crude works of art. The figures of Seasons next to them, seated upon thrones, were made by the Aeginetan Smilis. Beside them stands an image of Themis, as being mother of the Seasons. It is the work of Dorycleidas, a Lacedaemonian by birth and a disciple of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

[5.17.2] The Hesperides, five in number, were made by Theocles, who like Dorycleidas was a Lacedaemonian, the son of Hegylus; he too, they say, was a student under Scyllis and Dipoenus. The Athena wearing a helmet and carrying a spear and shield is, it is said, a work of Medon, a Lacedaemonian, brother of Dorycleidas and a pupil of the same masters.

[5.17.3] Then the Maid and Demeter sit opposite each other, while Apollo and Artemis stand opposite each other. Here too have been dedicated Leto, Fortune, Dionysus and a winged Victory. I cannot say who the artists were, but these figures too are in my opinion very ancient. The figures I have enumerated are of ivory and gold, but at a later date other images were dedicated in the Heraeum, including a marble Hermes carrying the baby Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles, and a bronze Aphrodite made by Cleon of Sicyon.

[5.17.4] The master of this Cleon, called Antiphanes, was a pupil of Periclytus, who himself was a pupil of Polycleitus of Argos. A nude gilded

child is seated before Aphrodite, a work fashioned by Boethus of Calchedon. There were also brought hither from what is called the Philippeum other images of gold and ivory, Eurydice the wife of Aridaeus and Olympias the wife of Philip.

THE CHEST OF CYPSELUS

[5.17.5] There is also a chest made of cedar, with figures on it, some of ivory, some of gold, others carved out of the cedar-wood itself. It was in this chest that Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, was hidden by his mother when the Bacchidae were anxious to discover him after his birth. In gratitude for the saving of Cypselus, his descendants, Cypselids as they are called, dedicated the chest at Olympia. The Corinthians of that age called chests *kypselai*, and from this word, they say, the child received his name of Cypselus.

[5.17.6] On most of the figures on the chest there are inscriptions, written in the ancient characters. In some cases the letters read straight on, but in others the form of the writing is what the Greeks call *bustrophedon*. It is like this: at the end of the line the second line turns back, as runners do when running the double race. Moreover the inscriptions on the chest are written in winding characters difficult to decipher. Beginning our survey at the bottom we see in the first space of the chest the following scenes.

[5.17.7] Oenomaus is chasing Pelops, who is holding Hippodameia. Each of them has two horses, but those of Pelops have wings. Next is wrought the house of Amphiaraus, and baby Amphilochus is being carried by some old woman or other. In front of the house stands Eriphyle with the necklace, and by her are her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa, and the boy Alcmaeon naked.

[5.17.8] Asius in his poem makes out Alcmena also to be a daughter of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. Baton is driving the chariot of Amphiaraus, holding the reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiaraus already has one foot on the chariot and his sword drawn; he is turned towards Eriphyle in such a transport of anger that he can scarcely refrain from striking her.

[5.17.9] After the house of Amphiaraus come the games at the funeral of Pelias, with the spectators looking at the competitors. Heracles is seated on a throne, and behind him is a woman. There is no inscription saying who the woman is, but she is playing on a Phrygian, not a Greek, flute. Driving chariots drawn by pairs of horses are Pisu, son of Perieres, and Asterion, son of Cometas (Asterion is said to have been one of the Argonauts), Polydeuces, Admetus and Euphemus. The poets declare that

the last was a son of Poseidon and a companion of Jason on his voyage to Colchis. He it is who is winning the chariot-race.

[5.17.10] Those who have boldly ventured to box are Admetus and Mopsus, the son of Ampyx. Between them stands a man playing the flute, as in our day they are accustomed to play the flute when the competitors in the pentathlon are jumping. The wrestling-bout between Jason and Peleus is an even one.

Eurybotas is shown throwing the quoit; he must be some famous quoit-thrower. Those engaged in a running-race are Melanion, Neotheus and Phalareus; the fourth runner is Argeius, and the fifth is Iphiclus. Iphiclus is the winner, and Acastus is holding out the crown to him. He is probably the father of the Protesilaus who joined in the war against Troy.

[5.17.11] Tripods too are set here, prizes of course for the winners; and there are the daughters of Pelias, though the only one with her name inscribed is Alcestis. Iolaus, who voluntarily helped Heracles in his labours, is shown as a victor in the chariot-race. At this point the funeral games of Pelias come to an end, and Heracles, with Athena standing beside him, is shooting at the hydra, the beast in the river Amymone. Heracles can be easily recognized by his exploit and his attitude, so his name is not inscribed by him. There is also Phineus the Thracian, and the sons of Boreas are chasing the harpies away from him.

[5.18.1] XVIII. Now I come to the second space on the chest, and in going round it I had better begin from the left. There is a figure of a woman holding on her right arm a white child asleep, and on her left she has a black child like one who is asleep. Each has his feet turned different ways. The inscriptions declare, as one could infer without inscriptions, that the figures are Death and Sleep, with Night the nurse of both.

[5.18.2] A beautiful woman is punishing an ugly one, choking her with one hand and with the other striking her with a staff. It is Justice who thus treats Injustice. Two other women are pounding in mortars with pestles; they are supposed to be wise in medicine-lore, though there is no inscription to them. Who the man is who is followed by a woman is made plain by the hexameter verses, which run thus:—

Idas brings back, not against her will,
Fair-ankled Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, whom Apollo carried off.

[5.18.3] A man wearing a tunic is holding in his right hand a cup, and in his left a necklace; Alcmena is taking hold of them. This scene represents the Greek story how Zeus in the likeness of Amphitryon had intercourse with Alcmena. Menelaus, wearing a breastplate and carrying a sword, is advancing to kill Helen, so it is plain that Troy has been captured. Medeia is seated upon a throne, while Jason stands on her right and Aphrodite on her left. On them is an inscription:—

Jason weds Medeia, as Aphrodite bids.

[5.18.4] There are also figures of Muses singing, with Apollo leading the song; these too have an inscription:—

This is Leto's son, prince Apollo, far-shooting;
Around him are the Muses, a graceful choir, whom he is leading.

Atlas too is supporting, just as the story has it, heaven and earth upon his

shoulders; he is also carrying the apples of the Hesperides. A man holding a sword is coming towards Atlas. This everybody can see is Heracles, though he is not mentioned specially in the inscription, which reads:—

Here is Atlas holding heaven, but he will let go the apples.

[5.18.5] There is also Ares clad in armour and leading Aphrodite. The inscription by him is “Enyalios.” There is also a figure of Thetis as a maid; Peleus is taking hold of her, and from the hand of Thetis a snake is darting at Peleus. The sisters of Medusa, with wings, are chasing Perseus, who is flying. Only Perseus has his name inscribed on him.

[5.18.6] On the third space of the chest are military scenes. The greater number of the figures are on foot, though there are some knights in two-horse chariots. About the soldiers one may infer that they are advancing to battle, but that they will recognize and greet each other. Two different accounts of them are given by the guides. Some have said that they are the Aetolians with Oxylyus and the ancient Eleans, and that they are meeting in remembrance of their original descent and as a sign of their mutual good will. Others declare that the soldiers are meeting in battle, and that they are Pylians and Arcadians about to fight by the city Pheia and the river Iardanus.

[5.18.7] But it cannot for a moment be admitted that the ancestor of Cypselus, a Corinthian, having the chest made as a possession for himself, of his own accord passed over all Corinthian story, and had carved on the chest foreign events which were not famous. The following interpretation suggested itself to me. Cypselus and his ancestors came originally from Gonussa above Sicyon, and one of their ancestors was Melas, the son of Antasus.

[5.18.8] But, as I have already related in my account of Corinth, Aletes refused to admit as settlers Melas and the host with him, being nervous about an oracle which had been given him from Delphi; but at last Melas, using every art of winning favours, and returning with entreaties every time he was driven away, persuaded Aletes however reluctantly to receive them. One might infer that this army is represented by the figures wrought upon the chest.

[5.19.1] XIX. In the fourth space on the chest as you go round from the left is Boreas, who has carried off Oreithyia; instead of feet he has serpents’ tails. Then comes the combat between Heracles and Geryones, who is represented as three men joined to one another. There is Theseus holding a lyre, and by his side is Ariadne gripping a crown. Achilles and Memnon are fighting; their mothers stand by their side.

[5.19.2] There is also Melanion by whom is Atalanta holding a young deer. Ajax is fighting a duel with Hector, according to the challenge, and between the pair stands Strife in the form of a most repulsive woman. Another figure of Strife is in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis; Calliphon of Samos included it in his picture of the battle at the ships of the Greeks. On the chest are also the Dioscuri, one of them a beardless youth, and between them is Helen.

[5.19.3] Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, lies thrown to the ground under the

feet at Helen. She is clothed in black, and the inscription upon the group is an hexameter line with the addition of a single word:–

The sons of Tyndareus are carrying of Helen, and are dragging Aethra from Athens.

[5.19.4] Such is the way this line is constructed. Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, is lying, and Coon is fighting for him against Agamemnon. On the shield of Agamemnon is Fear, whose head is a lion's. The inscription above the corpse of Iphidamas runs:

Iphidamas, and this is Coon fighting for him.

The inscription on the shield of Agamemnon runs:

[5.19.5]

This is the Fear of mortals: he who holds him is Agamemnon.

There is also Hermes bringing to Alexander the son of Priam the goddesses of whose beauty he is to judge, the inscription on them being: Here is Hermes, who is showing to Alexander, that he may arbitrate
Concerning their beauty, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite.

On what account Artemis has wings on her shoulders I do not know; in her right hand she grips a leopard, in her left a lion. Ajax too is represented dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena, and by him is also an inscription: Ajax of Locri is dragging Cassandra from Athena.

[5.19.6] Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, has fallen on his knee, and Eteocles, the other son of Oedipus, is rushing on him. Behind Polyneices stands a woman with teeth as cruel as those of a beast, and her fingernails are bent like talons. An inscription by her calls her Doom, implying that Polyneices has been carried off by fate, and that Eteocles fully deserved his end. Dionysus is lying down in a cave, a bearded figure holding a golden cup, and clad in a tunic reaching to the feet. Around him are vines, apple-trees and pomegranate-trees.

[5.19.7] The highest space – the spaces are five in number – shows no inscription, so that we can only conjecture what the reliefs mean. Well, there is a grotto and in it a woman sleeping with a man upon a couch. I was of opinion that they were Odysseus and Circe, basing my view upon the number of the handmaidens in front of the grotto and upon what they are doing. For the women are four, and they are engaged on the tasks which Homer mentions in his poetry. There is a Centaur with only two of his legs those of a horse; his forelegs are human.

[5.19.8] Next come two-horse chariots with women standing in them. The horses have golden wings, and a man is giving armour to one of the women. I conjecture that this scene refers to the death of Patroclus; the women in the chariots, I take it, are Nereids, and Thetis is receiving the armour from Hephaestus. And moreover, he who is giving the armour is not strong upon his feet, and a slave follows him behind, holding a pair of fire-tongs.

[5.19.9] An account also is given of the Centaur, that he is Chiron, freed by

this time from human affairs and held worthy to share the home of the gods, who has come to assuage the grief of Achilles. Two maidens in a mule-cart, one holding the reins and the other wearing a veil upon her head, are thought to be Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinous, and her handmaiden, driving to the washing-pits. The man shooting at Centaurs, some of which he has killed, is plainly Heracles, and the exploit is one of his.

[5.19.10] As to the maker of the chest, I found it impossible to form any conjecture. But the inscriptions upon it, though possibly composed by some other poet, are, as I was on the whole inclined to hold, the work of Eumelus of Corinth. My main reason for this view is the processional hymn he wrote for Delos.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN THE TEMPLE OF HERA

[5.20.1] XX. There are here other offerings also: a couch of no great size and for the most part adorned with ivory; the quoit of Iphitus; a table on which are set out the crowns for the victors. The couch is said to have been a toy of Hippodameia. The quoit of Iphitus has inscribed upon it the truce which the Eleans proclaim at the Olympic festivals; the inscription is not written in a straight line, but the letters run in a circle round the quoit.

[5.20.2] The table is made of ivory and gold, and is the work of Colotes. Colotes is said to have been a native of Heracleia, but specialists in the history of sculpture maintain that he was a Parian, a pupil of Pasiteles, who himself was a pupil of . . . There are figures of Hera, Zeus, the Mother of the gods, Hermes, and Apollo with Artemis. Behind is the disposition of the games.

[5.20.3] On one side are Asclepius and Health, one of his daughters; Ares too and Contest by his side; on the other are Pluto, Dionysus, Persephone and nymphs, one of them carrying a ball. As to the key (Pluto holds a key) they say that what is called Hades has been locked up by Pluto, and that nobody will return back again therefrom.

[5.20.4] I must not omit the story told by Aristarchus, the guide to the sights at Olympia. He said that in his day the roof of the Heraeum had fallen into decay. When the Eleans were repairing it, the corpse of a foot-soldier with wounds was discovered between the roof supporting the tiles and the ornamented ceiling. This soldier took part in the battle in the Altis between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians.

[5.20.5] The Eleans in fact climbed to defend themselves on to all high places alike, including the sanctuaries of the gods. At any rate this soldier seemed to us to have crept under here after growing faint with his wounds, and so died. Lying in a completely sheltered spot the corpse would suffer harm neither from the heat of summer nor from the frost of winter. Aristarchus said further that they carried the corpse outside the Altis and buried him in the earth along with his armour.

[5.20.6] What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaus is in the direction of the sanctuary of Zeus as you go from the great altar. On the left are four pillars with a roof on them, the whole constructed to protect a wooden pillar which has decayed through age, being for the most part held together by bands. This pillar, so runs the tale, stood in the house of Oenomaus. Struck by lightning the rest of the house was destroyed by the fire; of all the building only this pillar was left.

[5.20.7] A bronze tablet in front of it has the following elegiac inscription:—

Stranger, I am a remnant of a famous house,
I, who once was a pillar in the house of Oenomaus;
Now by Cronus' son I lie with these bands upon me,
A precious thing, and the baleful flame of fire consumed me not.

In my time another incident took place, which I will relate.

[5.20.8] A Roman senator won an Olympic victory. Wishing to leave behind, as a memorial of his victory, a bronze statue with an inscription, he proceeded to dig, so as to make a foundation. When his excavation came very close to the pillar of Oenomaus, the diggers found there fragments of armour, bridles and curbs.

THE METROUM & TOWN HALL AT OLYMPIA

[5.20.9] These I saw myself as they were being dug out. A temple of no great size in the Doric style they have called down to the present day Metroum, keeping its ancient name. No image lies in it of the Mother of the gods, but there stand in it statues of Roman emperors. The Metroum is within the Altis, and so is a round building called the Philippeum. On the roof of the Philippeum is a bronze poppy which binds the beams together.

[5.20.10] This building is on the left of the exit over against the Town Hall. It is made of burnt brick and is surrounded by columns. It was built by Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaeroneia. Here are set statues of Philip and Alexander, and with them is Amyntas, Philip's father. These works too are by Leochares, and are of ivory and gold, as are the statues of Olympias and Eurydice.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT OLYMPIA

[5.21.1] XXI. From this point my account will proceed to a description of the statues and votive offerings; but I think that it would be wrong to mix up the accounts of them. For whereas on the Athenian Acropolis statues are votive offerings like everything else, in the Altis some things only are dedicated in honor of the gods, and statues are merely part of the prizes awarded to the victors. The statues I will mention later; I will turn first to the votive offerings, and go over the most noteworthy of them.

[5.21.2] As you go to the stadium along the road from the Metroum, there is on the left at the bottom of Mount Cronius a platform of stone, right by the very mountain, with steps through it. By the platform have been set up bronze images of Zeus. These have been made from the fines inflicted on athletes who have wantonly broken the rules of the contests, and they are called Zanes (figures of Zeus) by the natives.

[5.21.3] The first, six in number, were set up in the ninety-eighth Olympiad. For Eupolus of Thessaly bribed the boxers who entered the competition, Agenor the Arcadian and Prytanis of Cyzicus, and with them also Phormio of Halicarnassus, who had won at the preceding Festival. This is said to have been the first time that an athlete violated the rules of the games, and the first to be fined by the Eleans were Eupolus and those who accepted bribes from Eupolus. Two of these images are the work of Cleon of Sicyon; who made the next four I do not know.

[5.21.4] Except the third and the fourth these images have elegiac inscriptions on them. The first of the inscriptions is intended to make plain that an Olympic victory is to be won, not by money, but by swiftness of foot and strength of body. The inscription on the second image declares that the image stands to the glory of the deity, through the piety of the Eleans, and to be a terror to law-breaking athletes. The purport of the inscription on the fifth image is praise of the Eleans, especially for their fining the boxers; that of the sixth and last is that the images are a warning to all the Greeks not to give bribes to obtain an Olympic victory.

[5.21.5] Next after Eupolus they say that Callippus of Athens, who had entered for the pentathlum, bought off his fellow-competitors by bribes, and that this offence occurred at tie hundred and twelfth Festival. When the fine had been imposed by the Eleans on Callippus and his antagonists, the Athenians commissioned Hypereides to persuade the Eleans to remit them the fine. The Eleans refused this favour, and the Athenians were disdainful enough not to pay the money and to boycott the Olympic games, until finally the god at Delphi declared that he would deliver no oracle on any matter to the Athenians before they had paid the Eleans the fine.

[5.21.6] So when it was paid, images, also six in number, were made in honor of Zeus; on them are inscribed elegiac verses not a whit more elegant than those relating the fine of Eupolus. The gist of the first inscription is that the images were dedicated because the god by an oracle expressed his approval of the Elean decision against the pentathletes; on the second image and likewise on the third are praises of the Eleans for their fining the competitors in the pentathlum.

[5.21.7] The fourth purports to say that the contest at Olympia is one of merit and not of wealth; the inscription on the fifth declares the reason for dedicating the images, while that on the sixth commemorates the oracle given to the Athenians by Delphi.

[5.21.8] The images next to those I have enumerated are two in number, and

they were dedicated from a fine imposed on wrestlers. As to their names, neither I nor the guides of the Eleans knew them. On these images too are inscriptions; one says that the Rhodians paid money to Olympian Zeus for the wrongdoing of a wrestler; the other that certain men wrestled for bribes and that the image was made from the fines imposed upon them.

[5.21.9] The rest of the information about these athletes comes from the guides of the Eleans, who say that it was at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival that Eudelus accepted a bribe from Philostratus, and that this Philostratus was a Rhodian. This account I found was at variance with the Elean record of Olympic victories. In this record it is stated that Strato of Alexandria at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival won on the same day the victory in the pancratium and the victory at wrestling. Alexandria on the Canopic mouth of the Nile was founded by Alexander the son of Philip, but it is said that previously there was on the site a small Egyptian town called Racotis.

[5.21.10] Three Competitors before the time of this Strato, and three others after him, are known to have received the wild-olive for winning the pancratium and the wrestling: Caprus from Elis itself, and of the Greeks on the other side of the Aegean, Aristomenes of Rhodes and Protophanes of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, were earlier than Strato; after him came Marion his compatriot, Aristreas of Stratoniceia (anciently both land and city were called Chrysaoris), and the seventh was Nicostratus, from Gilicia on the coast, though he was in no way a Gilician except in name.

[5.21.11] This Nicostratus while still a baby was stolen from Prynnessus in Phrygia by robbers, being a child of a noble family. Conveyed to Aegeae he was bought by somebody or other, who some time afterwards dreamed a dream. He thought that a lion's whelp lay beneath the pallet-bed on which Nicostratus was sleeping. Now Nicostratus, when he grew up, won other victories elsewhere, besides in the pancratium and wrestling at Olympia.

[5.21.12] Afterwards others were fined by the Eleans, among whom was an Alexandrian boxer at the two hundred and eighteenth Festival. The name of the man fined was Apollonius, with the surname of Rhantes – it is a sort of national characteristic for Alexandrians to have a surname. This man was the first Egyptian to be convicted by the Eleans of a misdemeanor.

[5.21.13] It was not for giving or taking a bribe that he was condemned, but for the following outrageous conduct in connection with the games. He did not arrive by the prescribed time, and the Eleans, if they followed their rule, had no option but to exclude him from the games. For his excuse, that he had been kept back among the Cyclades islands by contrary winds, was proved to be an untruth by Heracleides, himself an Alexandrian by birth. He showed that Apollonius was late because he had been picking up some money at the Ionian games.

[5.21.14] In these circumstances the Eleans shut out from the games Apollonius with any other boxer who came after the prescribed time, and let

the crown go to Heracleides without a contest. Whereupon Apollonius put on his gloves for a fight, rushed at Heracleides, and began to pummel him, though he had already put the wild-olive on his head and had taken refuge with the umpires. For this light-headed folly he was to pay dearly.

[5.21.15] There are also two other images of modern workmanship. For at the two hundred and twenty-sixth Festival they detected that two boxing men, in a fight for victory only, had agreed about the issue for a sum of money. For this misconduct a fine was inflicted, and of the images of Zeus that were made, one stands on the left of the entrance to the stadium and the other on the right. Of the boxers, the one bribed was called Didas, and the briber was Sarapammon. They were from the same district, the newest in Egypt, called Arsinoites.

[5.21.16] It is a wonder in any case if a man has so little respect for the god of Olympia as to take or give a bribe in the contests; it is an even greater wonder that one of the Eleans themselves has fallen so low. But it is said that the Elean Damoniscus did so fall at the hundred and ninety second Festival. They say that collusion occurred between Polycrator the son of Damoniscus and Sosander of Smyrna, of the same name as his father; these were competitors for the wrestling prize of wild-olive. Damoniscus, it is alleged, being exceedingly ambitious that his son should win, bribed the father of Sosander.

[5.21.17] When the transaction became known, the umpires imposed a fine, but instead of imposing it on the sons they directed their anger against the fathers, for that they were the real sinners. From this fine images were made. One is set up in the Elean gymnasium; the other is in the Altis in front of what is called the Painted Portico, because anciently there were pictures on the walls. Some call this Portico the Echo Portico, because when a man has shouted his voice is repeated by the echo seven or even more times.

[5.21.18] They say that a pancratiast of Alexandria, by name Sarapion, at the two hundred and first Festival, was so afraid of his antagonists that on the day before the pancratium was to be called on he ran away. This is the only occasion on record when any man, not to say a man of Egypt, was fined for cowardice.

[5.22.1] XXII. These were the causes for which I found that these images were made. There are also images of Zeus dedicated by States and by individuals. There is in the Altis an altar near the entrance leading to the stadium. On it the Eleans do not sacrifice to any of the gods, but it is customary for the trumpeters and heralds to stand upon it when they compete. By the side of this altar has been built a pedestal of bronze, and on it is an image of Zeus, about six cubits in height, with a thunderbolt in either hand. It was dedicated by the people of Cynaetha. The figure of Zeus as a boy wearing the necklace is the votive offering of Cleolas, a Phliasian.

[5.22.2] By the side of what is called the Hippodamium is a semicircular stone pedestal, and on it are Zeus, Thetis, and Day entreating Zeus on behalf of her children. These are on the middle of the pedestal. There are Achilles and

Memnon, one at either edge of the pedestal, representing a pair of combatants in position. There are other pairs similarly opposed, foreigner against Greek: Odysseus opposed to Helenus, reputed to be the cleverest men in the respective armies; Alexander and Menelaus, in virtue of their ancient feud; Aeneas and Diomedes, and Deiphobus and Ajax son of Telamon.

[5.22.3] These are the work of Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the people of Apollonia on the Ionian sea. There are also elegiac verses written in ancient characters under the feet of Zeus.

As memorials of Apollonia have we been dedicated, which on the Ionian sea Phoebus founded, he of the unshorn locks.

The Apollonians, after taking the land of Abantis, set up here These images with heaven's help, tithe from Thronium.

The land called Abantis and the town of Thronium in it were a part of the Thesprotian mainland over against the Ceraunian mountains.

[5.22.4] When the Greek fleet was scattered on the voyage home from Troy, Locrians from Thronium, a city on the river Boagrius, and Abantes from Euboea, with eight ships altogether, were driven on the Ceraunian mountains. Settling here and founding the city of Thronium, by common agreement they gave the name of Abantis to the land as far as they occupied it. Afterwards, however, they were conquered in war and expelled by the people of Apollonia, their neighbors. Apollonia was a colony of Corcyra, they say, and Corcyra of Corinth, and the Corinthians had their share of the spoils.

[5.22.5] A little farther on is a Zeus turned towards the rising sun; he holds an eagle in one hand and in the other a thunderbolt. On him are set spring flowers, with a crown of them on his head. It is an offering of the people of Metapontum. The artist was Aristonus of Aegina, but we do not know when he lived nor who his teacher was.

[5.22.6] The Phliasians also dedicated a Zeus, the daughters of Asopus, and Asopus himself. Their images have been ordered thus: Nemea is the first of the sisters, and after her comes Zeus seizing Aegina; by Aegina stands Harpina, who, according to the tradition of the Eleans and Phliasians, mated with Ares and was the mother of Oenomaus, king around Pisa; after her is Corcyra, with Thebe next; last of all comes Aesopus. There is a legend about Corcyra that she mated with Poseidon, and the same thing is said by Pindar of Thebe and Zeus.

[5.22.7] Men of Leontini have set up a Zeus, not at public expense but out of their private purse. The height of the image is seven cubits, and in its hands are an eagle and the bolt of Zeus, in accordance with the poets' tales. It was dedicated by Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Aenesidemus, who in my opinion was some other Aenesidemus and not the tyrant of Leontini.

[5.23.1] XXIII. As you pass by the entrance to the Council Chamber you see an image of Zeus standing with no inscription on it, and then on turning to the north another image of Zeus. This is turned towards the rising sun, and was

dedicated by those Greeks who at Plataea fought against the Persians under Mardonius. On the right of the pedestal are inscribed the cities which took part in the engagement: first the Lacedaemonians, after them the Athenians, third the Corinthians, fourth the Sicyonians,

[5.23.2] fifth the Aeginetans; after the Aeginetans, the Megarians and Epidaurians, of the Arcadians the people of Tegea and Orchomenus, after them the dwellers in Phlius, Troezen and Hermion, the Tirynthians from the Argolid, the Plataeans alone of the Boeotians, the Argives of Mycenae, the islanders of Ceos and Melos, Ambraciots of the Thesprotian mainland, the Tenians and the Lepreans, who were the only people from Triphylia, but from the Aegean and the Cyclades there came not only the Tenians but also the Naxians and Cythnians, Styrians too from Euboea, after them Eleans, Potidaeans, Anactorians, and lastly the Chalcidians on the Euripus.

[5.23.3] Of these cities the following are at the present day uninhabited: Mycenae and Tiryns were destroyed by the Argives after the Persian wars. The Ambraciots and Anactorians, colonists of Corinth, were taken away by the Roman emperor to help to found Nicopolis near Actium. The Potidaeans twice suffered removal from their city, once at the hands of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and once before this at the hands of the Athenians. Afterwards, however, Cassander restored the Potidaeans to their homes, but the name of the city was changed from Potidaea to Cassandreia after the name of its founder. The image at Olympia dedicated by the Greeks was made by Anaxagoras of Aegina. The name of this artist is omitted by the historians of Plataea.

[5.23.4] In front of this Zeus there is a bronze slab, on which are the terms of the Thirty-years Peace between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. The Athenians made this peace after they had reduced Euboea for the second time, in the third year of the eighty-third Olympiad, when Crison of Himera won the foot-race. One of the articles of the treaty is to the effect that although Argos has no part in the treaty between Athens and Sparta, yet the Athenians and the Argives may privately, if they wish, be at peace with each other. Such are the terms of this treaty.

[5.23.5] There is yet another image of Zeus dedicated beside the chariot of Cleosthenes. This chariot I will describe later; the image of Zeus was dedicated by the Megarians, and made by the brothers Psylacus and Onaethus with the help of their sons. About their date, their nation and their master, I can tell you nothing.

[5.23.6] By the chariot of Gelon stands an ancient Zeus holding a scepter which is said to be an offering of the Hyblaeans. There were two cities in Sicily called Hybla, one surnamed Gereatis and the other Greater, it being in fact the greater of the two. They still retain their old names, and are in the district of Catana. Greater Hybla is entirely uninhabited, but Gereatis is a village of Catana, with a sanctuary of the goddess Hyblaea which is held in honor by the Sicilians. The people of Gereatis, I think, brought the image to

Olympia. For Philistus, the son of Archomenides, says that they were interpreters of portents and dreams, and more given to devotions than any other foreigners in Sicily.

[5.23.7] Near the offering of the Hyblaeans has been made a pedestal of bronze with a Zeus upon it, which I conjecture to be about eighteen feet high. The donors and sculptors are set forth in elegiac verse:—

The Cleitorians dedicated this image to the god, a tithe
From many cities that they had reduced by force.
The sculptors were Aristo and Telestas,
Own brothers and Laconians.

I do not think that these Laconians were famous all over Greece, for had they been so the Eleans would have had something to say about them, and the Lacedaemonians more still, seeing that they were their fellow-citizens.

[5.24.1] XXIV. By the side of the altar of Zeus Laoetas and Poseidon Laoetas is a Zeus on a bronze pedestal. The people of Corinth gave it and Musus made it, whoever this Musus may have been. As you go from the Council Chamber to the great temple there stands on the left an image of Zeus, crowned as it were with flowers, and with a thunderbolt set in his right hand. It is the work of Ascarus of Thebes, a pupil of Canachus of Sicyon. The inscription on it says that it is a tithe from the war between Phocis and Thessaly.

[5.24.2] If the Thessalians went to war with Phocis and dedicated the offering from Phocian plunder, this could not have been the so-called “Sacred War,” but must have been a war between the two States previous to the invasion of Greece by the Persians under their king. Not far from this is a Zeus, which, as is declared by the verse inscribed on it, was dedicated by the Psophidians for a success in war.

[5.24.3] On the right of the great temple is a Zeus facing the rising of the sun, twelve feet high and dedicated, they say, by the Lacedaemonians, when they entered on a war with the Messenians after their second revolt. On it is an elegiac couplet:—

Accept, king, son of Cronus, Olympian Zeus, a lovely image,
And have a heart propitious to the Lacedaemonians.

[5.24.4] We know of no Roman, either commoner or senator, who gave a votive offering to a Greek sanctuary before Mummius, and he dedicated at Olympia a bronze Zeus from the spoils of Achaia. It stands on the left of the offering of the Lacedaemonians by the side of the first pillar on this side of the temple. The largest of the bronze images of Zeus in the Altis is twenty-seven feet high, and was dedicated by the Eleans themselves from the plunder of the war with the Arcadians.

[5.24.5] Beside the Pelopium is a pillar of no great height with a small image of Zeus on it; one hand is outstretched. Opposite this are other offerings in a

row, and likewise images of Zeus and Ganymedes. Homer's poem tells how Ganymedes was carried off by the gods to be wine-bearer to Zeus, and how horses were given to Tros in exchange for him. This offering was dedicated by the Thessalian Gnathis and made by Aristocles, pupil and son of Cleoetas.

[5.24.6] There is also another Zeus represented as a beardless youth, which is among offerings of Micythus. The history of Micythus, his family, and why he dedicated so many offerings at Olympia, my narrative will presently set forth. A little farther on in a straight line from the image I have mentioned is another beardless image of Zeus. It was dedicated by the people of Elaea, who live in the first city of Aeolis you reach on descending from the plain of the Caicus to the sea.

[5.24.7] Yet another image of Zeus comes next, and the inscription on it says that it was dedicated by the Chersonesians of Cnidus from enemy spoils. On either side of the image of Zeus they have dedicated images of Pelops and of the river Alpheius respectively. The greater part of the city of Cnidus is built on the Carian mainland, where are their most noteworthy possessions, but what is called Chersonnesus is an island lying near the mainland, to which it is joined by a bridge.

[5.24.8] It is the inhabitants of this quarter who dedicated to Zeus the offerings at Olympia, just as if Ephesians living in what is called Coresus were to say that they had dedicated an offering independently of the Ephesians as a body. There is also by the wall of the Altis a Zeus turned towards the setting of the sun; it bears no inscription, but is said to be another offering of Mummius made from the plunder of the Achaean war.

[5.24.9] But the Zeus in the Council Chamber is of all the images of Zeus the one most likely to strike terror into the hearts of sinners. He is surnamed Oath-god, and in each hand he holds a thunderbolt. Beside this image it is the custom for athletes, their fathers and their brothers, as well as their trainers, to swear an oath upon slices of boar's flesh that in nothing will they sin against the Olympic games. The athletes take this further oath also, that for ten successive months they have strictly followed the regulations for training.

[5.24.10] An oath is also taken by those who examine the boys, or the foals entering for races, that they will decide fairly and without taking bribes, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether accepted or not. I forgot to inquire what it is customary to do with the boar after the oath of the athletes, though the ancient custom about victims was that no human being might eat of that on which an oath had been sworn.

[5.24.11] Homer proves this point clearly. For the boar, on the slices of which Agamemnon swore that verily Briseis had not lain with him, Homer says was thrown by the herald into the sea.

He spake, and cut the boar's throat with ruthless bronze;
And the boar Talthybius swung and cast into the great depth
Of the grey sea, to feed the fishes. Hom. *Il.* 19.266-268

Such was the ancient custom. Before the feet of the Oath-god is a bronze plate, with elegiac verses inscribed upon it, the object of which is to strike fear into those who forswear themselves.

[5.25.1] XXV. I have enumerated the images of Zeus within the Altis with the greatest accuracy. For the offering near the great temple, though supposed to be a likeness of Zeus, is really Alexander, the son of Philip. It was set up by a Corinthian, not one of the old Corinthians, but one of those settlers whom the Emperor planted in the city. I shall also mention those offerings which are of a different kind, and not representations of Zeus. The statues which have been set up, not to honor a deity, but to reward mere men, I shall include in my account of the athletes.

[5.25.2] The Messenians on the Strait in accordance with an old custom used to send to Rhegium a chorus of thirty-five boys, and with it a trainer and a flautist, to a local festival of Rhegium. On one occasion a disaster befell them for not one of those sent out returned home alive, but the ship with the boys on board went to the bottom.

[5.25.3] The sea in fact at this strait is the stormiest of seas; it is made rough by winds bringing waves from both sides, from the Adriatic and the other sea, which is called the Tyrrhenian, and even if there be no gale blowing, even then the strait of itself produces a very violent swell and strong currents. So many monsters swarm in the water that even the air over the sea is infected with their stench. Accordingly a shipwrecked man has not even a hope left of getting out of the strait alive. If it was here that disaster overtook the ship of Odysseus, nobody could believe that he swam out alive to Italy, were it not that the benevolence of the gods makes all things easy.

[5.25.4] On this occasion the Messenians mourned for the loss of the boys, and one of the honors bestowed upon them was the dedication of bronze statues at Olympia, the group including the trainer of the chorus and the flautist. The old inscription declared that the offerings were those of the Messenians at the strait; but afterwards Hippias, called "a sage" by the Greeks, composed the elegiac verses on them. The artist of the statues was Callon of Elis.

[5.25.5] At the headland of Sicily that looks towards Libya and the south, called Pachynum, there stands the city Motye, inhabited by Libyans and Phoenicians. Against these foreigners of Motye war was waged by the Agrigentines, who, having taken from them plunder and spoils, dedicated at Olympia the bronze boys, who are stretching out their right hands in an attitude of prayer to the god. They are placed on the wall of the Altis, and I conjectured that the artist was Calamis, a conjecture in accordance with the tradition about them. Sicily is inhabited by the following races:

[5.25.6] Sicanians, Sicels, and Phrygians; the first two crossed into it from Italy, while the Phrygians came from the river Scamander and the land of the Troad. The Phoenicians and Libyans came to the island on a joint expedition, and are settlers from Carthage. Such are the foreign races in Sicily. The

Greeks settled there include Dorians and Ionians, with a small proportion of Phocians and of Attics.

[5.25.7] On the same wall as the offerings of the Agrigentines are two nude statues of Heracles as a boy. One represents him shooting the lion at Nemea. This Heracles and the lion with him were dedicated by Hippotion of Tarentum, the artist being Nicodamus of Maenalus. The other image was dedicated by Anaxippus of Mende, and was transferred to this place by the Eleans. Previously it stood at the end of the road that leads from Elis to Olympia, called the Sacred Road.

[5.25.8] There are also offerings dedicated by the whole Achaean race in common; they represent those who, when Hector challenged any Greek to meet him in single combat, dared to cast lots to choose the champion. They stand, armed with spears and shields, near the great temple. Right opposite, on a second pedestal, is a figure of Nestor, who has thrown the lot of each into the helmet. The number of those casting lots to meet Hector is now only eight, for the ninth, the statue of Odysseus, they say that Nero carried to Rome,

[5.25.9] but Agamemnon's statue is the only one of the eight to have his name inscribed upon it; the writing is from right to left. The figure with the cock emblazoned on the shield is Idomeneus the descendant of Minos. The story goes that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, the father of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and proclaims when he is about to rise.

[5.25.10] An inscription too is written on the pedestal:—

To Zeus these images were dedicated by the Achaeans,
Descendants of Pelops the godlike scion of Tantalus.

Such is the inscription on the pedestal, but the name of the artist is written on the shield of Idomeneus:—

This is one of the many works of clever Onatas,
The Aeginetan, whose sire was Micon.

[5.25.11] Not far from the offering of the Achaeans there is also a Heracles fighting with the Amazon, a woman on horseback, for her girdle. It was dedicated by Evagoras, a Zanclean by descent, and made by Aristocles of Cydonia. Aristocles should be included amongst the most ancient sculptors, and though his date is uncertain, he was clearly born before Zancle took its present name of Messene.

[5.25.12] The Thasians, who are Phoenicians by descent, and sailed from Tyre, and from Phoenicia generally, together with Thasus, the son of Agenor, in search of Europa, dedicated at Olympia a Heracles, the pedestal as well as the image being of bronze. The height of the image is ten cubits, and he holds a club in his right hand and a bow in his left. They told me in Thasos that they used to worship the same Heracles as the Tyrians, but that afterwards, when they were included among the Greeks, they adopted the worship of Heracles

the son of Amphitryon.

[5.25.13] On the offering of the Thasians at Olympia there is an elegiac couplet:—

Onatas, son of Micon, fashioned me,
He who has his dwelling in Aegina.

This Onatas, though belonging to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, I shall place after none of the successors of Daedalus or of the Attic school.

[5.26.1] XXVI. The Dorian Messenian who received Naupactus from the Athenians dedicated at Olympia the image of Victory upon the pillar. It is the work of Paeonius of Mende, and was made from the proceeds of enemy spoils, I think from the war with the Arcarnanians and Oeniadae. The Messenians themselves declare that their offering came from their exploit with the Athenians in the island of Sphacteria, and that the name of their enemy was omitted through dread of the Lacedaemonians; for, they say, they are not in the least afraid of Oeniadae and the Acarnanians.

[5.26.2] The offerings of Miccythus I found were numerous and not together. Next after Iphitus of Elis, and Echecheiria crowning Iphitus, come the following offerings of Miccythus: Amphitrite, Poseidon and Hestia; the artist was Glaucus the Argive. Along the left side of the great temple Miccythus dedicated other offerings: the Maid, daughter of Demeter, Aphrodite, Ganymedes and Artemis, the poets Homer and Hesiod, then again deities, Asclepius and Health.

[5.26.3] Among the offerings of Miccythus is Struggle carrying jumping-weights, the shape of which is as follows. They are half of a circle, not an exact circle but elliptical, and made so that the fingers pass through as they do through the handle of a shield. Such are the fashion of them. By the statue of Struggle are Dionysus, Orpheus the Thracian, and an image of Zeus which I mentioned just now. They are the works of Dionysius of Argos. They say that Miccythus set up other offerings also in addition to these, and that they formed part of the treasures taken away by Nero.

[5.26.4] The artists are said to have been Dionysius and Glaucus, who were Argives by birth, but the name of their teacher is not recorded. Their date is fixed by that of Miccythus, who dedicated the works of art at Olympia. For Herodotus in his history says that this Miccythus, when Anaxilas was despot of Rhegium, became his slave and steward of his property afterwards, on the death of Anaxilas, he went away to Tegea.

[5.26.5] The inscriptions on the offerings give Choerus as the father of Miccythus, and as his fatherland the Greek cities of Rhegium and Messene on the Strait. The inscriptions say that he lived at Tegea, and he dedicated the offerings at Olympia in fulfillment of a vow made for the recovery of a son, who fell ill of a wasting disease.

[5.26.6] Near to the greater offerings of Micythus, which were made by the Argive Glaucus, stands an image of Athena with a helmet on her head and clad in an aegis. Nicodamus of Maenalus was the artist, but it was dedicated by the Eleans. Beside the Athena has been set up a Victory. The Mantineans dedicated it, but they do not mention the war in the inscription. Calamis is said to have made it without wings in imitation of the wooden image at Athens called Wingless Victory.

[5.26.7] By the smaller offerings of Micythus, that were made by Dionysius, are some of the exploits of Heracles, including what he did to the Nemean lion, the Hydra, the Hound of Hell, and the boar by the river Erymanthus. These were brought to Olympia by the people of Heracleia when they had overrun the land of the Mariandynians, their foreign neighbors. Heracleia is a city built on the Euxine sea, a colony of Megara, though the people of Tanagra in Boeotia joined in the settlement.

[5.27.1] XXVII. Opposite the offerings I have enumerated are others in a row; they face towards the south, and are very near to that part of the precinct which is sacred to Pelops. Among them are those dedicated by the Maenalian Phormis. He crossed to Sicily from Maenalus to serve Gelon the son of Deinomenes. Distinguishing himself in the campaigns of Gelon and afterwards of his brother Hieron, he reached such a pitch of prosperity that he dedicated not only these offerings at Olympia, but also others dedicated to Apollo at Delphi.

[5.27.2] The offerings at Olympia are two horses and two charioteers, a charioteer standing by the side of each of the horses. The first horse and man are by Dionysius of Argos, the second are the work of Simon of Aegina. On the side of the first of the horses is an inscription, the first part of which is not metrical. It runs thus:—

Phormis dedicated me, an Arcadian of Maenalus, now of Syracuse.

[5.27.3] This is the horse in which is, say the Eleans, the hippomanes (what maddens horses). It is plain to all that the quality of the horse is the result of magic skill. It is much inferior in size and beauty to all the horses standing within the Altis. Moreover, its tail has been cut off which makes the figure uglier still. But male horses, not only in spring but on any day, are at heat towards it.

[5.27.4] In fact they rush into the Altis, breaking their tethers or escaping from their grooms, and they leap upon it much more madly than upon a living brood mare, even the most beautiful of them. Their hoofs slip off, but nevertheless they keep on neighing more and more, and leap with a yet more violent passion, until they are driven away by whips and sheer force. In no other way can they be separated from the bronze horse.

[5.27.5] There is another marvel I know of, having seen it in Lydia; it is different from the horse of Phormis, but like it not innocent of the magic art. The Lydians surnamed Persian have sanctuaries in the city named Hierocaesareia and at Hypaepa. In each sanctuary is a chamber, and in the

chamber are ashes upon an altar. But the color of these ashes is not the usual color of ashes.

[5.27.6] Entering the chamber a magician piles dry wood upon the altar; he first places a tiara upon his head and then sings to some god or other an invocation in a foreign tongue unintelligible to Greeks, reciting the invocation from a book. So it is without fire that the wood must catch, and bright flames dart from it.

[5.27.7] So much for this subject. Among these offerings is Phormis himself opposed to an enemy, and next are figures of him fighting a second and again a third. On them it is written that the soldier fighting is Phormis of Maenalus, and that he who dedicated the offerings was Lycortas of Syracuse. Clearly this Lycortas dedicated them out of friendship for Phormis. These offerings of Lycortas are also called by the Greeks offerings of Phormis.

[5.27.8] The Hermes carrying the ram under his arm, with a helmet on his head, and clad in tunic and cloak, is not one of the offerings of Phormis, but has been given to the god by the Arcadians of Pheneus. The inscription says that the artist was Onatas of Aegina helped by Calliteles, who I think was a pupil or son of Onatas. Not far from the offering of the Pheneatians is another image, Hermes with a herald's wand. An inscription on it says that Glaucias, a Rhegian by descent, dedicated it, and Gallon of Elis made it.

[5.27.9] Of the bronze oxen one was dedicated by the Corcyraeans and the other by the Eretrians. Philesius of Eretria was the artist. Why the Corcyraeans dedicated the ox at Olympia and another at Delphi will be explained in my account of Phocis. About the offering at Olympia I heard the following story.

[5.27.10] Sitting under this ox a little boy was playing with his head bent towards the ground. Suddenly lifting his head he broke it against the bronze, and died a few days later from the wound. So the Eleans were purposing to remove the ox from out the Altis as being guilty of bloodshed. But the god at Delphi gave an oracle that they were to let the offering stay where it was, after performing upon it the purificatory rites that are customary among the Greeks for unintentional shedding of blood.

[5.27.11] Under the plane trees in the Altis, just about in the center of the enclosure, there is a bronze trophy, with an inscription upon the shield of the trophy, to the effect that the Eleans raised it as a sign that they had beaten the Lacedaemonians. It was in this battle that the warrior lost his life who was found lying in his armour when the roof of the Heraeum was being repaired in my time.

[5.27.12] The offering of the Mendeans in Thrace came very near to beguiling me into the belief that it was a representation of a competitor in the pentathlon. It stands by the side of Anauchidas of Elis, and it holds ancient jumping-weights. An elegiac couplet is written on its thigh:—

To Zeus, king of the gods, as first-fruits was I placed here

By the Mendeans, who reduced Sipte by might of hand.

Sipte seems to be a Thracian fortress and city. The Mendeans themselves are of Greek descent, coming from Ionia, and they live inland at some distance from the sea that is by the city of Aenus.

BOOK VI.

STATUES OF OLYMPIC VICTORS

[6.1.1] I. After my description of the votive offerings I must now go on to mention the statues of racehorses and those of men, whether athletes or ordinary folk. Not all the Olympic victors have had their statues erected; some, in fact, who have distinguished themselves, either at the games or by other exploits, have had no statue.

[6.1.2] These I am forced to omit by the nature of my work, which is not a list of athletes who have won Olympic victories, but an account of statues and of votive offerings generally. I shall not even record all those whose statues have been set up, as I know how many have before now won the crown of wild olive not by strength but by the chance of the lot. Those only will be mentioned who themselves gained some distinction, or whose statues happened to be better made than others.

[6.1.3] On the right of the temple of Hera is the statue of a wrestler, Symmachus the son of Aeschylus. He was an Elean by birth. Beside him is Neolaidas, son of Proxenus, from Pheneus in Arcadia, who won a victory in the boys' boxing-match. Next comes Archedamus, son of Xenius, another Elean by birth, who like Symmachus overthrew wrestlers in the contest for boys. The statues of the athletes mentioned above were made by Alypus of Sicyon, pupil of Naucydes of Argos.

[6.1.4] The inscription on Cleogenes the son of Silenus declares that he was a native, and that he won a prize with a riding-horse from his own private stable. Hard by Cleogenes are set up Deinolochus, son of Pyrrhus, and Troilus, son of Alcinous. These also were both Eleans by birth, though their victories were not the same. Troilus, at the time that he was umpire, succeeded in winning victories in the chariot-races, one for a chariot drawn by a full-grown pair and another for a chariot drawn by foals. The date of his victories was the hundred and second Festival.

[6.1.5] After this the Eleans passed a law that in future no umpire was to compete in the chariot-races. The statue of Troilus was made by Lysippus. The mother of Deinolochus had a dream, in which she thought that the son she clasped in her bosom had a crown on his head. For this reason Deinolochus was trained to compete in the games and outran the boys. The artist was Cleon of Sicyon.

[6.1.6] As for Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus, her ancestry and Olympic victories, I have given an account thereof in my history of the Lacedaemonian kings. By the side of the statue of Troilus at Olympia has been made a basement of stone, whereon are a chariot and horses, a charioteer, and a statue of Cynisca herself, made by Apelles; there are also inscriptions relating to Cynisca.

[6.1.7] Next to her also have been erected statues of Lacedaemonians. They gained victories in chariot-races. Anaxander was the first of his family to be proclaimed victor with a chariot, but the inscription on him declares that previously his paternal grandfather received the crown for the pentathlon. Anaxander is represented in an attitude of prayer to the god, while Polycles, who gained the surname of Polychalcus, likewise won a victory with a four-horse chariot, and his statue holds a ribbon in the right hand.

[6.1.8] Beside him are two children; one holds a wheel and the other is asking for the ribbon. Polycles, as the inscription on him says, also won the chariot-race at Pytho, the Isthmus and Nemea.

[6.2.1] II. The statue of a pancratiast was made by Lysippus. The athlete was the first to win the pancratium not only from Stratus itself but from the whole of Acarnania, and his name was Xenarces the son of Philandrides. Now after the Persian invasion the Lacedaemonians became keener breeders of horses than any other Greeks. For beside those I have already mentioned, the following horse-breeders from Sparta have their statues set up after that of the Acarnanian athlete Xenarces, Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and Lichas his son.

[6.2.2] Xenarces succeeded in winning other victories, at Delphi, at Argos and at Corinth. Lycinus brought foals to Olympia, and when one of them was disqualified, entered his foals for the race for full-grown horses, winning with them. He also dedicated two statues at Olympia, works of Myron the Athenian. As for Arcesilaus and his son Lichas, the father won two Olympic victories; his son, because in his time the Lacedaemonians were excluded from the games, entered his chariot in the name of the Theban people, and with his own hands bound the victorious charioteer with a ribbon. For this offence he was scourged by the umpires,

[6.2.3] and on account of this Lichas the Lacedaemonians invaded Elis in the reign of King Agis, when a battle took place within the Altis. When the war was over Lichas set up the statue in this place, but the Elean records of Olympic victors give as the name of the victor, not Lichas, but the Theban people.

[6.2.4] Near Lichas stands an Elean diviner, Thrasybulus, son of Aeneas of the Iamid family, who divined for the Mantineans in their struggle against the Lacedaemonians under Agis, son of Eudamidas, their king. I shall have more to say about this in my account of the Arcadians. On the statue of Thrasybulus is a spotted lizard crawling towards his right shoulder, and by his side lies a dog, obviously a sacrificial victim, cut open and with his liver exposed.

[6.2.5] Divination by kids, lambs or calves has, we all know, been established among men from ancient times, and the Cyprians have even discovered how to practise the art by means of pigs; but no peoples are wont to make any use of dogs in divining. So Thrasybulus apparently established a method of divination peculiar to himself, by means of the entrails of dogs. The diviners called Iamidae are descended from Iamus, who, Pindar says in an ode, was a son of Apollo and received the gift of divination from him.

[6.2.6] By the statue of Thrasybulus stands Timosthenes of Elis, winner of the foot-race for boys, and Antipater of Miletus, son of Cleinopater, conqueror of the boy boxers. Men of Syracuse, who were bringing a sacrifice from Dionysius to Olympia, tried to bribe the father of Antipater to have his son proclaimed as a Syracusan. But Antipater, thinking naught of the tyrant's gifts, proclaimed himself a Milesian and wrote upon his statue that he was of Milesian descent and the first Ionian to dedicate his statue at Olympia.

[6.2.7] The artist who made this statue was Polycleitus, while that of Timosthenes was made by Eutychides of Sicyon, a pupil of Lysippus. This Eutychides made for the Syrians on the Orontes an image of Fortune, which is highly valued by the natives.

[6.2.8] In the Altis by the side of Timosthenes are statues of Timon and of his son Aesypus, who is represented as a child seated on a horse. In fact the boy won the horse-race, while Timon was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race. The statues of Timon and of his son were made by Daedalus of Sicyon, who also made for the Eleans the trophy in the Altis commemorating the victory over the Spartans.

[6.2.9] The inscription on the Samian boxer says that his trainer Mycon dedicated the statue and that the Samians are best among the Ionians for athletes and at naval warfare; this is what the inscription says, but it tells us nothing at all about the boxer himself.

[6.2.10] Beside this is the Messenian Damiscus, who won an Olympic victory at the age of twelve. I was exceedingly surprised to learn that while the Messenians were in exile from the Peloponnesus, their luck at the Olympic games failed. For with the exception of Leontiscus and Symmachus, who came from Messene on the Strait, we know of no Messenian, either from Sicily or from Naupactus, who won a victory at Olympia. Even these two are said by the Sicilians to have been not Messenians but of old Zanclean blood.

[6.2.11] However, when the Messenians came back to the Peloponnesus their luck in the Olympic games came with them. For at the festival celebrated by the Eleans in the year after the settlement of Messene, the foot-race for boys was won by this Damiscus, who afterwards won in the pentathlon both at Nemea and at the Isthmus.

[6.3.1] III. Nearest to Damiscus stands a statue of somebody; they do not give his name, but it was Ptolemy son of Lagus who set up the offering. In the inscription Ptolemy calls himself a Macedonian, though he was king of Egypt. On Chaereas of Sicyon, a boy boxer, is an inscription that he won a victory when a young man, and that his father was Chaeremon; the name of the artist who made the statue is also written, Asterion son of Aeschylus.

[6.3.2] After Chaereas are statues of a Messenian boy Sophius and of Stomius, a man of Elis. Sophius outran his boy competitors, and Stomius won a victory in the pentathlon at Olympia and three at the Nemean games. The inscription on his statue adds that, when commander of the Elean cavalry, he set up trophies and killed in single combat the general of the enemy, who had

challenged him.

[6.3.3] The Eleans say that the dead general was a native of Sicyon in command of Sicyonian troops, and that they themselves with the force from Boeotia attacked Sicyon out of friendship to the Thebans. So the attack of the Eleans and Thebans against Sicyon apparently took place after the Lacedaemonian disaster at Leuctra.

[6.3.4] Next stands the statue of a boxer from Lepreus in Elis, whose name was Labax son of Euphron, and also that of Aristodemus, son of Thrasis, a boxer from Elis itself, who also won two victories at Pytho. The statue of Aristodemus is the work of Daedalus of Sicyon, the pupil and son of Patrocles.

[6.3.5] The statue of Hippius of Elis, who won the boys' boxing-match, was made by Damocritus of Sicyon, of the school of Attic Critias, being removed from him by four generations of teachers. For Critias himself taught Ptolichus of Corcyra, Amphion was the pupil of Ptolichus, and taught Pison of Calauria, who was the teacher of Damocritus.

[6.3.6] Cratinus of Aegeira in Achaia was the most handsome man of his time and the most skilful wrestler, and when he won the wrestling-match for boys the Eleans allowed him to set up a statue of his trainer as well. The statue was made by Cantharus of Sicyon, whose father was Alexis, while his teacher was Eutyichides.

[6.3.7] The statue of Eupolemus of Elis was made by Daedalus of Sicyon. The inscription on it informs us that Eupolemus won the foot-race for men at Olympia, and that he also received two Pythian crowns for the pentathlon and another at the Nemean games. It is also said of Eupolemus that three umpires stood on the course, of whom two gave their verdict in favour of Eupolemus and one declared the winner to be Leon the Ambraciot. Leon, they say, got the Olympic Council to fine each of the umpires who had decided in favour of Eupolemus.

[6.3.8] The statue of Oebotas was set up by the Achaeans by the command of the Delphic Apollo in the eightieth Olympiad, but Oebotas won his victory in the footrace at the sixth Festival. How, therefore, could Oebotas have taken part in the Greek victory at Plataea? For it was in the seventy-fifth Olympiad that the Persians under Mardonius suffered their disaster at Plataea. Now I am obliged to report the statements made by the Greeks, though I am not obliged to believe them all. The other incidents in the life of Oebotas I will add to my history of Achaia.

[6.3.9] The statue of Antiochus was made by Nicodamus. A native of Lepreus, Antiochus won once at Olympia the pancratium for men, and the pentathlon twice at the Isthmian games and twice at the Nemean. For the Lepreans are not afraid of the Isthmian games as the Eleans themselves are. For example, Hysmon of Elis, whose statue stands near that of Antiochus, competed successfully in the pentathlon both at Olympia and at Nemea, but clearly kept away, just like other Eleans, from the Isthmian games.

[6.3.10] It is said that when Hysmon was still a boy he was attacked by a flux in his muscles, and it was in order that by hard exercise he might be a healthy man free from disease that he practised the pentathlon. So his training was also to make him win famous victories in the games. His statue is the work of Cleon, and he holds jumping-weights of old pattern.

[6.3.11] After Hysmon comes the statue of a boy wrestler from Heraea in Arcadia, Nicostratus the son of Xenocleides. Pantias was the artist, and if you count the teachers you will find five between him and Aristocles of Sicyon. Dicon, the son of Callibrotus, won five footraces at Pytho, three at the Isthmian games, four at Nemea, one at Olympia in the race for boys besides two in the men's race. Statues of him have been set up at Olympia equal in number to the races he won. When he was a boy he was proclaimed a native of Caulonia, as in fact he was. But afterwards he was bribed to proclaim himself a Syracusan.

[6.3.12] Caulonia was a colony in Italy founded by Achaeans, and its founder was Typhon of Aegium. When Pyrrhus son of Aeacides and the Tarentines were at war with the Romans, several cities in Italy were destroyed, either by the Romans or by the Epeirots, and these included Caulonia, whose fate it was to be utterly laid waste, having been taken by the Campanians, who formed the largest contingent of allies on the Roman side.

[6.3.13] Close to Dicon is a statue of Xenophon, the son of Menephylus, a pancratiast of Aegium in Achaia, and likewise one of Pylilampes of Ephesus after winning the long foot-race. Olympus made the statue of Xenophon; that of Pylilampes was made by a sculptor of the same name, a native, not of Sicyon, but of Messene beneath Ithome.

[6.3.14] A statue of Lysander, son of Aristocritus, a Spartan, was dedicated in Olympia by the Samians, and the first of their inscriptions runs:

In the much-seen precinct of Zeus, ruler on high,
I stand, dedicated at public expense by the Samians.

So this inscription informs us who dedicated the statue; the next is in praise of Lysander himself:

Deathless glory by thy achievements, for fatherland and for Aristocritus,
Lysander, hast thou won, and art famed for valour.

[6.3.15] So plainly "the Samians and the rest of the Ionians," as the Ionians themselves phrase it, painted both the walls. For when Alcibiades had a strong fleet of Athenian triremes along the coast of Ionia, most of the Ionians paid court to him, and there is a bronze statue of Alcibiades dedicated by the Samians in the temple of Hera. But when the Attic ships were captured at Aegospotami, the Samians set up a statue of Lysander at Olympia, and the Ephesians set up in the sanctuary of Artemis not only a statue of Lysander himself but also statues of Eteonicus, Pharax and other Spartans quite

unknown to the Greek world generally.

[6.3.16] But when fortune changed again, and Conon had won the naval action off Cnidus and the mountain called Dorium, the Ionians likewise changed their views, and there are to be seen statues in bronze of Conon and of Timotheus both in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos and also in the sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess at Ephesus. It is always the same; the Ionians merely follow the example of all the world in paying court to strength.

[6.4.1] IV. Next to the statue of Lysander is an Ephesian boxer who beat the other boys, his competitors – his name was Athenaeus, – and also a man of Sicyon who was a pancratiast, Sostratus surnamed Acrochersites. For he used to grip his antagonist by the fingers and bend them, and would not let go until he saw that his opponent had given in.

[6.4.2] He won at the Nemean and Isthmian games combined twelve victories, three victories at Olympia and two at Pytho. The hundred and fourth Festival, when Sostratus won his first victory, is not reckoned by the Eleans, because the games were held by the Pisans and Arcadians and not by themselves.

[6.4.3] Beside Sostratus is a statue of Leontiscus, a man wrestler, a native of Sicily from Messene on the Strait. He was crowned, they say, by the Amphictyons and twice by the Eleans, and his mode of wrestling was similar to the pancratium of Sostratus the Sicyonian. For they say that Leontiscus did not know how to throw his opponents, but won by bending their fingers.

[6.4.4] The statue was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium, an excellent sculptor if ever there was one. They say that he studied under Clearchus, who was likewise a native of Rhegium, and a pupil of Eucheirus. Eucheirus, it is said, was a Corinthian, and attended the school of Sydras and Chartas, men of Sparta.

[6.4.5] The boy who is binding his head with a fillet must be mentioned in my account because of Pheidias and his great skill as a sculptor, but we do not know whose portrait the statue is that Pheidias made. Satyrus of Elis, son of Lysianax, of the clan of the Iamidae, won five victories at Nemea for boxing, two at Pytho, and two at Olympia. The artist who made the statue was Silanion, an Athenian. Polycles, another sculptor of the Attic school, a pupil of Stadiueus the Athenian, has made the statue of an Ephesian boy pancratiast, Amyntas the son of Hellanicus.

[6.4.6] Chilon, an Achaean of Patrae, won two prizes for men wrestlers at Olympia, one at Delphi, four at the Isthmus and three at the Nemean games. He was buried at the public expense by the Achaeans, and his fate it was to lose his life on the field of battle. My statement is borne out by the inscription at Olympia:—

In wrestling only I alone conquered twice the men at Olympia and at Pytho,
Thrice at Nemea, and four times at the Isthmus near the sea;
Chilon of Patrae, son of Chilon, whom the Achaean folk

Buried for my valour when I died in battle.

[6.4.7] Thus much is plain from the inscription. But the date of Lysippus, who made the statue, leads me to infer about the war in which Chilon fell, that plainly either he marched to Chaeroneia with the whole of the Achaeans, or else his personal courage and daring led him alone of the Achaeans to fight against the Macedonians under Antipater at the battle of Lamia in Thessaly.

[6.4.8] Next to Chilon two statues have been set up. One is that of a man named Molpion, who, says the inscription, was crowned by the Eleans. The other statue bears no inscription, but tradition says that it represents Aristotle from Stageira in Thrace, and that it was set up either by a pupil or else by some soldier aware of Aristotle's influence with Antipater and at an earlier date with Alexander. Sodamas from Assos in the Troad,

[6.4.9] a city at the foot of Ida, was the first of the Aeolians in this district to win at Olympia the foot-race for boys. By the side of Sodamas stands Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, king of the Lacedaemonians. Before this Archidamus no king, so far as I could learn, had his statue set up by the Lacedaemonians, at least outside the boundaries of the country. They sent the statue of Archidamus to Olympia chiefly, in my opinion, on account of his death, because he met his end in a foreign land, and is the only king in Sparta who is known to have missed burial.

[6.4.10] I have spoken at greater length on this matter in my account of Sparta. Euanthes of Cyzicus won prizes for boxing, one among the men at Olympia, and also among the boys at the Nemean and at the Isthmian games. By the side of Euanthes is the statue of a horse-breeder and his chariot; mounted on the chariot is a young maid. The man's name is Lampus, and his native city was the last to be founded in Macedonia, named after its founder Philip, son of Amyntas.

[6.4.11] The statue of Cyniscus, the boy boxer from Mantinea, was made by Polycleitus. Ergoteles, the son of Philanor, won two victories in the long foot-race at Olympia, and two at Pytho, the Isthmus and Nemea. The inscription on the statue states that he came originally from Himera; but it is said that this is incorrect, and that he was a Cretan from Cnossus. Expelled from Cnossus by a political party he came to Himera, was given citizenship and won many honors besides. It was accordingly natural for him to be proclaimed at the games as a native of Himera.

[6.5.1] v. The statue on the high pedestal is the work of Lysippus, and it represents the tallest of all men except those called heroes and any other mortal race that may have existed before the heroes. But this man, Pulydamas the son of Nicias, is the tallest of our own era.

[6.5.2] Scotussa, the native city of Pulydamas, has now no inhabitants, for Alexander the tyrant of Pherae seized it in time of truce. It happened that an assembly of the citizens was being held, and those who were assembled in the theater the tyrant surrounded with targeteers and archers, and shot them all

down; all the other grown men he massacred, selling the women and children as slaves in order to pay his mercenaries.

[6.5.3] This disaster befell Scotussa when Phrasicleides was archon at Athens, in the hundred and second Olympiad, when Damon of Thurii was victor for the second time, and in the second year of this Olympiad. The people that escaped remained but for a while, for later they too were forced by their destitution to leave the city, when Heaven brought a second calamity in the war with Macedonia.

[6.5.4] Others have won glorious victories in the pancratium, but Pulydamas, besides his prizes for the pancratium, has to his credit the following exploits of a different kind. The mountainous part of Thrace, on this side the river Nestus, which runs through the land of Abdera, breeds among other wild beasts lions, which once attacked the army of Xerxes, and mauled the camels carrying his supplies.

[6.5.5] These lions often roam right into the land around Mount Olympus, one side of which is turned towards Macedonia, and the other towards Thessaly and the river Peneius. Here on Mount Olympus Pulydamas slew a lion, a huge and powerful beast, without the help of any weapon. To this exploit he was impelled by an ambition to rival the labours of Heracles, because Heracles also, legend says, overthrew the lion at Nemea.

[6.5.6] In addition to this, Pulydamas is remembered for another wonderful performance. He went among a herd of cattle and seized the biggest and fiercest bull by one of its hind feet, holding fast the hoof in spite of the bull's leaps and struggles, until at last it put forth all its strength and escaped, leaving the hoof in the grasp of Pulydamas. It is also said of him that he stopped a charioteer who was driving his chariot onwards at a great speed. Seizing with one hand the back of the chariot he kept a tight hold on both horses and driver.

[6.5.7] Dareius, the bastard son of Artaxerxes, who with the support of the Persian common people put down Sogdius, the legitimate son of Artaxerxes, and ascended the throne in his stead, learning when he was king of the exploits of Pulydamas, sent messengers with the promise of gifts and persuaded him to come before his presence at Susa. There he challenged three of the Persians called Immortals to fight him – one against three – and killed them. Of his exploits enumerated, some are represented on the pedestal of the statue at Olympia, and others are set forth in the inscription.

[6.5.8] But after all, the prophecy of Homer respecting those who glory in their strength was to be fulfilled also in the case of Pulydamas, and he too was fated to perish through his own might. For Pulydamas entered a cave with the rest of his boon companions. It was summer-time, and, as ill-luck would have it, the roof of the cave began to crack. It was obvious that it would quickly fall in, and could not hold out much longer.

[6.5.9] Realizing the disaster that was coming, the others turned and ran away; but Pulydamas resolved to remain, holding up his hands in the belief

that he could prevent the falling in of the cave and would not be crushed by the mountain. Here Pulydamas met his end.

[6.6.1] VI. Beside the statue of Pulydamas at Olympia stand two Arcadians and one Attic athlete. The statue of the Mantinean, Protolaus the son of Dialces, who won the boxing-match for boys, was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium; that of Narycidas, son of Damaretus, a wrestler from Phigalia, was made by Daedalus of Sicyon; that of the Athenian Callias, a pancratiast, is by the Athenian painter Micon. Nicodamus the Maenalian made the statue of the Maenalian pancratiast Androsthene, the son of Lochaeus, who won two victories among the men.

[6.6.2] By these is set up a statue of Eucles, son of Callianax, a native of Rhodes and of the family of the Diagoridae. For he was the son of the daughter of Diagoras, and won an Olympic victory in the boxing-match for men. His statue is by Naucydes. Polycleitus of Argos, not the artist who made the image of Hera, but a pupil of Naucydes, made the statue of a boy wrestler, Agenor of Thebes. The statue was dedicated by the Phocian Commonwealth, for Theopompus, the father of Agenor, was a state friend of their nation.

[6.6.3] Nicodamus, the sculptor from Maenalus, made the statue of the boxer Damoxenidas of Maenalus. There stands also the statue of the Elean boy Lastratidas, who won the crown for wrestling. He won a victory at Nemea also among the boys, and another among the beardless striplings. Paraballon, the father of Lastratidas, was first in the double foot-race, and he left to those coming after an object of ambition, by writing up in the gymnasium at Olympia the names of those who won Olympic victories.

[6.6.4] So much for these. But it would not be right for me to pass over the boxer Euthymus, his victories and his other glories. Euthymus was by birth one of the Italian Locrians, who dwell in the region near the headland called the West Point, and he was called son of Astycles. Local legend, however, makes him the son, not of this man, but of the river Caecinus, which divides Locris from the land of Rhegium and produces the marvel of the grasshoppers. For the grasshoppers within Locris as far as the Caecinus sing just like others, but across the Caecinus in the territory of Rhegium they do not utter a sound.

[6.6.5] This river then, according to tradition, was the father of Euthymus, who, though he won the prize for boxing at the seventy-fourth Olympic Festival, was not to be so successful at the next. For Theagenes of Thasos, wishing to win the prizes for boxing and for the pancratium at the same Festival, overcame Euthymus at boxing, though he had not the strength to gain the wild olive in the pancratium, because he was already exhausted in his fight with Euthymus.

[6.6.6] Thereupon the umpires fined Theagenes a talent, to be sacred to the god, and a talent for the harm done to Euthymus, holding that it was merely to spite him that he entered for the boxing competition. For this reason they condemned him to pay an extra fine privately to Euthymus. At the seventy-

sixth Festival Theagenes paid in full the money owed to the god, . . . and as compensation to Euthymus did not enter for the boxing-match. At this Festival, and also at the next following, Euthymus won the crown for boxing. His statue is the handiwork of Pythagoras, and is very well worth seeing.

[6.6.7] On his return to Italy Euthymus fought against the Hero, the story about whom is as follows. Odysseus, so they say, in his wanderings after the capture of Troy was carried down by gales to various cities of Italy and Sicily, and among them he came with his ships to Temesa. Here one of his sailors got drunk and violated a maiden, for which offence he was stoned to death by the natives.

[6.6.8] Now Odysseus, it is said, cared nothing about his loss and sailed away. But the ghost of the stoned man never ceased killing without distinction the people of Temesa, attacking both old and young, until, when the inhabitants had resolved to flee from Italy for good, the Pythian priestess forbade them to leave Temesa, and ordered them to propitiate the Hero, setting him a sanctuary apart and building a temple, and to give him every year as wife the fairest maiden in Temesa.

[6.6.9] So they performed the commands of the god and suffered no more terrors from the ghost. But Euthymus happened to come to Temesa just at the time when the ghost was being propitiated in the usual way; learning what was going on he had a strong desire to enter the temple, and not only to enter it but also to look at the maiden. When he saw her he first felt pity and afterwards love for her. The girl swore to marry him if he saved her, and so Euthymus with his armour on awaited the onslaught of the ghost.

[6.6.10] He won the fight, and the Hero was driven out of the land and disappeared, sinking into the depth of the sea. Euthymus had a distinguished wedding, and the inhabitants were freed from the ghost for ever. I heard another story also about Euthymus, how that he reached extreme old age, and escaping again from death departed from among men in another way. Temesa is still inhabited, as I heard from a man who sailed there as a merchant.

[6.6.11] This I heard, and I also saw by chance a picture dealing with the subject. It was a copy of an ancient picture. There were a stripling, Sybaris, a river, Calabrus, and a spring, Lyca. Besides, there were a hero-shrine and the city of Temesa, and in the midst was the ghost that Euthymus cast out. Horribly black in color, and exceedingly dreadful in all his appearance, he had a wolf's skin thrown round him as a garment. The letters on the picture gave his name as Lycas.

[6.7.1] VII. So much for the story of Euthymus. After his statue stands a runner in the foot-race, Pytharchus of Mantinea, and a boxer, Charmides of Elis, both of whom won prizes in the contests for boys. When you have looked at these also you will reach the statues of the Rhodian athletes, Diagoras and his family. These were dedicated one after the other in the following order. Acusilaus, who received a crown for boxing in the men's class; Dorieus, the youngest, who won the pancratium at Olympia on three successive occasions.

Even before Dorieus, Damagetus beat all those who had entered for the pancratium.

[6.7.2] These were brothers, being sons of Diagoras, and by them is set up also a statue of Diagoras himself, who won a victory for boxing in the men's class. The statue of Diagoras was made by the Megarian Callicles, the son of the Theocosmus who made the image of Zeus at Megara. The sons too of the daughters of Diagoras practised boxing and won Olympic victories: in the men's class Eucles, son of Callianax and Callipateira, daughter of Diagoras; in the boys' class Peisirodus, whose mother dressed herself as a man and a trainer, and took her son herself to the Olympic games.

[6.7.3] This Peisirodus is one of the statues in the Altis, and stands by the father of his mother. The story goes that Diagoras came to Olympia in the company of his sons Acusilaus and Damagetus. The youths on defeating their father proceeded to carry him through the crowd, while the Greeks pelted him with flowers and congratulated him on his sons. The family of Diagoras was originally, through the female line, Messenian, as he was descended from the daughter of Aristomenes.

[6.7.4] Dorieus, son of Diagoras, besides his Olympian victories, won eight at the Isthmian and seven at the Nemean games. He is also said to have won a Pythian victory without a contest. He and Peisirodus were proclaimed by the herald as of Thurii, for they had been pursued by their political enemies from Rhodes to Thurii in Italy. Dorieus subsequently returned to Rhodes. Of all men he most obviously showed his friendship with Sparta, for he actually fought against the Athenians with his own ships, until he was taken prisoner by Attic men-of-war and brought alive to Athens.

[6.7.5] Before he was brought to them the Athenians were wroth with Dorieus and used threats against him; but when they met in the assembly and beheld a man so great and famous in the guise of a prisoner, their feeling towards him changed, and they let him go away without doing him any hurt, and that though they might with justice have punished him severely.

[6.7.6] The death of Dorieus is told by Androtion in his Attic history. He says that the great King's fleet was then at Caunus, with Conon in command, who persuaded the Rhodian people to leave the Lacedaemonian alliance and to join the great King and the Athenians. Dorieus, he goes on to say, was at the time away from home in the interior of the Peloponnesus, and having been caught by some Lacedaemonians he was brought to Sparta, convicted of treachery by the Lacedaemonians and sentenced to death.

[6.7.7] If Androtion tells the truth, he appears to me to wish to put the Lacedaemonians on a level with the Athenians, because they too are open to the charge of precipitous action in their treatment of Thrasyllus and his fellow admirals at the battle of Arginusae. Such was the fame won by Diagoras and his family.

[6.7.8] Alcaenetus too, son of Theantus, a Leprean, himself and his sons won Olympian victories. Alcaenetus was successful in the boxing contest for men,

as at an earlier date he had been in the contest for boys. His sons, Helianicus and Theantus, were proclaimed winners of the boys' boxing-match, Hellanicus at the eighty-ninth Festival and Theantus at the next. All have their statues set up at Olympia.

[6.7.9] Next to the sons of Alcaenetus stand Gnathon, a Maenalian of Dipaea, and Lucinus of Elis. These too succeeded in beating the boys at boxing at Olympia. The inscription on his statue says that Gnathon was very young indeed when he won his victory. The artist who made the statue was Callicles of Megara.

[6.7.10] A man from Stymphalus, by name Dromeus (Runner), proved true to it in the long race, for he won two victories at Olympia, two at Pytho, three at the Isthmus and five at Nemea. He is said to have also conceived the idea of a flesh diet; up to this time athletes had fed on cheese from the basket. The statue of this athlete is by Pythagoras; the one next to it, representing Pythocles, a pentathlete of Elis, was made by Polycleitus.

[6.8.1] VIII. Socrates of Pellene won the boys' race, and Amertes of Elis the wrestlers' match for boys at Olympia, besides beating all competitors in the men's wrestling match at Pytho. It is not said who made the statue of Socrates, but that of Amertes is from the band of Phradmon of Argos. Euanoridas of Elis won the boys' wrestling-match both at Olympia and at Nemea. When he was made an umpire he joined the ranks of those who have recorded at Olympia the names of the victors.

[6.8.2] As to the boxer, by name Damarchus, an Arcadian of Parrhasia, I cannot believe (except, of course, his Olympic victory) what romancers say about him, how he changed his shape into that of a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean (Wolf) Zeus, and how nine years after he became a man again. Nor do I think that the Arcadians either record this of him, otherwise it would have been recorded as well in the inscription at Olympia, which runs:—

This statue was dedicated by Damarchus, son of Dinytas,
Parrhasian by birth from Arcadia.

[6.8.3] Here the inscription ends. Eubotas of Cyrene, when the Libyan oracle foretold to him his coming Olympic victory for running, had his portrait statue made beforehand, and so was proclaimed victor and dedicated the statue on the same day. He is also said to have won the chariot-race at that Festival which, according to the account of the Eleans, was not genuine because the Arcadians presided at it.

[6.8.4] The statue of Timanthes of Cleonae, who won the crown in the pancratium for men, was made by Myron of Athens, but Naucydes made that of Baucis of Troezen, who overthrew the men wrestlers. Timanthes, they say, met his end through the following cause. On retiring from athletics he continued to test his strength by drawing a great bow every day. His practice with the bow was interrupted during a period when he was away from home. On his return, finding that he was no longer able to bend the bow, he lit a fire

and threw himself alive on to it. In my view all such deeds, whether they have already occurred among men or will take place hereafter, ought to be regarded as acts of madness rather than of courage.

[6.8.5] After Baucis are statues of Arcadian athletes: Euthymenes from Maenalus itself, who won the men's and previously the boys' wrestling-match; Philip, an Azanian from Pellana, who beat the boys at boxing, and Critodamus from Cleitor, who like Philip was proclaimed victor in the boys' boxing match. The statue of Euthymenes for his victory over the boys was made by Alypus; the statue of Damocritus was made by Cleon, and that of Philip the Azanian by Myron. The story of Promachus, son of Dryon, a pancratiast of Pellene, will be included in my account of the Achaeans.

[6.8.6] Not far from Promachus is set up the statue of Timasitheus, a Delphian by birth, the work of Ageladas of Argos. This athlete won in the pancratium two victories at Olympia and three at Pytho. His achievements in war too are distinguished by their daring and by the good luck which attended all but the last, which caused his death. For when Isagoras the Athenian captured the Acropolis of the Athenians with a view to setting up a tyranny, Timasitheus took part in the affair, and, on being taken prisoner on the Acropolis, was put to death by the Athenians for his sin against them.

[6.9.1] IX. Theognetus of Aegina succeeded in winning the crown for the boys' wrestling-match, and Ptolichus of Aegina made his statue. Ptolichus was a pupil of his father Synnoon, and he of Aristocles the Sicyonian, a brother of Canachus and almost as famous an artist. Why Theognetus carries a cone of the cultivated pine and a pomegranate I could not conjecture; perhaps some of the Aeginetans may have a local story about it.

[6.9.2] After the statue of the man who the Eleans say had not his name recorded with the others because he was proclaimed winner of the trotting-race, stand Xenocles of Maenalus, who overthrew the boys at wrestling, and Alcetus, son of Alcinous, victor in the boys' boxing-match, who also was an Arcadian from Cleitor. Cleon made the statue of Alcetus; that of Xenocles is by Polycleitus.

[6.9.3] Aristeus of Argos himself won a victory in the long-race, while his father Cheimon won the wrestling-match. They stand near to each other, the statue of Aristeus being by Pantias of Chios, the pupil of his father Sostratus. Besides the statue of Cheimon at Olympia there is another in the temple of Peace at Rome, brought there from Argos. Both are in my opinion among the most glorious works of Naucydes. It is also told how Cheimon overthrew at wrestling Taurosthenes of Aegina, how Taurosthenes at the next Festival overthrew all who entered for the wrestling-match, and how a wraith like Taurosthenes appeared on that day in Aegina and announced the victory.

[6.9.4] The statue of Philles of Elis, who won the boys' wrestling-match, was made by the Spartan Cratinus.

As regards the chariot of Gelon, I did not come to the same opinion about it as my predecessors, who hold that the chariot is an offering of the Gelon

who became tyrant in Sicily. Now there is an inscription on the chariot that it was dedicated by Gelon of Gela, son of Deinomenes, and the date of the victory of this Gelon is the seventy-third Festival.

[6.9.5] But the Gelon who was tyrant of Sicily took possession of Syracuse when Hybrilides was archon at Athens, in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, when Tisicrates of Croton won the foot-race. Plainly, therefore, he would have announced himself as of Syracuse, not Gela. The fact is that this Gelon must be a private person, of the same name as the tyrant, whose father had the same name as the tyrant's father. It was Glaucias of Aegina who made both the chariot and the portrait-statue of Gelon.

[6.9.6] At the Festival previous to this it is said that Cleomedes of Astypalaea killed Iccus of Epidaurus during a boxing-match. On being convicted by the umpires of foul play and being deprived of the prize he became mad through grief and returned to Astypalaea. Attacking a school there of about sixty children he pulled down the pillar which held up the roof.

[6.9.7] This fell upon the children, and Cleomedes, pelted with stones by the citizens, took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena. He entered a chest standing in the sanctuary and drew down the lid. The Astypalaeans toiled in vain in their attempts to open the chest. At last, however, they broke open the boards of the chest, but found no Cleomedes, either alive or dead. So they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what had happened to Cleomedes.

[6.9.8] The response given by the Pythian priestess was, they say, as follows:—

Last of heroes is Cleomedes of Astypalaea;
Honor him with sacrifices as being no longer a mortal.

So from this time have the Astypalaeans paid honors to Cleomedes as to a hero.

[6.9.9] By the side of the chariot of Gelon is dedicated a statue of Philon, the work of the Aeginetan Glaucias. About this Philon Simonides the son of Leoprepes composed a very neat elegiac couplet:—

My fatherland is Corcyra, and my name is Philon; I am
The son of Glaucus, and I won two Olympic victories for boxing.

There is also a statue of Agamator of Mantinea, who beat the boys at boxing.

[6.10.1] X. Next to those that I have enumerated stands Glaucus of Carystus. Legend has it that he was by birth from Anthedon in Boeotia, being descended from Glaucus the sea-deity. This Carystian was a son of Demylus, and they say that to begin with he worked as a farmer. The ploughshare one day fell out of the plough, and he fitted it into its place, using his hand as a hammer;

[6.10.2] Demylus happened to be a spectator of his son's performance, and thereupon brought him to Olympia to box. There Glaucus, inexperienced in

boxing, was wounded by his antagonists, and when he was boxing with the last of them he was thought to be fainting from the number of his wounds. Then they say that his father called out to him, "Son, the plough touch." So he dealt his opponent a more violent blow which forthwith brought him the victory.

[6.10.3] He is said to have won other crowns besides, two at Pytho, eight at the Nemean and eight at the Isthmian games. The statue of Glaucus was set up by his son, while Glaucias of Aegina made it. The statue represents a figure sparring, as Glaucus was the best exponent of the art of all his contemporaries. When he died the Carystians, they say, buried him in the island still called the island of Glaucus.

[6.10.4] Damaretus of Heraea, his son and his grandson, each won two victories at Olympia. Those of Damaretus were gained at the sixty-fifth Festival (at which the race in full armour was instituted) and also at the one succeeding. His statue shows him, not only carrying the shield that modern competitors have, but also wearing a helmet on his head and greaves on his legs. In course of time the helmet and greaves were taken from the armour of competitors by both the Eleans and the Greeks generally. Theopompus, son of Damaretus, won his victories in the pentathlon, and his son Theopompus the second, named after his father, won his in the wrestling-match.

[6.10.5] Who made the statue of Theopompus the wrestler we do not know, but those of his father and grandfather are said by the inscription to be by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis, who were Argives. It does not, however, declare the name of their teacher, but runs as follows:—

Eutelidas and Chrysothemis made these works,
Argives, who learnt their art from those who lived before.

Iccus the son of Nicolaidas of Tarentum won the Olympic crown in the pentathlon, and afterwards is said to have become the best trainer of his day.

[6.10.6] After Iccus stands Pantarces the Elean, beloved of Pheidias, who beat the boys at wrestling. Next to Pantarces is the chariot of Cleosthenes, a man of Epidamnus. This is the work of Ageladas, and it stands behind the Zeus dedicated by the Greeks from the spoil of the battle of Plataea. Cleosthenes' victory occurred at the sixty-sixth Festival, and together with the statues of his horses he dedicated a statue of himself and one of his charioteer.

[6.10.7] There are inscribed the names of the horses, Phoenix and Corax, and on either side are the horses by the yoke, on the right Cnacias, on the left Samus. This inscription in elegiac verse is on the chariot:—

Cleosthenes, son of Pontis, a native of Epidamnus, dedicated me
After winning with his horses a victory in the glorious games of Zeus.

[6.10.8] This Cleosthenes was the first of those who bred horses in Greece to dedicate his statue at Olympia. For the offering of Evagoras the Laconian

consists of the chariot without a figure of Evagoras himself; the offerings of Miltiades the Athenian, which he dedicated at Olympia, I will describe in another part of my story. The Epidamnians occupy the same territory to-day as they did at first, but the modern city is not the ancient one, being at a short distance from it. The modern city is called Dyrrhachium from its founder.

[6.10.9] Lycinus of Heraea, Epicrapius of Mantinea, Tello of Oresthas, and Agiadus of Elis won victories in boys' matches; Lycinus for running, the rest of them for boxing. The artist who made the statue of Epicrapius was Ptoichus of Aegina; that of Agiadus was made by Serambus, also a native of Aegina. The statue of Lycinus is the work of Cleon. Who made the statue of Tello is not related.

[6.11.1] XI. Next to these are offerings of Eleans, representing Philip the son of Amyntas, Alexander the son of Philip, Seleucus and Antigonus. Antigonus is on foot; the rest are on horseback.

[6.11.2] Not far from the kings mentioned stands a Thasian, Theagenes the son of Timosthenes. The Thasians say that Timosthenes was not the father of Theagenes, but a priest of the Thasian Heracles, a phantom of whom in the likeness of Timosthenes had intercourse with the mother of Theagenes. In his ninth year, they say, as he was going home from school, he was attracted by a bronze image of some god or other in the marketplace; so he caught up the image, placed it on one of his shoulders and carried it home.

[6.11.3] The citizens were enraged at what he had done, but one of them, a respected man of advanced years, bade them not to kill the lad, and ordered him to carry the image from his home back again to the market-place. This he did, and at once became famous for his strength, his feat being noised abroad through-out Greece.

[6.11.4] The achievements of Theagenes at the Olympian games have already – the most famous of them – been described in my story, how he beat Euthymus the boxer, and how he was fined by the Eleans. On this occasion the pancratium, it is said, was for the first time on record won without a contest, the victor being Dromeus of Mantinea. At the Festival following this, Theagenes was the winner in the pancratium.

[6.11.5] He also won three victories at Pytho. These were for boxing, while nine prizes at Nemea and ten at the Isthmus were won in some cases for the pancratium and in others for boxing. At Phthia in Thessaly he gave up training for boxing and the pancratium. He devoted himself to winning fame among the Greeks for his running also, and beat those who entered for the long race. His ambition was, I think, to rival Achilles by winning a prize for running in the fatherland of the swiftest of those who are called heroes. The total number of crowns that he won was one thousand four hundred.

[6.11.6] When he departed this life, one of those who were his enemies while he lived came every night to the statue of Theagenes and flogged the bronze as though he were ill-treating Theagenes himself. The statue put an end to the outrage by falling on him, but the sons of the dead man prosecuted the statue

for murder. So the Thasians dropped the statue to the bottom of the sea, adopting the principle of Draco, who, when he framed for the Athenians laws to deal with homicide, inflicted banishment even on lifeless things, should one of them fall and kill a man.

[6.11.7] But in course of time, when the earth yielded no crop to the Thasians, they sent envoys to Delphi, and the god instructed them to receive back the exiles. At this command they received them back, but their restoration brought no remedy of the famine. So for the second time they went to the Pythian priestess, saying that although they had obeyed her instructions the wrath of the gods still abode with them.

[6.11.8] Whereupon the Pythian priestess replied to them:—

But you have forgotten your great Theagenes.

And when they could not think of a contrivance to recover the statue of Theagenes, fishermen, they say, after putting out to sea for a catch of fish caught the statue in their net and brought it back to land. The Thasians set it up in its original position, and are wont to sacrifice to him as to a god.

[6.11.9] There are many other places that I know of, both among Greeks and among barbarians, where images of Theagenes have been set up, who cures diseases and receives honors from the natives. The statue of Theagenes is in the Altis, being the work of Glaucias of Aegina.

[6.12.1] XII. Hard by is a bronze chariot with a man mounted upon it; race-horses, one on each side, stand beside the chariot, and on the horses are seated boys. They are memorials of Olympic victories won by Hiero the son of Deinomenes, who was tyrant of Syracuse after his brother Gelo. But the offerings were not sent by Hiero; it was Hiero's son Deinomenes who gave them to the god, Onatas the Aeginetan who made the chariot, and Calamis who made the horses on either side and the boys on them.

[6.12.2] By the chariot of Hiero is a man of the same name as the son of Deinomenes. He too was tyrant of Syracuse, and was called Hiero the son of Hierocles. After the death of Agathocles, a former tyrant, tyranny again sprung up at Syracuse in the person of this Hiero, who came to power in the second year of the hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad, at which Festival Idaeus of Cyrene won the foot-race.

[6.12.3] This Hiero made an alliance with Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides, sealing it by the marriage of Gelo his son and Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus. When the Romans went to war with Carthage for the possession of Sicily, the Carthaginians held more than half the island, and Hiero sided with them at the beginning of the war. Shortly after, however, he changed over to the Romans, thinking that they were stronger, and firmer and more reliable friends.

[6.12.4] He met his end at the hands of Deinomenes, a Syracusan by birth and an inveterate enemy of tyranny, who afterwards, when Hippocrates the brother of Epicydes had just come from Erbessus to Syracuse and was beginning to harangue the multitude, rushed at him with intent to kill him. But Hippocrates withstood him, and certain of the bodyguard over-powered and slew

Deinomenes. The statues of Hiero at Olympia, one on horseback and the other on foot, were dedicated by the sons of Hiero, the artist being Micon, a Syracusan, the son of Niceratus.

[6.12.5] After the likenesses of Hiero stand Areus the Lacedaemonian king, the son of Acrotatus, and Aratus the son of Cleinias, with another statue of Areus on horseback. The statue of Aratus was dedicated by the Corinthians, that of Areus by the people of Elis.

[6.12.6] I have already given some account of both Aratus and Areus, and Aratus was also proclaimed at Olympia as victor in the chariot-race. Timon, an Elean, the son of Aesypus, entered a four-horse chariot for the Olympic races . . . this is of bronze, and on it is mounted a maiden, who, in my opinion, is Victory. Callon the son of Harmodius and Hippomachus the son of Moschion, Elean by race, were victors in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of Callon was made by Daippus; who made that of Hippomachus I do not know, but it is said that he overcame three antagonists without receiving a blow or any physical injury.

[6.12.7] Theochrestus of Cyrene bred horses after the traditional Libyan manner; he himself and before him his paternal grandfather of the same name won victories at Olympia with the four-horse chariot, while the father of Theochrestus won a victory at the Isthmus. So declares the inscription on the chariot.

[6.12.8] The elegiac verses bear witness that Agesarchus of Triteia, the son of Haemostratus, won the boxing-match for men at Olympia, Nemea, Pytho and the Isthmus; they also declare that the Tritaeans are Arcadians, but I found this statement to be untrue. For the founders of the Arcadian cities that attained to fame have well-known histories; while those that had all along been obscure because of their weakness were surely absorbed for this very reason into Megalopolis, being included in the decree then made by the Arcadian confederacy;

[6.12.9] no other city Triteia, except the one in Achaia, is to be found in Greece. However, one may assume that at the time of the inscription the Tritaeans were reckoned as Arcadians, just as nowadays too certain of the Arcadians themselves are reckoned as Argives. The statue of Agesarchus is the work of the sons of Polycles, of whom we shall give some account later on.

[6.13.1] XIII. The statue of Astylus of Crotona is the work of Pythagoras; this athlete won three successive victories at Olympia, in the short race and in the double race. But because on the two latter occasions he proclaimed himself a Syracusan, in order to please Hiero the son of Deinomenes, the people of Crotona for this condemned his house to be a prison, and pulled down his statue set up by the temple of Lacinian Hera.

[6.13.2] There is also set up in Olympia a slab recording the victories of Chionis the Lacedaemonian. They show simplicity who have supposed that Chionis himself dedicated the slab, and not the Lacedaemonian people. Let us

assume that, as the slab says, the race in armour had not yet been introduced; how could Chionis know whether the Eleans would at some future time add it to the list of events? But those are simpler still who say that the statue standing by the slab is a portrait of Chionis, it being the work of the Athenian Myron.

[6.13.3] Similar in renown to Chionis was Hermogenes of Xanthus, a Lydian, who won the wild olive eight times at three Olympic festivals, and was surnamed Horse by the Greeks. Polites also you will consider a great marvel. This Polites was from Ceramus in Caria, and showed at Olympia every excellence in running. For from the longest race, demanding the greatest stamina, he changed, after the shortest interval, to the shortest and quickest, and after winning a victory in the long race and immediately afterwards in the short race, he added on the same day a third victory in the double course.

[6.13.4] Polites then in the second . . . and four, as they are grouped together by lot, and they do not start them all together for the race. The victors in each heat run again for the prize. So he who is crowned in the foot-race will be victorious twice. However, the most famous runner was Leonidas of Rhodes. He maintained his speed at its prime for four Olympiads, and won twelve victories for running.

[6.13.5] Not far from the slab of Chionis at Olympia stands Scaeus, the son of Duris, a Samian, victor in the boys' boxing-match. The statue is the work of Hippias, the son of . . . and the inscription on it states that Scaeus won his victory at the time when the people of Samos were in exile from the island, but the occasion . . . the people to their own.

[6.13.6] By the side of the tyrant is a statue of Diallus the son of Pollis, a Smyranean by descent, and this Diallus declares that he was the first Ionian to receive at Olympia a crown for the boys' pancratium. There are statues of Thersilochus of Corcyra and of Aristion of Epidaurus, the son of Theophiles, made by Polycleitus the Argive; Aristion won a crown for the men's boxing, Thersilochus for the boys'.

[6.13.7] Bycelus, the first Sicyonian to win the boys' boxing-match, had his statue made by Canachus of Sicyon, a pupil of the Argive Polycleitus. By the side of Bycelus stands the statue of a man-at-arms, Mnaseas of Cyrene, surnamed the Libyan; Pythagoras of Rhegium made the statue. To Agemachus of Cyzicus from the mainland of Asia . . . the inscription on it shows that he was born at Argos.

[6.13.8] Naxos was founded in Sicily by the Chalcidians on the Euripus. Of the city not even the ruins are now to be seen, and that the name of Naxos has survived to after ages must be attributed to Tisander, the son of Cleocritus. He won the men's boxing-match at Olympia four times; he had the same number of victories at Pytho, but at this time neither the Corinthians nor the Argives kept complete records of the victors at Nemea and the Isthmus.

[6.13.9] The mare of the Corinthian Pheidolas was called, the Corinthians relate, Aura (breeze), and at the beginning of the race she chanced to throw

her rider. But nevertheless she went on running properly, turned round the post, and, when she heard the trumpet, quickened her pace, reached the umpires first, realized that she had won and stopped running. The Eleans proclaimed Pheidolas the winner and allowed him to dedicate a statue of this mare.

[6.13.10] The sons also of Pheidolas were winners in the horse-race, and the horse is represented on a slab with this inscription:—

The swift Lycus by one victory at the Isthmus and two here
Crowned the house of the sons of Pheidolas.

But the inscription is at variance with the Elean records of Olympic victors. These records give a victory to the sons of Pheidolas at the sixty-eighth Festival but at no other. You may take my statements as accurate.

[6.13.11] There are statues to Agathinus, son of Thrasybulus, and to Telemachus, both men of Elis. Telemachus won the race for four-horse chariots; the statue of Agathinus was dedicated by the Achaeans of Pellene. The Athenian people dedicated a statue of Aristophon, the son of Lysinus, who won the men's pancratium at Olympia.

[6.14.1] XIV. Pherias of Aegina, whose statue stands by the side of Aristophon the Athenian, at the seventy-eighth Festival was considered very young, and, being judged to be as yet unfit to wrestle, was debarred from the contest. Out at the next Festival he was admitted to the boys' wrestling-match and won it. What happened to this Pherias was different, in fact the exact opposite of what happened at Olympia to Nicasylus of Rhodes.

[6.14.2] Being eighteen years of age he was not allowed by the Eleans to compete in the boys' wrestling-match, but won the men's match and was proclaimed victor. He was afterwards proclaimed victor at Nemea also and at the Isthmus. But when he was twenty years old he met his death before he returned home to Rhodes. The feat of the Rhodian wrestler at Olympia was in my opinion surpassed by Artemidorus of Tralles. He failed in the boys' pancratium at Olympia, the reason of his failure being his extreme youth.

[6.14.3] When, however, the time arrived for the contest held by the Ionians of Smyrna, his strength had so increased that he beat in the pancratium on the same day those who had competed with him at Olympia, after the boys the beardless youths as they are called, and thirdly the pick of the men. His match with the beardless youths was the outcome, they say, of a trainer's encouragement; he fought the men because of the insult of a man pancratiast. Artemidorus won an Olympic victory among the men at the two hundred and twelfth Festival.

[6.14.4] Next to the statue of Nicasylus is a small bronze horse, which Crocon of Eretria dedicated when he won a crown with a racehorse. Near the horse is Telestas of Messene, who won the boys' boxing-match. The artist who represented Telestas was Silanion.

[6.14.5] The statue of Milo the son of Diotimus was made by Dameas, also a

native of Crotona. Milo won six victories for wrestling at Olympia, one of them among the boys; at Pytho he won six among the men and one among the boys. He came to Olympia to wrestle for the seventh time, but did not succeed in mastering Timasitheus, a fellow-citizen who was also a young man, and who refused, moreover, to come to close quarters with him.

[6.14.6] It is further stated that Milo carried his own statue into the Altis. His feats with the pomegranate and the quoit are also remembered by tradition. He would grasp a pomegranate so firmly that nobody could wrest it from him by force, and yet he did not damage it by pressure. He would stand upon a greased quoit, and make fools of those who charged him and tried to push him from the quoit. He used to perform also the following exhibition feats.

[6.14.7] He would tie a cord round his forehead as though it were a ribbon or a crown. Holding his breath and filling with blood the veins on his head, he would break the cord by the strength of these veins. It is said that he would let down by his side his right arm from the shoulder to the elbow, and stretch out straight the arm below the elbow, turning the thumb upwards, while the other fingers lay in a row. In this position, then, the little finger was lowest, but nobody could bend it back by pressure.

[6.14.8] They say that he was killed by wild beasts. The story has it that he came across in the land of Crotona a tree-trunk that was drying up; wedges were inserted to keep the trunk apart. Milo in his pride thrust his hands into the trunk, the wedges slipped, and Milo was held fast by the trunk until the wolves – a beast that roves in vast packs in the land of Crotona – made him their prey.

[6.14.9] Such was the fate that overtook Milo. Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, who was king on the Thesprotian mainland and performed many remarkable deeds, as I have related in my account of the Athenians, had his statue dedicated by Thrasybulus of Elis. Beside Pyrrhus is a little man holding flutes, carved in relief upon a slab. This man won Pythian victories next after Sacadas of Argos.

[6.14.10] For Sacadas won in the games introduced by the Amphictyons before a crown was awarded for success, and after this victory two others for which crowns were given; but at the next six Pythian Festivals Pythocritus of Sicyon was victor, being the only flute-player so to distinguish himself. It is also clear that at the Olympic Festival he fluted six times for the pentathlon. For these reasons the slab at Olympia was erected in honor of Pythocritus, with the inscription on it:–

This is the monument of the flute-player Pythocritus, the son of Callinicus.

[6.14.11] The Aetolian League dedicated a statue of Cylon, who delivered the Eleans from the tyranny of Aristotimus. The statue of Gorgus, the son of Eucletus, a Messenian who won a victory in the pentathlon, was made by the Boeotian Theron; that of Damaretus, another Messenian, who won the boys' boxing-match, was made by the Athenian Silanion. Anauchidas, the son of Philys, an Elean, won a crown in the boys' wrestling-match and afterwards in

the match for men. Who made his statue is not known, but Ageladas of Argos made the statue of Anochus of Tarentum, the son of Adamatas, who won victories in the short and double foot-race.

[6.14.12] A boy seated on a horse and a man standing by the horse the inscription declares to be Xenombrotus of Meropian Cos, who was proclaimed victor in the horse-race, and Xenodicus, who was announced a winner in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of the latter is by Pantias, that of the former is by Philotimus the Aeginetan. The two statues of Pythes, the son of Andromachus, a native of Abdera, were made by Lysippus, and were dedicated by his soldiers. Pythes seems to have been a captain of mercenaries or some sort of distinguished soldier.

[6.14.13] There are statues of winners of the boys' race, namely, Menepolemus of Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf and Philo of Corcyra; also Hieronymus of Andros, who defeated in the pentathlon at Olympia Tisamenus of Elis, who afterwards served as soothsayer in the Greek army that fought against Mardonius and the Persians at Plataea. By the side of this Hieronymus is a statue of a boy wrestler, also of Andros, Procles, the son of Lycastidas. The sculptor who made the statue of Lycastidas was named Stomius, while Somis made the statue of Procles. Aeschines of Elis won two victories in the pentathlon, and his statues are also two in number.

[6.15.1] XV. Archippus of Mitylene overcame his competitors in the men's boxing-match, and his fellow-townsmen hold that he added to his fame by winning the crown, when he was not more than twenty years old, at Olympia, at Pytho, at Nemea and at the Isthmus. The statue of the boy runner Xenon, son of Calliteles from Lepreus in Triphylia, was made by Pyrilampes the Messenan; who made the statue of Cleinomachus of Elis I do not know, but Cleinomachus was proclaimed victor in the pentathlon.

[6.15.2] The inscription on the statue of Pantarces of Elis states that it was dedicated by Achaeans, because he made peace between them and the Eleans, and procured the release of those who had been made prisoners by both sides during the war. This Pantarces also won a victory with a race-horse, and there is a memorial of his victory also at Olympia. The statue of Olidas, of Elis, was dedicated by the Aetolian nation, and Charinus of Elis is represented in a statue dedicated for a victory in the double race and in the race in armour. By his side is Ageles of Chios, victorious in the boys' boxing-match, the artist being Theomnestus of Sardes.

[6.15.3] The statue of Cleitomachus of Thebes was dedicated by his father Hermocrates, and his famous deeds are these. At the isthmus he won the men's wrestling-match, and on the same day he overcame all competitors in the boxing-match and in the pancratium. His victories at Pytho were all in the pancratium, three in number. At Olympia this Cleitomachus was the first after Theagenes of Thasos to be proclaimed victor in both boxing and the pancratium.

[6.15.4] He won his victory in the pancratium at the hundred and forty-first

Olympic Festival. The next Festival saw this Cleitomachus a competitor in the pancratium and in boxing, while Caprus of Elis was minded both to wrestle and to compete in the pancratium on the same day.

[6.15.5] After Caprus had won in the wrestling-match, Cleitomachus put it to the umpires that it would be fair if they were to bring in the pancratium before he received wounds in the boxing. His request seemed reasonable, and so the pancratium was brought in. Although Cleitomachus was defeated by Caprus he tackled the boxers with sturdy spirit and unwearied vigor.

[6.15.6] The Ionians of Erythrae dedicated a statue of Epitherses, son of Metrodorus, who won two boxing prizes at Olympia, two at Pytho, and also victories at Nemea and the Isthmus; the Syracusans dedicated two statues of Hiero at the public charge, while a third is the gift of Hiero's sons. I pointed out in a recent chapter on this Hiero had the same name as the son of Deinomenes, and, like him, was despot of Syracuse.

[6.15.7] The Paleans, who form one of the four divisions of the Cephallenians, dedicated a statue of Timoptolis, an Elean, the son of Lampis. These Paleans were of old called Dulichians. There is also a statue set up of Archidamus the son of Agesilaus, and of some man or other representing a hunter. There is a statue of Demetrius, who made an expedition against Seleucus and was taken prisoner in the battle, and one of Antigonos the son of Demetrius; they are offerings, you may be sure, of the Byzantines.

[6.15.8] At the thirty-eighth Festival Eutelidas the Spartan won two victories among the boys, one for wrestling and one for the pentathlon, this being the first and last occasion when boys were allowed to enter for the pentathlon. The statue of Eutelidas is old, and the letters on the pedestal are worn dim with age.

[6.15.9] After Eutelidas is another statue of Areus the Lacedaemonian king, and beside it is a statue of Gorgus the Elean. Gorgus is the only man down to my time who has won four victories at Olympia for the pentathlon, beside a victory in the double race and a victory in the race in armour.

[6.15.10] The man with the boys standing beside him they say is Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Beside him are two statues of the Elean Caprus, the son of Pythagoras, who received on the same day a crown for wrestling and a crown for the pancratium. This Caprus was the first man to win the two victories. His victim overcome in the pancratium I have already mentioned; in wrestling the man he overcame was the Elean Paeanius, who at the previous Festival had won a victory for wrestling, while at the Pythian games he won a crown in the boys' boxing-match, and again in the men's wrestling-match and in the men's boxing-match on one and the same day.

[6.16.1] XVI. The victories of Caprus were not achieved without great toils and strong effort. There are also at Olympia statues to Anauchidas and Pherenicus, Eleans by race who won crowns for wrestling among the boys. Pleistaenus, the son of the Eurydamus who commanded the Aetolians against the Gauls, had his statue dedicated by the Thespians.

[6.16.2] The statue of Antigonus the father of Demetrius and the statue of Seleucus were dedicated by Tydeus the Elean. The fame of Seleucus became great among all men especially because of the capture of Demetrius. Timon won victories for the pentathlum at all the Greek games except the Isthmian, at which he, like other Eleans, abstained from competing. The inscription on his statue adds that he joined the Aetolians in their expedition against the Thessalians and became leader of the garrison at Naupactus because of his friendship with the Aetolians.

[6.16.3] Not far from the statue of Timon stands Hellas, and by Hellas stands Elis; Hellas is crowning with one hand Antigonus the guardian of Philip the son of Demetrius, with the other Philip himself; Elis is crowning Demetrius, who marched against Seleucus, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus.

[6.16.4] Aristeides of Elis won at Olympia (so the inscription on his statue declares) a victory in the race run in armour, at Pytho a victory in the double race, and at Nemea in the race for boys in the horse-course. The length of the horse-course is twice that of the double course; the event had been omitted from the Nemean and Isthmian games, but was restored to the Argives for their winter Nemean games by the emperor Hadrian.

[6.16.5] Quite close to the statue of Aristeides stands Menalces of Elis, Proclaimed victor at Olympia in the pentathlum, along with Philonides son of Zotes, who was a native of Chersonesus in Crete, and a courier of Alexander the son of Philip. After him comes Brimias of Elis, victor in the men's boxing-match, Leonidas from Naxos in the Aegean, a statue dedicated by the Arcadians of Psophis, a statue of Asamon, victor in the men's boxing-match, and a statue of Nicander, who won two victories at Olympia in the double course and six victories in foot-races of various kinds at the Nemean games. Asamon and Nicander were Eleans the statue of the latter was made by Daippus, that of Asamon by the Messenian Pylilampes.

[6.16.6] Eualcidas of Elis won victories in the boys' boxing-match, Seleadas the Lacedaemonian in the men's wrestling-match. Here too is dedicated a small chariot of the Laconian Polypeithes, and on the same slab Calliteles, the father of Polypeithes, a wrestler. Polypeithes was victorious with his four-horse chariot, Calliteles in wrestling.

[6.16.7] There are private Eleans, Lampus the son of Arniscus and . . . of Aristarchus; these the Psophidians dedicated, either because they were their public friends or because they had shown them some good-will. Between them stands Lysippus of Elis, who beat his competitors in the boys' wrestling-match; his statue was made by Andreas of Argos.

[6.16.8] Demosthenes the Lacedaemonian won an Olympic victory in the men's foot-race, and he dedicated in the Altis a slab by the side of his statue. The inscription declares that the distance from Olympia to another slab at Lacedaemon is six hundred and sixty furlongs. Theodorus gained a victory in the pentathlum, Pyttalus the son of Lampis won the boys' boxing-match, and Neolaidas received a crown for the foot-race and the race in armour; all were,

I may tell you, Eleans. About Pyttalus it is further related that, when a dispute about boundaries occurred between the Arcadians and the Eleans, he delivered judgment on the matter. His statue is the work of Sthennis the Olynthian.

[6.16.9] Next is Ptolemy, mounted on a horse, and by his side is an Elean athlete, Paeanius the son of Damatrius, who won at Olympia a victory in wrestling besides two Pythian victories. There is also Clearetus of Elis, who received a crown in the pentathlum, and a chariot of an Athenian, Glaucon the son of Eteocles. This Glaucon was proclaimed victor in a chariot-race for full-grown horses.

[6.17.1] XVII. These are the most remarkable sights that meet a man who goes over the Altis according to the instructions I have given. But if you will go to the right from the Leonidaem to the great altar, you will come across the following notable objects. There is Democrates of Tenedos, who won the men's wrestling-match, and Criannius of Elis, who won a victory in the race in armour. The statue of Democrates was made by Dionysicles of Miletus, that of Criannius by Lysus of Macedonia.

[6.17.2] The statues of Herodotus of Clazomenae and of Philinus, son of Hegopolis, of Cos, were dedicated by their respective cities. The Clazomenians dedicated a statue of Herodotus because he was the first Clazomenian to be proclaimed victor at Olympia, his victory being in the boys' foot-race. The Coans dedicated a statue of Philinus because of his great renown, for he won at Olympia five victories in running, at Pytho four victories, at Nemea four, and at the Isthmus eleven.

[6.17.3] The statue of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy Lagus, was dedicated by Aristolaus, a Macedonian. There is also dedicated a statue of a victorious boy boxer, Butas of Miletus, son of Polyneices; a statue too of Callicrates of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, who received two crowns for victories in the race in armour. The statue of Callicrates is the work of Lysippus.

[6.17.4] Enation won a victory in the boys' foot-race, and Alexibius in the pentathlum. The native place of Alexibius was Heraea in Arcadia, and Acestor made his statue. The inscription on the statue of Enation does not state his native place, though it does state that he was of Arcadian descent. Two Colophonians, Hermesianax son of Agoneus and Eicasius son of Lycinus and the daughter of Hermesianax, both won the boys' wrestling-match. The statue of Hermesianax was dedicated by the commonwealth of Colophon.

[6.17.5] Near these are Eleans who beat the boys at boxing, Choerilus the work of Sthennis of Olynthus, and Theotimus the work of Daitondas of Sicyon. Theotimus was a son of Moschion, who took part in the expedition of Alexander the son of Philip against Dareius and the Persians. There are two more from Elis, Archidamus who was victorious with a four-horse chariot and Eperastus the son of Theogonus, victor in the race in armour.

[6.17.6] That he was the soothsayer of the clan of the Clytidae, Eperastus declares at the end of the inscription:—

Of the stock of the sacred-tongued Clytidae I boast to be,
Their soothsayer, the scion of the god-like Melampodidae.

For Mantius was a son of Melampus, the son of Amythaon, and he had a son Oicles, while Clytius was a son of Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraus, the son of Oicles. Clytius was the son of Alcmaeon by the daughter of Phegeus, and he migrated to Elis because he shrank from living with his mother's brothers, knowing that they had compassed the murder of Alcmaeon.

[6.17.7] Mingled with the less illustrious offerings we may see the statues of Alexinicus of Elis, the work of Cantharus of Sicyon, who won a victory in the boys' wrestling-match, and of Gorgias of Leontini. This statue was dedicated at Olympia by Eumolpus, as he himself says, the grandson of Deicrates who married the sister of Gorgias.

[6.17.8] This Gorgias was a son of Charmantides, and is said to have been the first to revive the study of rhetoric, which had been altogether neglected, in fact almost forgotten by mankind. They say that Gorgias won great renown for his eloquence at the Olympic assembly, and also when he accompanied Tisias on an embassy to Athens. Yet Tisias improved the art of rhetoric, in particular he wrote the most persuasive speech of his time to support the claim of a Syracusan woman to a property.

[6.17.9] However, Gorgias surpassed his fame at Athens; indeed Jason, the tyrant of Thessaly, placed him before Polycrates, who was a shining light of the Athenian school. Gorgias, they say, lived to be one hundred and five years old. Leontini was once laid waste by the Syracusans, but in my time was again inhabited.

[6.18.1] XVIII. There is also a bronze statue of Cratisthenes of Cyrene, and on the chariot stand Victory and Cratisthenes himself. It is thus plain that his victory was in the chariot-race. The story goes that Cratisthenes was the son of Mnaseas the runner, surnamed the Libyan by the Greeks. His offerings at Olympia are the work of Pythagoras of Rhegium.

[6.18.2] Here too I remember discovering the statue of Anaximenes, who wrote a universal history of ancient Greece, including the exploits of Philip the son of Amyntas and the subsequent deeds of Alexander. His honor at Olympia was due to the people of Lampsacus. Anaximenes bequeathed to posterity the following anecdotes about himself. Alexander, the son of Philip, no meek and mild person but a most passionate monarch, he circumvented by the following artifice.

[6.18.3] The people of Lampsacus favoured the cause of the Persian king, or were suspected of doing so, and Alexander, boiling over with rage against them, threatened to treat them with utmost rigor. As their wives, their children, and their country itself were in great danger, they sent Anaximenes to intercede for them, because he was known to Alexander himself and had been known to Philip before him. Anaximenes approached, and when Alexander learned for what cause he had come, they say that he swore by the

gods of Greece, whom he named, that he would verily do the opposite of what Anaximenes asked.

[6.18.4] Thereupon Anaximenes said, "Grant me, O king, this favour. Enslave the women and children of the people of Lampsacus, raze the whole city even to the ground, and burn the sanctuaries of their gods." Such were his words; and Alexander, finding no way to counter the trick, and bound by the compulsion of his oath, unwillingly pardoned the people of Lampsacus.

[6.18.5] Anaximenes is also known to have retaliated on a personal enemy in a very clever but very ill-natured way. He had a natural aptitude for rhetoric and for imitating the style of rhetoricians. Having a quarrel with Theopompus the son of Damasistratus, he wrote a treatise abusing Athenians, Lacedaemonians and Thebans alike. He imitated the style of Theopompus with perfect accuracy, inscribed his name upon the book and sent it round to the cities. Though Anaximenes was the author of the treatise, hatred of Theopompus grew throughout the length of Greece.

[6.18.6] Moreover, Anaximenes was the first to compose extemporary speeches, though I cannot believe that he was the author of the epic on Alexander.

Sotades at the ninety-ninth Festival was victorious in the long race and proclaimed a Cretan, as in fact he was. But at the next Festival he made himself an Ephesian, being bribed to do so by the Ephesian people. For this act he was banished by the Cretans.

[6.18.7] The first athletes to have their statues dedicated at Olympia were Praxidamas of Aegina, victorious at boxing at the fifty-ninth Festival, and Rexibius the Opuntian, a successful pancratiast at the sixty-first Festival. These statues stand near the pillar of Oenomaus, and are made of wood, Rexibius of figwood and the Aeginetan of cypress, and his statue is less decayed than the other.

THE TREASURIES OF OLYMPIA

[6.19.1] XIX. There is in the Altis to the north of the Heraeum a terrace of conglomerate, and behind it stretches Mount Cronius. On this terrace are the treasuries, just as at Delphi certain of the Greeks have made treasuries for Apollo. There is at Olympia a treasury called the treasury of the Sicyonians, dedicated by Myron, who was tyrant of Sicyon.

[6.19.2] Myron built it to commemorate a victory in the chariot-race at the thirty-third Festival. In the treasury he made two chambers, one Dorian and one in the Ionic style. I saw that they were made of bronze; whether the bronze is Tartessian, as the Eleans declare, I do not know.

[6.19.3] They say that Tartessus is a river in the land of the Iberians, running down into the sea by two mouths, and that between these two mouths lies a city of the same name. The river, which is the largest in Iberia, and tidal, those of a later day called Baetis, and there are some who think that Tartessus was the ancient name of Carpia, a city of the Iberians.

[6.19.4] On the smaller of the chambers at Olympia are inscriptions, which inform us that the weight of the bronze is five hundred talents, and that the dedicators were Myron and the Sicyonian people. In this chamber are kept three quoits, being used for the contest of the pentathlum. There is also a bronze-plated shield, adorned with paintings on the inner side, and along with the shield are a helmet and greaves. An inscription on the armour says that they were dedicated by the Myanians as first-fruits to Zeus. Various conjectures have been made as to who these Myanians were.

[6.19.5] I happened to remember that Thucydides in his history mentions various cities of the Locrians near Phocis, and among them the Myonians. So the Myanians on the shield are in my opinion the same folk as the Myonians on the Locrian mainland. The letters on the shield are a little distorted, a fault due to the antiquity of the votive offering.

[6.19.6] There are placed here other offerings worthy to be recorded, the sword of Pelops with its hilt of gold, and the ivory horn of Amaltheia, an offering of Miltiades the son of Cimon, who was the first of his house to rule in the Thracian Chersonesus. On the horn is an inscription in old Attic characters:—

To Olympian Zeus was I dedicated by the men of Chersonesus
After they had taken the fortress of Aratus.
Their leader was Miltiades.

There stands also a box-wood image of Apollo with its head plated with gold. The inscription says that it was dedicated by the Locrians who live near the Western Cape, and that the artist was Patrocles of Crotona, the son of Catillus.

[6.19.7] Next to the treasury of the Sicyonians is the treasury of the Carthaginians, the work of Pothaeus, Antiphilus and Megacles. In it are votive offerings – a huge image of Zeus and three linen breast-plates, dedicated by Gelo and the Syracusans after overcoming the Phoenicians in either a naval or a land battle.

[6.19.8] The third of the treasuries, and the fourth as well, were dedicated by the Epidamnians . . . It shows the heavens upheld by Atlas, and also Heracles and the apple-tree of the Hesperides, with the snake coiled round the apple-tree. These too are of cedar-wood, and are works of Theocles, son of Hegylus. The inscription on the heavens says that his son helped him to make it. The Hesperides (they were removed by the Eleans) were even in my time in the Heraeum; the treasury was made for the Epidamnians by Pyrrhus and his sons Lacrates and Hermon.

[6.19.9] The Sybarites too built a treasury adjoining that of the Byzantines. Those who have studied the history of Italy and of the Italian cities say that Lupiae, situated between Brundisium and Hydrus, has changed its name, and was Sybaris in ancient times. The harbor is artificial, being a work of the emperor Hadrian.

[6.19.10] Near the treasury of the Sybarites is the treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene. In it stand statues of Roman emperors. Selinus in Sicily was destroyed by the Carthaginians in a war, but before the disaster befell them the citizens made a treasury dedicated to Zeus of Olympia. There stands in it an image of Dionysus with face, feet and hands of ivory.

[6.19.11] In the treasury of the Metapontines, which adjoins that of the Selinuntians, stands an Endymion; it too is of ivory except the drapery. How it came about that the Metapontines were destroyed I do not know, but to-day nothing is left of Metapontum but the theater and the circuit of the walls.

[6.19.12] The Megarians who are neighbors of Attica built a treasury and dedicated in it offerings, small cedar-wood figures inlaid with gold, representing the fight of Heracles with Achelous. The figures include Zeus, Deianeira, Achelous, Heracles, and Ares helping Achelous. There once stood here an image of Athena, as being an ally of Heracles, but it now stands by the Hesperides in the Heraeum.

[6.19.13] On the pediment of the treasury is carved the war of the giants and the gods, and above the pediment is dedicated a shield, the inscription declaring that the Megarians dedicated the treasury from spoils taken from the Corinthians. I think that the Megarians won this victory when Phorbas, who held a life office, was archon at Athens. At this time Athenian offices were not yet annual, nor had the Eleans begun to record the Olympiads.

[6.19.14] The Argives are said to have helped the Megarians in the engagement with the Corinthians. The treasury at Olympia was made by the Megarians years after the battle, but it is to be supposed that they had the offerings from of old, seeing that they were made by the Lacedaemonian Dontas, a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

[6.19.15] The last of the treasuries is right by the stadium, the inscription stating that the treasury, and the images in it, were dedicated by the people of Gela. The images, however, are no longer there.

OTHER SHRINES AT OLYMPIA

[6.20.1] XX. Mount Cronius, as I have already said, extends parallel to the terrace with the treasuries on it. On the summit of the mountain the Basilae, as they are called, sacrifice to Cronus at the spring equinox, in the month called Elaphius among the Eleans.

[6.20.2] At the foot of Mount Cronius, on the north . . . , between the treasuries and the mountain, is a sanctuary of Eileithyia, and in it Sosipolis, a native Elean deity, is worshipped. Now they surname Eileithyia Olympian, and choose a priestess for the goddess every year. The old woman who tends Sosipolis herself too by an Elean custom lives in chastity, bringing water for the god's bath and setting before him barley cakes kneaded with honey.

[6.20.3] In the front part of the temple, for it is built in two parts, is an altar of Eileithyia and an entrance for the public; in the inner Part Sosipolis is worshipped, and no one may enter it except the woman who tends the god,

and she must wrap her head and face in a white veil. Maidens and matrons wait in the sanctuary of Eileithyia chanting a hymn; they burn all manner of incense to the god, but it is not the custom to pour libations of wine. An oath is taken by Sosipolis on the most important occasions.

[6.20.4] The story is that when the Arcadians had invaded the land of Elis, and the Eleans were set in array against them, a woman came to the Elean generals, holding a baby to her breast, who said that she was the mother of the child but that she gave him, because of dreams, to fight for the Eleans. The Elean officers believed that the woman was to be trusted, and placed the child before the army naked.

[6.20.5] When the Arcadians came on, the child turned at once into a snake. Thrown into disorder at the sight, the Arcadians turned and fled, and were attacked by the Eleans, who won a very famous victory, and so call the god Sosipolis. On the spot where after the battle the snake seemed to them to go into the ground they made the sanctuary. With him the Eleans resolved to worship Eileithyia also, because this goddess to help them brought her son forth unto men.

[6.20.6] The tomb of the Arcadians who were killed in the battle is on the hill across the Cladeus to the west. Near to the sanctuary of Eileithyia are the remains of the sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite, and there too they sacrifice upon the altars.

THE STADIUMS OF OLYMPIA

[6.20.7] There is within the Altis by the processional entrance the Hippodameium, as it is called, about a quarter of an acre of ground surrounded by a wall. Into it once every year the women may enter, who sacrifice to Hippodameia, and do her honor in other ways. The story is that Hippodameia withdrew to Midea in Argolis, because Pelops was very angry with her over the death of Chrysippus. The Eleans declare that subsequently, because of an oracle, they brought the bones of Hippodameia to Olympia.

[6.20.8] At the end of the statues which they made from the fines levied on athletes, there is the entrance called the Hidden Entrance. Through it umpires and competitors are wont to enter the stadium. Now the stadium is an embankment of earth, and on it is a seat for the presidents of the games. Opposite the umpires is an altar of white marble;

[6.20.9] seated on this altar a woman looks on at the Olympic games, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, which office the Eleans bestow from time to time on different women. Maidens are not debarred from looking on at the games. At the end of the stadium, where is the starting-place for the runners, there is, the Eleans say, the tomb of Endymion.

[6.20.10] When you have passed beyond the stadium, at the point where the umpires sit, is a place set apart for the horse-races, and also the starting-place for the horses. The starting-place is in the shape of the prow of a ship, and its prow is turned towards the course. At the point where the prow adjoins the

porch of Agnaptus it broadens and a bronze dolphin on a rod has been made at the very point of the ram.

[6.20.11] Each side of the starting-place is more than four hundred feet in length, and in the sides are built stalls. These stalls are assigned by lot to those who enter for the races. Before the chariots or race-horses is stretched a cord as a barrier. An altar of unburnt brick, plastered on the outside, is made at every Festival as near as possible to the center of the prow,

[6.20.12] and a bronze eagle stands on the altar with his wings stretched out to the fullest extent. The man appointed to start the racing sets in motion the mechanism in the altar, and then the eagle has been made to jump upwards, so as to become visible to the spectators, while the dolphin falls to the ground.

[6.20.13] First on either side the barriers are withdrawn by the porch of Agnaptus, and the horses standing thereby run off first. As they run they reach those to whom the second station has been allotted, and then are withdrawn the barriers at the second station. The same thing happens to all the horses in turn, until at the ram of the prow they are all abreast. After this it is left to the charioteers to display their skill and the horses their speed.

[6.20.14] It was Cleoetas who originally devised the method of starting, and he appears to have been proud of the discovery, as on the statue at Athens he wrote the inscription:—

Who first invented the method of starting the horses at Olympia,
He made me, Cleoetas the son of Aristocles.

It is said that after Cleoetas some further device was added to the mechanism by Aristeides.

[6.20.15] The race-course has one side longer than the other, and on the longer side, which is a bank, there stands, at the passage through the bank, Taraxippus, the terror of the horses. It has the shape of a round altar, and as they run along the horses are seized, as soon as they reach this point, by a great fear without any apparent reason. The fear leads to disorder; the chariots generally crash and the charioteers are injured. Consequently the charioteers offer sacrifice, and pray that Taraxippus may show himself propitious to them.

[6.20.16] The Greeks differ in their view of Taraxippus. Some hold that it is the tomb of an original inhabitant who was skilled in horsemanship; they call him Olenius, and say that after him was named the Olenian rock in the land of Elis. Others say that Dameon, son of Phlius, who took part in the expedition of Heracles against Augeas and the Eleans, was killed along with his charger by Cteatus the son of Actor, and that man and horse were buried in the same tomb.

[6.20.17] There is also a story that Pelops made here an empty mound in honor of Myrtilus, and sacrificed to him in an effort to calm the anger of the murdered man, naming the mound Taraxippus (Frightener of horses) because the mares of Oenomaus were frightened by the trick of Myrtilus. Some say that it is Oenomaus himself who harms the racers in the course. I have also

heard some attach the blame to Alcathus, the son of Porthaon. Killed by Oenomaus because he wooed Hippodameia, Alcathus, they say, here got his portion of earth; having been unsuccessful on the course, he is a spiteful and hostile deity to chariot-drivers.

[6.20.18] A man of Egypt said that Pelops received something from Amphion the Theban and buried it where is what they call Taraxippus, adding that it was the buried thing which frightened the mares of Oenomaus, as well as those of every charioteer since. This Egyptian thought that Amphion and the Thracian Orpheus were clever magicians, and that it was through their enchantments that the beasts came to Orpheus, and the stones came to Amphion for the building of the wall. The most probable of the stories in my opinion makes Taraxippus a surname of Horse Poseidon.

[6.20.19] There is another Taraxippus at the Isthmus, namely Glaucus, the son of Sisyphus. They say that he was killed by his horses, when Acastus held his contests in honor of his father. At Nemea of the Argives there was no hero who harmed the horses, but above the turning-point of the chariots rose a rock, red in color, and the flash from it terrified the horses, just as though it had been fire. But the Taraxippus at Olympia is much worse for terrifying the horses. On one turning-post is a bronze statue of Hippodameia carrying a ribbon, and about to crown Pelops with it for his victory.

OTHER SHRINES & THE GYMNASIUM AT OLYMPIA

[6.21.1] XXI. The other side of the course is not a bank of earth but a low hill. At the foot of the hill has been built a sanctuary to Demeter surnamed Chamyne. Some are of opinion that the name is old, signifying that here the earth gaped for the chariot of Hades and then closed up once more. Others say that Chamynus was a man of Pisa who opposed Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion and despot at Pisa, when he plotted to revolt from Elis; Pantaleon, they say, put him to death, and from his property was built the sanctuary to Demeter.

[6.21.2] In place of the old images of the Maid and of Demeter new ones of Pentelic marble were dedicated by Herodes the Athenian.

In the gymnasium at Olympia it is customary for pentathletes and runners to practise, and in the open has been made a basement of stone. Originally there stood on the basement a trophy to commemorate a victory over the Arcadians. There is also another enclosure, less than this, to the left of the entrance to the gymnasium, and the athletes have their wrestling-schools here. Adjoining the wall of the eastern porch of the gymnasium are the dwellings of the athletes, turned towards the southwest.

[6.21.3] On the other side of the Cladeus is the grave of Oenomaus, a mound of earth with a stone wall built round it, and above the tomb are ruins of buildings in which Oenomaus is said to have stabled his mares.

SAURUS RIDGE & RIVER ERYMANTHUS

The boundaries which now separate Arcadia and Elis originally separated Arcadia from Pisa, and are thus situated. On crossing the river Erymanthus at what is called the ridge of Saurus are the tomb of Saurus and a sanctuary of Heracles, now in ruins. The story is that Saurus used to do mischief to travellers and to dwellers in the neighborhood until he received his punishment at the hands of Heracles.

[6.21.4] At this ridge which has the same name as the robber, a river, falling into the Alpheius from the south, just opposite the Erymanthus, is the boundary between the land of Pisa and Arcadia; it is called the Diagon. Forty stades beyond the ridge of Saurus is a temple of Asclepius, surnamed Demaenetus after the founder. It too is in ruins. It was built on the height beside the Alpheius.

[6.21.5] Not far from it is a sanctuary of Dionysus Leucyanites, whereby flows a river Leucyanias. This river too is a tributary of the Alpheius; it descends from Mount Pholoe. Crossing the Alpheius after it you will be within the land of Pisa.

PHRIXA & RIVER PARTHENIA

[6.21.6] In this district is a hill rising to a sharp peak, on which are the ruins of the city of Phrixa, as well as a temple of Athena surnamed Cydonian. This temple is not entire, but the altar is still there. The sanctuary was founded for the goddess, they say, by Clymenus, a descendant of Idaean Heracles, and he came from Cydonia in Crete and from the river Jardanus. The Eleans say that Pelops too sacrificed to Cydonian Athena before he set about his contest with Oenomaus.

[6.21.7] Going on from this point you come to the water of Parthenia, and by the river is the grave of the mares of Marmax. The story has it that this Marmax was the first suitor of Hippodameia to arrive, and that he was killed by Oenomaus before the others; that the names of his mares were Parthenia and Eripha; that Oenomaus slew the mares after Marmax, but granted burial to them also, and that the river received the name Parthenia from the mare of Marmax.

HARPINA & PISA

[6.21.8] There is another river called Harpinates, and not far from the river are, among the other ruins of a city Harpina, its altars. The city was founded, they say, by Oenomaus, who named it after his mother Harpina.

[6.21.9] A little farther on is a high mound of earth, the grave of the suitors of Hippodameia. Now Oenomaus, they say, laid them in the ground near one another with no token of respect. But afterwards Pelops raised a high monument to them all, to honor them and to please Hippodameia. I think too that Pelops wanted a memorial to tell posterity the number and character of the men vanquished by Oenomaus before Pelops himself conquered him.

[6.21.10] According to the epic poem called the *Great Eoëae* the next after Marmax to be killed by Oenomaus was Alcathus, son of Porthaon; after Alcathus came Euryalus, Eurymachus and Crotalus. Now the parents and fatherlands of these I was unable to discover, but Acrias, the next after them to be killed, one might guess to have been a Lacedaemonian and the founder of Acriae. After Acrias they say that Oenomaus slew Capetus, Lycurgus, Lasius, Chalcodon and Tricolonus, who, according to the Arcadians, was the descendant and namesake of Tricolonus, the son of Lycaon.

[6.21.11] After Tricolonus there met their fate in the race Aristomachus and Prias, and then Pelagon, Aeolius and Cronius. Some add to the aforesaid Erythras, the son of Leucon, the son of Athamas, after whom was named Erythrae in Boeotia, and Eioneus, the son of Magnes the son of Aeolus. These are the men whose monument is here, and Pelops, they say, sacrificed every year to them as heroes, when he had won the sovereignty of Pisa.

[6.22.1] XXII. Going forward about a stade from the grave one sees traces of a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Cordax because the followers of Pelops celebrated their victory by the side of this goddess and danced the cordax, a dance peculiar to the dwellers round Mount Sipylus. Not far from the sanctuary is a small building containing a bronze chest, in which are kept the bones of Pelops. Of the wall and of the rest of the building there were no remains, but vines were planted over all the district where Pisa stood.

[6.22.2] The founder of the city, they say, was Pisus, the son of Perieres, the son of Aeolus. The people of Pisa brought of themselves disaster on their own heads by their hostility to the Eleans, and by their keenness to preside over the Olympic games instead of them. At the eighth Festival they brought in Pheidon of Argos, the most overbearing of the Greek tyrants, and held the games along with him, while at the thirty-fourth Festival the people of Pisa, with their king Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, collected an army from the neighborhood, and held the Olympic games instead of the Eleans.

[6.22.3] These Festivals, as well as the hundred and fourth, which was held by the Arcadians, are called "Non-Olympiads" by the Eleans, who do not include them in a list of Olympiads. At the forty-eighth Festival, Damophon the son of Pantaleon gave the Eleans reasons for suspecting that he was intriguing against them, but when they invaded the land of Pisa with an army he persuaded them by prayers and oaths to return quietly home again.

[6.22.4] When Pyrrhus, the son of Pantaleon, succeeded his brother Damophon as king, the people of Pisa of their own accord made war against Elis, and were joined in their revolt from the Eleans by the people of Macistus and Scillus, which are in Triphylia, and by the people of Dyspontium, another vassal community. The last were closely related to the people of Pisa, and it was a tradition of theirs that their founder had been Dysponteus the son of Oenomaus. It was the fate of Pisa, and of all her allies, to be destroyed by the Eleans.

PYLUS

[6.22.5] Of Pylus in the land of Elis the ruins are to be seen on the mountain road from Olympia to Elis, the distance between Elis and Pylus being eighty stades. This Pylus was founded, as I have already said, by a Megarian called Pylon, the son of Cleson. Destroyed by Heracles and refounded by the Eleans, the city was doomed in time to be without inhabitants. Beside it the river Ladon flows into the Peneius.

[6.22.6] The Eleans declare that there is a reference to this Pylus in the passage of Homer:—

And he was descended from the river

Alpheius, that in broad stream flows through the land of the Pylians. *Hom. Il.* 5.544

The Eleans convinced me that they are right. For the Alpheius does flow through this district, and the passage cannot refer to another Pylus. For the land of the Pylians over against the island Sphacteria simply cannot in the nature of things be crossed by the Alpheius, and, moreover, we know of no city in Arcadia named Pylus.

THE RIVER CYTHERUS

[6.22.7] Distant from Olympia about fifty stades is Heracleia, a village of the Eleans, and beside it is a river Cytherus. A spring flows into the river, and there is a sanctuary of nymphs near the spring. Individually the names of the nymphs are Calliphaeia, Synallasis, Pegaea and Iasis, but their common surname is the Ionides. Those who bathe in the spring are cured of all sorts of aches and pains. They say that the nymphs are named after Ion, the son of Gargettus, who migrated to this place from Athens.

LETRINI

[6.22.8] If you wish to go to Elis through the plain, you will travel one hundred and twenty stades to Letrini, and one hundred and eighty from Letrini to Elis. Originally Letrini was a town, and Letreus the son of Pelops was its founder; but in my time were left a few buildings, with an image of Artemis Alpheiaea in a temple.

[6.22.9] Legend has it that the goddess received the surname for the following reason. Alpheius fell in love with Artemis, and then, realizing that persuasive entreaties would not win the goddess as his bride, he dared to plot violence against her. Artemis was holding at Letrini an all-night revel with the nymphs who were her playmates, and to it came Alpheius. But Artemis had a suspicion of the plot of Alpheius, and smeared with mud her own face and the faces of the nymphs with her. So Alpheius, when he joined the throng, could

not distinguish Artemis from the others, and, not being able to pick her out, went away without bringing off his attempt.

[6.22.10] The people of Letrini called the goddess Alpheian because of the love of Alpheius for her. But the Eleans, who from the first had been friends of Letrini, transferred to that city the worship of Artemis Elaphiaea established amongst themselves, and held that they were worshipping Artemis Alpheiaea, and so in time the Alpheiaean goddess came to be named Elaphiaea.

[6.22.11] The Eleans, I think, called Artemis Elaphiaea from the hunting of the deer (elaphos). But they themselves say that Elaphius was the name of a native woman by whom Artemis was reared. About six stades distant from Letrini is a lake that never dries up, being just about three stades across.

ELIS CITY

[6.23.1] XXIII. One of the noteworthy things in Elis is an old gymnasium. In this gymnasium the athletes are wont to go through the training through which they must pass before going to Olympia. High plane-trees grow between the tracks inside a wall. The whole of this enclosure is called Xystus, because an exercise of Heracles, the son of Amphitryo, was to scrape up (*anaxuein*) each day all the thistles that grew there.

[6.23.2] The track for the competing runners, called by the natives the Sacred Track, is separate from that on which the runners and pentathletes practise. In the gymnasium is the place called Plethrium. In it the umpires match the competitors according to age and skill; it is for wrestling that they match them.

[6.23.3] There are also in the gymnasium altars of the gods, of Idaean Heracles, surnamed Comrade, of Love, of the deity called by Eleans and Athenians alike Love Returned, of Demeter and of her daughter. Achilles has no altar, only a cenotaph raised to him because of an oracle. On an appointed day at the beginning of the festival, when the course of the sun is sinking towards the west, the Elean women do honor to Achilles, especially by bewailing him.

[6.23.4] There is another enclosed gymnasium, but smaller, adjoining the larger one and called Square because of its shape. Here the athletes practise wrestling, and here, when they have no more wrestling to do, they are matched in contests with the softer gloves. There is also dedicated here one of the images made in honor of Zeus out of the fines imposed upon Sosander of Smyrna and upon Polycrator of Elis.

[6.23.5] There is also a third enclosed gymnasium, called Maltho from the softness of its floor, and reserved for the youths for the whole time of the festival. In a corner of the Maltho is a bust of Heracles as far as the shoulders, and in one of the wrestling-schools is a relief showing Love and Love Returned, as he is called. Love holds a palm-branch, and Love Returned is trying to take the palm from him.

[6.23.6] On each side of the entrance to the Maltho stands an image of a boy boxer. He was by birth, so the Guardian of the Laws at Elis told me, from Alexandria over against the island Pharos, and his name was Sarapion; arriving at Elis when the townsfolk were suffering from famine he supplied them with food. For this reason these honors were paid him here. The time of his crown at Olympia and of his benefaction to the Eleans was the two hundred and seventeenth Festival.

[6.23.7] In this gymnasium is also the Elean Council House, where take place exhibitions of extempore speeches and recitations of written works of all kinds. It is called Lalichmium, after the man who dedicated it. About it are dedicated shields, which are for show and not made to be used in war.

[6.23.8] The way from the gymnasium to the baths passes through the Street of Silence and beside the sanctuary of Artemis Philomeirax. The goddess is so surnamed because she is neighbor to the gymnasium; the street received, they say, the name of Silence for the following reason. Men of the army of Oxylys were sent to spy out what was happening in Elis. On the way they exhorted each other, when they should be near the wall, themselves to keep a strict silence, but to listen attentively if perchance they might learn aught from the people in the town. These men by this street reached the town unobserved, and after hearing all they wished they went back again to the Aetolians. So the street received its name from the silence of the spies.

[6.24.1] XXIV. One of the two ways from the gymnasium leads to the market-place, and to what is called the Umpires' Room; it is above the grave of Achilles, and by it the umpires are wont to go to the gymnasium. They enter before sunrise to match the runners, and at midday for the pentathlon and for such contests as are called heavy.

[6.24.2] The market-place of Elis is not after the fashion of the cities of Ionia and of the Greek cities near Ionia; it is built in the older manner, with porticoes separated from each other and with streets through them. The modern name of the market-place is Hippodromus, and the natives train their horses there. Of the porticoes the southern is in the Doric style, and it is divided by the pillars into three parts. In it the umpires generally spend the day.

[6.24.3] At the pillars they also cause altars to be made to Zeus, and in the open market-place are the altars, in number not many; for, their construction being improvised, they are without difficulty taken to pieces. As you enter the market-place at this portico the Umpires' Room is on your left, parallel to the end of the portico. What separates it from the market-place is a street. In this Umpires' Room dwell for ten consecutive months the umpires elect, who are instructed by the Guardians of the Law as to their duties at the festival.

[6.24.4] Near to the portico where the umpires pass the day is another portico, between the two being one street. The Eleans call it the Corcyrean, because, they say, the Corcyreans landed in their country and carried off part of the booty, but they themselves took many times as much booty from the land of

the Corcyreans, and built the portico from the tithe of the spoils.

[6.24.5] The portico is in the Doric style and double, having its pillars both on the side towards the market-place and on the side away from it. Down the center of it the roof is supported, not by pillars, but by a wall, beside which on either side have been dedicated statues. On the side of the portico towards the market-place stands a statue of Pyrrhon, son of Pistocrates, a sophist who never brought himself to make a definite admission on any matter. The tomb also of Pyrrhon is not far from the town of the Eleans. The name of the place is Petra, and it is said that Petra was a township in ancient times.

[6.24.6] The most notable things that the Eleans have in the open part of the market-place are a temple and image of Apollo Healer. The meaning of the name would appear to be exactly the same as that of Averter of Evil, the name current among the Athenians. In another part are the stone images of the sun and of the moon; from the head of the moon project horns, from the head of the sun, his rays. There is also a sanctuary to the Graces; the images are of wood, with their clothes gilded, while their faces, hands and feet are of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the middle one a die, and the third a small branch of myrtle.

[6.24.7] The reason for their holding these things may be guessed to be this. The rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite and connected with the story of Adonis, while the Graces are of all deities the nearest related to Aphrodite. As for the die, it is the plaything of youths and maidens, who have nothing of the ugliness of old age. On the right of the Graces is an image of Love, standing on the same pedestal.

[6.24.8] Here there is also a temple of Silenus, which is sacred to Silenus alone, and not to him in common with Dionysus. Drunkenness is offering him wine in a cup. That the Silenuses are a mortal race you may infer especially from their graves, for there is a tomb of a Silenus in the land of the Hebrews, and of another at Pergamus.

[6.24.9] In the market-place of Elis I saw something else, a low structure in the form of a temple. It has no walls, the roof being supported by pillars made of oak. The natives agree that it is a tomb, but they do not remember whose it is. If the old man I asked spoke the truth, it would be the tomb of Oxylus.

[6.24.10] There is also in the market-place a building for the women called the Sixteen, where they weave the robe for Hera.

Adjoining the market-place is an old temple surrounded by pillars; the roof has fallen down, and I found no image in the temple. It is dedicated to the Roman emperors.

[6.25.1] XXV. Behind the portico built from the spoils of Corcyra is a temple of Aphrodite, the precinct being in the open, not far from the temple. The goddess in the temple they call Heavenly; she is of ivory and gold, the work of Pheidias, and she stands with one foot upon a tortoise. The precinct of the other Aphrodite is surrounded by a wall, and within the precinct has been made a basement, upon which sits a bronze image of Aphrodite upon a bronze

he-goat. It is a work of Scopas, and the Aphrodite is named Common. The meaning of the tortoise and of the he-goat I leave to those who care to guess.

[6.25.2] The sacred enclosure of Hades and its temple (for the Eleans have these among their possessions) are opened once every year, but not even on this occasion is anybody permitted to enter except the priest. The following is the reason why the Eleans worship Hades; they are the only men we know of so to do. It is said that, when Heracles was leading an expedition against Pylus in Elis, Athena was one of his allies. Now among those who came to fight on the side of the Pylians was Hades, who was the foe of Heracles but was worshipped at Pylus.

[6.25.3] Homer is quoted in support of the story, who says in the *Iliad*:—

And among them huge Hades suffered a wound from a swift arrow,
When the same man, the son of aegis-bearing Zeus,
Hit him in Pylus among the dead, and gave him over to pains. Hom. *Il.*
5.395-397

If in the expedition of Agamemnon and Menelaus against Troy Poseidon was according to Homer an ally of the Greeks, it cannot be unnatural for the same poet to hold that Hades helped the Pylians. At any rate it was in the belief that the god was their friend but the enemy of Heracles that the Eleans made the sanctuary for him. The reason why they are wont to open it only once each year is, I suppose, because men too go down only once to Hades.

[6.25.4] The Eleans have also a sanctuary of Fortune. In a portico of the sanctuary has been dedicated a colossal image, made of gilded wood except the face, hands and feet, which are of white marble. Here Sosipolis too is worshipped in a small shrine on the left of the sanctuary of Fortune. The god is painted according to his appearance in a dream: in age a boy, wrapped in a star-spangled robe, and in one hand holding the horn of Amaltheia.

[6.25.5] In the most thickly-populated part of Elis is a statue of bronze no taller than a tall man; it represents a beardless youth with his legs crossed, leaning with both hands upon a spear. They cast about it a garment of wool, one of flax and one of fine linen.

[6.25.6] This image was said to be of Poseidon, and to have been worshipped in ancient times at Samicum in Triphylia. Transferred to Elis it received still greater honor, but the Eleans call it Satrap and not Poseidon, having learned the name Satrap, which is a surname of Corybas, after the enlargement of Patrae.

[6.26.1] XXVI. Between the market-place and the Menius is an old theater and a shrine of Dionysus. The image is the work of Praxiteles. Of the gods the Eleans worship Dionysus with the greatest reverence, and they assert that the god attends their festival, the Thyia. The place where they hold the festival they name the Thyia is about eight stades from the city. Three pots are brought into the building by the priests and set down empty in the presence of the citizens and of any strangers who may chance to be in the country. The doors

of the building are sealed by the priests themselves and by any others who may be so inclined.

[6.26.2] On the morrow they are allowed to examine the seals, and on going into the building they find the pots filled with wine. I did not myself arrive at the time of the festival, but the most respected Elean citizens, and with them strangers also, swore that what I have said is the truth. The Andrians too assert that every other year at their feast of Dionysus wine flows of its own accord from the sanctuary. If the Greeks are to be believed in these matters, one might with equal reason accept what the Ethiopians above Syene say about the table of the sun.

[6.26.3] On the Acropolis of the Eleans is a sanctuary of Athena. The image is of ivory and gold. They say that the goddess is the work of Pheidias. On her helmet is an image of a cock, this bird being very ready to fight. The bird might also be considered as sacred to Athena the worker.

CYLLENE

[6.26.4] Cyllene is one hundred and twenty stades distant from Elis; it faces Sicily and affords ships a suitable anchorage. It is the port of Elis, and received its name from a man of Arcadia. Homer does not mention Cyllene in the list of the Eleans, but in a later part of the poem he has shown that Cyllene was one of the towns he knew.

[6.26.5]

Pulydamas stripped Otus of Cyllene,
Comrade of Phyleides and ruler of the great-souled Epeans. Hom. *Il.* 15.518

In Cyllene is a sanctuary of Asclepius, and one of Aphrodite. But the image of Hermes, most devoutly worshipped by the inhabitants, is merely the male member upright on the pedestal.

ON SILK

[6.26.6] The land of Elis is fruitful, being especially suited to the growth of fine flax. Now while hemp and flax, both the ordinary and the fine variety, are sown by those whose soil is suited to grow it, the threads from which the Seres make the dresses are produced from no bark, but in a different way as follows. There is in the land of the Seres an insect which the Greeks call *ser*, though the Seres themselves give it another name.

[6.26.7] Its size is twice that of the largest beetle, but in other respects it is like the spiders that spin under trees, and furthermore it has, like the spider, eight feet. These creatures are reared by the Seres, who build them houses adapted for winter and for summer. The product of the creatures, a clue of fine thread, is found rolled round their feet.

[6.26.8] They keep them for four years, feeding them on millet, but in the fifth year, knowing that they have no longer to live, they give them green reed to

eat. This of all foods the creature likes best; so it stuffs itself with the reed till it bursts with surfeit, and after it has thus died they find inside it the greater part of the thread. Seria is known to be an island lying in a recess of the Red Sea.

[6.26.9] But I have heard that it is not the Red Sea, but a river called Ser, that makes this island, just as in Egypt the Delta is surrounded by the Nile and by no sea. Such another island is Seria said to be. These Seres themselves are of Aethiopian race, as are the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, Abasa and Sacaea. Some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians but a mongrel race of Scythians and Indians.

THE RIVER LARISUS

[6.26.10] Such are the accounts that are given. As you go from Elis to Achaia you come after one hundred and fifty-seven stades to the river Larisus, and in modern days this river forms the boundary between Elis and Achaia, though of old the boundary was Cape Araxus on the coast.

BOOK VII

ACHAEANS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.1.1] 1. The land between Elis and Sicyonia, reaching down to the eastern sea, is now called Achaia after the inhabitants, but of old was called Aegialus and those who lived in it Aegialians. According to the Sicyonians the name is derived from Aegialeus, who was king in what is now Sicyonia; others say that it is from the land, the greater part of which is coast (*aigialos*).

[7.1.2] Later on, after the death of Hellen, Xuthus was expelled from Thessaly by the rest of the sons of Hellen, who charged him with having appropriated some of the ancestral property. But he fled to Athens, where he was deemed worthy to wed the daughter of Erechtheus, by whom he had sons, Achaeus and Ion. On the death of Erechtheus Xuthus was appointed judge to decide which of his sons should succeed him. He decided that Cecrops, the eldest of them, should be king, and was accordingly banished from the land by the rest of the sons of Erechtheus.

[7.1.3] He reached Aegialus, made his home there, and there died. Of his sons, Achaeus with the assistance of allies from Aegialus and Athens returned to Thessaly and recovered the throne of his fathers: Ion, while gathering an army against the Aegialians and Selinus their king, received a message from Selinus, who offered to give him in marriage Helice, his only child, as well as to adopt him as his son and successor.

[7.1.4] It so happened that the proposal found favour with Ion, and on the death of Selinus he became king of the Aegialians. He called the city he founded in Aegialus Helice after his wife, and called the inhabitants Ionians after himself. This, however, was not a change of name, but an addition to it, for the folk were named Aegialian Ionians. The original name clung to the land even longer than to the people; for at any rate in the list of the allies of Agamemnon, Homer is content to mention the ancient name of the land: Throughout all Aegialus and about wide Helice. Hom. *Il.* 2.575

[7.1.5] At that time in the reign of Ion the Eleusinians made war on the Athenians, and these having invited Ion to be their leader in the war, he met his death in Attica, his tomb being in the deme of Potamus. The descendants of Ion became rulers of the Ionians, until they themselves as well as the people were expelled by the Achaeans. The Achaeans at that time had themselves been expelled from Lacedaemon and Argos by the Dorians.

[7.1.6] The history of the Ionians in relation to the Achaeans I will give as soon as I have explained the reason why the inhabitants of Lacedaemon and Argos were the only Peloponnesians to be called Achaeans before the return of the Dorians. Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, came from Phthiotis to Argos, and after their arrival became sons-in-law of Danaus, Architeles marrying Automate and Archander Scaea. A very clear proof that

they settled in Argos is the fact that Archander named his son Metanastes (Settler).

[7.1.7] When the sons of Achaeus came to power in Argos and Lacedaemon, the inhabitants of these towns came to be called Achaeans. The name Achaeans was common to them; the Argives had the special name of Danai. On the occasion referred to, being expelled by the Dorians from Argos and Lacedaemon, the Achaeans themselves and their king Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, sent heralds to the Ionians, offering to settle among them without warfare. But the kings of the Ionians were afraid that, if the Achaeans united with them, Tisamenus would be chosen king of the combined people because of his manliness and noble lineage.

[7.1.8] The Ionians rejected the proposal of the Achaeans and came out to fight them; in the battle Tisamenus was killed, the Ionians were overcome by the Achaeans, fled to Helice, where they were besieged, and afterwards were allowed to depart under a truce. The body of Tisamenus was buried in Helice by the Achaeans, but afterwards at the command of the Delphic oracle the Lacedaemonians carried his bones to Sparta, and in my own day his grave still existed in the place where the Lacedaemonians take the dinner called Pheiditia.

[7.1.9] The Ionians went to Attica, and they were allowed to settle there by the Athenians and their king Melanthus, the son of Andropompus, I suppose for the sake of Ion and his achievements when he was commander-in-chief of the Athenians. Another account is that the Athenians suspected that the Dorians would not keep their hands off them, and received the Ionians to strengthen themselves rather than for any good-will they felt towards the Ionians.

COLONIZATION OF MILETOS, HISTORY

[7.2.1] II. A few years afterwards Medon and Neileus, the oldest of the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about the rule, and Neileus refused to allow Medon to rule over him, because he was lame in one foot. The disputants agreed to refer the matter to the Delphic oracle, and the Pythian priestess gave the kingdom of Athens to Medon. So Neileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus set out to found a colony, taking with them any Athenian who wished to go with them, but the greatest number of their company was composed of Ionians.

[7.2.2] This was the third expedition sent out from Greece under kings of a race different from that of the common folk. The earliest was when Iolaus of Thebes, the nephew of Heracles, led the Athenians and Thespians to Sardinia. One generation before the Ionians set sail from Athens, the Lacedaemonians and Minyans who had been expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians were led by the Theban Theras, the son of Autesion, to the island now called after him, but formerly named Calliste.

[7.2.3] The third occasion was the expedition to which I have referred, when the sons of Codrus were appointed leaders of the Ionians, although they were

not related to them, but were, through Codrus and Melanthus, Messenians of Pylus, and, on their mother's side, Athenians. Those who shared in the expedition of the Ionians were the following among the Greeks: some Thebans under Philotas, a descendant of Peneleus; Minyans of Orchomenus, because they were related to the sons of Codrus.

[7.2.4] There also took part all the Phocians except the Delphians, and with them Abantes from Euboea. Ships for the voyage were given to the Phocians by Philogenes and Damon, Athenians and sons of Euctemon, who themselves led the colony. When they landed in Asia they divided, the different parties attacking the different cities on the coast, and Neileus with his party made for Miletus.

MILETOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.2.5] The Milesians themselves give the following account of their earliest history. For two generations, they say, their land was called Anactoria, during the reigns of Anax, an aboriginal, and of Asterius his son; but when Miletus landed with an army of Cretans both the land and the city changed their name to Miletus. Miletus and his men came from Crete, fleeing from Minos, the son of Europa; the Carians, the former inhabitants of the land, united with the Cretans. But to resume.

[7.2.6] When the Ionians had overcome the ancient Milesians they killed every male, except those who escaped at the capture of the city, but the wives of the Milesians and their daughters they married.

The grave of Neileus is on the left of the road, not far from the gate, as you go to Didymi.

EPHESOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

The sanctuary of Apollo at Didymi, and his oracle, are earlier than the immigration of the Ionians, while the cult of Ephesian Artemis is far more ancient still than their coming.

[7.2.7] Pindar, however, it seems to me, did not learn everything about the goddess, for he says that this sanctuary was founded by the Amazons during their campaign against Athens and Theseus. It is a fact that the women from the Thermodon, as they knew the sanctuary from of old, sacrificed to the Ephesian goddess both on this occasion and when they had fled from Heracles; some of them earlier still, when they had fled from Dionysus, having come to the sanctuary as suppliants. However, it was not by the Amazons that the sanctuary was founded, but by Coresus, an aboriginal, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been a son of the river Cayster, and from Ephesus the city received its name.

[7.2.8] The inhabitants of the land were partly Leleges, a branch of the Carians, but the greater number were Lydians. In addition there were others who dwelt around the sanctuary for the sake of its protection, and these

included some women of the race of the Amazons.

COLONIZATION OF EPHEOS, HISTORY

But Androclus the son of Codrus (for he it was who was appointed king of the Ionians who sailed against Ephesus) expelled from the land the Leleges and Lydians who occupied the upper city. Those, however, who dwelt around the sanctuary had nothing to fear; they exchanged oaths of friendship with the Ionians and escaped warfare. Androclus also took Samos from the Samians, and for a time the Ephesians held Samos and the adjacent islands.

[7.2.9] But after that the Samians had returned to their own land, Androclus helped the people of Priene against the Carians. The Greek army was victorious, but Androclus was killed in the battle. The Ephesians carried off his body and buried it in their own land, at the spot where his tomb is pointed out at the present day, on the road leading from the sanctuary past the Olympieum to the Magnesian gate. On the tomb is a statue of an armed man.

COLONIZATION OF MYUS & PRIENE, HISTORY

[7.2.10] The Ionians who settled at Myus and Priene, they too took the cities from Carians. The founder of Myus was Cyaretus the son of Codrus, but the people of Priene, half Theban and half Ionian, had as their founders Philotas, the descendant of Peneleus, and Aepytus, the son of Neileus. The people of Priene, although they suffered much at the hands of Tabutes the Persian and afterwards at the hands of Hiero, a native, yet down to the present day are accounted Ionians. The people of Myus left their city on account of the following accident.

[7.2.11] A small inlet of the sea used to run into their land. This inlet the river Maeander turned into a lake, by blocking up the entrance with mud. When the water, ceasing to be sea, became fresh, gnats in vast swarms bred in the lake until the inhabitants were forced to leave the city. They departed for Miletus, taking with them the images of the gods and their other movables, and on my visit I found nothing in Myus except a white marble temple of Dionysus. A similar fate to that of Myus happened to the people of Atarneus, under Mount Pergamus.

COLOPHON, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.3.1] III. The people of Colophon suppose that the sanctuary at Clarus, and the oracle, were founded in the remotest antiquity. They assert that while the Carians still held the land, the first Greeks to arrive were Cretans under Rhacius, who was followed by a great crowd also; these occupied the shore and were strong in ships, but the greater part of the country continued in the possession of the Carians. When Thebes was taken by Thersander, the son of Polyneices, and the Argives, among the prisoners brought to Apollo at Delphi

was Manto. Her father Teiresias had died on the way, in Haliartia,

[7.3.2] and when the god had sent them out to found a colony, they crossed in ships to Asia, but as they came to Clarus, the Cretans came against them armed and carried them away to Rhacius. But he, learning from Manto who they were and why they were come, took Manto to wife, and allowed the people with her to inhabit the land. Mopsus, the son of Rhacius and of Manto, drove the Carians from the country altogether.

COLONIZATION OF COLOPHON, HISTORY

[7.3.3] The Ionians swore an oath to the Greeks in Colophon, and lived with them in one city on equal terms, but the kingship was taken by the Ionian leaders, Damasichthon and Prometheus, sons of Codrus. Afterwards Prometheus killed his brother Damasichthon and fled to Naxos, where he died, but his body was carried home and received by the sons of Damasichthon. The name of the place where Damasichthon is buried is called Polyteichides.

[7.3.4] How it befell that Colophon was laid waste I have already related in my account of Lysimachus. Of those who were transported to Ephesus only the people of Colophon fought against Lysimachus and the Macedonians. The grave of those Colophonians and Smyrnaeans who fell in the battle is on the left of the road as you go to Clarus.

COLONIZATION OF LEBEDUS, HISTORY

[7.3.5] The city of Lebedus was razed to the ground by Lysimachus, simply in order that the population of Ephesus might be increased. The land around Lebedus is a happy one; in particular its hot baths are more numerous and more pleasant than any others on the coast. Originally Lebedus also was inhabited by the Carians, until they were driven out by Andraemon the son of Codrus and the Ionians. The grave of Andraemon is on the left of the road as you go from Colophon, when you have crossed the river Calaon.

COLONIZATION OF TEOS, HISTORY

[7.3.6] Teos used to be inhabited by Minyans of Orchomenus, who came to it with Athamas. This Athamas is said to have been a descendant of Athamas the son of Aeolus. Here too there was a Carian element combined with the Greek, while Ionians were introduced into Teos by Apoecus, a great-grandchild of Melanthus, who showed no hostility either to the Orchomenians or to the Teians. A few years later there came men from Athens and from Boeotia; the Attic contingent was under Damasus and Naoclus, the sons of Codrus, while the Boeotians were led by Geres, a Boeotian. Both parties were received by Apoecus and the Teians as fellow-settlers.

ERYTHRAE, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.3.7] The Erythraeans say that they came originally from Crete with Erythrus the son of Rhadamanthus, and that this Erythrus was the founder of their city. Along with the Cretans there dwelt in the city Lycians, Carians and Pamphylians; Lycians because of their kinship with the Cretans, as they came of old from Crete, having fled along with Sarpedon; Carians because of their ancient friendship with Minos; Pamphylians because they too belong to the Greek race, being among those who after the taking of Troy wandered with Calchas.

COLONIZATION OF ERYTHRAE, HISTORY

The peoples I have enumerated occupied Erythrae when Cleopus the son of Codrus gathered men from all the cities of Ionia, so many from each, and introduced them as settlers among the Erythraeans.

COLONIZATION OF CLAZOMENAE & PHOCAEA, HISTORY

[7.3.8] The cities of Clazomenae and Phocaea were not inhabited before the Ionians came to Asia. When the Ionians arrived, a wandering division of them sent for a leader, Parphorus, from the Colophonians, and founded under Mount Ida a city which shortly afterwards they abandoned, and returning to Ionia they founded Scyppium in the Colophonian territory.

[7.3.9] They left of their own free-will Colophonian territory also, and so occupied the land which they still hold, and built on the mainland the city of Clazomenae. Later they crossed over to the island through their fear of the Persians. But in course of time Alexander the son of Philip was destined to make Clazomenae a peninsula by a mole from the mainland to the island. Of these Clazomenians the greater part were not Ionians, but Cleonaeans and Phliasians, who abandoned their cities when the Dorians had returned to Peloponnesus.

[7.3.10] The Phocaeans are by birth from the land under Parnassus still called Phocis, who crossed to Asia with the Athenians Philogenes and Damon. Their land they took from the Cymaeans, not by war but by agreement. When the Ionians would not admit them to the Ionian confederacy until they accepted kings of the race of the Codridae, they accepted Deoetes, Periclus and Abartus from Erythrae and from Teos.

SAMOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.4.1] IV. The cities of the Ionians on the islands are Samos over against Mycale and Chios opposite Mimas. Asius, the son of Amphiptolemus, a Samian, says in his epic that there were born to Phoenix Astypalaea and Europa, whose mother was Perimede, the daughter of Oeneus; that Astypalaea had by Poseidon a son Ancaeus, who reigned over those called Leleges; that Ancaeus took to wife Samia, the daughter of the river Maeander, and begat Perilaus,

Enudus, Samus, Alitherses and a daughter Parthenope; and that Parthenope had a son Lycomedes by Apollo.

COLONIZATION OF SAMOS, HISTORY

[7.4.2] Thus far Asius in his poem. But on the occasion to which I refer the inhabitants of the island received the Ionians as settlers more of necessity than through good-will. The leader of the Ionians was Procles, the son of Pityreus, Epidaurian himself like the greater part of his followers, who had been expelled from Epidauria by Deiphontes and the Argives. This Procles was descended from Ion, son of Xuthus. But the Ephesians under Androclus made war on Leogorus, the son of Procles, who reigned in Samos after his father, and after conquering them in a battle drove the Samians out of their island, accusing them of conspiring with the Carians against the Ionians.

[7.4.3] The Samians fled and some of them made their home in an island near Thrace, and as a result of their settling there the name of the island was changed from Dardania to Samothrace. Others with Leogorus threw a wall round Anaea on the mainland opposite Samos, and ten years after crossed over, expelled the Ephesians and reoccupied the island.

SAMOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.4.4] Some say that the sanctuary of Hera in Samos was established by those who sailed in the Argo, and that these brought the image from Argos. But the Samians themselves hold that the goddess was born in the island by the side of the river Imbrasus under the withy that even in my time grew in the Heraeum. That this sanctuary is very old might be inferred especially by considering the image; for it is the work of an Aeginetan, Smilis, the son of Eucleides. This Smilis was a contemporary of Daedalus, though of less repute.

[7.4.5] Daedalus belonged to the royal Athenian clan called the Metionidae, and he was rather famous among all men not only for his art but also for his wandering and his misfortunes. For he killed his sister's son, and knowing the customs of his city he went into exile of his own accord to Minos in Crete. There he made images for Minos and for the daughters of Minos, as Homer sets forth in the *Iliad*

[7.4.6] but being condemned by Minos on some charge he was thrown into prison along with his son. He escaped from Crete and came to Cocalus at Inycus, a city of Sicily. Thereby he became the cause of war between Sicilians and Cretans, because when Minos demanded him back, Cocalus refused to give him up. He was so much admired by the daughters of Cocalus for his artistic skill that to please him these women actually plotted against Minos to put him to death.

[7.4.7] It is plain that the renown of Daedalus spread over all Sicily and even over the greater part of Italy. But as for Smilis, it is not clear that he visited any places save Samos and Elis. But to these he did travel, and he it was who

made the image of Hera in Samos.

CHIOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.4.8] . . . Ion the tragic poet says in his history that Poseidon came to the island when it was uninhabited; that there he had intercourse with a nymph, and that when she was in her pains there was a fall of snow (*chion*), and that accordingly Poseidon called his son Chios. Ion also says that Poseidon had intercourse with another nymph, by whom he had Agelus and Melas; that in course of time Oenopion too sailed with a fleet from Crete to Chios, accompanied by his sons Talus, Euanthes, Melas, Salagus and Athamas.

[7.4.9] Carians too came to the island, in the reign of Oenopion, and Abantes from Euboea. Oenopion and his sons were succeeded by Amphiclus, who because of an oracle from Delphi came from Histiaea in Euboea. Three generations from Amphiclus, Hector, who also had made himself king, made war on those Abantes and Carians who lived in the island, slew some in battle, and forced others to surrender and depart.

[7.4.10] When the Chians were rid of war, it occurred to Hector that they ought to unite with the Ionians in sacrificing at Panionium. It is said that the Ionian confederacy gave him a tripod as a prize for valor. Such was the account of the Chians that I found given by Ion. However, he gives no reason why the Chians are classed with the Ionians.

COLONIZATION OF SMYRNA, HISTORY

[7.5.1] v. Smyrna, one of the twelve Aeolian cities, built on that site which even now they call the old city, was seized by Ionians who set out from Colophon and displaced the Aeolians; subsequently, however, the Ionians allowed the Smyrnaeans to take their place in the general assembly at Panionium. The modern city was founded by Alexander, the son of Philip, in accordance with a vision in a dream.

[7.5.2] It is said that Alexander was hunting on Mount Pagus, and that after the hunt was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeses, and found there a spring and a plane-tree in front of the sanctuary, growing over the water. While he slept under the plane-tree it is said that the Nemeses appeared and bade him found a city there and to remove into it the Smyrnaeans from the old city.

[7.5.3] So the Smyrnaeans sent ambassadors to Clarus to make inquiries about the circumstance, and the god made answer:—

Thrice, yes, four times blest will those men be
Who shall dwell in Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they migrated of their own free will, and believe now in two Nemeses instead of one, saying that their mother is Night, while the Athenians say that

the father of the goddess in Rhamnus is Ocean.

COLONIES OF IONIA

[7.5.4] The land of the Ionians has the finest possible climate, and sanctuaries such as are to be found nowhere else. First because of its size and wealth is that of the Ephesian goddess, and then come two unfinished sanctuaries of Apollo, the one in Branchidae, in Milesian territory, and the one at Clarus in the land of the Colophonians. Besides these, two temples in Ionia were burnt down by the Persians, the one of Hera in Samos and that of Athena at Phocaea. Damaged though they are by fire, I found them a wonder.

[7.5.5] You would be delighted too with the sanctuary of Heracles at Erythrae and with the temple of Athena at Priene, the latter because of its image and the former on account of its age. The image is like neither the Aeginetan, as they are called, nor yet the most ancient Attic images; it is absolutely Egyptian, if ever there was such. There was a wooden raft, on which the god set out from Tyre in Phoenicia. The reason for this we are not told even by the Erythraeans themselves.

[7.5.6] They say that when the raft reached the Ionian sea it came to rest at the cape called Mesate (Middle) which is on the mainland, just midway between the harbor of the Erythraeans and the island of Chios. When the raft rested off the cape the Erythraeans made great efforts, and the Chians no less, both being keen to land the image on their own shores.

[7.5.7] At last a man of Erythrae (his name was Phormio) who gained a living by the sea and by catching fish, but had lost his sight through disease, saw a vision in a dream to the effect that the women of Erythrae must cut off their locks, and in this way the men would, with a rope woven from the hair, tow the raft to their shores. The women of the citizens absolutely refused to obey the dream;

[7.5.8] but the Thracian women, both the slaves and the free who lived there, offered themselves to be shorn. And so the men of Erythrae towed the raft ashore. Accordingly no women except Thracian women are allowed within the sanctuary of Heracles, and the hair rope is still kept by the natives. The same people say that the fisherman recovered his sight and retained it for the rest of his life.

[7.5.9] There is also in Erythrae a temple of Athena Polias and a huge wooden image of her sitting on a throne; she holds a distaff in either hand and wears a firmament on her head. That this image is the work of Endoeus we inferred, among other signs, from the workmanship, and especially from the white marble images of Graces and Seasons that stand in the open before the entrance. A sanctuary too of Asclepius was made by the Smyrnaeans in my time between Mount Coryphe and a sea into which no other water flows.

[7.5.10] Ionia has other things to record besides its sanctuaries and its climate. There is, for instance, in the land of the Ephesians the river Cenchrius, the strange mountain of Pion and the spring Halitaea. The land of Miletus has the

spring Biblis, of whose love the poets have sung. In the land of Colophon is the grove of Apollo, of ash-trees, and not far from the grove is the river Ales, the coldest river in Ionia.

[7.5.11] In the land of Lebedus are baths, which are both wonderful and useful. Teos, too, has baths at Cape Macria, some in the clefts of the rock, filled by the tide, others made to display wealth. The Clazomenians have baths (incidentally they worship Agamemnon) and a cave called the cave of the mother of Pyrrhus; they tell a legend about Pyrrhus the shepherd.

[7.5.12] The Erythraeans have a district called Calchis, from which their third tribe takes its name, and in Calchis is a cape stretching into the sea, and on it are sea baths, the most useful baths in Ionia. The Smyrnaeans have the river Meles, with its lovely water, and at its springs is the grotto, where they say that Homer composed his poems.

[7.5.13] One of the sights of Chios is the grave of Oenopion, about whose exploits they tell certain legends. The Samians have on the road to the Heraeum the tomb of Rhadine and Leontichus, and those who are crossed in love are wont to go to the tomb and pray. Ionia, in fact, is a land of wonders that are but little inferior to those of Greece.

THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE, HISTORY

[7.6.1] VI. When the Ionians were gone the Achaeans divided their land among themselves and settled in their cities. These were twelve in number, at least such as were known to all the Greek world; Dyme, the nearest to Elis, after it Olenus, Pharae, Triteia, Rhypes, Aegium, Ceryneia, Bura, Helice also and Aegae, Aegeira and Pellene, the last city on the side of Sicyonia. In them, which had previously been inhabited by Ionians, settled the Achaeans and their princes.

[7.6.2] Those who held the greatest power among the Achaeans were the sons of Tisamenus, Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes; his eldest son, Cometes, had already crossed with a fleet to Asia. These then at the time held sway among the Achaeans along with Damasias, the son of Penthilus, the son of Orestes, who on his father's side was cousin to the sons of Tisamenus. Equally powerful with the chiefs already mentioned were two Achaeans from Lacedaemon, Preugenēs and his son, whose name was Patreus. The Achaeans allowed them to found a city in their territory, and to it was given the name Patrae from Patreus.

[7.6.3] The wars of the Achaeans were as follow. In the expedition of Agamemnon to Troy they furnished, while still dwelling in Lacedaemon and Argos, the largest contingent in the Greek army. When the Persians under Xerxes attacked Greece the Achaeans it is clear had no part in the advance of Leonidas to Thermopylae, nor in the naval actions fought by the Athenians with Themistocles off Euboea and at Salamis, and they are not included in the Laconian or in the Attic list of allies.

[7.6.4] They were absent from the action at Plataea, for otherwise the

Achaean would surely have had their name inscribed on the offering of the Greeks at Olympia. My view is that they stayed at home to guard their several fatherlands, while because of the Trojan war they scorned to be led by Dorians of Lacedaemon. This became plain in course of time. For when later on the Lacedaemonians began the war with the Athenians, the Achaeans were eager for the alliance with Patrae, and were no less well disposed towards Athens.

[7.6.5] Of the wars waged afterwards by the confederate Greeks, the Achaeans took part in the battle of Chaeroneia against the Macedonians under Philip, but they say that they did not march out into Thessaly to what is called the Lamian war, for they had not yet recovered from the reverse in Boeotia. The local guide at Patrae used to say that the wrestler Chilon was the only Achaean who took part in the action at Lamia.

[7.6.6] I myself know that Adrastus, a Lydian, helped the Greeks as a private individual, although the Lydian commonwealth held aloof. A likeness of this Adrastus in bronze was dedicated in front of the sanctuary of Persian Artemis by the Lydians, who wrote an inscription to the effect that Adrastus died fighting for the Greeks against Leonnatus.

[7.6.7] The march to Thermopylae against the army of the Gauls was left alone by all the Peloponnesians alike; for, as the barbarians had no ships, the Peloponnesians anticipated no danger from the Gauls, if only they walled off the Corinthian Isthmus from the sea at Lechaemum to the other sea at Cenchreae.

[7.6.8] This was the policy of all the Peloponnesians at this time. But when the Gauls had somehow crossed in ships to Asia, the condition of the Greeks was as follows. No Greek state was preeminent in strength. For the Lacedaemonians were still prevented from recovering their former prosperity by the reverse at Leuctra combined with the union of the Arcadians at Megalopolis and the settlement of Messenians on their border.

[7.6.9] Thebes had been brought so low by Alexander that when, a few years later, Cassander brought back her people, they were too weak even to hold their own. The Athenians had indeed the goodwill of Greece, especially for their later exploits, but they never found it possible to recover from the Macedonian war.

[7.7.1] VII. When the Greeks no longer took concerted action, but each state acted for itself alone, the Achaeans enjoyed their greatest power. For except Pellene no Achaean city had at any time suffered from tyranny, while the disasters of war and of pestilence touched Achaia less than any other part of Greece. So we have what was called the Achaean League, and the Achaeans had a concerted policy and carried out concerted actions.

[7.7.2] As a place of assembly they resolved to have Aegium, for, after Helice had been swallowed up by the sea, Aegium from of old surpassed in reputation the other cities of Achaia, while at the time it enjoyed great power. Of the remaining Greeks the Sicyonians were the first to join the Achaean League, and after the Sicyonians there entered it yet other Peloponnesians,

some forthwith and others after an interval. Some too who lived outside the Isthmus were persuaded to join the Achaean League by its unbroken growth in power.

[7.7.3] Alone among the Greeks the Lacedaemonians were the bitter enemies of the Achaeans and openly carried on war against them. Pellene, a city of the Achaeans, was captured by Agis, the son of Eudamidas, who was king at Sparta; but he was immediately driven out by the Sicyonians under Aratus. Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, king of the other royal house, won a decisive victory at Dyme over the Sicyonians under Aratus, who attacked him, and afterwards concluded a peace with the Achaeans and Antigonus.

[7.7.4] This Antigonus at the time ruled over the Macedonians, being the guardian of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was still a boy. He was also a cousin of Philip, whose mother he had taken to wife. With this Antigonus then and the Achaeans Cleomenes made peace, and immediately broke all the oaths he had sworn by reducing to slavery Megalopolis, the city of the Arcadians. Because of Cleomenes and his treachery the Lacedaemonians suffered the reverse at Sellasia, where they were defeated by the Achaeans under Antigonus. In my account of Arcadia I shall again have occasion to mention Cleomenes.

[7.7.5] When Philip, the son of Demetrius, reached man's estate, and Antigonus without reluctance handed over the sovereignty of the Macedonians, he struck fear into the hearts of all the Greeks. He copied Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was not his ancestor but really his master, especially by flattering those who were willing to betray their country for their private advantage. At banquets he would give the right hand of friendship offering cups filled not with wine but with deadly poison, a thing which I believe never entered the head of Philip the son of Amyntas, but poisoning sat very lightly on the conscience of Philip the son of Demetrius.

[7.7.6] He also occupied with garrisons three towns to be used as bases against Greece, and in his insolent contempt for the Greek people he called these cities the keys of Greece. To watch Peloponnesus Corinth was fortified with its citadel; to watch Euboea, the Boeotians and the Phocians, Chalcis on the Euripus; against the Thessalians themselves and the Aetolian people Philip occupied Magnesia at the foot of Mount Pelium. The Athenians especially and the Aetolians he harried with continual attacks and raids of bandits.

[7.7.7] Already, in my account of Attica I have described the alliances of Greeks and barbarians with the Athenians against Philip, and how the weakness of their allies urged the Athenians to seek help from Rome. A short time before, the Romans had sent a force ostensibly to help the Aetolians against Philip, but really more to spy on the condition of Macedonia.

[7.7.8] At the appeal of Athens the Romans despatched an army under Otilius, to give him the name by which he was best known. For the Romans differ from the Greeks in their being called, not by the names of their fathers,

but by three names at least, if not more, given to each man. Otilius had received orders from the Romans to protect Athenians and Aetolians from war with Philip.

[7.7.9] Otilius carried out his orders up to a point, but displeased the Romans in certain of his acts. Hestiaea in Euboea and Anticyra in Phocis, which had been compelled to submit to Philip, he utterly destroyed. It was, I think, for this reason that the senate, when they heard the news, sent Flaminius to succeed Otilius in his command.

[7.8.1] VIII. On his arrival Flaminius sacked Eretria, defeating the Macedonians who were defending it. He then marched against Corinth, which was held by Philip with a garrison, and sat down to besiege it, while at the same time he sent to the Achaeans and bade them come to Corinth with an army, if they desired to be called allies of Rome and at the same time to show their goodwill to Greece.

[7.8.2] But the Achaeans greatly blamed Flaminius himself, and Otilius before him, for their savage treatment of ancient Greek cities which had done the Romans no harm, and were subject to the Macedonians against their will. They foresaw too that the Romans were coming to impose their domination both on Achaeans and on the rest of Greece, merely in fact to take the place of Philip and the Macedonians. At the meeting of the League many opposite views were put forward, but at last the Roman party prevailed, and the Achaeans joined Flaminius in besieging Corinth.

[7.8.3] On being delivered from the Macedonians the Corinthians at once joined the Achaean League; they had joined it on a previous occasion, when the Sicyonians under Aratus drove all the garrison out of Acrocorinth, killing Persaeus, who had been placed in command of the garrison by Antigonus. Hereafter the Achaeans were called allies of the Romans, and in all respects right zealous allies they proved themselves to be. They followed the Romans to Macedonia against Philip; they took part in the campaign against the Aetolians; thirdly they fought side by side with the Romans against the Syrians under Antiochus.

[7.8.4] All that the Achaeans did against the Macedonians or the host of the Syrians they did because of their friendship to the Romans; but against the Aetolians they had a long standing private quarrel to settle. When the tyranny of Nabis in Sparta was put down, a tyranny marked by extreme ferocity, the affairs of Lacedaemon at once caught the attention of the Achaeans.

[7.8.5] At this time the Achaeans brought the Lacedaemonians into the Achaean confederacy, exacted from them the strictest justice, and razed the walls of Sparta to the ground. These had been built at haphazard at the time of the invasion of Demetrius, and afterwards of the Epeirots under Pyrrhus, but under the tyranny of Nabis they had been strengthened to the greatest possible degree of safety. So the Achaeans destroyed the walls of Sparta, and also repealed the laws of Lycurgus that dealt with the training of the youths, at the same time ordering the youths to be trained after the Achaean method.

[7.8.6] I shall treat of this more fully in my account of Arcadia. The Lacedaemonians, deeply offended by the ordinances of the Achaeans, fled to Metellus and the other commissioners who had come from Rome. They had come, not at all to bring war upon Philip and the Macedonians, as peace had already been made between Philip and the Romans, but to judge the charges brought against Philip by the Thessalians and certain Epeirots.

[7.8.7] In actual fact Philip himself and the Macedonian ascendancy had been put down by the Romans; Philip fighting against the Romans under Flamininus was worsted at the place called Dog's Heads, where in spite of his desperate efforts Philip was so severely defeated in the encounter that he lost the greater part of his army and agreed with the Romans to evacuate all the cities in Greece that he had captured and forced to submit.

[7.8.8] By prayers of all sorts, however, and by vast expenditure he secured from the Romans a nominal peace. The history of Macedonia, the power she won under Philip the son of Amyntas, and her fall under the later Philip, were foretold by the inspired Sibyl. This was her oracle:—

[7.8.9]

Ye Macedonians, boasting of your Argive kings,
To you the reign of a Philip will be both good and evil.
The first will make you kings over cities and peoples;
The younger will lose all the honor,
Defeated by men from west and east.

Now those who destroyed the Macedonian empire were the Romans, dwelling in the west of Europe, and among the allies fighting on their side was Attalus . . . who also commanded the army from Mysia, a land lying under the rising sun.

[7.9.1] IX. On the occasion to which I referred Metellus and the other commissioners resolved not to overlook the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and asked the officers of the League to summon the Achaeans to a meeting, so that they might receive all together instructions to be gentler in their treatment of Lacedaemon. The officers replied that they would call a meeting of the Achaeans neither for them nor for anyone else who had not a decree of the Roman senate approving the proposal for which the assembly was to be held. Metellus and his colleagues, thinking that the conduct of the Achaeans was very insolent, on their arrival at Rome made before the senate many accusations against the Achaeans, not all of which were true.

[7.9.2] More accusations still against the Achaeans were made by Areus and Alcibiadas, Lacedaemonians of great distinction at Sparta but ungrateful to the Achaeans. For the Achaeans gave them a welcome when exiled by Nabis, and on the tyrant's death restored them to Sparta against the will of the Lacedaemonian people. On this occasion, therefore, they too arose and attacked the Achaeans with great vehemence before the senate; accordingly, the Achaeans, at a meeting of their League, passed sentence of death upon

them.

[7.9.3] The Roman senate sent Appius and other commissioners to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. The mere sight of Appius and his colleagues was sure to be displeasing to the Achaeans, for they brought with them Areus and Alcibiadas, detested by the Achaeans at that time beyond all other men. The commissioners vexed the Achaeans yet more when they came to the assembly and delivered speeches more angry than conciliatory.

[7.9.4] But Lycortas of Megalopolis, than whom no man was more highly esteemed among the Arcadians, and whose friendship with Philopoemen had given him something of his spirit, set forth the case for the Achaeans in a speech suggesting that the Romans were somewhat to blame. But Appius and his colleagues greeted the speech of Lycortas with jeers, acquitted Areus and Alcibiadas of any offence against the Achaeans, and permitted the Lacedaemonians to send an embassy to Rome. Such permission was a contravention of the agreement between the Romans and the Achaeans, which allowed the Achaeans as a body to send a deputation to the Roman senate but forbade any city of the Achaean League to send a deputation privately.

[7.9.5] A deputation of the Achaeans was sent to oppose the Lacedaemonians, and after speeches had been delivered by both sides before the senate, the Romans again despatched the same commissioners, Appius and his former colleagues in Greece, to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. This commission restored to Sparta those whom the Achaeans had exiled, and they remitted the penalties inflicted by the Achaeans on those who had fled before their trial and had been condemned in their absence. The Lacedaemonian connection with the Achaean League was not broken, but foreign courts were established to deal with capital charges; all other charges were to be submitted for judgment to the Achaean League. The circuit of the city walls was restored by the Spartans right from the foundations.

[7.9.6] The restored Lacedaemonian exiles carried on various intrigues against the Achaeans, hoping to vex them most by the following plot. They persuaded to go up to Rome the exiles of the Achaeans, along with the Messenians who had been held to be involved in the death of Philopoemen and banished on that account by the Achaeans. Going up with them to Rome they intrigued for the restoration of the exiles. As Appius was a zealous supporter of the Lacedaemonians and opposed the Achaeans in everything, the plans of the Messenian and Achaean exiles were bound to enjoy an easy success. Despatches were at once sent by the senate to Athens and Aetolia, with instructions to bring back the Messenians and Achaeans to their homes.

[7.9.7] This caused the greatest vexation to the Achaeans. They bethought themselves of the injustice they had suffered at the hands of the Romans, and how all their services had proved of no avail; to please the Romans they had made war against Philip, against the Aetolians and afterwards against Antiochus, and after all there was preferred before them a band of exiles,

whose hands were stained with blood. Nevertheless, they decided to give way.

[7.10.1] X. Such were the events that took place on this occasion. The most impious of all crimes, the betrayal for private gain of fatherland and fellow-citizens, was destined to be the beginning of woes for the Achaeans as for others, for it has never been absent from Greece since the birth of time. In the reign of Dareius, the son of Hystaspes, the king of Persia, the cause of the Ionians was ruined because all the Samian captains except eleven betrayed the Ionian fleet.

[7.10.2] After reducing Ionia the Persians enslaved Eretria also, the most famous citizens turning traitors, Philagrus, the son of Cyneas, and Euphorbus, the son of Alcimachua. When Xerxes invaded Greece, Thessaly was betrayed by Aleuades, and Thebes by Attaginus and Timegenidas, who were the foremost citizen of Thebes. After the Peloponnesian war, Xenias of Elis attempted to betray Elis to the Lacedaemonians under Agis,

[7.10.3] and the so-called “friends” of Lysander at no time relaxed their efforts to hand over their countries to him. In the reign of Philip, the son of Amyntas, Lacedaemon is the only Greek city to be found that was not betrayed; the other cities in Greece were ruined more by treachery than they had been previously by the plague. Alexander, the son of Philip, was so favoured by fortune that he had little need worth mentioning of traitors.

[7.10.4] But when the Greeks suffered defeat at Lamia, Antipater, in his eagerness to cross over to the war in Asia, wished to patch up a peace quickly, and it mattered nothing to him if he left free Athens and the whole of Greece. But Demades and the other traitors at Athens persuaded Antipater to have no kindly thoughts towards the Greeks, and by frightening the Athenian people were the cause of Macedonian garrisons being brought into Athens and most other cities.

[7.10.5] My statement is confirmed by the following fact. The Athenians after the disaster in Boeotia did not become subjects of Philip, although they lost two thousand prisoners in the action and one thousand killed. But when about two hundred at most fell at Lamia they were enslaved by the Lacedaemonians. So the plague of treachery never failed to afflict Greece, and it was an Achaean, Callicrates, who at the time I speak of made the Achaeans completely subject to Rome. But the beginning of their troubles proved to be Perseus and the destruction by the Romans of the Macedonian empire.

[7.10.6] Perseus, the son of Philip, who was at peace with Rome in accordance with a treaty his father Philip had made, resolved to break the oaths, and leading an army against the Sapaean and their king Abrupolis, allies of the Romans, made their country desolate. These Sapaean Archilochus mentions in an iambic line.

[7.10.7] The Macedonians and Perseus were conquered because of this wrong done to the Sapaean, and afterwards ten Roman senators were sent to arrange the affairs of Macedonia in the best interests of the Romans. When they came to Greece, Callicrates curried favour with them, no form of flattery, whether in

word or in deed, being too gross for him to use. One member of the commission, a most dishonorable man, Callicrates so captivated that he actually persuaded him to attend the meeting of the Achaean League.

[7.10.8] When he entered the assembly he declared that while Perseus was at war with Rome the most influential Achaeans, besides helping him generally, had supplied him with money. So he required the Achaeans to condemn them to death. After their condemnation, he said, he would himself disclose the names of the culprits. His words were regarded as absolutely unfair, and the members present demanded that, if certain Achaeans had sided with Perseus, their individual names should be mentioned, it being unreasonable to condemn them before this was done.

[7.10.9] Thereupon the Roman, as he was getting the worst of the argument, brazenly asserted that every Achaean who had held the office of general was included in his accusation, since one and all had favoured the cause of the Macedonians and Perseus. This he said at the bidding of Callicrates. After him rose Xenon, a man of great repute among the Achaeans, and said "The truth about this accusation is as follows. I myself have served the Achaeans as their general, but I am guilty neither of treachery to Rome nor of friendship to Perseus. I am therefore ready to submit to trial either before the Achaean diet or before the Romans themselves." This frank speech was prompted by a clear conscience,

[7.10.10] but the Roman at once grasped the pretext, and sent for trial before the Roman court all those whom Callicrates accused of supporting Perseus. Never before had Greeks been so treated, for not even the most powerful of the Macedonians, Philip, the son of Amyntas, and Alexander, despatched by force to Macedonia the Greeks who were opposed to them, but allowed them to plead their case before the Amphictyons.

[7.10.11] But on this occasion it was decided to send up to Rome every one of the Achaean people, however innocent, whom Callicrates chose to accuse. They amounted to over a thousand men. The Romans, holding that all these had already been condemned by the Achaeans, distributed them throughout Etruria and its cities, and though the Achaeans sent embassy after embassy to plead on behalf of the men, no notice was taken of the petitions.

[7.10.12] Sixteen years later, when the number of Achaeans in Italy was reduced to three hundred at most, the Romans set them free, considering that their punishment was sufficient. But those who ran away, either at once when they were being brought up to Rome, or later on from the cities to which the Romans sent them, were saved from punishment by no defence if they were recaptured.

[7.11.1] XI. The Romans again despatched a senator to Greece. His name was Gallus, and his instructions were to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives in the case of a disputed piece of territory. This Gallus on many occasions behaved towards the Greek race with great arrogance, both in word and deed, while he made a complete mock of the Lacedaemonians and

Argives.

[7.11.2] These states had reached the highest degree of renown, and in a famous war of old had poured out their blood like water because of a dispute about boundaries, while later Philip, the son of Amyntas, had acted as arbitrator to settle their differences; yet now Gallus disdained to arbitrate in person, and entrusted the decision to Callicrates, the most abominable wretch in all Greece.

[7.11.3] There also came to Gallus the Aetolians living at Pleuron, who wished to detach themselves from the Achaean confederacy. Gallus allowed them to send on their own an embassy to Rome, and the Romans allowed them to secede from the Achaean League. The senate also commissioned Gallus to separate from the Achaean confederacy as many states as he could.

[7.11.4] While he was carrying out his instructions, the Athenian populace sacked Oropus, a state subject to them. The act was one of necessity rather than of free-will, as the Athenians at the time suffered the direst poverty, because the Macedonian war had crushed them more than any other Greeks. So the Oropians appealed to the Roman senate. It decided that an injustice had been committed, and instructed the Sicyonians to inflict a fine on the Athenians commensurate with the unprovoked harm done by them to Oropus.

[7.11.5] When the Athenians did not appear in time for the trial, the Sicyonians inflicted on them a fine of five hundred talents, which the Roman senate on the appeal of the Athenians remitted with the exception of one hundred talents. Not even this reduced fine did the Athenians pay, but by promises and bribes they beguiled the Oropians into an agreement that an Athenian garrison should enter Oropus, and that the Athenians should take hostages from the Oropians. If in the future the Oropians should have any complaint to make against the Athenians, then the Athenians were to withdraw their garrison from Oropus and give the hostages back again.

[7.11.6] After no long interval the Oropians were wronged by certain of the garrison. They accordingly despatched envoys to Athens to ask for the restoration of their hostages and to request that the garrison be withdrawn according to the agreement. The Athenians refused to do either of these things, saying that the blame lay, not with the Athenian people, but with the men of the garrison. They promised, however, that the culprits should be brought to account.

[7.11.7] The Oropians then appealed to the Achaeans for aid, but these refused to give it out of friendship and respect for the Athenians. Thereupon the Oropians promised Menalcidas, a Lacedaemonian who was then general of the Achaeans, a gift of ten talents if he would induce the Achaeans to help them. Menalcidas promised half of the money to Callicrates, who on account of his friendship with the Romans had most influence among the Achaeans.

[7.11.8] Callicrates was persuaded to adopt the plan of Menalcidas, and it was decided to help the Oropians against the Athenians. News of this was brought to the Athenians, who, with all the speed each could, came to Oropus, again

dragged away anything they had overlooked in the previous raids, and brought away the garrison. As the Achaeans were too late to render help, Menalcidas and Callicrates urged them to invade Attica. But they met with opposition, especially from Lacedaemon, and the army withdrew.

[7.12.1] XII. Though the Oropians had received no help from the Achaeans, nevertheless Menalcidas extorted the money from them. But when he had the bribe in his hands, he began to think it hard luck that he had to share his gains with Callicrates. At first he had recourse to procrastination and deceit about payment, but shortly he plucked up courage and flatly refused to give anything.

[7.12.2] It confirms the truth of the proverb that one fire burns more fiercely than another, one wolf is more savage than other wolves, one hawk swifter than another, that Menalcidas outdid in treachery Callicrates, the worst rascal of his time, one who could never resist a bribe of any kind. He fell foul of the Athenians without gaining anything, and, when Menalcidas laid down his office, accused him before the Achaeans on a capital charge. He said that Menalcidas, when on an embassy to Rome, had worked against the Achaeans and had done all he could to separate Sparta from the Achaean League.

[7.12.3] Thereupon, as the danger he ran was extreme, Menalcidas gave three of the talents he received from Oropus to Diaeus of Megalopolis, who had succeeded him as general of the Achaeans, and on this occasion was so active, because of the bribe, that he succeeded in saving Menalcidas in spite of the opposition of the Achaeans. The Achaeans, individually and as a body, held Diaeus responsible for the acquittal of Menalcidas, but he distracted their attention from the charges made against him by directing it towards more ambitious hopes, using to deceive them the following pretext.

[7.12.4] The Lacedaemonians appealed to the Roman senate about a disputed territory, and the senate replied to the appeal by decreeing that all except capital cases should be under the jurisdiction of the Achaean League. Such was the senate's answer, but Diaeus did not tell the Achaeans the truth, but cajoled them by the declaration that the Roman senate had committed to them the right to condemn a Spartan to death.

[7.12.5] So the Achaeans claimed the right to try a Lacedaemonian on a capital charge, but the Lacedaemonians would not admit that Diaeus spoke the truth, and wished to refer the point to the Roman senate. But the Achaeans seized another pretext, that no state belonging to the Achaean League had the right to send an embassy on its own to the Roman senate, but only in conjunction with the rest of the League.

[7.12.6] These disputes were the cause of a war between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and the former, realizing that they were not a match for their opponents, sent envoys to their cities and entered into personal negotiations with Diaeus. The cities all made the same reply, that it was unlawful to turn a deaf ear to their general when he proclaimed a campaign; for Diaeus, who was in command of the Achaeans, declared that he would

march to make war, not on Sparta but on those that were troubling her.

[7.12.7] When the Spartan senate inquired how many he considered were guilty, he reported to them the names of twenty-four citizens of the very front rank in Sparta. Thereupon was carried a motion of Agasisthenes, whose advice on this occasion enhanced the already great reputation he enjoyed. He bade the twenty-four to go into voluntary exile from Lacedaemon, instead of bringing war upon Sparta by remaining where they were; if they exiled themselves to Rome, he declared, they would before long be restored to their country by the Romans.

[7.12.8] So they departed, underwent a nominal trial at Sparta, and were condemned to death. The Achaeans on their side despatched to Rome Callicrates and Diaeus to oppose the exiles from Sparta before the senate. Callicrates died of disease on the journey, and even if he had reached Rome I do not know that he would have been of any assistance to the Achaeans – perhaps he would have been the cause of greater troubles. The debate between Diaeus and Menalcidas before the senate was marked by fluency rather than by decency on either side.

[7.12.9] The answer of the senate to their remarks was that they were sending envoys to settle the disputes between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. The journey of the envoys from Rome proved rather slow, giving Diaeus a fresh opportunity of deceiving the Achaeans and Menalcidas of deceiving the Lacedaemonians. Diaeus misled the Achaeans into the belief that the Roman senate had decreed the complete subjection to them of the Lacedaemonians; Menalcidas deceived the Lacedaemonians into thinking that the Romans had entirely freed them from the Achaean League.

[7.13.1] XIII. So the result of the debate was that the Achaeans again came near to actual war with the Lacedaemonians, and Damocritus, who had been elected general of the Achaeans at this time, proceeded to mobilize an army against Sparta. But about this time there arrived in Macedonia a Roman force under Metellus, whose object was to put down the rebellion of Andriscus, the son of Perseus, the son of Philip. The war in Macedonia, it turned out, was easily decided in favour of the Romans,

[7.13.2] but Metellus urged the envoys, sent by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Asia, to parley with the chiefs of the Achaeans before making the crossing. They were to order them not to attack Sparta, but to await the arrival from Rome of the envoys sent for the purpose of arbitrating between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans.

[7.13.3] They delivered their instructions to the Achaeans under Damocritus when these had already begun a campaign against Lacedaemon, and so, realizing that the Achaeans were set against their advice, proceeded on their way to Asia. The Lacedaemonians, with a spirit greater than their strength, took up arms, and sallied forth to defend their country. But they were soon crushed; a thousand of their bravest youths fell in the battle, and the rest of the soldiery fled towards the city with all the haste they could.

[7.13.4] If Damocritus had made a vigorous effort, the Achaeans could have dashed into the walls of Sparta along with the fugitives from the field of battle. As it was, he at once recalled the Achaeans from the pursuit, and confined his future operations to raids and plunder, instead of prosecuting the siege with energy.

[7.13.5] So Damocritus withdrew his army, and the Achaeans sentenced him to pay a fine of fifty talents for his treachery. Being unable to pay, he left the Peloponnesus and went into exile. Diaeus, who was elected general after Damocritus, agreed, when Metellus sent another embassy, to involve the Lacedaemonians in no war, but to await the arrival of the arbitrators from Rome.

[7.13.6] But he invented another trick to embarrass the Lacedaemonians. He induced the towns around Sparta to be friendly to the Achaeans, and even introduced garrisons into them, to be Achaean bases against Sparta.

[7.13.7] The Lacedaemonians elected Menalcidas to be their general against Diaeus, and although they were utterly unprepared for war, being especially ill-provided with money, while in addition their land had remained unsown, he nevertheless dared to break the truce, and took by assault and sacked Iasus, a town on the borders of Laconia, but at that time subject to the Achaeans.

[7.13.8] Having again stirred up war between Lacedaemonians and Achaeans he incurred blame at the hands of his countrymen, and, failing to find a way of escape for the Lacedaemonians from the peril that threatened them, he took his own life by poison. Such was the end of Menalcidas. At the time he was in command of the Lacedaemonians, and previously he had commanded the Achaeans. In the former office he proved a most stupid general, in the latter an unparalleled villain.

[7.14.1] XIV. There also arrived in Greece the envoys despatched from Rome to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, among them being Orestes. He invited to visit him the magistrates in each of the Greek cities, along with Diaeus. When they arrived at his lodging, he proceeded to disclose to them the whole story, that the Roman senate decreed that neither the Lacedaemonians nor yet Corinth itself should belong to the Achaean League, and that Argos, Heracleia by Mount Oeta and the Arcadian Orchomenus should be released from the Achaean confederacy. For they were not, he said, related at all to the Achaeans, and but late-comers to the League.

[7.14.2] The magistrates of the Achaeans did not wait for Orestes to conclude, but while he was yet speaking ran out of the house and summoned the Achaeans to an assembly. When the Achaeans heard the decision of the Romans, they at once turned against the Spartans who happened to be then residing in Corinth, and arrested every one, not only those whom they knew for certain to be Lacedaemonians, but also all those they suspected to be such from the cut of their hair, or because of their shoes, their clothes or even their names. Some of them, who succeeded in taking refuge in the lodging of Orestes, they actually attempted even from there to drag away by force.

[7.14.3] Orestes and his colleagues tried to check their violence, reminding them that they were committing unprovoked acts of criminal insolence against the Romans. A few days afterwards the Achaeans shut up in prison the Lacedaemonians they held under arrest, but separated from them the foreigners and let them go. They also despatched to Rome Thearidas, with certain other members of the Achaean government. These set out, but meeting on the journey the Roman envoys who had been sent after Orestes to deal with the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, they too turned back.

[7.14.4] When the time came for Diaeus to relinquish his office, Critolaus was elected general by the Achaeans. This Critolaus was seized with a keen but utterly unthinking passion to make war against the Romans. The envoys from the Romans had by this time already arrived to adjudicate on the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and Critolaus had a conference with them at Tegea in Arcadia, being most unwilling to summon the Achaeans to meet them in a general assembly. However, in the hearing of the Romans he sent messengers with instructions to summon the deputies to the assembly, but privately he sent orders to the deputies of the various cities to absent themselves from the meeting.

[7.14.5] When the deputies did not attend, Critolaus showed very clearly how he was hoodwinking the Romans. He urged them to wait for another meeting of the Achaeans, to take place five months later, declaring that he would not confer with them without the general assembly of the Achaeans. When the envoys realized that they were being deceived, they departed for Rome but Critolaus summoned a meeting of the Achaeans at Corinth, and persuaded them both to take up arms against Sparta and also to declare war openly on Rome.

[7.14.6] For a king or state to undertake a war and be unlucky is due to the jealousy of some divinity rather than to the fault of the combatants; but audacity combined with weakness should be called madness rather than ill-luck. But it was such a combination that overthrew Critolaus and the Achaeans. The Achaeans were also encouraged by Pytheas, who at that time was Boeotarch at Thebes, and the Thebans promised to give enthusiastic support in the war.

[7.14.7] The Thebans had been sentenced, at the first ruling given by Metellus, to pay a fine for invading the territory of Phocis with an armed force; at the second to compensate the Euboeans for laying waste Euboea; at the third to compensate the people of Amphissa for ravaging their territory when the corn was ripe for harvest.

[7.15.1] XV. The Romans, learning the news from the envoys sent to Greece and from the despatches of Metellus, decided that the Achaeans were in the wrong, and they ordered Mummius, the consul elected for that year, to lead a fleet with a land force against them. As soon as Metellus learned that Mummius and his army were coming to fight the Achaeans, he was full of

enthusiasm to bring the war to a conclusion without help before Mummius reached Greece.

[7.15.2] So he despatched envoys to the Achaeans, bidding them release from the League the Lacedaemonians and the other states mentioned in the order of the Romans, promising that the Romans would entirely forgive them for their disobedience on the previous occasion. While making these proposals for peace he marched from Macedonia through Thessaly and along the gulf of Lamia. But Critolaus and the Achaeans would listen to no suggestions for an agreement, and sat down to besiege Heracleia, which refused to join the Achaean League.

[7.15.3] Then, when Critolaus was informed by his scouts that the Romans under Metellus had crossed the Spercheius, he fled to Scarpheia in Locris, without daring even to draw up the Achaeans in the pass between Heracleia and Thermopylae, and to await Metellus there. To such a depth of terror did he sink that brighter hopes were not suggested even by the spot itself, the site of the Lacedaemonian effort to save Greece, and of the no less glorious exploit of the Athenians against the Gauls.

[7.15.4] Critolaus and the Achaeans took to flight, but at a short distance from Scarpheia they were overtaken by the men of Metellus, who killed many and took about a thousand prisoners. Critolaus was neither seen alive after the battle nor found among the dead. If he dared to plunge into the marsh of the sea at the foot of Mount Oeta he must inevitably have sunk into the depths without leaving a trace to tell the tale.

[7.15.5] So the end of Critolaus offers a wide field for conjecture. A thousand picked troops of Arcadia, who had joined Critolaus in his enterprise, took the field and advanced as far as Elateia in Phocis, into which city they were received by the inhabitants on the ground of some supposed ancient connection between them. But when the Phocians heard of the disaster to Critolaus and the Achaeans, they ordered the Arcadians to depart from Elateia.

[7.15.6] As they were retreating to the Peloponnesus the Romans under Metellus fell upon them near Chaeroneia. It was then that the vengeance of the Greek gods overtook the Arcadians, who were slain by the Romans on the very spot on which they had deserted from the Greeks who were struggling at Chaeroneia against the Macedonians under Philip.

[7.15.7] Diaeus once more came forward to command the Achaean army. He proceeded to set free slaves, following the example of Miltiades and the Athenians before the battle of Marathon, and enlisted from the cities of the Achaeans and Arcadians those who were of military age. The muster, including the slaves, amounted roughly to six hundred cavalry and fourteen thousand foot.

[7.15.8] And here Diaeus sank into utter folly. Although he knew that Critolaus and the whole force of Achaia had put up such a poor fight against Metellus, he nevertheless detached about four thousand, put them under the

command of Alcamenes, and despatched them to Megara to garrison the city, and to stay the advance of Metellus and the Romans, should they march that way.

[7.15.9] When the picked Arcadian troops had been overthrown near Chaeroneia, Metellus moved his army and marched against Thebes, for the Thebans had joined the Achaeans in investing Heracleia, and had taken part in the engagement of Scarpheia. Then the inhabitants, of both sexes and of all ages, abandoned the city and wandered about Boeotia, or took refuge on the tops of the mountains.

[7.15.10] But Metellus would not allow either the burning of sanctuaries of the gods or the destruction of buildings, and he forbade his men to kill any Theban or take prisoner any fugitive. If, however, Pytheas should be caught, he was to be brought before him. Pytheas was discovered immediately, brought before Metellus and punished. When the army approached Megara, Alcamenes and his men did not face it, but straightway fled to the camp of the Achaeans at Corinth.

[7.15.11] The Megarians surrendered their city to the Romans without a blow, and when Metellus came to the Isthmus he again made overtures to the Achaeans for an agreed peace. For he was possessed of a strong desire to settle by himself the affairs of both Macedonia and Achaia. His efforts, however, were thwarted by the senselessness of Diaeus.

[7.16.1] XVI. Mummius, bringing with him Orestes, the commissioner sent earlier to deal with the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, reached the Roman army at early dawn, and sending Metellus and his forces to Macedonia, himself waited at the Isthmus for his whole force to assemble. There came three thousand five hundred cavalry, while the infantry amounted to twenty-three thousand. They were joined by a company of Cretan archers and by Philopoemen, at the head of some troops sent by Attalus from Pergamus on the Caicus.

[7.16.2] Certain of the Italian troops along with the auxiliaries were stationed by Mummius twelve stades away, to be an outpost for the whole army. The contempt of the Romans made them keep a careless look-out, and the Achaeans, attacking them in the first watch, killed some, drove yet more back to the camp, and took some five hundred shields. Puffed up with this success the Achaeans marched out to battle before the Romans began their attack.

[7.16.3] But when Mummius advanced to meet them, the Achaean horse at once took to flight, without waiting for even the first charge of the Roman cavalry. The infantry were depressed at the rout of their horse, but nevertheless received the onslaught of the Roman men-at-arms; overwhelmed by numbers and faint with their wounds they offered a spirited resistance, until a thousand picked Romans fell upon their flank and utterly routed them.

[7.16.4] If after the battle Diaeus had boldly thrown himself into Corinth and received the fugitives within the walls, the Achaeans might have been able to get favorable terms from Mummius, by putting him to the trouble of a

protracted siege. As it was, when the Achaeans were but beginning to yield, Diaeus fled straight for Megalopolis, his conduct towards the Achaeans showing a marked contrast to that of Callistratus, the son of Empedus, towards the Athenians.

[7.16.5] This man commanded some cavalry in Sicily, and when the Athenians and their partners in the expedition were being massacred at the river Asinarus, he courageously cut a way through the enemy at the head of his horsemen. He brought most of them safe to Catana, and then returned by the same way back to Syracuse. Finding the enemy still plundering the Athenian camp, he cut down some five of them, and then both he and his horse received mortal wounds and died.

[7.16.6] So he won glory for the Athenians and for himself, by saving the men under his command and seeking his own death. But Diaeus having ruined the Achaeans came to tell the tidings of disaster to the people of Megalopolis, killed his wife with his own hand, just to save her from being taken prisoner, and then committed suicide by drinking poison. He may be compared to Menalcidas for his avarice, and proved equally like him in the cowardice of his death.

[7.16.7] As soon as night fell, the Achaeans who had escaped to Corinth after the battle fled from the city, and there fled with them most of the Corinthians themselves. At first Mummius hesitated to enter Corinth, although the gates were open, as he suspected that an ambush had been laid within the walls. But on the third day after the battle he proceeded to storm Corinth and to set it on fire.

[7.16.8] The majority of those found in it were put to the sword by the Romans, but the women and children Mummius sold into slavery. He also sold all the slaves who had been set free, had fought on the side of the Achaeans, and had not fallen at once on the field of battle. The most admired votive offerings and works of art were carried off by Mummius; those of less account he gave to Philopoemen, the general sent by Attalus; even in my day there were Corinthian spoils at Pergamus.

[7.16.9] The walls of all the cities that had made war against Rome Mummius demolished, disarming the inhabitants, even before assistant commissioners were despatched from Rome, and when these did arrive, he proceeded to put down democracies and to establish governments based on a property qualification. Tribute was imposed on Greece, and those with property were forbidden to acquire possessions in a foreign country. Racial confederacies, whether of Achaeans, or Phocians, or Boeotians, or of any other Greek people, were one and all put down.

[7.16.10] A few years later the Romans took pity on Greece, restored the various old racial confederacies, with the right to acquire property in a foreign country, and remitted the fines imposed by Mummius. For he had ordered the Boeotians to pay a hundred talents to the people of Heracleia and Euboea, and the Achaeans to pay two hundred to the Lacedaemonians. Although the

Romans granted the Greeks remission of these payments, yet down to my day a Roman governor has been sent to the country. The Romans call him the Governor, not of Greece, but of Achaia, because the cause of the subjection of Greece was the Achaeans, at that time at the head of the Greek nation. This war came to an end when Antitheus was archon at Athens, in the hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, at which Diodorus of Sicily was victorious.

[7.17.1] XVII. It was at this time that Greece was struck with universal and utter prostration, although parts of it from the beginning had suffered ruin and devastation at the hand of heaven. Argos, a city that reached the zenith of its power in the days of the heroes, as they are called, was deserted by its good fortune at the Dorian revolution.

[7.17.2] The people of Attica, reviving after the Peloponnesian war and the plague, raised themselves again only to be struck down a few years later by the ascendancy of Macedonia. From Macedonia the wrath of Alexander swooped like a thunderbolt on Thebes of Boeotia. The Lacedaemonians suffered injury through Epaminondas of Thebes and again through the war with the Achaeans. And when painfully, like a shoot from a mutilated and mostly withered trunk, the Achaean power sprang up, it was cut short, while still growing, by the cowardice of its generals.

[7.17.3] At a later time, when the Roman imperial power devolved upon Nero, he gave to the Roman people the very prosperous island of Sardinia in exchange for Greece, and then bestowed upon the latter complete freedom. When I considered this act of Nero it struck me how true is the remark of Plato, the son of Ariston, who says that the greatest and most daring crimes are committed, not by ordinary men, but by a noble soul ruined by a perverted education.

[7.17.4] The Greeks, however, were not to profit by the gift. For in the reign of Vespasian, the next emperor after Nero, they became embroiled in a civil war; Vespasian ordered that they should again pay tribute and be subject to a governor, saying that the Greek people had forgotten how to be free.

DYME

[7.17.5] To resume after my researches into Achaean history. The boundary between Achaia and Elis is the river Larisus, and by the river is a temple of Larisaeon Athena; about thirty stades distant from the Larisus is Dyme, an Achaean city. This was the only Achaean city that in his wars Philip the son of Demetrius made subject to him, and for this reason Sulpicius, another Roman governor, handed over Dyme to be sacked by his soldiery. Afterwards Augustus annexed it to Patrae.

[7.17.6] Its more ancient name was Paleia, but the Ionians changed this to its modern name while they still occupied the city; I am uncertain whether they named it after Dyme, a native woman, or after Dymas, the son of Aegimius. But nobody is likely to be led into a fallacy by the inscription on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia. Oebotas was a man of Dyme, who won the foot-race at

the sixth Festival and was honored, because of a Delphic oracle, with a statue erected in the eightieth Olympiad. On it is an inscription which says:—

[7.17.7]

This Oebotas, an Achaean, the son of Oenias, by winning the foot-race,
Added to the renown of his fatherland Paleia.

This inscription should mislead nobody, although it calls the city Paleia and not Dyme. For it is the custom of Greek poets to use ancient names instead of more modern ones, just as they surname Amphiaraus and Adrastus Phoronids, and Theseus an Erechthid.

[7.17.8] A little before the city of Dyme there is, on the right of the road, the grave of Sostratus. He was a native youth, loved they say by Heracles, who outliving Sostratus made him his tomb and gave him some hair from his head as a primal offering. Even today there is a slab on the top of the mound, with a figure of Heracles in relief. I was told that the natives also sacrifice to Sostratus as to a hero.

[7.17.9] The people of Dyme have a temple of Athena with an extremely ancient image; they have as well a sanctuary built for the Dindymenian mother and Attis. As to Attis, I could learn no secret about him, but Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, says in a poem that he was the son of Galaus the Phrygian, and that he was a eunuch from birth. The account of Hermesianax goes on to say that, on growing up, Attis migrated to Lydia and celebrated for the Lydians the orgies of the Mother; that he rose to such honor with her that Zeus, being wroth at it, sent a boar to destroy the tillage of the Lydians.

[7.17.10] Then certain Lydians, with Attis himself, were killed by the boar, and it is consistent with this that the Gauls who inhabit Pessinus abstain from pork. But the current view about Attis is different, the local legend about him being this. Zeus, it is said, let fall in his sleep seed upon the ground, which in course of time sent up a demon, with two sexual organs, male and female. They call the demon Agdistis. But the gods, fearing Agdistis, cut off the male organ.

[7.17.11] There grew up from it an almond-tree with its fruit ripe, and a daughter of the river Sangarius, they say, took of the fruit and laid it in her bosom, when it at once disappeared, but she was with child. A boy was born, and exposed, but was tended by a he-goat. As he grew up his beauty was more than human, and Agdistis fell in love with him. When he had grown up, Attis was sent by his relatives to Pessinus, that he might wed the king's daughter.

[7.17.12] The marriage-song was being sung, when Agdistis appeared, and Attis went mad and cut off his genitals, as also did he who was giving him his daughter in marriage. But Agdistis repented of what he had done to Attis, and persuaded Zeus to grant that the body of Attis should neither rot at all nor decay.

[7.17.13] These are the most popular forms of the legend of Attis. In the

territory of Dyme is also the grave of Oebotas the runner. Although this Oebotas was the first Achaean to win an Olympic victory, he yet received from them no special prize. Wherefore Oebotas pronounced a curse that no Achaean in future should win an Olympic victory. There must have been some god who was careful that the curse of Oebotas should be fulfilled, but the Achaeans by sending to Delphi at last learned why it was that they had been failing to win the Olympic crown.

[7.17.14] So they dedicated the statue of Oebotas at Olympia and honored him in other ways, and then Sostratus of Pellene won the footrace for boys. It is still to-day a custom for the Achaeans who are going to compete at Olympia to sacrifice to Oebotas as to a hero, and, if they are successful, to place a wreath on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia.

OLENUS

[7.18.1] XVIII. Some forty stades from Dyme the river Peirus flows down into the sea; on the Peirus once stood the Achaean city of Olenus. The poets who have sung of Heracles and his labours have found a favorite subject in Dexamenus, king of Olenus, and the entertainment Heracles received at his court. That Olenus was from the beginning a small town I find confirmed in an elegiac poem composed by Hermesianax about Eurytion the Centaur. In course of time, it is said, the inhabitants, owing to their weakness, left Olenus and migrated to Peirae and Euryteiae.

PATRAE, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7.18.2] About eighty stades from the river Peirus is the city of Patrae. Not far from Patrae the river Glaucus flows into the sea. The historians of ancient Patrae say that it was an aboriginal, Eumelus, who first settled in the land, and that he was king over but a few subjects. But when Triptolemus came from Attica, he received from him cultivated corn, and, learning how to found a city, named it Aroe from the tilling of the soil.

[7.18.3] It is said that Triptolemus once fell asleep, and that then Antheias, the son of Eumelus, yoked the dragons to the car of Triptolemus and tried to sow the seed himself. But Antheias fell off the car and was killed, and so Triptolemus and Eumelus together founded a city, and called it Antheia after the son of Eumelus.

[7.18.4] Between Antheia and Aroe was founded a third city, called Mesatis. The stories told of Dionysus by the people of Patrae, that he was reared in Mesatis and incurred there all sort of perils through the plots of the Titans, I will not contradict, but will leave it to the people of Patrae to explain the name Mesatis as they choose.

[7.18.5] When afterwards the Achaeans had driven out the Ionians, Patreus, the son of Preuges, the son of Agenor, forbade the Achaeans to settle in Antheia and Mesatis, but built at Aroe a wall of greater circumference so as to

include Aroe within it, and named the city Patrae after himself. Agenor, the father of Preuges, was the son of Areus, the son of Ampyx, and Ampyx was a son of Pelias, the son of Aeginetes, the son of Dereites, the son of Harpalus, the son of Amyclas, the son of Lacedaemon.

PATRAE, HISTORY

[7.18.6] Such was the genealogy of Patreus. In course of time the people of Patrae on their own account crossed into Aetolia; they did this out of friendship for the Aetolians, to help them in their war with the Gauls, and no other Achaeans joined them. But suffering unspeakable disasters in the fighting, and most of them being also crushed by poverty, all with the exception of a few left Patrae, and scattered, owing to their love of agriculture, up and down the country, dwelling in, besides Patrae, the following towns: Mesatis, Antheia, Bolina, Argyra and Arba.

[7.18.7] But Augustus, for some reason, perhaps because he thought that Patrae was a convenient port of call, brought back again to Patrae the men from the other towns, and united with them the Achaeans also from Rhypes, which town he razed to the ground. He granted freedom to the Patraeans, and to no other Achaeans; and he granted also all the other privileges that the Romans are accustomed to bestow on their colonists.

PATRAE

[7.18.8] On the acropolis of Patrae is a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. The surname of the goddess is a foreign one, and her image too was brought in from elsewhere. For after Calydon with the rest of Aetolia had been laid waste by the Emperor Augustus in order that the Aetolian people might be incorporated into Nicopolis above Actium, the people of Patrae thus secured the image of Laphria.

CULT OF ARTEMIS LAPHRIA

[7.18.9] Most of the images out of Aetolia and from Acarnania were brought by Augustus' orders to Nicopolis, but to Patrae he gave, with other spoils from Calydon, the image of Laphria, which even in my time was still worshipped on the acropolis of Patrae. It is said that the goddess was surnamed Laphria after a man of Phocis, because the ancient image of Artemis was set up at Calydon by Laphrius, the son of Castalius, the son of Delphus.

[7.18.10] Others say that the wrath of Artemis against Oeneus weighed as time went on more lightly (*elaphroteron*) on the Calydonians, and they believe that this was why the goddess received her surname. The image represents her in the guise of a huntress; it is made of ivory and gold, and the artists were Menaechmus and Soldas of Naupactus, who, it is inferred, lived not much later than Canachus of Sicyon and Callon of Aegina.

[7.18.11] Every year too the people of Patrae celebrate the festival Laphria in honor of their Artemis, and at it they employ a method of sacrifice peculiar to the place. Round the altar in a circle they set up logs of wood still green, each of them sixteen cubits long. On the altar within the circle is placed the driest of their wood. Just before the time of the festival they construct a smooth ascent to the altar, piling earth upon the altar steps.

[7.18.12] The festival begins with a most splendid procession in honor of Artemis, and the maiden officiating as priestess rides last in the procession upon a car yoked to deer. It is, however, not till the next day that the sacrifice is offered, and the festival is not only a state function but also quite a popular general holiday. For the people throw alive upon the altar edible birds and every kind of victim as well; there are wild boars, deer and gazelles; some bring wolf-cubs or bear-cubs, others the full-grown beasts. They also place upon the altar fruit of cultivated trees.

[7.18.13] Next they set fire to the wood. At this point I have seen some of the beasts, including a bear, forcing their way outside at the first rush of the flames, some of them actually escaping by their strength. But those who threw them in drag them back again to the pyre. It is not remembered that anybody has ever been wounded by the beasts.

CULT OF ARTEMIS TRICLARIA

[7.19.1] XIX. Between the temple of Laphria and the altar stands the tomb of Eurypylus. Who he was and for what reason he came to this land I shall set forth presently; but I must first describe what the condition of affairs was at his arrival. The Ionians who lived in Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis had in common a precinct and a temple of Artemis surnamed Triclaria, and in her honor the Ionians used to celebrate every year a festival and an all-night vigil. The priesthood of the goddess was held by a maiden until the time came for her to be sent to a husband.

[7.19.2] Now the story is that once upon a time it happened that the priestess of the goddess was Comaetho, a most beautiful maiden, who had a lover called Melanippus, who was far better and handsomer than his fellows. When Melanippus had won the love of the maiden, he asked the father for his daughter's hand. It is somehow a characteristic of old age to oppose the young in most things, and especially is it insensible to the desires of lovers. So Melanippus found it; although both he and Comaetho were eager to wed, he met with nothing but harshness from both his own parents and from those of his lover.

[7.19.3] The history of Melanippus, like that of many others, proved that love is apt both to break the laws of men and to desecrate the worship of the gods, seeing that this pair had their fill of the passion of love in the sanctuary of Artemis. And hereafter also were they to use the sanctuary as a bridal-chamber. Forthwith the wrath of Artemis began to destroy the inhabitants; the earth yielded no harvest, and strange diseases occurred of an unusually fatal

character.

[7.19.4] When they appealed to the oracle at Delphi the Pythian priestess accused Melanippus and Comaetho. The oracle ordered that they themselves should be sacrificed to Artemis, and that every year a sacrifice should be made to the goddess of the fairest youth and the fairest maiden. Because of this sacrifice the river flowing by the sanctuary of Triclaria was called Ameilichus (relentless). Previously the river had no name.

[7.19.5] The innocent youths and maidens who perished because of Melanippus and Comaetho suffered a piteous fate, as did also their relatives; but the pair, I hold, were exempt from suffering, for the one thing that is worth a man's life is to be successful in love.

[7.19.6] The sacrifice to Artemis of human beings is said to have ceased in this way. An oracle had been given from Delphi to the Patraeans even before this, to the effect that a strange king would come to the land, bringing with him a strange divinity, and this king would put an end to the sacrifice to Triclaria. When Troy was captured, and the Greeks divided the spoils, Eurypylus the son of Euaemon got a chest. In it was an image of Dionysus, the work, so they say, of Hephaestus, and given as a gift by Zeus to Dardanus.

[7.19.7] But there are two other accounts of it. One is that this chest was left by Aeneas when he fled; the other that it was thrown away by Cassandra to be a curse to the Greek who found it. Be this as it may, Eurypylus opened the chest, saw the image, and forthwith on seeing it went mad. He continued to be insane for the greater part of the time, with rare lucid intervals. Being in this condition he did not proceed on his voyage to Thessaly, but made for the town and gulf of Cirrha. Going up to Delphi he inquired of the oracle about his illness.

[7.19.8] They say that the oracle given him was to the effect that where he should come across a people offering a strange sacrifice, there he was to set down the chest and make his home. Now the ships of Eurypylus were carried down by the wind to the sea off Aroe. On landing he came across a youth and a maiden who had been brought to the altar of Triclaria. So Eurypylus found it easy to understand about the sacrifice, while the people of the place remembered their oracle seeing a king whom they had never seen before, they also suspected that the chest had some god inside it.

[7.19.9] And so the malady of Eurypylus and the sacrifice of these people came to an end, and the river was given its present name Meilichus. Certain writers have said that the events I have related happened not to the Thessalian Eurypylus, but to Eurypylus the son of Dexamenus who was king in Olenus, holding that this man joined Heracles in his campaign against Troy and received the chest from Heracles. The rest of their story is the same as mine.

[7.19.10] But I cannot bring myself to believe that Heracles did not know the facts about the chest, if they were as described, nor, if he were aware of them, do I think that he would ever have given it to an ally as a gift. Further, the people of Patrae have no tradition of a Eurypylus save the son of Euaemon,

and to him every year they sacrifice as to a hero, when they celebrate the festival in honor of Dionysus.

[7.20.1] XX. The surname of the god inside the chest is Aesymnetes (Dictator), and his chief attendants are nine men, elected by the people from all the citizens for their reputation, and women equal in number to the men. On one night of the festival the priest carries the chest outside. Now this is a privilege that this night has received, and there go down to the river Meilichus a certain number of the native children, wearing on their heads garlands of corn-ears. It was in this way that they used to array of old those whom they led to be sacrificed to Artemis.

[7.20.2] But at the present day they lay aside the garlands of corn-ears by the goddess, and after bathing in the river and putting on fresh garlands, this time made of ivy, they go to the sanctuary of the Dictator.

PATRAE CONT.

This then is their established ritual, and within the precincts of Laphria is a temple of Athena surnamed Panachaeon. The image is of ivory and gold.

[7.20.3] On the way to the lower city there is a sanctuary of the Dindymenian Mother, and in it Attis too is worshipped. Of him they have no image to show; that of the Mother is of stone. In the marketplace is a temple of Olympian Zeus; the god himself is on a throne with Athena standing by it. Beyond the Olympian is an image of Hera and a sanctuary of Apollo. The god is of bronze, and naked. On his feet are sandals, and one foot stands upon the skull of an ox.

[7.20.4] That Apollo takes great pleasure in oxen is shown by Alcaeus in his hymn to Hermes, who writes how Hermes stole cows of Apollo, and even before Alcaeus was born Homer made Apollo tend cows of Laomedon for a wage. In the *Iliad* he puts these verses in the mouth of Poseidon: —

[7.20.5]

Verily I built a wall for the Trojans about their city,
A wide wall and very beautiful, that the city might be impregnable;
And thou, Phoebus, didst tend the shambling cows with crumpled horns.
Hom. *Il.* 21.446-448

This, it may be conjectured, is the reason for the ox skull. On the marketplace, in the open, is an image of Athena with the grave of Patreus in front of it.

[7.20.6] Next to the market-place is the Music Hall, where has been dedicated an Apollo well worth seeing. It was made from the spoils taken when alone of the Achaeans the people of Patrae helped the Aetolians against the army of the Gauls. The Music Hall is in every way the finest in Greece, except, of course, the one at Athens. This is unrivalled in size and magnificence, and was built by Herodes, an Athenian, in memory of his dead wife. The reason

why I omitted to mention this Music Hall in my history of Attica is that my account of the Athenians was finished before Herodes began the building.

[7.20.7] As you leave the market-place of Patrae, where the sanctuary of Apollo is, at this exit is a gate, upon which stand gilt statues, Patreus, Preuges, and Atherion; the two latter are represented as boys, because Patreus is a boy in age. Opposite the marketplace by this exit is a precinct and temple of Artemis, the Lady of the Lake.

[7.20.8] When the Dorians were now in possession of Lacedaemon and Argos, it is said that Preuges, in obedience to a dream, stole from Sparta the image of our Lady of the Lake, and that he had as partner in his exploit the most devoted of his slaves. The image from Lacedaemon is usually kept at Mesoa, because it was to this place that it was originally brought by Preuges. But when the festival of our Lady is being held, one of the slaves of the goddess comes from Mesoa bringing the ancient wooden image to the precinct in the city.

[7.20.9] Near this precinct the people of Patrae have other sanctuaries. These are not in the open, but there is an entrance to them through the porticoes. The image of Asclepius, save for the drapery, is of stone; Athena is made of ivory and gold. Before the sanctuary of Athena is the tomb of Preuges. Every year they sacrifice to Preuges as to a hero, and likewise to Patreus also, when the festival of our Lady is being held. Not far from the theater is a temple of Nemesis, and another of Aphrodite. The images are colossal and of white marble.

CULT OF DIONYSUS CALYDONIUS

[7.21.1] XXI. In this part of the city is also a sanctuary of Dionysus surnamed Calydonian, for the image of Dionysus too was brought from Calydon. When Calydon was still inhabited, among the Calydonians who became priests of the god was Coresus, who more than any other man suffered cruel wrongs because of love. He was in love with Callirhoe, a maiden. But the love of Coresus for Callirhoe was equalled by the maiden's hatred of him.

[7.21.2] When the maiden refused to change her mind, in spite of the many prayers and promises of Coresus, he then went as a suppliant to the image of Dionysus. The god listened to the prayer of his priest, and the Calydonians at once became raving as though through drink, and they were still out of their minds when death overtook them. So they appealed to the oracle at Dodona. For the inhabitants of this part of the mainland, the Aetolians and their Acarnanian and Epeiroi neighbors, considered that the truest oracles were the doves and the responses from the oak.

[7.21.3] On this occasion the oracles from Dodona declared that it was the wrath of Dionysus that caused the plague, which would not cease until Coresus sacrificed to Dionysus either Callirhoe herself or one who had the courage to die in her stead. When the maiden could find no means of escape, she next appealed to her foster parents. These too failing her, there was no

other way except for her to be put to the sword.

[7.21.4] When everything had been prepared for the sacrifice according to the oracle from Dodona, the maiden was led like a victim to the altar. Coresus stood ready to sacrifice, when, his resentment giving way to love, he slew himself in place of Callirhoe. He thus proved in deed that his love was more genuine than that of any other man we know.

[7.21.5] When Callirhoe saw Goresus lying dead, the maiden repented. Overcome by pity for Goresus, and by shame at her conduct towards him, she cut her throat at the spring in Galydon not far from the harbor, and later generations call the spring Callirhoe after her.

PATRAE CONT.

[7.21.6] Near to the theater there is a precinct sacred to a native lady. Here are images of Dionysus, equal in number to the ancient cities, and named after them Mesateus, Antheus and Aroeus. These images at the festival of Dionysus they bring into the sanctuary of the Dictator. This sanctuary is on the right of the road from the market-place to the sea-quarter of the city.

[7.21.7] As you go lower down from the Dictator there is another sanctuary with an image of stone. It is called the sanctuary of Recovery, and the story is that it was originally founded by Eurypylus on being cured of his madness. At the harbor is a temple of Poseidon with a standing image of stone. Besides the names given by poets to Poseidon to adorn their verses, and in addition to his local names, all men give him the following surnames – Marine, Giver of Safety, God of Horses.

[7.21.8] Various reasons could be plausibly assigned for the last of these surnames having been given to the god, but my own conjecture is that he got this name as the inventor of horsemanship. Homer, at any rate, when describing the chariot-race, puts into the mouth of Menelaus a challenge to swear an oath by this god:–

Touch the horses, and swear by the earth-holder, earth-shaker,
That thou didst not intentionally, through guile, obstruct my chariot. Hom. *Il.*
23.584-585

[9] Pamphos also, who composed for the Athenians the most ancient of their hymns, says that Poseidon is:–

Giver of horses and of ships with sails set. Pamphos, work unknown

So it is from horsemanship that he has acquired his name, and not for any other reason.

[7.21.10] In Patrae, not far from that of Poseidon, are sanctuaries of Aphrodite. One of the two images was drawn up by fishermen in a net a generation before my time. There are also quite near to the harbor two images of bronze, one of Ares and the other of Poseidon. The image of Aphrodite, whose precinct too is by the harbor, has its face, hands and feet of stone, while the

rest of the figure is made of wood.

[7.21.11] They have also a grove by the sea, affording in summer weather very agreeable walks and a pleasant means generally of passing the time. In this grove are also two temples of divinities, one of Apollo, the other of Aphrodite. The images of these too are made of stone. Next to the grove is a sanctuary of Demeter; she and her daughter are standing, but the image of Earth is seated.

[7.21.12] Before the sanctuary of Demeter is a spring. On the side of this towards the temple stands a wall of stones, while on the outer side has been made a descent to the spring. Here there is an infallible oracle, not indeed for everything, but only in the case of sick folk. They tie a mirror to a fine cord and let it down, judging the distance so that it does not sink deep into the spring, but just far enough to touch the water with its rim. Then they pray to the goddess and burn incense, after which they look into the mirror, which shows them the patient either alive or dead.

[7.21.13] This water partakes to this extent of truth, but close to Cyaneae by Lycia, where there is an oracle of Apollo Thyreus, the water shows to him who looks into the spring all the things that he wants to behold. By the grove in Patrae are also two sanctuaries of Serapis. In one is the tomb of Aegyptus, the son of Belus. He is said by the people of Patrae to have fled to Aroe because of the misfortunes of his children and because he shuddered at the mere name of Argos, and even more through dread of Danaus.

[7.21.14] There is also at Patrae a sanctuary of Asclepius. This sanctuary is beyond the acropolis near the gate leading to Mesatis. The women of Patrae outnumber the men by two to one. These women are amongst the most charming in the world. Most of them gain a livelihood from the fine flax that grows in Elis, weaving from it nets for the head as well as dresses.

PHARAE

[7.22.1] XXII. Pharae, a city of the Achaeans, belongs to Patrae, having been given to it by Augustus. The road from the city of Patrae to Pharae is a hundred and fifty stades, while Pharae is about seventy stades inland from the coast. Near to Pharae runs the river Pierus, which in my opinion is the same as the one flowing past the ruins of Olenus, called by the men of the coast the Peirus. Near the river is a grove of plane-trees, most of which are hollow through age, and so huge that they actually feast in the holes, and those who have a mind to do so sleep there as well.

[7.22.2] The market-place of Pharae is of wide extent after the ancient fashion, and in the middle of it is an image of Hermes, made of stone and bearded. Standing right on the earth, it is of square shape, and of no great size. On it is an inscription, saying that it was dedicated by Simylus the Messenian. It is called Hermes of the Market, and by it is established an oracle. In front of the image is placed a hearth, which also is of stone, and to the hearth bronze lamps are fastened with lead.

[7.22.3] Coming at eventide, the inquirer of the god, having burnt incense upon the hearth, filled the lamps with oil and lighted them, puts on the altar on the right of the image a local coin, called a “copper,” and asks in the ear of the god the particular question he wishes to put to him. After that he stops his ears and leaves the marketplace. On coming outside he takes his hands from his ears, and whatever utterance he hears he considers oracular.

[7.22.4] There is a similar method of divination practised at the sanctuary of Apis in Egypt. At Pharae there is also a water sacred to Hermes. The name of the spring is Hermes’ stream, and the fish in it are not caught, being considered sacred to the god. Quite close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number. These the people of Pharae adore, calling each by the name of some god. At a more remote period all the Greeks alike worshipped uncarved stones instead of images of the gods.

[7.22.5] About fifteen stades from Pharae is a grove of the Dioscuri. The trees in it are chiefly laurels; I saw in it neither temple nor images, the latter, according to the natives, having been carried away to Rome. In the grove at Pharae is an altar of unshaped stones. I could not discover whether the founder of Pharae was Phares, son of Phylodameia, daughter of Danaïs, or someone else with the same name.

TRITEIA

[7.22.6] Triteia, also a city of Achaia, is situated inland, but like Pharae belongs to Patrae, having been annexed by the emperor. The distance to Triteia from Pharae is a hundred and twenty stades. Before you enter the city is a tomb of white marble, well worth seeing, especially for the paintings on the grave, the work of Nicias. There is an ivory chair on which is a young and beautiful woman, by whose side is a handmaid carrying a sunshade. There is also a young man, who is standing.

[7.22.7] He is too young for a beard, and wears a tunic with a purple cloak over it. By his side is a servant carrying javelins and leading hounds. I could not discover their names, but anyone can conjecture that here man and wife share a common grave.

[7.22.8] The founder of Triteia is said by some to have been Celbidas, who came from Cumae in the country of the Opici. Others say that Ares mated with Triteia the daughter of Triton, that this maiden was priestess to Athena, and that Melanippus, the son of Ares and Triteia, founded the city when he grew up, naming it after his mother.

[7.22.9] In Triteia is a sanctuary of the gods called Almighty, and their images are made of clay. In honor of these every year they celebrate a festival, exactly the same sort of festival as the Greeks hold in honor of Dionysus. There is also a temple of Athena, and the modern image is of stone. The ancient image, as the folk of Triteia say, was carried to Rome. The people here are accustomed to sacrifice both to Ares and to Triteia.

AEGIUM TO PATRAE COAST

[7.22.10] These cities are at some distance from the sea and completely inland. As you sail to Aegium from Patrae you come first to the cape called Rhium, fifty stades from Patrae, the harbor of Panormus being fifteen stades farther from the cape. It is another fifteen stades from Panormus to what is known as the Fort of Athena. From the Fort of Athena to the harbor of Erineus is a coastal voyage of ninety stades, and from Erineus to Aegium is sixty. But the land route is about forty stades less than the number here given.

RIVERS MEILICHUS & CHARADRUS

[7.22.11] Not far from the city of Patrae is the river Meilichus, and the sanctuary of Triclaria, which no longer has an image. This is on the right. Advancing from the Meilichus you come to another river, the name of which is the Charadrus. The flocks and herds that drink of this river in spring are bound to have male young ones for the most part, and for this reason the herdsmen remove all except the cows to another part of the country. The cows they leave behind by the river, because for sacrifices and for agriculture bulls are more suitable than cows, but in the case of other cattle the females are preferred.

ARGYRA

[7.23.1] XXIII. After the Charadrus you come to some ruins, not at all remarkable, of the city Argyra, to the spring Argyra, on the right of the high road, and to the river Selemnus going down to the sea. The local legend about Selemnus is that he was a handsome lad who used to feed his flocks here. Argyra, they say, was a sea-nymph, who fell in love with Selemnus and used to come up out of the sea to visit him, sleeping by his side.

[7.23.2] After no long while Selemnus no longer seemed so handsome, and the nymph would not visit him. So Selemnus, deserted by Argyra, died of love, and Aphrodite turned him into a river. This is what the people of Patrae say. As Selemnus continued to love Argyra even when he was turned into water, just as Alpheius in the legend continued to love Arethusa, Aphrodite bestowed on him a further gift, by blotting out the memory of Argyra.

[7.23.3] I heard too another tale about the water, how that it is a useful remedy for both men and women when in love; if they wash in the river they forget their passion. If there is any truth in the story the water of the Selemnus is of more value to mankind than great wealth.

BOLINA

[7.23.4] At some distance from Argyra is a river named Bolinaeus, and by it once stood a city Bolina. Apollo, says a legend, fell in love with a maiden called Bolina, who fleeing to the sea here threw herself into it, and by the favour of

Apollo became an immortal. Next to it a cape juts out into the sea, and of it is told a story how Cronus threw into the sea here the sickle with which he mutilated his father Uranus. For this reason they call the cape Drepanum. Beyond the high road are the ruins of Rhypes. Aegium is about thirty stades distant from Rhypes.

AEGIUM

[7.23.5] The territory of Aegium is crossed by a river Phoenix, and by another called Meiganitas, both of which flow into the sea. A portico near the city was made for Straton, an athlete who won at Olympia on the same day victories in the pancratium and in wrestling. The portico was built that this man might exercise himself in it. At Aegium is an ancient sanctuary of Eileithyia, and her image is covered from head to foot with finely-woven drapery; it is of wood except the face, hands and feet,

[7.23.6] which are made of Pentelic marble. One hand is stretched out straight; the other holds up a torch. One might conjecture that torches are an attribute of Eileithyia because the pangs of women are just like fire. The torches might also be explained by the fact that it is Eileithyia who brings children to the light. The image is a work of Damophon the Messenian.

[7.23.7] Not far from Eileithyia is a precinct of Asclepius, with images of him and of Health. An iambic line on the pedestal says that the artist was Damophon the Messenian. In this sanctuary of Asclepius a man of Sidon entered upon an argument with me. He declared that the Phoenicians had better notions about the gods than the Greeks, giving as an instance that to Asclepius they assign Apollo as father, but no mortal woman as his mother.

[7.23.8] Asclepius, he went on, is air, bringing health to mankind and to all animals likewise; Apollo is the sun, and most rightly is he named the father of Asclepius, because the sun, by adapting his course to the seasons, imparts to the air its healthfulness. I replied that I accepted his statements, but that the argument was as much Greek as Phoenician for at Titane in Sicyonia the same image is called both Health and . . . thus clearly showing that it is the course of the sun that brings health to mankind.

[7.23.9] At Aegium you find a temple of Athena and a grove of Hera. Of Athena there are two images of white marble; the image of Hera may be seen by nobody except the woman who happens to hold the office of priestess to the goddess. Near the theater they have a sanctuary of Dionysus with an image of the god as a beardless youth. There is also in the market-place a precinct of Zeus surnamed Saviour, with two images, both of bronze, on the left as you go in; the one without a beard seemed to me the more ancient.

[7.23.10] In a building right in front of the entrance are images, of bronze like the others, representing Poseidon, Heracles, Zeus and Athena. They are called gods from Argos. The Argives say it is because they were made in Argos; the people of Aegium themselves say that the images were deposited by the Argives with them on trust.

[7.23.11] They say further that they were ordered to sacrifice each day to the images. But bethinking themselves of a trick they sacrificed a vast number of animals, but the victims they ate up at public feasts, so that they were not put to any expense. At last the Argives asked for the images to be returned, whereupon the people of Aegium asked for the cost of the sacrifices. As the Argives had not the means to pay, they left the images at Aegium.

[7.24.1] XXIV. By the market-place at Aegium is a temple shared by Apollo and Artemis in common; and in the market-place there is a sanctuary of Artemis, who is represented in the act of shooting an arrow, and also the grave of Talthybius the herald. There is also at Sparta a barrow serving as a tomb to Talthybius, and both cities sacrifice to him as to a hero.

[7.24.2] By the sea at Aegium is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and after it one of Poseidon; there is also one of the Maiden, daughter of Demeter, and one to Zeus Homagyrus (Assembler). Here are images of Zeus, of Aphrodite and of Athena. The surname Assembler was given to Zeus because in this place Agamemnon assembled the most eminent men in Greece, in order that they might consult together how to make war on the empire of Priam. Among the claims of Agamemnon to renown is that he destroyed Troy and the cities around her with the forces that followed him originally, without any later reinforcements.

[7.24.3] Adjoining Zeus the Assembler is a sanctuary of Demeter Panachaeon. The beach, on which the people of Aegium have the sanctuaries I have mentioned, affords a plentiful supply of water from a spring; it is pleasing both to the eye and to the taste. They have also a sanctuary of Safety. Her image may be seen by none but the priests, and the following ritual is performed. They take cakes of the district from the goddess and throw them into the sea, saying that they send them to Arethusa at Syracuse.

[7.24.4] There are at Aegium other images made of bronze, Zeus as a boy and Heracles as a beardless youth, the work of Ageladas of Argos. Priests are elected for them every year, and each of the two images remains at the house of the priest. In a more remote age there was chosen to be priest for Zeus from the boys he who won the prize for beauty. When his beard began to grow the honor for beauty passed to another boy. Such were the customs. Even in my time the Achaean assembly still meets at Aegium, just as the Amphictyons do at Thermopylae and at Delphi.

HELICE

[7.24.5] Going on further you come to the river Selinus, and forty stades away from Aegium is a place on the sea called Helice. Here used to be situated a city Helice, where the Ionians had a very holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon. Their worship of Heliconian Poseidon has remained, even after their expulsion by the Achaeans to Athens, and subsequently from Athens to the coasts of Asia. At Miletus too on the way to the spring Biblis there is before the city an altar of Heliconian Poseidon, and in Teos likewise the

Heliconian has a precinct and an altar, well worth seeing.

[7.24.6] There are also passages in Homer referring to Helice and the Heliconian Poseidon. But later on the Achaeans of the place removed some suppliants from the sanctuary and killed them.

EARTHQUAKES OF HELICE, HISTORY

But the wrath of Poseidon visited them without delay; an earthquake promptly struck their land and swallowed up, without leaving a trace for posterity to see, both the buildings and the very site on which the city stood.

[7.24.7] Warnings, usually the same in all cases, are wont to be sent by the god before violent and far-reaching earthquakes. Either continuous storms of rain or else continuous droughts occur before earthquakes for an unusual length of time, and the weather is unseasonable. In winter it turns too hot, and in summer along with a tendency to haze the orb of the sun presents an unusual color, slightly inclining to red or else to black.

[7.24.8] Springs of water generally dry up; blasts of wind sometimes swoop upon the land and overturn the trees; occasionally great flames dart across the sky; the shapes of stars too appear such as have never been witnessed before, producing consternation in those that witness them; furthermore there is a violent rumbling of winds beneath the earth – these and many other warnings is the god wont to send before violent earthquakes occur.

[7.24.9] The shock itself is not of one fixed type, but the original inquirers into such matters and their pupils have been able to discover the following forms of earthquake. The mildest form – that is, if such a calamity admits of mitigation – is when there coincides with the original shock, which levels the buildings with the ground, a shock in the opposite direction, counteracting the first and raising up the buildings already knocked over.

[7.24.10] In this form of earthquake pillars may be seen righting themselves which have been almost entirely uprooted, split walls coming together to their original position; beams, dislocated by the shock, go back to their places, and likewise channels, and such-like means of furthering the flow of water, have their cracks cemented better than they could be by human craftsmen. Now the second form of earthquake brings destruction to anything liable to it, and it throws over at once, as it were by a battering-ram, whatever meets the force of its impact.

[7.24.11] The most destructive kind of earthquake the experts are wont to liken to the symptoms of a man suffering from a non-intermittent fever, the breathing of such a patient being rapid and laboured. There are symptoms of this to be found in many parts of the body, especially at each wrist. In the same way, they say, the earthquake dives directly under buildings and shakes up their foundations, just as molehills come up from the bowels of the earth. It is this sort of shock alone that leaves no trace on the ground that men ever dwelt there.

[7.24.12] This was the type of earthquake, they say, that on the occasion

referred to levelled Helice to the ground, and that it was accompanied by another disaster in the season of winter. The sea flooded a great part of the land, and covered up the whole of Helice all round. Moreover, the tide was so deep in the grove of Poseidon that only the tops of the trees remained visible. What with the sudden earthquake, and the invasion of the sea that accompanied it, the tidal wave swallowed up Helice and every man in it.

[7.24.13] A similar fate, though different in type, came upon a city on Mount Sipylus, so that it vanished into a chasm. The mountain split, water welled up from the fissure, and the chasm became a lake called Saloe. The ruins of the city were to be seen in the lake, until the water of the torrent hid them from view. The ruins of Helice too are visible, but not so plainly now as they were once, because they are corroded by the salt water.

[7.25.1] XXV. The disaster that befell Helice is but one of the many proofs that the wrath of the God of Suppliants is inexorable. The god at Dodona too manifestly advises us to respect suppliants. For about the time of Apheidas the Athenians received from Zeus of Dodona the following verses:—

Consider the Areopagus, and the smoking altars
Of the Eumenides, where the Lacedaemonians are to be thy suppliants,
When hard-pressed in war. Kill them not with the sword,
And wrong not suppliants. For suppliants are sacred and holy.

[7.25.2] The Greeks were reminded of these words when Peloponnesians arrived at Athens at the time when the Athenian king was Codrus, the son of Melanthus. Now the rest of the Peloponnesian army, on learning of the death of Codrus and of the manner of it, departed from Attica, the oracle from Delphi making them despair of success in the future; but certain Lacedaemonians, who got unnoticed within the walls in the night, perceived at daybreak that their friends had gone, and when the Athenians gathered against them, they took refuge in the Areopagus at the altars of the goddesses called August.

[7.25.3] On this occasion the Athenians allowed the suppliants to go away unharmed, but subsequently the magistrates themselves put to death the suppliants of Athena, when Cylon and his supporters had seized the Acropolis. So the slayers themselves and also their descendants were regarded as accursed to the goddess. The Lacedaemonians too put to death men who had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum. Presently their city was shaken by an earthquake so continuous and violent that no house in Lacedaemon could resist it.

[7.25.4] The destruction of Helice occurred while Asteius was still archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and first Olympiad, whereat Damon of Thurii was victorious for the first time. As none of the people of Helice were left alive, the land is occupied by the people of Aegium.

[7.25.5] After Helice you will turn from the sea to the right and you will come to the town of Ceryneia. It is built on a mountain above the high road, and its name was given to it either by a native potentate or by the river Cerynites, which, flowing from Arcadia and Mount Ceryneia, passes through this part of Achaia. To this part came as settlers Mycenaeans from Argolis because of a catastrophe. Though the Argives could not take the wall of Mycenae by storm,

[7.25.6] built as it was like the wall of Tiryns by the Cyclopes, as they are called, yet the Mycenaeans were forced to leave their city through lack of provisions. Some of them departed for Cleonae, but more than half of the population took refuge with Alexander in Macedonia, to whom Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, entrusted the message to be given to the Athenians. The rest of the population came to Ceryneia, and the addition of the Mycenaeans made Ceryneia more powerful, through the increase of the population, and more renowned for the future.

[7.25.7] In Ceryneia is a sanctuary of the Eumenides, which they say was established by Orestes. Whosoever enters with the desire to see the sights, if he be guilty of bloodshed, defilement or impiety, is said at once to become insane with fright, and for this reason the right to enter is not given to all and sundry. The images made of wood . . . they are not very large in size, and at the entrance to the sanctuary are statues of women, made of stone and of artistic workmanship. The natives said that the women are portraits of the former priestesses of the Eumenides.

BURA

[7.25.8] On returning from Ceryneia to the high road, if you go along it for a short distance you may turn aside again to Bura, which is situated on a mountain to the right of the sea. It is said that the name was given to the city from a woman called Bura, who was the daughter of Ion, son of Xuthus, and of Helice. When the god wiped off Helice from the face of the earth, Bura too suffered a severe earthquake, so that not even the ancient images were left in the sanctuaries.

[7.25.9] The only Burians to survive were those who chanced to be absent at the time, either on active service or for some other reason, and these became the second founders of Bura. There is a temple here of Demeter, one of Aphrodite and Dionysus, and a third of Eileithyia. The images are of Pentelic marble, and were made by Eucleides of Athens. There is drapery for Demeter. Isis too has a sanctuary.

[7.25.10] On descending from Bura towards the sea you come to a river called Buraicus, and to a small Heracles in a cave. He too is surnamed Buraicus, and here one can divine by means of a tablet and dice. He who inquires of the god offers up a prayer in front of the image, and after the prayer he takes four dice, a plentiful supply of which are placed by Heracles, and throws them upon the table. For every figure made by the dice there is an explanation expressly written on the tablet.

AEGAE & THE RIVER CRATHIS

[7.25.11] The straight road from Helice to the Heracles is about thirty stades. Going on from the Heracles you come to the mouth of a river that descends from a mountain in Arcadia and never dries up. The river itself is called the Crathis, which is also the name of the mountain where the river has its source. From this Crathis the river too by Crotona in Italy has been named.

[7.25.12] By the Achaean Crathis once stood Aegae, a city of the Achaeans. In course of time, it is said, it was abandoned because its people were weak. This Aegae is mentioned by Homer in Hera's speech:—

They bring thee gifts up to Helice and to Aegae. Hom. *Il.* 8.203

Hence it is plain that Poseidon was equally honored at Helice and at Aegae.

[7.25.13] At no great distance from the Crathis you will find a tomb on the right of the road, and on the tombstone a man standing by the side of a horse; the colors of the painting have faded. From the grave it is a journey of about thirty stades to what is called the Gaeus, a sanctuary of Earth surnamed Broad-bosomed, whose wooden image is one of the very oldest. The woman who from time to time is priestess henceforth remains chaste, and before her election must not have had intercourse with more than one man. The test applied is drinking bull's blood. Any woman who may chance not to speak the truth is immediately punished as a result of this test. If several women compete for the priesthood, lots are cast for the honor.

AEGEIRA

[7.26.1] XXVI. To the port of Aegeira, which has the same name as the city, it is seventy-two stades from the Heracles that stands on the road to Bura. The coast town of Aegeira presents nothing worth recording; from the port to the upper city is twelve stades.

[7.26.2] Homer in his poem calls the city Hyperesia. Its present name was

given it while the Ionians were still dwelling there, and the reason for the name was as follows. A hostile army of Sicyonians was about to invade their territory. As they thought themselves no match for the Sicyonians, they collected all the goats they had in the country, and gathering them together they tied torches to their horns, and when the night was far advanced they set the torches alight.

[7.26.3] The Sicyonians, suspecting that allies were coming to the help of the Hyperesians, and that the flames came from their fires, set off home again. The Hyperesians gave their city its present name of Aegeira from the goats (*aiges*), and where the most beautiful goat, which led the others, crouched, they built a sanctuary of Artemis the Huntress, believing that the trick against the Sicyonians was an inspiration of Artemis.

[7.26.4] The name Aegeira, however, did not supersede Hyperesia at once, just as even in my time there were still some who called Oreus in Euboea by its ancient name of Hestiaea. The sights of Aegeira worth recording include a sanctuary of Zeus with a sitting image of Pentelic marble, the work of Eucleides the Athenian. In this sanctuary there also stands an image of Athena. The face, hands and feet are of ivory, the rest is of wood, with ornamentation of gilt work and of colors.

[7.26.5] There is also a temple of Artemis, with an image of the modern style of workmanship. The priestess is a maiden, who holds office until she reaches the age to marry. There stands here too an ancient image, which the folk of Aegeira say is Iphigeneia, the daughter of Agamemnon. If they are correct, it is plain that the temple must have been built originally for Iphigeneia.

[7.26.6] There is also a sanctuary of Apollo; the sanctuary itself, with the sculptures on the pediments, are very old; the wooden image of the god also is old, the figure being nude and of colossal size. None of the inhabitants could give the name of the artist, but anyone who has already seen the Heracles at Sicyon would be led to conjecture that the Apollo in Aegeira was also a work of the same artist, Laphaes the Phliasian.

[7.26.7] There are in a temple standing images of Asclepius, and elsewhere images of Serapis and of Isis, these too being of Pentelic marble. They worship most devoutly the Heavenly Goddess, but human beings must not enter her sanctuary. But into the sanctuary of the goddess they surname Syrian they enter on stated days, but they must submit beforehand to certain customary purifications, especially in the matter of diet.

[7.26.8] I remember observing at Aegeira a building in which was an image of Fortune carrying the horn of Amaltheia. By her side is a winged Love, the moral of which is that even success in love depends for mankind on fortune rather than on beauty. Now I am in general agreement with Pindar's ode, and especially with his making Fortune one of the Fates, and more powerful than her sisters.

[7.26.9] In this building at Aegeira is also an old man in the attitude of a mourner, three women taking off their bracelets, and likewise three lads, with

a man wearing a breastplate. They say that in a war of the Achaeans this last man fought more bravely than any other soldier of Aegeira, but was killed. His surviving brothers carried home the news of his death, and therefore in mourning for him his sisters are discarding their ornaments, and the natives call the father Sympathes, because even in the statue he is a piteous figure.

PHELLOE

[7.26.10] There is a straight road from the sanctuary of Zeus at Aegeira, passing through the mountains and steep. It is forty stades long, and leads to Phelloe, an obscure town, which was not always inhabited even when the Ionians still occupied the land. The district round Phelloe is well suited for the growth of the vine; the rocky parts are covered with oaks, the home of deer and wild boars.

[7.26.11] You may reckon Phelloe one of the towns in Greece best supplied with flowing water. There are sanctuaries of Dionysus and of Artemis. The goddess is of bronze, and is taking an arrow from her quiver. The image of Dionysus is painted with vermilion. On going down from Aegeira to the port, and walking on again, we see on the right of the road the sanctuary of the Huntress, where they say the goat crouched.

PELENE

[7.26.12] The territory of Aegeira is bounded by that of Pellene, which is the last city of Achaia in the direction of Sicyon and the Argolid. The city got its name, according to the account of the Pellenians, from Pallas, who was, they say, one of the Titans, but the Argives think it was from Pellen, an Argive. And they say that he was the son of Phorbas, the son of Triopas.

[7.26.13] Between Aegeira and Pellene once stood a town, subject to the Sicyonians and called Donussa, which was laid waste by the Sicyonians; it is mentioned, they say, in a verse of Homer that occurs in the list of those who accompanied Agamemnon:—

And the men of Hyperesia and those of steep Donoessa. Hom. *Il.* 2.573

They go on to say that when Peisistratus collected the poems of Homer, which were scattered and handed down by tradition, some in one place and some in another, then either he or one of his colleagues perverted the name through ignorance.

[7.26.14] The port of Pellene is Aristonautae. Its distance from Aegeira on the sea is one hundred and twenty stades, and to Pellene from this port is half that distance. They say that the name of Aristonautae was given to that port because it was one of the harbors into which the Argonauts entered.

[7.27.1] XXVII. The city of Pellene is on a hill which rises to a sharp peak at its summit. This part then is precipitous, and therefore uninhabited, but on the lower slopes they have built their city, which is not continuous, but divided into two parts by the peak that rises up between. As you go to Pellene there is,

by the roadside, an image of Hermes, who, in spite of his surname of Crafty, is ready to fulfill the prayers of men. He is of square shape and bearded, and on his head is carved a cap.

[7.27.2] On the way to the city, close up to it, is a temple of Athena, built of local stone, but the image is of ivory and gold. They say that Pheidias made it before he made the images of Athena on the Athenian acropolis and at Plataea. The people of Pellene also say that a shrine of Athena sinks deep into the ground, that this shrine is under the pedestal of the image, and that the air from the shrine is damp, and consequently good for the ivory.

[7.27.3] Above the temple of Athena is a grove, surrounded by a wall, of Artemis surnamed Saviour, by whom they swear their most solemn oaths. No man may enter the grove except the priests. These priests are natives, chosen chiefly because of their high birth. Opposite the grove of the Saviour is a sanctuary of Dionysus surnamed Torch. In his honor they celebrate a festival called the Feast of Torches, when they bring by night firebrands into the sanctuary, and set up bowls of wine throughout the whole city.

[7.27.4] There is also at Pellene a sanctuary of Apollo, the Strangers' God, and the image is made of bronze. They hold in honor of Apollo games that they call Theoxenia, with money as the prizes of victory, the competitors being the natives. Near the sanctuary of Apollo is a temple of Artemis, the goddess being represented in the attitude of shooting. In the market-place is built a tank, and for bathing they use rain-water, since for drinking there are a few springs beneath the city. The place where the springs are they name Glyceiae (Sweet Springs).

[7.27.5] There is an old gymnasium chiefly given up to the exercises of the youths. No one may be enrolled on the register of citizens before he has been on the register of youths. Here stands a man of Pellene called Promachus, the son of Dryon, who won prizes in the pancratium, one at Olympia, three at the Isthmus and two at Nemea. The Pellenians made two statues of him, dedicating one at Olympia and one in the gymnasium; the latter is of stone, not bronze.

[7.27.6] It is said too that when a war arose between Corinth and Pellene, Promachus killed a vast number of the enemy. It is said that he also overcame at Olympia Pulydamas of Scotusa, this being the occasion when, after his safe return home from the king of Persia, he came for the second time to compete in the Olympic games. The Thessalians, however, refuse to admit that Pulydamas was beaten; one of the pieces of evidence they bring forward is a verse about Pulydamas: —

Scotoessa, nurse of unbeaten Pulydamas. unknown

[7.27.7] Be this as it may, the people of Pellene hold Promachus in the highest honor. But Chaeron, who carried off two prizes for wrestling at the Isthmian games and four at the Olympian, they will not even mention by name. This I believe is because he overthrew the constitution of Pellene, and received from Alexander, the son of Philip, the most invidious of all gifts, to be set up as

tyrant of one's own fatherland.

[7.27.8] Pellene has also a sanctuary of Eileithyia, which is situated in the lesser portion of the city. What is called the Poseidium in more ancient days was a township, but to-day it is uninhabited. This Poseidium is below the gymnasium, and down to the present day it has been considered sacred to Poseidon.

THE MYSAEUM & ASCLEPIUM

[7.27.9] About sixty stades distant from Pellene is the Mysaeum, a sanctuary of the Mysian Demeter. It is said that it was founded by Mysius, a man of Argos, who according to Argive tradition gave Demeter a welcome in his home. There is a grove in the Mysaeum, containing trees of every kind, and in it rises a copious supply of water from springs. Here they also celebrate a seven days' festival in honor of Demeter.

[7.27.10] On the third day of the festival the men withdraw from the sanctuary, and the women are left to perform on that night the ritual that custom demands. Not only men are excluded, but even male dogs. On the following day the men come to the sanctuary, and the men and the women laugh and jeer at one another in turn.

[7.27.11] At no great distance from the Mysaeum is a sanctuary of Asclepius, called Cyrus, where cures of patients are effected by the god. Here too there is a copious supply of water, and at the largest of the springs stands the image of Asclepius.

RIVERS CRIUS & SYTHAS

Rivers come down from the mountains above Pellene, the one on the side nearest Aegeira being called Crius, after, it is said, a Titan of the same name.

[7.27.12] There is another river called Crius, which rises in Mount Sipylus and is a tributary of the Hermus. Where the territory of Pellene borders on that of Sicyon is a Pellenian river Sythas, the last of the Achaean rivers, which flows into the Sicyonian sea.

BOOK VIII.

ARCADIA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[8.1.1] I. The part of Arcadia that lies next to the Argive land is occupied by Tegeans and Mantineans, who with the rest of the Arcadians inhabit the interior of the Peloponnesus. The first people within the peninsula are the Corinthians, living on the Isthmus, and their neighbors on the side sea-wards are the Epidaurians. Along Epidaurus, Troezen, and Nermion, come the Argolic Gulf and the coast of Argolis; next to Argolis come the vassals of Lacedaemon, and these border on Messenia, which comes down to the sea at Mothone, Pylus and Cyparissiae.

[8.1.2] On the side of Lechaem the Corinthians are bounded by the Sicyonians, who dwell in the extreme part of Argolis on this side. After Sicyon come the Achaeans who live along the coast at the other end of the Peloponnesus, opposite the Echinadian islands, dwell the Eleans. The land of Elis, on the side of Olympia and the mouth of the Alpheius, borders on Messenia; on the side of Achaia it borders on the land of Dyme.

[8.1.3] These that I have mentioned extend to the sea, but the Arcadians are shut off from the sea on every side and dwell in the interior. Hence, when they went to Troy, so Homer says, they did not sail in their own ships, but in vessels lent by Agamemnon.

[8.1.4] The Arcadians say that Pelasgus was the first inhabitant of this land. It is natural to suppose that others accompanied Pelasgus, and that he was not by himself; for otherwise he would have been a king without any subjects to rule over. However, in stature and in prowess, in beauty and in wisdom, Pelasgus excelled his fellows, and for this reason, I think, he was chosen to be king by them. Asius the poet says of him:—

The godlike Pelasgus on the wooded mountains
Black earth gave up, that the race of mortals might exist. Asius, unknown
location.

[8.1.5] Pelasgus on becoming king invented huts that humans should not shiver, or be soaked by rain, or oppressed by heat. Moreover; he it was who first thought of coats of sheep-skins, such as poor folk still wear in Euboea and Phocis. He too it was who checked the habit of eating green leaves, grasses, and roots always inedible and sometimes poisonous.

[8.1.6] But he introduced as food the nuts of trees, not those of all trees but only the acorns of the edible oak. Some people have followed this diet so closely since the time of Pelasgus that even the Pythian priestess, when she forbade the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, uttered the following verses:—

In Arcadia are many men who eat acorns,
Who will prevent you; though I do not grudge it you.

It is said that it was in the reign of Pelasgus that the land was called Pelasgia.

[8.2.1] II. Lycaon the son of Pelasgus devised the following plans, which were more clever than those of his father. He founded the city Lycosura on Mount Lycaeus, gave to Zeus the surname Lycaeus and founded the Lycaean games. I hold that the Panathenian festival was not founded before the Lycaean. The early name for the former festival was the Athenian, which was changed to the Panathenian in the time of Theseus, because it was then established by the whole Athenian people gathered together in a single city.

[8.2.2] The Olympic games I leave out of the present account, because they are traced back to a time earlier than the human race, the story being that Cronus and Zeus wrestled there, and that the Curetes were the first to race at Olympia. My view is that Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, the king of Athens, but that they were not equally wise in matters of religion.

[8.2.3] For Cecrops was the first to name Zeus the Supreme god, and refused to sacrifice anything that had life in it, but burnt instead on the altar the national cakes which the Athenians still call *pelanoi*. But Lycaon brought a human baby to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, pouring out its blood upon the altar, and according to the legend immediately after the sacrifice he was changed from a man to a wolf (*Lycos*).

[8.2.4] I for my part believe this story; it has been a legend among the Arcadians from of old, and it has the additional merit of probability. For the men of those days, because of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, eating at the same board; the good were openly honored by the gods, and sinners were openly visited with their wrath. Nay, in those days men were changed to gods, who down to the present day have honors paid to them – Aristaeus, Britomartis of Crete, Heracles the son of Alcmena, Amphiaraus the son of Oicles, and besides these Polydeuces and Castor.

[8.2.5] So one might believe that Lycaon was turned into a beast, and Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, into a stone. But at the present time, when sin has grown to such a height and has been spreading over every land and every city, no longer do men turn into gods, except in the flattering words addressed to despots, and the wrath of the gods is reserved until the sinners have departed to the next world.

[8.2.6] All through the ages, many events that have occurred in the past, and even some that occur to-day, have been generally discredited because of the lies built up on a foundation of fact. It is said, for instance, that ever since the time of Lycaon a man has changed into a wolf at the sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus, but that the change is not for life; if, when he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, after nine years he becomes a man again, but if he tastes human flesh he remains a beast for ever.

[8.2.7] Similarly too it is said that Niobe on Mount Sipylus sheds tears in the season of summer. I have also heard that the griffins have spots like the leopard, and that the Tritons speak with human voice, though others say that they blow through a shell that has been bored. Those who like to listen to the miraculous are themselves apt to add to the marvel, and so they ruin truth by mixing it with falsehood.

[8.3.1] III. In the third generation after Pelasgus the land increased in the number both of its cities and of its population. For Nyctimus, who was the eldest son of Lycaon, possessed all the power, while the other sons founded cities on the sites they considered best. Thus Pallantium was founded by Pallas, Oresthasium by Orestheus and Phigalia by Phigalus.

[8.3.2] Pallantium is mentioned by Stesichorus of Himera in his Geryoneid. Phigalia and Oresthasium in course of time changed their names, Oresthasium to Oresteium after Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, Phigalia to Phialia after Phialus, the son of Bucolion. Cities were founded by Trapezeus also, and by Daseatas, Macareus, Helisson, Acacus and Thocnus. The last founded Thocnia, and Acacus Acacesium. It was after this Acacus, according to the Arcadian account, that Homer made a surname for Hermes.

[8.3.3] Helisson has given a name to both the town and the river so called, and similarly Macaria, Dasea, and Trapezus were named after the sons of Lycaon. Orchomenus became founder of both the town called Methydrium and of Orchomenus, styled by Homer "rich in sheep." Hypsus and . . . founded Melaeneae and Hypsus, and also Thyraeum and Haemoniae. The Arcadians are of opinion that both the Thyrea in Argolis and also the Thyrean gulf were named after this Thyraeus.

[8.3.4] Maenalus founded Maenalus, which was in ancient times the most famous of the cities of Arcadia, Tegeates founded Tegea and Mantineus Mantinea. Cromi was named after Cromus, Charisia after Charisius, its founder, Tricoloni after Tricolonus, Peraethenses after Peraethus, Asea after Aseatas, Lycoa after . . . and Sumatia after Sumateus. Alipherus also and Heraeus both gave their names to cities.

[8.3.5] But Oenotrus, the youngest of the sons of Lycaon, asked his brother Nyctimus for money and men and crossed by sea to Italy; the land of Oenotria received its name from Oenotrus who was its king. This was the first expedition despatched from Greece to found a colony, and if a man makes the most careful calculation possible he will discover that no foreigners either emigrated to another land before Oenotrus. In addition to all this male issue, Lycaon had a daughter Callisto. This Callisto (I repeat the current Greek legend) was loved by Zeus and mated with him. When Hera detected the intrigue she turned Callisto into a bear, and Artemis to please Hera shot the bear. Zeus sent Hermes with orders to save the child that Callisto bore in her womb,

[8.3.6] and Callisto herself he turned into the constellation known as the Great Bear, which is mentioned by Homer in the return voyage of Odysseus

from Calypso:—

Gazing at the Pleiades and late-setting Bootes,
And the Bear, which they also call the Wain. *Hom. Od.* 5.272

But it may be that the constellation is merely named in honor of Callisto, since her grave is pointed out by the Arcadians.

[8.4.1] IV. After the death of Nyctimus, Arcas the son of Callisto came to the throne. He introduced the cultivation of crops, which he learned from Triptolemus, and taught men to make bread, to weave clothes, and other things besides, having learned the art of spinning from Adristas. After this king the land was called Arcadia instead of Pelasgia and its inhabitants Arcadians instead of Pelasgians.

[8.4.2] His wife, according to the legend, was no mortal woman but a Dryad nymph. For they used to call some nymphs Dryads, others Epimeliads, and others Naiads, and Homer in his poetry talks mostly of Naiad nymphs. This nymph they call Erato, and by her they say that Arcas had Azan, Apheidas and Elatus. Previously he had had Autolaus, an illegitimate son.

[8.4.3] When his sons grew up, Arcas divided the land between them into three parts, and one district was named Azania after Azan; from Azania, it is said, settled the colonists who dwell about the cave in Phrygia called Steunos and the river Pencalas. To Apheidas fell Tegea and the land adjoining, and for this reason poets too call Tegea “the lot of Apheidas.”

[8.4.4] Elatus got Mount Cyllene, which down to that time had received no name. Afterwards Elatus migrated to what is now called Phocis, helped the Phocians when hard pressed in war by the Phlegyans, and became the founder of the city Elateia. It is said that Azan had a son Cleitor, Apheidas a son Aleus, and that Elatus had five sons, Aepytus, Pereus, Cyllen, Ischys, and Stymphalus.

[8.4.5] On the death of Axan, the son of Arcas, athletic contests were held for the first time; horse-races were certainly held, but I cannot speak positively about other contests. Now Cleitor the son of Azan dwelt in Lycosura, and was the most powerful of the kings, founding Cleitor, which he named after himself; Aleus held his father’s portion.

[8.4.6] Of the sons of Elatus, Cyllen gave his name to Mount Cyllene, and Stymphalus gave his to the spring and to the city Stymphalus near the spring. The story of the death of Ischys, the son of Elatus, I have already told in my history of Argolis. Pereus, they say, had no male child, but only a daughter, Neaera. She married Autolycus, who lived on Mount Parnassus, and was said to be a son of Hermes, although his real father was Baedalion.

[8.4.7] Cleitor, the son of Azan, had no children, and the sovereignty of the Arcadians devolved upon Aepytus, the son of Elatus. While out hunting, Aepytus was killed, not by any of the more powerful beasts, but by a seps that he failed to notice. This species of snake I have myself seen. It is like the smallest kind of adder, of the color of ash, with spots dotted here and there. It

has a broad head and a narrow neck, a large belly and a short tail. This snake, like another called cerastes (“the horned snake”), walks with a sidelong motion, as do crabs.

[8.4.8] After Aepytyus Aleus came to the throne. For Agamedes and Gortys, the sons of Stymphalus, were three generations removed from Arcas, and Aleus, the son of Apheidas, two generations. Aleus built the old sanctuary in Tegea of Athena Alea, and made Tegea the capital of his kingdom. Gortys the son of Stymphalus founded the city Gortys on a river which is also called after him. The sons of Aleus were Lycurgus, Amphidamas and Cepheus; he also had a daughter Auge.

[8.4.9] Hecataeus says that this Auge used to have intercourse with Heracles when he came to Tegea. At last it was discovered that she had borne a child to Heracles, and Aleus, putting her with her infant son in a chest, sent them out to sea. She came to Teuthras, lord of the plain of the Caicus, who fell in love with her and married her. The tomb of Auge still exists at Pergamus above the Calcus; it is a mound of earth surrounded by a basement of stone and surmounted by a figure of a naked woman in bronze.

[8.4.10] After the death of Aleus Lycurgus his son got the kingdom as being the eldest; he is notorious for killing, by treachery and riot in fair fight, a warrior called Areithous. Of his two sons, Ancaeus and Epochus, the latter fell ill and died, while the former joined the expedition of Jason to Colchis; afterwards, while hunting down with Meleager the Calydonian boar, he was killed by the brute.

[8.5.1] v. So Lycurgus outlived both his sons, and reached an extreme old age. On his death, Echemus, son of Aeropus, son of Cepheus, son of Aleus, became king of the Arcadians. In his time the Dorians, in their attempt to return to the Peloponnesus under the leadership of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, were defeated by the Achaeans at the Isthmus of Corinth, and Echemus killed Hyllus, who had challenged him to single combat. I have come to the conclusion that this is a more probable story than the one I gave before, that on this occasion Orestes was king of the Achaeans, and that it was during his reign that Hyllus attempted to return to the Peloponnesus. If the second account be accepted, it would appear that Timandra, the daughter of Tyndareus, married Echemus, who killed Hyllus.

[8.5.2] Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, the son of Lycurgus, who was king after Echemus, led the Arcadians to Troy. After the capture of Troy the storm that overtook the Greeks on their return home carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus, and so Agapenor became the founder of Paphos, and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos (Old Paphos). Up to that time the goddess had been worshipped by the Cyprians in the district called Golgi.

[8.5.3] Afterwards Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent to Tegea a robe as a gift for Athena Alea. The inscription on the offering told as well the race of Laodice:—

This is the robe of Laodice; she offered it to her Athena,
Sending it to her broad fatherland from divine Cyprus.

[8.5.4] When Agapenor did not return home from Troy, the kingdom devolved upon Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, the son of Agamedes, the son of Stymphalus. No remarkable event is recorded of his life, except that he established as the capital of his kingdom not Tegea but Trapezus. Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, succeeded his father to the throne, and Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, in obedience to an oracle of the Delphic Apollo, moved his home from Mycenae to Arcadia.

[8.5.5] Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, dared to enter the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mantinea, into which no mortal was, just as no mortal today is, allowed to pass; on entering it he was struck blind, and shortly after this calamity he died.

[8.5.6] Aepytus was succeeded as king by his son Cypselus, and in his reign the Dorian expedition returned to the Peloponnesus, not, as three generations before, across the Corinthian Isthmus, but by sea to the place called Rhium. Cypselus, learning about the expedition, married his daughter to the son of Aristomachus whom he found without a wife, and so winning over Cresphontes he himself and the Arcadians had nothing at all to fear.

[8.5.7] Holaeas was the son of Cypselus, who, aided by the Heracleidae from Lacedaemon and Argos, restored to Messene his sister's son Aepytus. Holaeas had a son Bucolion, and he a son Phialus, who robbed Phigalus, the son of Lycaon, the founder of Phigalia, of the honor of giving his name to the city; Phialus changed it to Phialia, after his own name, but the change did not win universal acceptance.

ARCADIA, HISTORY

[8.5.8] In the reign of Simus, the son of Phialus, the people of Phigalia lost by fire the ancient wooden image of Black Demeter. This loss proved to be a sign that Simus himself also was soon to meet his end. Simus was succeeded as king by Pompus his son, in whose reign the Aeginetans made trading voyages as far as Cyllene, from which place they carried their cargoes up country on pack-animals to the Arcadians. In return for this Pompus honored the Arcadians greatly, and furthermore gave the name Aeginetes to his son out of friendship for the Aeginetans.

[8.5.9] After Aeginetes his son Polymestor became king of the Arcadians, and it was then that Charillus and the Lacedaemonians for the first time invaded the land of Tegea with an army. They were defeated in battle by the people of Tegea, who, men and women alike, flew to arms; the whole army, including Charillus himself, were taken prisoners. Charillus and his army I shall mention at greater length in my account of Tegea.

[8.5.10] Polymestor had no children, and Aechmis succeeded to the throne, who was the son of Briacas, and the nephew of Polymestor. For Briacas too

was a son of Aeginetes, but younger than Polymestor. After Aechmis came to the throne occurred the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians. The Arcadians had from the first been friendly to the Messenians, and on this occasion they openly fought against the Lacedaemonians on the side of Aristodemus, the king of Messenia.

[8.5.11] Aristocrates, the son of Aechmis, may have been guilty of outrages against the Arcadians of his most impious acts, however, against the gods I have sure knowledge, and I will proceed to relate them. There is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Hymnia, standing on the borders of Orchomenus, near the territory of Mantinea. Artemis Hymnia has been worshipped by all the Arcadians from the most remote period. At that time the office of priestess to the goddess was still always held by a girl who was a virgin.

[8.5.12] The maiden persisted in resisting the advances of Aristocrates, but at last, when she had taken refuge in the sanctuary, she was outraged by him near the image of Artemis. When the crime came to be generally known, the Arcadians stoned the culprit, and also changed the rule for the future; as priestess of Artemis they now appoint, not a virgin, but a woman who has had enough of intercourse with men.

[8.5.13] This man had a son Hicetas, and Hicetas had a son Aristocrates the second, named after his grandfather and also meeting with a death like his. For he too was stoned by the Arcadians, who discovered that he had received bribes from Lacedaemon, and that the Messenian disaster at the Great Ditch was caused by the treachery of Aristocrates. This sin explains why the kingship was taken from the whole house of Cypselus.

[8.6.1] VI. I spent much care upon the history of the Arcadian kings, and the genealogy as given above was told me by the Arcadians themselves. Of their memorable achievements the oldest is the Trojan war; then comes the help they gave the Messenians in their struggle against Lacedaemon, and they also took part in the action at Plataea against the Persians.

[8.6.2] It was compulsion rather than sympathy that made them join the Lacedaemonians in their war against Athens and in crossing over to Asia with Agesilaus; they also followed the Lacedaemonians to Leuctra in Boeotia. Their distrust of the Lacedaemonians was shown on many occasions; in particular, immediately after the Lacedaemonian reverse at Leuctra they seceded from them and joined the Thebans. Though they did not fight on the Greek side against Philip and the Macedonians at Chaeroneia, nor later in Thessaly against Antipater, yet they did not actually range themselves against the Greeks.

[8.6.3] It was because of the Lacedaemonians, they say, that they took no part in resisting the Gallic threat to Thermopylae; they feared that their land would be laid waste in the absence of their men of military age. As members of the Achaean League the Arcadians were more enthusiastic than any other Greeks. The fortunes of each individual city, as distinct from those of the Arcadian people as a whole, I shall reserve for their proper place in my narrative.

[8.6.4] There is a pass into Arcadia on the Argive side in the direction of Hysiae and over Mount Parthenius into Tegean territory. There are two others on the side of Mantinea: one through what is called Prinus and one through the Ladder. The latter is the broader, and its descent had steps that were once cut into it. Crossing the Ladder you come to a place called Melangeia, from which the drinking water of the Mantineans flows down to their city.

[8.6.5] Farther off from Melangeia, about seven stades distant from Mantinea, there is a well called the Well of the Meliasts. These Meliasts celebrate the orgies of Dionysus. Near the well is a hall of Dionysus and a sanctuary of Black Aphrodite. This surname of the goddess is simply due to the fact that men do not, as the beasts do, have sexual intercourse always by day, but in most cases by night.

[8.6.6] The second road is less broad than the other, and leads over Mount Artemisius. I have already made mention of this mountain, noting that on it are a temple and image of Artemis, and also the springs of the Inachus. The river Inachus, so long as it flows by the road across the mountain, is the boundary between the territory of Argos and that of Mantinea. But when it turns away from the road the stream flows through Argolis from this point on, and for this reason Aeschylus among others calls the Inachus an Argive river.

THE UNTILLED PLAIN

[8.7.1] VII. After crossing into Mantinean country over Mount Artemisius you will come to a plain called the Untilled Plain, whose name well describes it, for the rain-water coming down into it from the mountains prevents the plain from being tilled; nothing indeed could prevent it from being a lake, were it not that the water disappears into a chasm in the earth.

[8.7.2] After disappearing here it rises again at Dine (Whirlpool). Dine is a stream of fresh water rising out of the sea by what is called Genethlium in Argolis. In olden times the Argives cast horses adorned with bridles down into Dine as an offering to Poseidon. Not only here in Argolis, but also by Cheimerium in Thesprotis, is there unmistakably fresh water rising up in the sea.

[8.7.3] A greater marvel still is the water that boils in the Maeander, which comes partly from a rock surrounded by the stream, and partly rises from the mud of the river. In front of Dicaearchia also, in the land of the Etruscans, there is water boiling in the sea, and an artificial island has been made through it, so that this water is not “untilled,” but serves for hot baths.

PHILIP OF MACEDON, HISTORY

[8.7.4] In the territory of the Mantineans on the left of the plain called Untilled is a mountain, on which are the ruins of a camp of Philip, the son of Amyntas,

and of a village called Nestane. For it is said that by this Nestane Philip made an encampment, and the spring here they still call Philippium after the king. Philip came to Arcadia to bring over the Arcadians to his side, and to separate them from the rest of the Greek people.

[8.7.5] Philip may be supposed to have accomplished exploits greater than those of any Macedonian king who reigned either before or after. But nobody of sound mind would call him a good general, for no man has so sinned by continually trampling on oaths to heaven, and by breaking treaties and dishonoring his word on every occasion.

[8.7.6] The wrath of heaven was not late in visiting him; never in fact have we known it more speedy. When he was but forty-six years old, Philip fulfilled the oracle that it is said was given him when he inquired of Delphi about the Persians:—

The bull is crowned; the consummation is at hand; the sacrificer is ready.

Very soon afterwards events showed that this oracle pointed, not to the Persians, but to Philip himself.

[8.7.7] On the death of Philip, his infant son by Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, was along with his mother dragged by Olympias on to a bronze vessel and burned to death. Afterwards Olympias killed Aridaeus also. It turned out that the god intended to mow down to destruction the family of Cassander as well. Cassander's sons were by Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip, and both Thessalonice and Aridaeus had Thessalian women for their mothers. The fate of Alexander is familiar to everybody alike.

[8.7.8] But if Philip had taken to heart the fate of the Spartan Glaucus, and at each of his acts had bethought himself of the verse:—

If a man keeps his oath his family prospers hereafter;

then, I believe, some god would not have extinguished so relentlessly the life of Alexander and, at the same time, the Macedonian supremacy.

[8.8.1] VIII. So much by way of a digression. After the ruins of Nestane is a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and every year the Mantineans hold a festival in her honor. By Nestane there lies, on lower ground, about . . . itself too forming part of the Untilled Plain, and it is called the Dancing Floor of Maera. The road across the Untilled Plain is about ten stades. After crossing it you will descend, a little farther on, into another plain. On it, alongside the highway, is a well called Lamb.

[8.8.2] The following story is told by the Arcadians. When Rhea had given birth to Poseidon, she laid him in a flock for him to live there with the lambs, and the spring too received its name just because the lambs pastured around it. Rhea, it is said, declared to Cronus that she had given birth to a horse, and gave him a foal to swallow instead of the child, just as later she gave him in place of Zeus a stone wrapped up in swaddling clothes.

[8.8.3] When I began to write my history I was inclined to count these legends as foolishness, but on getting as far as Arcadia I grew to hold a more thoughtful view of them, which is this. In the days of old those Greeks who

were considered wise spoke their sayings not straight out but in riddles, and so the legends about Cronus I conjectured to be one sort of Greek wisdom. In matters of divinity, therefore, I shall adopt the received tradition.

MANTINEIA

[8.8.4] The city of the Mantineans is about twelve stades farther away from this spring. Now there are plain indications that it was in another place that Mantineus the son of Lycaon founded his city, which even to-day is called Ptolis (City) by the Arcadians. From here, in obedience to an oracle, Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus, the son of Aleus, removed the inhabitants to the modern site, accepting as a guide for the pilgrimage a snake; the breed of snake is not recorded. It is for this reason that the river, which flows by the modern city, has received the name Ophis (Snake).

[8.8.5] If we may base a conjecture on the verses of Homer, we are led to believe that this snake was a dragon. When in the list of ships he tells how the Greeks abandoned Philoctetes in Lemnos suffering from his wound, he does not style the water-serpent a snake. But the dragon that the eagle dropped among the Trojans he does call a snake. So it is likely that Antinoe's guide also was a dragon.

MANTINEIA, HISTORY

[8.8.6] The Mantineans did not fight on the side of the other Arcadians against the Lacedaemonians at Dipaea, but in the Peloponnesian war they rose with the Eleans against the Lacedaemonians, and joined in battle with them after the arrival of reinforcements from Athens. Their friendship with the Athenians led them to take part also in the Sicilian expedition.

[8.8.7] Later on a Lacedaemonian army under Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias, invaded their territory. Agesipolis was victorious in the battle and shut up the Mantineans within their walls, capturing the city shortly after. He did not take it by storm, but turned the river Ophis against its fortifications, which were made of unburnt brick.

[8.8.8] Now against the blows of engines brick brings greater security than fortifications built of stone. For stones break and are dislodged from their fittings; brick, however, does not suffer so much from engines, but it crumbles under the action of water just as wax is melted by the sun.

[8.8.9] This method of demolishing the fortifications of the Mantineans was not discovered by Agesipolis. It was a stratagem invented at an earlier date by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, when he was besieging Boges and the other Persians who were holding Eion on the Strymon. Agesipolis only copied an established custom, and one celebrated among the Greeks. After taking Mantineia, he left a small part of it inhabited, but by far the greater part he razed to the ground, settling the inhabitants in villages.

[8.8.10] Fate decreed that the Thebans should restore the Mantineans from the

villages to their own country after the engagement at Leuctra, but when restored they proved far from grateful. They were caught treating with the Lacedaemonians and intriguing for a peace with them privately without reference to the rest of the Arcadian people. So through their fear of the Thebans they openly changed sides and joined the Lacedaemonian confederacy, and when the battle took place at Mantinea between the Lacedaemonians and the Thebans under Epaminondas, the Mantineans joined the ranks of the Lacedaemonians.

[8.8.11] Subsequently the Mantineans quarrelled with the Lacedaemonians, and seceded from them to the Achaean League. They defeated Agis, the son of Eudamidas, king of Sparta, in defence of their own country, with the help of an Achaean army under the leadership of Aratus. They also joined the Achaeans in their struggle against Cleomenes and helped to destroy the Lacedaemonian power. Antigonus of Macedonia, who was guardian of Philip, the father of Perseus, before he came of age, was an ardent supporter of the Achaeans, and so the Mantineans, among other honors, changed the name of their city to Antigoneia.

[8.8.12] Afterwards, when Augustus was about to fight the naval engagement off the cape of Actian Apollo, the Mantineans fought on the side of the Romans, while the rest of Arcadia joined the ranks of Antonius, for no other reason, so it seems to me, except that the Lacedaemonians favoured the cause of Augustus. Ten generations afterwards, when Hadrian became Emperor, he took away from the Mantineans the name imported from Macedonia, and gave back to their city its old name of Mantinea.

[8.9.1] IX. The Mantineans possess a temple composed of two parts, being divided almost exactly at the middle by a wall. In one part of the temple is an image of Asclepius, made by Alcamenes; the other part is a sanctuary of Leto and her children, and their images were made by Praxiteles two generations after Alcamenes. On the pedestal of these are figures of Muses together with Marsyas playing the flute. Here there is a figure of Polybius, the son of Lycortas, carved in relief upon a slab, of whom I shall make fuller mention later on.

[8.9.2] The Mantineans have other sanctuaries also, one of Zeus Saviour, and one of Zeus Giver of Gifts, in that he gives good things to men. There is also a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, and in another place one of Demeter and the Maid. Here they keep a fire, taking anxious care not to let it go out. Near the theater I saw a temple of Hera.

[8.9.3] Praxiteles made the images Hera is sitting, while Athena and Hera's daughter Hebe are standing by her side. Near the altar of Hera is the grave of Arcas, the son of Callisto. The bones of Arcas they brought from Maenalus, in obedience to an oracle delivered to them from Delphi:—

[8.9.4]

Maenalia is storm-swept, where lies
Arcas, from whom all Arcadians are named,

In a place where meet three, four, even five roads;
Thither I bid you go, and with kind heart
Take up Arcas and bring him back to your lovely city.
There make Arcas a precinct and sacrifices.

This place, where the grave of Arcas is, they call Altars of the Sun.

[8.9.5] Not far from the theater are famous tombs, one called Common Hearth, round in shape, where, they told me, lies Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus. On it stands a slab, on which is carved in relief a horseman, Grylus, the son of Xenophon.

[8.9.6] Behind the theater I found the remains, with an image, of a temple of Aphrodite surnamed Ally. The inscription on the pedestal announced that the image was dedicated by Nicippe, the daughter of Paseas. This sanctuary was made by the Mantineans to remind posterity of their fighting on the side of the Romans at the battle of Actium. They also worship Athena Alea, of whom they have a sanctuary and an image.

[8.9.7] Antinous too was deified by them; his temple is the newest in Mantinea. He was a great favorite of the Emperor Hadrian. I never saw him in the flesh, but I have seen images and pictures of him. He has honors in other places also, and on the Nile is an Egyptian city named after Antinous. He has won worship in Mantinea for the following reason. Antinous was by birth from Bithynium beyond the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are by descent Arcadians of Mantinea.

[8.9.8] For this reason the Emperor established his worship in Mantinea also; mystic rites are celebrated in his honor each year, and games every four years. There is a building in the gymnasium of Mantinea containing statues of Antinous, and remarkable for the stones with which it is adorned, and especially so for its pictures. Most of them are portraits of Antinous, who is made to look just like Dionysus. There is also a copy here of the painting in the Cerameicus which represented the engagement of the Athenians at Mantinea.

[8.9.9] In the market-place is a bronze portrait-statue of a woman, said by the Mantineans to be Diomeneia, the daughter of Arcas, and a hero-shrine of Podares, who was killed, they say, in the battle with the Thebans under Epaminondas. Three generations ago they changed the inscription on the grave and made it apply to a descendant of this Podares with the same name, who was born late enough to have Roman citizenship.

[8.9.10] In my time the elder Podares was honored by the Mantineans, who said that he who proved the bravest in the battle, of themselves and of their allies, was Grylus, the son of Xenophon; next to Grylus was Cephisodorus of Marathon, who at the time commanded the Athenian horse. The third place for valor they give to Podares.

[8.10.1] x. There are roads leading from Mantinea into the rest of Arcadia, and I will go on to describe the most noteworthy objects on each of them. On the left of the highway leading to Tegea there is, beside the walls of Mantinea, a place where horses race, and not far from it is a race-course, where they celebrate the games in honor of Antinous. Above the race-course is Mount Alesium, so called from the wandering (*ale*) of Rhea, on which is a grove of Demeter.

[8.10.2] By the foot of the mountain is the sanctuary of Horse Poseidon, not more than six stades distant from Mantinea. About this sanctuary I, like everyone else who has mentioned it, can write only what I have heard. The modern sanctuary was built by the Emperor Hadrian, who set overseers over the workmen, so that nobody might look into the old sanctuary, and none of the ruins be removed. He ordered them to build around the new temple. Originally, they say, this sanctuary was built for Poseidon by Agamedes and Trophonius, who worked oak logs and fitted them together.

[8.10.3] They set up no barrier at the entrance to prevent men going inside; but they stretched across it a thread of wool. Perhaps they thought that even this would strike fear into the religious people of that time, and perhaps there was also some power in the thread. It is notorious that even Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, entered the sanctuary neither by jumping over the thread nor by slipping under it, but by cutting it through. For this sin he was blinded by a wave that dashed on to his eyes, and forthwith his life left him.

[8.10.4] There is an old legend that a wave of sea-water rises up in the sanctuary. A like story is told by the Athenians about the wave on the Acropolis, and by the Carians living in Mylasa about the sanctuary of the god called in the native tongue Osogoa. But the sea at Phalerum is about twenty stades distant from Athens, and the port of Mylasa is eighty stades from the city. But at Mantinea the sea rises after a very long distance, and quite plainly through the divine will.

PODARES OF MANTINEIA, HISTORY

[8.10.5] Beyond the sanctuary of Poseidon is a trophy made of stone commemorating the victory over the Lacedaemonians under Agis. The course of the battle was, it is said, after this wise. The right wing was held by the Mantineans themselves, who put into the field all of military age under the command of Podares, the grandson of the Podares who fought against the Thebans. They had with them also the Elean seer Thrasybulus, the son of Aeneas, one of the Iamids. This man foretold a victory for the Mantineans and took a personal part in the fighting.

[8.10.6] On the left wing was stationed all the rest of the Arcadian army, each city under its own leader, the contingent of Megalopolis being led by Lydiades and Leocydes. The center was entrusted to Aratus, with the Sicyonians and the Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians under Agis, who with the royal staff officers were in the center, extended their line so as to make it equal in length

to that of their enemies.

[8.10.7] Aratus, acting on an arrangement with the Arcadians, fell back with his command, as though the pressure of the Lacedaemonians was too severe. As they gave way they gradually made their formation crescent-shaped. The Lacedaemonians under Agis, thinking that victory was theirs, pressed in close order yet harder on Aratus and his men. They were followed by those on the wings, who thought it a great achievement to put to flight Aratus and his host.

[8.10.8] But the Arcadians got in their rear unperceived, and the Lacedaemonians were surrounded, losing the greater part of their army, while King Agis himself fell, the son of Eudamidas. The Mantineans affirmed that Poseidon too manifested himself in their defence, and for this reason they erected a trophy as an offering to Poseidon.

[8.10.9] That gods were present at war and slaughter of men has been told by the poets who have treated of the sufferings of heroes at Troy, and the Athenians relate in song how gods sided with them at Marathon and at the battle of Salamis. Very plainly the host of the Gauls was destroyed at Delphi by the god, and manifestly by demons. So there is precedent for the story of the Mantineans that they won their victory by the aid of Poseidon.

[8.10.10] Arcesilaus, an ancestor, ninth in descent, of Leocydes, who with Lydiades was general of the Megalopolitans, is said by the Arcadians to have seen, when dwelling in Lycosura, the sacred deer, enfeebled with age, of the goddess called Lady. This deer, they say, had a collar round its neck, with writing on the collar:—

I was a fawn when captured, at the time when Agapenor went to Troy.

This story proves that the deer is an animal much longer-lived even than the elephant.

SEA, PHOEZON & CHARMON

[8.11.1] XI. After the sanctuary of Poseidon you will come to a place full of oak trees, called Sea, and the road from Mantinea to Tegea leads through the oaks. The boundary between Mantinea and Tegea is the round altar on the highroad. If you will turn aside to the left from the sanctuary of Poseidon, you will reach, after going just about five stades, the graves of the daughters of Pelias. These, the Mantineans say, came to live with them when they were fleeing from the scandal at their father's death.

[8.11.2] Now when Medea reached Iolcus, she immediately began to plot against Pelias; she was really conspiring with Jason, while pretending to be at variance with him. She promised the daughters of Pelias that, if they wished, she would restore his youth to their father, now a very old man. Having butchered in some way a ram, she boiled his flesh with drugs in a pot, by the aid of which she took out of the pot a live lamb.

[8.11.3] So she took Pelias and cut him up to boil him, but what the daughters received was not enough to bury. This result forced the women to change their home to Arcadia, and after their death mounds were made there for their

tombs. No poet, so far as I have read, has given them names, but the painter Micon inscribed on their portraits Asteropeia and Antinoe.

[8.11.4] A Place called Phoezon is about twenty stades distant from these graves. Phoezon is a tomb of stone surrounded with a basement, raised only a little above the ground. At this point the road becomes very narrow, and here, they say, is the tomb of Areithous, surnamed Corynetes (Clubman) because of his weapon.

EPAMINONDAS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

[8.11.5] As you go along the road leading from Mantinea to Pallantium, at a distance of about thirty stades, the highway is skirted by the grove of what is called the Ocean, and here the cavalry of the Athenians and Mantineans fought against the Boeotian horse. Epaminondas, the Mantineans say, was killed by Machaerion, a man of Mantinea. The Lacedaemonians on their part say that a Spartan killed Epaminondas, but they too give Machaerion as the name of the man.

[8.11.6] The Athenian account, with which the Theban agrees, makes out that Epaminondas was wounded by Grylus. Similar is the story on the picture portraying the battle of Mantinea. All can see that the Mantineans gave Grylus a public funeral and dedicated where he fell his likeness on a slab in honor of the bravest of their allies. The Lacedaemonians also speak of Machaerion as the slayer, but actually at Sparta there is no Machaerion, nor is there at Mantinea, who has received honors for bravery.

[8.11.7] When Epaminondas was wounded, they carried him still living from the ranks. For a while he kept his hand to the wound in agony, with his gaze fixed on the combatants, the place from which he looked at them being called Scope (Look) by posterity. But when the combat came to an indecisive end, he took his hand away from the wound and died, being buried on the spot where the armies met.

[8.11.8] On the grave stands a pillar, and on it is a shield with a dragon in relief. The dragon means that Epaminondas belonged to the race of those called the Sparti, while there are slabs on the tomb, one old, with a Boeotian inscription, the other dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian, who wrote the inscription on it.

[8.11.9] Everybody must praise Epaminondas for being the most famous Greek general, or at least consider him second to none other. For the Lacedaemonian and the Athenian leaders enjoyed the ancient reputation of their cities, while their soldiers were men of a spirit, but the Thebans, whom Epaminondas raised to the highest position, were a disheartened people, accustomed to obey others.

[8.11.10] Epaminondas had been told before by an oracle from Delphi to beware of "ocean." So he was afraid to step on board a man-of-war or to sail in a merchant-ship, but by "ocean" the god indicated the grove "Ocean" and not the sea. Places with the same name misled Hannibal the Carthaginian, and

before him the Athenians also.

[8.11.11] Hannibal received an oracle from Ammon that when he died he would be buried in Libyan earth. So he hoped to destroy the Roman empire, to return to his home in Libya, and there to die of old age. But when Flaminius the Roman was anxious to take him alive, Hannibal came to Prusias as a suppliant. Repulsed by Prusias he jumped upon his horse, but was wounded in the finger by his drawn sword. when he had proceeded only a few stades his wound caused a fever, and he died on the third day. The place where he died is called Libyssa by the Nicomedians.

[8.11.12] The Athenians received an oracle from Dodona ordering them to colonize Sicily, and Sicily is a small hill not far from Athens. But they, not understanding the order, were persuaded to undertake expeditions overseas, especially the Syracusan war. More examples could be found similar to those I have given.

[8.12.1] XII. Just about a stade from the grave of Epaminondas is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Charmon. The oaks in the groves of the Arcadians are of different sorts; some of them are called "broad-leaved," others "edible oaks." A third kind have a porous bark, which is so light that they actually make from it floats for anchors and nets. The bark of this oak is called "cork" by the Ionians, for example by Hermesianax, the elegiac poet.

MT OSTRACINA

[8.12.2] From Mantinea there is a road leading to Methydrium, which to-day is not a city, but only a village belonging to Megalopolis. Thirty stades farther is a plain called Alcimedon, and beyond the plain is Mount Ostracina, in which is a cave where dwelt Alcimedon, one of those called heroes.

[8.12.3] This man's daughter, Phialo, had connection, say the Phigalians, with Heracles. When Alcimedon realized that she had a child, he exposed her to perish on the mountain, and with her the baby boy she had borne, whom the Arcadians call Aechmagoras. On being exposed the babe began to cry, and a jay heard him wailing and began to imitate his cries.

[8.12.4] It happened that Heracles, passing along that road, heard the jay, and, thinking that the crying was that of a baby and not of a bird, turned straight to the voice. Recognizing Phialo he loosed her from her bonds and saved the baby. Wherefore the spring hard by is named Cissa (Jay) after the bird. Forty stades distant from the spring is the place called Petrosaca, which is the boundary between Megalopolis and Mantinea.

OLD MANTINEIA & MAERA

[8.12.5] In addition to the roads mentioned there are two others, leading to Orchomenus. On one is what is called the stadium of Ladas, where Ladas practised his running, and by it a sanctuary of Artemis, and on the right of the road is a high mound of earth. It is said to be the grave of Penelope, but the

account of her in the poem called Thesprotis is not in agreement with this saying.

[8.12.6] For in it the poet says that when Odysseus returned from Troy he had a son Ptoliporthes by Penelope. But the Mantinean story about Penelope says that Odysseus convicted her of bringing paramours to his home, and being cast out by him she went away at first to Lacedaemon, but afterwards she removed from Sparta to Mantinea, where she died.

[8.12.7] Adjoining this grave is a plain of no great size, and on the plain is a mountain whereon still stand the ruins of old Mantinea. To-day the place is called Ptolis. Advancing a little way to the north of it you come to the spring of Alalcomeneia, and thirty stades from Ptolis are the ruins of a village called Maera, with the grave of Maera, if it be really the case that Maera was buried here and not in Tegean land. For probably the Tegeans, and not the Mantineans, are right when they say that Maera, the daughter of Atlas, was buried in their land. Perhaps, however, the Maera who came to the land of Mantinea was another, a descendant of Maera, the daughter of Atlas.

MT ANCHISIA

[8.12.8] There still remains the road leading to Orchomenus, on which are Mount Anchisia and the tomb of Anchises at the foot of the mountain. For when Aeneas was voyaging to Sicily, he put in with his ships to Laconia, becoming the founder of the cities Aphrodisias and Etis; his father Anchises for some reason or other came to this place and died there, where Aeneas buried him. This mountain they call Anchisia after Anchises.

[8.12.9] The probability of this story is strengthened by the fact that the Aeolians who to-day occupy Troy nowhere point out a tomb of Anchises in their own land. Near the grave of Anchises are the ruins of a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and at Anchisiae is the boundary between Mantinea and Orchomenus.

ORCHOMENUS

[8.13.1] XIII. In the territory of Orchomenus, on the left of the road from Anchisiae, there is on the slope of the mountain the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia. The Mantineans, too, share it . . . a priestess also and a priest. It is the custom for these to live their whole lives in purity, not only sexual but in all respects, and they neither wash nor spend their lives as do ordinary people, nor do they enter the home of a private man. I know that the "entertainers" of the Ephesian Artemis live in a similar fashion, but for a year only, the Ephesians calling them Essenes. They also hold an annual festival in honor of Artemis Hymnia.

[8.13.2] The former city of Orchomenus was on the peak of a mountain, and there still remain ruins of a market-place and of walls. The modern, inhabited city lies under the circuit of the old wall. Worth seeing here is a spring, from

which they draw water, and there are sanctuaries of Poseidon and of Aphrodite, the images being of stone. Near the city is a wooden image of Artemis. It is set in a large cedar tree, and after the tree they call the goddess the Lady of the Cedar.

[8.13.3] Beneath the city are heaps of stones at intervals, which were piled over men who fell in war. With what Peloponnesians, whether Arcadians or other, the war was fought, was set forth neither by inscriptions on the graves nor in Orchomenian tradition.

MT TRACHY & CAPHYA

[8.13.4] Opposite the city is Mount Trachy (Rough). The rain-water, flowing through a deep gully between the city and Mount Trachy, descends to another Orchomenian plain, which is very considerable in extent, but the greater part of it is a lake. As you go out of Orchomenus, after about three stades, the straight road leads you to the city Caphya, along the side of the gully and afterwards along the water of the lake on the left. The other road, after you have crossed the water flowing through the gully, goes under Mount Trachy.

[8.13.5] On this road the first thing is the tomb of Aristocrates, who once outraged the virgin priestess of the goddess Hymnia, and after the grave of Aristocrates are springs called Teneiae, and about seven stades distant from the springs is a place Amilus, which once, they say, was a city. Here the road forks again, one way leading to Stymphalus, the other to Pheneus.

[8.13.6] On the road to Pheneus you will come to a mountain. On this mountain meet the boundaries of Orchomenus, Pheneus and Caphya. Over the boundaries extends a high crag, called the Caphyatic Rock. After the boundaries of the cities I have mentioned lies a ravine, and the road to Pheneus leads through it. Just about the middle of the ravine water rises up from a spring, and at the end of the ravine is a place called Caryae.

PLAIN OF PHENEUS

[8.14.1] XIV. The plain of Pheneus lies below Caryae, and they say that once the water rose on it and flooded the ancient city of Pheneus, so that even to-day there remain on the mountains marks up to which, it is said, the water rose. Five stades distant from Caryae is a mountain called Oryxis, and another, Mount Sciathis. Under each mountain is a chasm that receives the water from the plain.

[8.14.2] These chasms according to the people of Pheneus are artificial, being made by Heracles when he lived in Pheneus with Laonome, the mother of Amphitryo, who was, it is said, the son of Alcaeus by Laonome, the daughter of Guneus, a woman of Pheneus, and not by Lysidice, the daughter of Pelops. Now if Heracles really migrated to Pheneus, one might believe that when expelled by Eurystheus from Tiryns he did not go at once to Thebes, but went first to Pheneus.

[8.14.3] Heracles dug a channel through the middle of the plain of Pheneus for the river Olbius, which some Arcadians call, not Olbius but Aroanius. The length of the cutting is fifty stades, its depth, where it has not fallen in, is as much as thirty feet. The river, however, no longer flows along it, but it has gone back to its old bed, having left the work of Heracles.

PHENEUS

[8.14.4] About fifty stades from the chasms made in the mountains I have mentioned is the city, founded, say the Pheneatians, by Pheneus, an aboriginal. Their acropolis is precipitous on all sides, mostly so naturally, but a few parts have been artificially strengthened, to make it more secure. On the acropolis here is a temple of Athena surnamed Tritonia, but of it I found ruins only remaining.

[8.14.5] There stands also a bronze Poseidon, surnamed Horse, whose image, it is said, was dedicated by Odysseus. The legend is that Odysseus lost his mares, traversed Greece in search of them, and on the site in the land of Pheneus where he found his mares founded a sanctuary of Artemis, calling the goddess Horse-finder, and also dedicated the image of Horse Poseidon.

[8.14.6] When Odysseus found his mares he was minded, it is said, to keep horses in the land of Pheneus, just as he reared his cows, they say, on the mainland opposite Ithaca. On the base of the image the people of Pheneus pointed out to me writing, purporting to be instructions of Odysseus to those tending his mares.

[8.14.7] The rest of the account of the people of Pheneus it will be reasonable to accept, but I cannot believe their statement that Odysseus dedicated the bronze image. For men had not yet learned how to make bronze images in one piece, after the manner of those weaving a garment. Their method of working bronze statues I have already described when speaking of the image of Zeus Most High in my history of the Spartans.

[8.14.8] The first men to melt bronze and to cast images were the Samians Rhoecus the son of Philaeus and Theodorus the son of Telecles. Theodorus also made the emerald signet, which Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, constantly wore, being exceedingly proud of it.

[8.14.9] As you go down from the acropolis of Pheneus you come to a stadium, and on a hill stands a tomb of Iphicles, the brother of Heracles and the father of Iolaus. Iolaus, according to the Greek account, shared most of the labours of Heracles, but his father Iphicles, in the first battle fought by Heracles against the Eleans and Augeas, was wounded by the sons of Actor, who were called after their mother Moline. In a fainting condition he was carried by his relatives to Pheneus, where he was carefully nursed by Buphagus, a citizen of Pheneus, and by his wife Promne, who also buried him when he died of his wound.

[8.14.10] They still sacrifice to Iphicles as to a hero, and of the gods the people of Pheneus worship most Hermes, in whose honor they celebrate the

games called Hermaea; they have also a temple of Hermes, and a stone image, made by an Athenian, Eucheir the son of Eubulides. Behind the temple is the grave of Myrtilus. The Greeks say that he was the son of Hermes, and that he served as charioteer to Oenomaus. Whenever a man arrived to woo the daughter of Oenomaus, Myrtilus craftily drove on the mares, while Oenomaus on the course shot down the wooer when he came near.

[8.14.11] Myrtilus himself, too, was in love with Hippodameia, but his courage failing him he shrank from the competition and served Oenomaus as his charioteer. At last, it is said, he proved a traitor to Oenomaus, being induced thereto by an oath sworn by Pelops that he would let him be with Hippodameia for one night. So when reminded of his oath Pelops threw him out of the ship. The people of Pheneus say that the body of Myrtilus was cast ashore by the tide, that they took it up and buried it, and that every year they sacrifice to him by night as to a hero.

[8.14.12] It is plain that Pelops did not make a long coasting voyage, but only sailed from the mouth of the Alpheius to the harbor of Elis. So the Sea of Myrto is obviously not named after Myrtilus, the son of Hermes, as it begins at Euboea and reaches the Aegaeon by way of the uninhabited island of Helene. I think that a probable account is given by the antiquarians of Euboea, who say that the sea is named after a woman called Myrto.

[8.15.1] XV. The people of Pheneus have also a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Eleusinian, and they perform a ritual to the goddess, saying that the ceremonies at Eleusis are the same as those established among themselves. For Naus, they assert, came to them because of an oracle from Delphi, being a grandson of Eumolpus. Beside the sanctuary of the Eleusinian has been set up Petroma, as it is called, consisting of two large stones fitted one to the other.

[8.15.2] When every other year they celebrate what they call the Greater Rites, they open these stones. They take from out them writings that refer to the rites, read them in the hearing of the initiated, and return them on the same night. Most Pheneatians, too, I know, take an oath by the Petroma in the most important affairs.

[8.15.3] On the top is a sphere, with a mask inside of Demeter Cidaria. This mask is put on by the priest at the Greater Rites, who for some reason or other beats with rods the Folk Underground. The Pheneatians have a story that even before Naus arrived the wanderings of Demeter brought her to their city also. To those Pheneatians who received her with hospitality into their homes the goddess gave all sorts of pulse save the bean only.

[8.15.4] There is a sacred story to explain why the bean in their eyes is an impure kind of pulse. Those who, the Pheneatians say, gave the goddess a welcome, Trisaules and Damithales, had a temple of Demeter Thesmia (Law-goddess) built under Mount Cyllene, and they established for her rites also, which they celebrate even to this day. This temple of the goddess Thesmia is just about fifteen stades away from the city.

[8.15.5] As you go from Pheneus to Pellene and Aegeira, an Achaean city, after about fifteen stades you come to a temple of Pythian Apollo. I found there only its ruins, which include a large altar of white marble. Here even now the Pheneatians still sacrifice to Apollo and Artemis, and they say that the sanctuary was made by Heracles after capturing Elis. Here also are tombs of heroes, those who joined the campaign of Heracles against Elis and lost their lives in the fighting.

[8.15.6] They are Telamon, buried quite near the river Aroanius, a little farther away than is the sanctuary of Apollo, and Chalcodon, not far from the spring called Oenoe. Nobody could admit that there fell in this battle the Chalcodon who was the father of the Elephenor who led the Euboeans to Troy, and the Telamon who was the father of Ajax and Teucer. For how could Heracles have been helped in his task by a Chalcodon who, according to trustworthy tradition, had before this been killed in Thebes by Amphitryon?

[8.15.7] And how would Teucer have founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus if nobody had expelled him from his native city after his return from Troy? And who else would have driven him out except Telamon? So it is plain that those who helped Heracles in his campaign against Elis were not the Chalcodon of Euboea and the Telamon of Aegina. It is, and always has been, not unknown that undistinguished persons have had the same names as distinguished heroes.

MT CRATHIS

[8.15.8] The borders of Pheneus and Achaia meet in more places than one; for towards Pellene the boundary is the river called Porinas, and towards Aegeira the “road to Artemis.” Within the territory of the Pheneatians themselves, shortly after passing the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo you will be on the road that leads to Mount Crathis.

[8.15.9] On this mountain is the source of the river Crathis, which flows into the sea by the side of Aegae, now a deserted spot, though in earlier days it was a city of the Achaeans. After this Crathis is named the river in Bruttium in Italy. On Mount Crathis is a sanctuary of Artemis Pyronia (Fire-goddess), and in more ancient days the Argives used to bring from this goddess fire for their Lernaean ceremonies.

MT TRICRENA & MT SEPIA

[8.16.1] XVI. Going east from Pheneus you come to a mountain peak called Geronteium and a road by it. This mountain is the boundary between the territories of Pheneus and Stymphalus. On the left of it, as you travel through the land of Pheneus, are mountains of the Pheneatians called Tricrena (Three Springs), and here are three springs. In them, says the legend, Hermes was

washed after birth by the nymphs of the mountain, and for this reason they are considered sacred to Hermes.

[8.16.2] Not far from Tricrena is another mountain called Sepia, where they say that Aepytus, the son of Elatus, was killed by the snake, and they also made his grave on the spot, for they could not carry the body away. These snakes are still to be found, the Arcadians say, on the mountain, even at the present day; not many, however, for they are very scarce. The reason is that, as for the greater part of the year snow falls on the mountain, the snakes die that are cut off by the snow from their holes, while should any make good their escape to the holes, nevertheless some of them are killed by the snow, as the frost penetrates even into the very holes themselves.

[8.16.3] The grave of Aepytus I was especially anxious to see, because Homer in his verses about the Arcadians makes mention of the tomb of Aepytus. It is a mound of earth of no great size, surrounded by a circular base of stone. Homer naturally was bound to admire it, as he had never seen a more noteworthy tomb, just as he compares the dance worked by Hephaestus on the shield of Achilles to a dance made by Daedalus, because he had never seen more clever workmanship.

[8.16.4] I know many wonderful graves, and will mention two of them, the one at Halicarnassus and one in the land of the Hebrews. The one at Halicarnassus was made for Mausolus, king of the city, and it is of such vast size, and so notable for all its ornament, that the Romans in their great admiration of it call remarkable tombs in their country "Mausolea."

[8.16.5] The Hebrews have a grave, that of Helen, a native woman, in the city of Jerusalem, which the Roman Emperor razed to the ground. There is a contrivance in the grave whereby the door, which like all the grave is of stone, does not open until the year brings back the same day and the same hour. Then the mechanism, unaided, opens the door, which, after a short interval, shuts itself. This happens at that time, but should you at any other try to open the door you cannot do so; force will not open it, but only break it down.

MT CYLLENE & MT CHELYDOREA

[8.17.1] XVII. After the grave of Aepytus you come to the highest mountain in Arcadia, Cyllene, on the top of which is a dilapidated temple of Cyllenian Hermes. It is clear that Cyllen, the son of Elatus, gave the mountain its name and the god his surname.

[8.17.2] In days of old, men made wooden images, so far as I have been able to discover, from the following trees ebony, cypress, cedar, oak, yew, lotus. But the image of Cyllenian Hermes is made of none of these, but of juniper wood. Its height, I conjecture, is about eight feet.

[8.17.3] Cyllene can show also the following marvel. On it the blackbirds are entirely white. The birds so called by the Boeotians are a somewhat different breed, which does not sing. Eagles called swan-eagles, very like to swans for whiteness, I am acquainted with, as I have seen them on Mount Sipylus round

the lake called the Lake of Tantalus. White wild boars and Thracian white bears have been known to be acquired by private individuals.

[8.17.4] White hares are bred in Libya, and white deer I have seen in Rome to my great astonishment, though it never occurred to me to ask from what continent or island they had been brought. I have made these few remarks concerning the blackbirds in Cyllene that nobody may disbelieve what has been said about their color.

[8.17.5] Adjoining Cyllene is another mountain, Chelydorea, where Hermes is said to have found a tortoise, taken the shell from the beast, and to have made therefrom a harp. Here is the boundary between Pheneus and Pellene, and the greater part of Mount Chelydorea is inhabited by the Achaeans.

NONACRIS & RIVER STYX

[8.17.6] As you go from Pheneus to the west, the left road leads to the city Cleitor, while on the right is the road to Nonacris and the water of the Styx. Of old Nonacris was a town of the Arcadians that was named after the wife of Lycaon. When I visited it, it was in ruins, and most of these were hidden. Not far from the ruins is a high cliff; I know of none other that rises to so great a height. A water trickles down the cliff, called by the Greeks the water of the Styx.

[8.18.1] XVIII. Hesiod in the *Theogony* – for there are some who assign this hexameter poem to Hesiod – speaks of Styx as the daughter of Ocean and the wife of Pallas. Men say that Linus too gives a like account in his verses, though when I read these they struck me as altogether spurious.

[8.18.2] Epimenides of Crete, also, represented Styx as the daughter of Ocean, not, however, as the wife of Pallas, but as bearing Echidna to Peiras, whoever Peiras may be. But it is Homer who introduces most frequently the name of Styx into his poetry. In the oath of Hera he says:–

Witness now to this be Earth, and broad Heaven above,
And the water of Styx down-flowing. Hom. *Il.* 15.36-37

These verses suggest that the poet had seen the water of the Styx trickling down. Again in the list of those who came with Guneus he makes the river Titaresius receive its water from the Styx.

[8.18.3] He also represents the Styx as a river in Hades, and Athena says that Zeus does not remember that because of her he kept Heracles safe throughout the labours imposed by Eurystheus.

For if I had known this in my shrewd heart
When he sent him to Hades the gate-keeper,
To fetch out of Erebus the hound of hateful Hades,
He would never have escaped the sheer streams of the river Styx. Homer,
unknown location.

[8.18.4] The water trickling down the cliff by the side of Nonacris falls first to a high rock, through which it passes and then descends into the river Crathis. Its water brings death to all, man and beast alike. It is said too that it once brought death even upon goats, which drank of the water first; later on all the wonderful properties of the water were learnt.

[8.18.5] For glass, crystal, murrhine vessels, other articles men make of stone, and pottery, are all broken by the water of the Styx, while things of horn or of bone, with iron, bronze, lead, tin, silver and electrum, are all corroded by this water. Gold too suffers just like all the other metals, and yet gold is immune to rust, as the Lesbian poetess bears witness and is shown by the metal itself.

[8.18.6] So heaven has assigned to the most lowly things the mastery over things far more esteemed than they. For pearls are dissolved by vinegar, while diamonds, the hardest of stones, are melted by the blood of the he-goat. The only thing that can resist the water of the Styx is a horse's hoof. When poured into it the water is retained, and does not break up the hoof. Whether Alexander, the son of Philip, met his end by this poison I do not know for certain, but I do know that there is a story to this effect.

LUSI

[8.18.7] Above Nonacris are the Aroanian Mountains, in which is a cave. To this cave, legend says, the daughters of Proetus fled when struck with madness; Melampus by secret sacrifices and purifications brought them down to a place called Lusi. Most of the Aroanian mountain belongs to Pheneus, but Lusi is on the borders of Cleitor.

[8.18.8] They say that Lusi was once a city, and Agesilas was proclaimed as a man of Lusi when victor in the horse-race at the eleventh Pythian festival held by the Amphictyons; but when I was there not even ruins of Lusi remained. Well, the daughters of Proetus were brought down by Melampus to Lusi, and healed of their madness in a sanctuary of Artemis. Wherefore this Artemis is called Hemerasia (She who soothes) by the Cleitorians.

[8.19.1] XIX. There is a clan of the Arcadians, called the Cynaetheans, the same folk who dedicated the image of Zeus at Olympia with a thunderbolt in either hand. These Cynaetheans live more than forty stades from . . . and in their marketplace have been made altars of the gods and a statue of the Emperor Hadrian.

[8.19.2] The most notable things here include a sanctuary of Dionysus, to whom they hold a feast in the winter, at which men smeared with grease take up from a herd of cattle a bull, whichever one the god suggest to them, and carry it to the sanctuary. This is the manner of their sacrifice. Here there is a spring of cold water, about two stades away from the city, and above it grows a plane-tree.

[8.19.3] If a rabid dog turn a man mad, or wound or otherwise endanger him, to drink this water is a cure. For this reason they call the spring Alyssus (Curer of madness). So it would appear that the Arcadians have in the water

near Pheneus, called the Styx, a thing made to be a mischief to man, while the spring among the Cynaetheans is a boon to make up for the bane in the other place.

RIVERS LADON & AROANIUS

[8.19.4] One of the roads from Pheneus, which go westward, remains, the one on the left. This road leads to Cleitor, and extends by the side of the work of Heracles, which made a course for the river Aroanius. By it the road goes down to a place called Lycuria, which is the boundary between Pheneus and Cleitor.

[8.20.1] XX. Advancing about fifty stades from Lycuria, you will come to the source of the Ladon. I heard that the water making a lake in the territory of Pheneus, descending into the chasms in the mountains, rises here and forms the source of the Ladon, but I cannot say for certain whether this is true or not. The Ladon is the most lovely river in Greece, and is also famous for the legend of Daphne that the poets tell.

[8.20.2] I pass over the story current among the Syrians who live on the river Orontes, and give the account of the Arcadians and Eleans. Oenomaus, prince of Pisa, had a son Leucippus. Leucippus fell in love with Daphne, but despaired of winning her to be his wife by an open courtship, as she avoided all the male sex. The following trick occurred to him by which to get her. Leucippus was growing his hair long for the river Alpheius.

[8.20.3] Braiding his hair as though he were a maiden, and putting on woman's clothes, he came to Daphne and said that he was a daughter of Oenomaus, and would like to share her hunting. As he was thought to be a maiden, surpassed the other maidens in nobility of birth and skill in hunting, and was besides most assiduous in his attentions, he drew Daphne into a deep friendship.

[8.20.4] The poets who sing of Apollo's love for Daphne make an addition to the tale; that Apollo became jealous of Leucippus because of his success in his love. Forthwith Daphne and the other maidens conceived a longing to swim in the Ladon, and stripped Leucippus in spite of his reluctance. Then, seeing that he was no maid, they killed him with their javelins and daggers.

[8.21.1] XXI. Such is the tale. From the source of the Ladon, Cleitor is sixty stades away, and the road from the source of the Ladon is a narrow gorge alongside the river Aroanius. Near the city you will cross the river called the Cleitor. The Cleitor flows into the Aroanius, at a point not more than seven stades from the city.

[8.21.2] Among the fish in the Aroanius is one called the dappled fish. These dappled fish, it is said, utter a cry like that of the thrush. I have seen fish that have been caught, but I never heard their cry, though I waited by the river even until sunset, at which time the fish were said to cry most.

CLEITOR

[8.21.3] Cleitor got its name from the son of Azan, and is situated on a level spot surrounded by low hills. The most celebrated sanctuaries of the Cleitorians are those of Demeter, Asclepius and, thirdly, Eileithyia . . . to be, and gave no number for them. The Lycian Olen, an earlier poet, who composed for the Delians, among other hymns, one to Eileithyia, styles her “the clever spinner,” clearly identifying her with fate, and makes her older than Cronus.

[8.21.4] Cleitor has also, at a distance of about four stades from the city, a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, under the name of the Great Gods. There are also images of them in bronze. There is also built upon a mountain-top, thirty stades away from the city, a temple of Athena Coria will, an image of the goddess.

STYMPHALUS

[8.22.1] XXII. My narrative returns to Stymphalus and to Geronteium, as it is called, the boundary between Stymphalus and Pheneus. The Stymphalians are no longer included among the Arcadians, but are numbered with the Argive League, which they joined of their own accord. That they are by race Arcadians is testified by the verses of Homer, and Stymphalus their founder was a grandson of Arcas, the son of Callisto. It is said that it was originally founded on another site, and not on that of the modern city.

[8.22.2] The story has it that in the old Stymphalus dwelt Temenus, the son of Pelasgus, and that Hera was reared by this Temenus, who himself established three sanctuaries for the goddess, and gave her three surnames when she was still a maiden, Girl; when married to Zeus he called her Grown-up; when for some cause or other she quarrelled with Zeus and came back to Stymphalus, Temenus named her Widow. This is the account which, to my own knowledge, the Stymphalians give of the goddess.

[8.22.3] The modern city contains none of these sanctuaries, but I found the following notable things. In the Stymphalian territory is a spring, from which the emperor Hadrian brought water to Corinth. In winter the spring makes a small lake in Stymphalus, and the river Stymphalus issues from the lake; in summer there is no lake, but the river comes straight from the spring. This river descends into a chasm in the earth, and reappearing once more in Argolis it changes its name, and is called Erasinus instead of Stymphalus.

[8.22.4] There is a story current about the water of the Stymphalus, that at one time man-eating birds bred on it, which Heracles is said to have shot down. Peisander of Camira, however, says that Heracles did not kill the birds, but drove them away with the noise of rattles. The Arabian desert breeds among other wild creatures birds called Stymphalian, which are quite as savage against men as lions or leopards.

[8.22.5] These fly against those who come to hunt them, wounding and killing them with their beaks. All armour of bronze or iron that men wear is pierced by the birds; but if they weave a garment of thick cork, the beaks of the Stymphalian birds are caught in the cork garment, just as the wings of small

birds stick in bird-lime. These birds are of the size of a crane, and are like the ibis, but their beaks are more powerful, and not crooked like that of the ibis.

[8.22.6] Whether the modern Arabian birds with the same name as the old Arcadian birds are also of the same breed, I do not know. But if there have been from all time Stymphalian birds, just as there have been hawks and eagles, I should call these birds of Arabian origin, and a section of them might have flown on some occasion to Arcadia and reached Stymphalus. Originally they would be called by the Arabians, not Stymphalian, but by another name. But the fame of Heracles, and the superiority of the Greek over the foreigner, has resulted in the birds of the Arabian desert being called Stymphalian even in modern times.

[8.22.7] In Stymphalus there is also an old sanctuary of Stymphalian Artemis, the image being of wood, for the most part gilded. Near the roof of the temple have been carved, among other things, the Stymphalian birds. Now it was difficult to discern clearly whether the carving was in wood or in gypsum, but such evidence as I had led me to conclude that it was not of gypsum but of wood. There are here also maidens of white marble, with the legs of birds, and they stand behind the temple.

[8.22.8] Even in our own day the following miracle is said to have occurred. The festival of Stymphalian Artemis at Stymphalus was carelessly celebrated, and its established ritual in great part transgressed. Now a log fell into the mouth of the chasm into which the river descends, and so prevented the water from draining away, and (so it is said) the plain became a lake for a distance of four hundred stades.

[8.22.9] They also say that a hunter chased a deer, which fled and plunged into the marsh, followed by the hunter, who, in the excitement of the hunt, swam after the deer. So the chasm swallowed up both the deer and her pursuer. They are said to have been followed by the water of the river, so that by the next day the whole of the water was dried up that flooded the Stymphalian plain. Hereafter they put greater zeal into the festival in honor of Artemis.

ALEA

[8.23.1] XXIII. After Stymphalus comes Alea, which too belongs to the Argive federation, and its citizens point to Aleus, the son of Apheidas, as their founder. The sanctuaries of the gods here are those of Ephesian Artemis and Athena Alea, and there is a temple of Dionysus with an image. In honor of Dionysus they celebrate every other year a festival called Sciereia, and at this festival, in obedience to a response from Delphi, women are flogged, just as the Spartan lads are flogged at the image of the Orthian goddess.

[8.23.2] In my account of Orchomenus, I explained how the straight road runs at first beside the gully, and afterwards to the left of the flood water. On the plain of Caphyae has been made a dyke of earth, which prevents the water from the Orchomenian territory from doing harm to the tilled land of

Caphyae. Inside the dyke flows along another stream, in size big enough to be called a river, and descending into a chasm of the earth it rises again at Nasi, as it is called. The place where it reappears is called Rheunus; the stream having risen here, hereafter the water forms an ever-flowing river, the Tagus.

[8.23.3] The name of the city is clearly derived from Cepheus, the son of Aleus, but its form in the Arcadian dialect, Caphyae, is the one that has survived. The inhabitants say that originally they were from Attica, but on being expelled from Athens by Aegeus they fled to Arcadia, threw themselves on the mercy of Cepheus, and found a home in the country. The town is on the border of the plain at the foot of some inconsiderable mountains. The Caphyatans have a sanctuary of the god Poseidon, and one of the goddess Artemis, surnamed Cnacalesia.

[8.23.4] They have also a mountain called Cnacalus, where every year they celebrate mysteries in honor of their Artemis. A little beyond the city is a spring, and by the spring grows a large and beautiful plane tree. They call it Menelais, saying that the plane was planted by the spring by Menelaus, who came to the spot when he was collecting his army against Troy. To-day they give the name Menelais to the spring as well as to the plane.

[8.23.5] If I am to base my calculations on the accounts of the Greeks in fixing the relative ages of such trees as are still preserved and flourish, the oldest of them is the withy growing in the Samian sanctuary of Hera, after which come the oak in Dodona, the olive on the Acropolis and the olive in Delos. The third place in respect of age the Syrians would assign to the bay-tree they have in their country. Of the others this plane-tree is the oldest.

CONDYLEA

[8.23.6] About a stade distant from Caphyae is a place called Condylea, where there are a grove and a temple of Artemis called of old Condyleatis. They say that the name of the goddess was changed for the following reason. Some children, the number of whom is not recorded, while playing about the sanctuary found a rope, and tying it round the neck of the image said that Artemis was being strangled.

[8.23.7] The Caphyans, detecting what the children had done, stoned them to death. When they had done this, a malady befell their women, whose babies were stillborn, until the Pythian priestess bade them bury the children, and sacrifice to them every year as sacrifice is made to heroes, because they had been wrongly put to death. The Caphyans still obey this oracle, and call the goddess at Condyleae, as they say the oracle also bade them, the Strangled Lady from that day to this.

ROAD TO PSOPHIS

[8.23.8] Going up about seven stades from Caphyae you will go down to what is called Nasi. Fifty stades farther on is the Ladon. You will then cross the river

and reach a grove called Soron, passing through Argeathae, Lycuntes, as it is called, and Scotane. Now the road to Psophis passes by way of Soron,

[8.23.9] which, like other Arcadian groves, breeds the following beasts wild boars, bears, and tortoises of vast size. One could of the last make harps not inferior to those made from the Indian tortoise. At the end of Soron are the ruins of the village Paus, and a little farther what is called Seirae; this Seirae forms a boundary between Cleitor and Psophis.

PSOPHIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[8.24.1] XXIV. The founder of Psophis, according to some, was Psophis, the son of Arrhon, the son of Erymanthus, the son of Aristas, the son of Parthaon, the son of Periphetes, the son of Nyctimus. Others say that Psophis was the daughter of Xanthus, the son of Erymanthus, the son of Arcas. Such are the Arcadian traditions concerning their kings,

[8.24.2] but the most accurate version is that Eryx, the despot of Sicania, had a daughter named Psophis, whom Heracles, though he had intercourse with her, refused to take to his home, but left with child in the care of his friend Lycortas, who lived at Phegia, a city called Erymanthus before the reign of Phegeus. Having been brought up here, Echephron and Promachus, the sons of Heracles and the Sicanian woman, changed the name of Phegia to Psophis, the name of their mother.

MT ERYMANTHUS

[8.24.3] Psophis is also the name of the Zacynthian acropolis, because the first man to sail across to the island was Zacynthus, the son of Dardanus, a Psophidian who became its founder. From Seirae it is thirty stades to Psophis, by the side of which runs the river Aroanius, and a little farther away the river Erymanthus.

[8.24.4] The Erymanthus has its source in Mount Lampeia, which is said to be sacred to Pan. One might regard Lampeia as a part of Mount Erymanthus. Homer says that in Taygetus and Erymanthus . . . hunter . . . so . . . of Lampeia, Erymanthus, and passing through Arcadia, with Mount Pholoe on the right and the district of Thelpusa on the left, flows into the Alpheius.

[8.24.5] There is also a legend that Heracles at the command of Eurystheus hunted by the side of the Erymanthus a boar that surpassed all others in size and in strength. The people of Cumae among the Opici say that the boar's tusks dedicated in their sanctuary of Apollo are those of the Erymanthian boar, but the saying is altogether improbable.

PSOPHIS

[8.24.6] In Psophis there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite surnamed Erycine; I found only ruins of it remaining, but the people said that it was established by the

sons of Psophis. Their account is probable, for in Sicily too, in the territory of Eryx, is a sanctuary of Erycine, which from the remotest times has been very holy, and quite as rich as the sanctuary in Paphos.

[8.24.7] The hero-shrines, however, of Promachus and Echephron, the sons of Psophis, were no longer distinguished when I saw them. In Psophis is buried Alcmaeon also, the son of Amphiaraus, and his tomb is a building remarkable for neither its size nor its ornament. About it grow cypresses, reaching to such a height that even the mountain by Psophis was overshadowed by them. These the inhabitants will not cut down, holding them to be sacred to Alcmaeon.

[8.24.8] They are called “maidens” by the natives. Alcmaeon, after killing his mother, fled from Argos and came to Psophis, which was still called Phegia after Phegeus, and married Alpheisiboea, the daughter of Phegeus. Among the presents that he naturally gave her was the necklace. While he lived among the Arcadians his disease did not grow any better, so he had recourse to the oracle at Delphi. The Pythian priestess informed him that the only land into which the avenging spirit of Eriphyle would not follow him was the newest land, one brought up to light by the sea after the pollution of his mother’s death.

[8.24.9] On discovering the alluvial deposit of the Achelous he settled there, and took to wife Callirhoe, said by the Acarnanians to have been the daughter of Achelous. He had two sons, Acarnan and Amphoterus; after this Acarnan were called by their present name (so the story runs) the dwellers in this part of the mainland, who previously were called Curetes. Senseless passions shipwreck many men, and even more women.

[8.24.10] Callirhoe conceived a passion for the necklace of Eriphyle, and for this reason sent Alcmaeon against his will to Phegia. Temenus and Axion, the sons of Phegeus, murdered him by treachery. The sons of Phegeus are said to have dedicated the necklace to the god in Delphi, and it is said that the expedition of the Greeks to Troy took place when they were kings in the city that was still called Phegia. The people of Psophis assert that the reason why they took no part in the expedition was because their princes had incurred the enmity of the leaders of the Argives, who were in most cases related by blood to Alcmaeon, and had joined him in his campaign against Thebes.

[8.24.11] That the Echinades islands have not been made mainland as yet by the Achelous is due to the Aetolian people, who have been driven from their homes and all their land has been laid waste. Accordingly, as Aetolia remains untilled, the Achelous does not bring as much mud upon the Echinades as it otherwise would do. My reasoning is confirmed by the fact that the Maeander, flowing through the land of the Phrygians and Carians, which is ploughed up each year, has turned to mainland in a short time the sea that once was between Priene and Miletus.

[8.24.12] The people of Psophis have also by the side of the Erymanthus a temple and image of Erymanthus. The images of all rivers except the Nile in Egypt are made of white marble; but the images of the Nile, became it

descends to the sea through Aethiopia, they are accustomed to make of black stone.

[8.24.13] I heard in Psophis a statement about one Aglaus, a Psophidian contemporary with Croesus the Lydian. The statement was that the whole of his life was happy, but I could not believe it.

[8.24.14] The truth is that one man may receive fewer ills than his contemporaries, just as one ship may be less tossed by storms than another ship. But we shall not be able to find a man never touched by misfortune or a ship never met by an unfavorable breeze. For Homer too says in his poetry that by the side of Zeus is set a jar of good things, and another jar of evil things, taught by the god at Delphi, who once declared that Homer himself was both unhappy and blessed, being destined by birth to both states alike.

TROPAEA & CAUS

[8.25.1] XXV. As you go from Psophis to Thelpusa you first reach on the left of the Ladon a place called Tropaea, adjoining which is a grove, Aphrodisium. Thirdly, there is ancient writing on a slab:— “The boundary between Psophis and Thelpusa.”

In the Thelpusian territory is a river called Arsen (Male). Cross this and go on for about twenty-five stades, when you will arrive at the ruins of the village Caus, with a sanctuary of Causian Asclepius, built on the road.

THELPUSA & ONCEIUM

[8.25.2] Thelpusa is some forty stades distant from this sanctuary. It is said that it was named after Thelpusa, a nymph, and that she was a daughter of Ladon. The Ladon rises in springs within the territory of Cleitor, as my account has already set forth. It flows first beside a place Leucasium and Mesoboa, through Nasi to Oryx, also called Halus, and from Halus it descends to Thaliades and a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter.

[8.25.3] This sanctuary is on the borders of Thelpusa. In it are images, each no less than seven feet high, of Demeter, her daughter, and Dionysus, all alike of stone. After the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess the Ladon flows by the city Thelpusa on the left, situated on a high hill, in modern times so deserted that the market-place, which is at the extremity of it, was originally, they say, right in the very middle of it. Thelpusa has a temple of Asclepius and a sanctuary of the twelve gods; the greater part of this, I found, lay level with the ground.

[8.25.4] After Thelpusa the Ladon descends to the sanctuary of Demeter in Onceium. The Thelpusians call the goddess Fury, and with them agrees Antimachus also, who wrote a poem about the expedition of the Argives against Thebes. His verse runs thus:—

There, they say, is the seat of Demeter Fury. Antimachus, unknown location.

Now Oncius was, according to tradition, a son of Apollo, and held sway in Thelpusian territory around the place Oncium; the goddess has the surname Fury for the following reason.

[8.25.5] When Demeter was wandering in search of her daughter, she was followed, it is said, by Poseidon, who lusted after her. So she turned, the story runs, into a mare, and grazed with the mares of Oncius; realizing that he was outwitted, Poseidon too changed into a stallion and enjoyed Demeter.

[8.25.6] At first, they say, Demeter was angry at what had happened, but later on she laid aside her wrath and wished to bathe in the Ladon. So the goddess has obtained two surnames, Fury because of her avenging anger, because the Arcadians call being wrathful “being furious,” and Bather (Lusia) because she bathed in the Ladon. The images in the temple are of wood, but their faces, hands and feet are of Parian marble.

[8.25.7] The image of Fury holds what is called the chest, and in her right hand a torch; her height I conjecture to be nine feet. Lusia seemed to be six feet high. Those who think the image to be Themis and not Demeter Lusia are, I would have them know, mistaken in their opinion. Demeter, they say, had by Poseidon a daughter, whose name they are not wont to divulge to the uninitiated, and a horse called Areion. For this reason they say that they were the first Arcadians to call Poseidon Horse.

[8.25.8] They quote verses from the *Iliad* and from the *Thebaid* in confirmation of their story. In the *Iliad* there are verses about Areion himself:

Not even if he drive divine Areion behind,
The swift horse of Adrastus, who was of the race of the gods. Hom. Il. 23.346

In the *Thebaid* it is said that Adrastus fled from Thebes:

Wearing wretched clothes, and with him dark-maned Areion. *Thebaid*, unknown location.

They will have it that the verses obscurely hint that Poseidon was father to Areion, but Antimachus says that Earth was his mother:

[8.25.9]

Adrastus, son of Talaus, son of Cretheus,
The very first of the Danaï to drive his famous horses,
Swift Caerus and Areion of Thelputsa,
Whom near the grove of Oncean Apollo
Earth herself sent up, a marvel for mortals to see. Antimachus, unknown location.

[8.25.10] But even though sprung from Earth the horse might be of divine lineage and the color of his hair might still be dark. Legend also has it that when Heracles was warring on Elis he asked Oncus for the horse, and was carried to battle on the back of Areion when he took Elis, but afterwards the horse was given to Adrastus by Heracles. Wherefore Antimachus says about

Areion:

Adrastus was the third lord who tamed him. Antimachus, unknown location.

[8.25.11] The Ladon, leaving on the left the sanctuary of the Fury, passes on the left the temple of Oncaean Apollo, and on the right a sanctuary of Boy Asclepius, where is the tomb of Trygon, who is said to have been the nurse of Asclepius. For the story is that Asclepius, when little, was exposed in Thelpusa, but was found by Autolaus, the illegitimate son of Arcas, who reared the baby, and for this reason Boy Asclepius . . . I thought more likely, as also I set forth in my account of Epidaurus.

HERAEA & RIVER LADON

[8.25.12] There is a river Tuthoa, and it falls into the Ladon at the boundary between Thelpusa and Heraea, called Plain by the Arcadians. Where the Ladon itself falls into the Alpheiis is an island called the Island of Crows. Those who have thought that Enispe, Stratia and Rhipe, mentioned by Homer, were once inhabited islands in the Ladon, cherish, I would tell them, a false belief.

[8.25.13] For the Ladon could never show islands even as large as a ferry-boat. As far as beauty is concerned, it is second to no river, either in Greece or in foreign lands, but it is not big enough to carry islands on its waters, as do the Danube and the Eridanus.

[8.26.1] XXVI. The founder of Heraea was Heraeeus the son of Lycaon, and the city lies on the right of the Alpheiis, mostly upon a gentle slope, though a part descends right to the Alpheiis. Walks have been made along the river, separated by myrtles and other cultivated trees; the baths are there, as are also two temples to Dionysus. One is to the god named Citizen, the other to the Giver of Increase, and they have a building there where they celebrate their mysteries in honor of Dionysus.

[8.26.2] There is also in Heraea a temple of Pan, as he is native to Arcadia, and of the temple of Hera I found remaining various ruins, including the pillars. Of Arcadian athletes the most renowned has been Damaretus of Heraea, who was the first to win the race in armour at Olympia.

[8.26.3] As you go down to the land of Elis from Heraea, at a distance of about fifteen stades from Heraea you will cross the Ladon, and from it to the Erymanthus is a journey of roughly twenty stades. The boundary between Heraea and the land of Elis is according to the Arcadians the Erymanthus, but the people of Elis say that the grave of Coroebus bounds their territory.

[8.26.4] But when the Olympic games, after not being held for a long period, were revived by Iphitus, and the Olympic festival was again held, the only prizes offered were for running, and Coroebus won. On the tomb is an inscription that Coroebus was the first man to win at Olympia, and that his grave was made at the end of Elean territory.

ALIPHERA

[8.26.5] There is a town, Aliphera, of no great size, for it was abandoned by many of its inhabitants at the union of the Arcadians into Megalopolis. As you go to this town from Heraea you will cross the Alpheius, and after going over a plain of just about ten stades you will reach a mountain, and ascending across the mountain for some thirty stades more you will come to the town.

[8.26.6] The city of Aliphera has received its name from Alipherus, the son of Lycaon, and there are sanctuaries here of Asclepius and Athena; the latter they worship more than any other god, saying that she was born and bred among them. They also set up an altar of Zeus Lecheates (In child-bed), because here he gave birth to Athena. There is a stream they call Tritonis, adopting the story about the river Triton.

[8.26.7] The image of Athena is made of bronze, the work of Hypatodorus, worth seeing for its size and workmanship. They keep a general festival in honor of some god or other; I think in honor of Athena. At this festival they sacrifice first to Fly-catcher, praying to the hero over the victims and calling upon the Fly-catcher. When they have done this the flies trouble them no longer.

MELAENEAE & BUPHAGIUM

[8.26.8] On the road from Heraea to Megalopolis is Melaeneae. It was founded by Melaeneus, the son of Lycaon; in my time it was uninhabited, but there is plenty of water flowing over it. Forty stades above Melaeneae is Buphagium, and here is the source of the Buphagus, which flows down into the Alpheius. Near the source of the Buphagus is the boundary between Megalopolis and Heraea.

MEGALOPOLIS, HISTORY

[8.27.1] XXVII. Megalopolis is the youngest city, not of Arcadia only, but of Greece, with the exception of those whose inhabitants have been removed by the accident of the Roman domination. The Arcadians united into it to gain strength, realizing that the Argives also were in earlier times in almost daily danger of being subjected by war to the Lacedaemonians, but when they had increased the population of Argos by reducing Tiryns, Hysiae, Orneae, Mycenae, Mideia, along with other towns of little importance in Argolis, the Argives had less to fear from the Lacedaemonians, while they were in a stronger position to deal with their vassal neighbors.

[8.27.2] It was with this policy in view that the Arcadians united, and the founder of the city might fairly be considered Epaminondas of Thebes. For he it was who gathered the Arcadians together for the union and despatched a thousand picked Thebans under Pammenes to defend the Arcadians, if the Lacedaemonians should try to prevent the union. There were chosen as

founders by the Arcadians, Lycomedes and Hopoleas of Mantinea, Timon and Proxenus of Tegea, Cleolaus and Acriphius of Cleitor, Eucampidas and Hieronymus of Maenalus, Possicrates and Theoxenus of the Parrhasians.

[8.27.3] The following were the cities which the Arcadians were persuaded to abandon through their zeal and because of their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, in spite of the fact that these cities were their homes: Alea, Pallantium, Eutaea, Sumateium, Asea, Peraethenses, Helisson, Oresthasium, Dipaea, Lycaea; these were cities of Maenalus. Of the Eutresian cities Tricoloni, Zoetium, Charisia, Ptolederma, Cnausum, Paroreia.

[8.27.4] From the Aegytae: Aegys, Scirtonium, Malea, Cromi, Blenina, Leuctrum. Of the Parrhasians Lycosura, Thocnia, Trapezus, Prosenses, Acacesium, Acontium, Macaria, Dasea. Of the Cynurians in Arcadia: Gortys, Theisoa by Mount Lycaeus, Lycaea, Aliphera. Of those belonging to Orchomenus: Theisoa, Methydrium, Teuthis. These were joined by Tripolis, as it is called, Callia, Dipoenae, Nonacris.

[8.27.5] The Arcadians for the most part obeyed the general resolution and assembled promptly at Megalopolis. But the people of Lycaea, Tricoloni, Lycosura and Trapezus, but no other Arcadians, repented and, being no longer ready to abandon their ancient cities, were, with the exception of the last, taken to Megalopolis by force against their will,

[8.27.6] while the inhabitants of Trapezus departed altogether from the Peloponnesus, such of them as were left and were not immediately massacred by the exasperated Arcadians. Those who escaped with their lives sailed away to Pontus and were welcomed by the citizens of Trapezus on the Euxine as their kindred, as they bore their name and came from their mother-city. The Lycosurians, although they had disobeyed, were nevertheless spared by the Arcadians because of Demeter and the Mistress, in whose sanctuary they had taken refuge.

[8.27.7] Of the other cities I have mentioned, some are altogether deserted in our time, some are held by the people of Megalopolis as villages, namely Gortys, Dipoenae, Theisoa near Orchomenus, Methydrium, Teuthis, Calliae, Helisson. Only one of them, Pallantium, was destined to meet with a kindlier fate even then. Aliphera has continued to be regarded as a city from the beginning to the present day.

[8.27.8] Megalopolis was united into one city in the same year, but a few months later, as occurred the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, when Phrasicleides was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad, when Damon of Thurii was victor in the foot-race.

[8.27.9] When the citizens of Megalopolis had been enrolled in the Theban alliance they had nothing to fear from the Lacedaemonians. But when the Thebans became involved in what was called the Sacred War, and they were hard pressed by the Phocians, who were neighbors of the Boeotians, and wealthy because they had seized the sanctuary at Delphi,

[8.27.10] then the Lacedaemonians, if eagerness would have done it, would

have removed bodily the Megalopolitans and the other Arcadians besides; but as the Arcadians of the day put up a vigorous defence, while their vassal neighbors gave them wholehearted assistance, no achievement of note was accomplished by either side. But the hatred felt by the Arcadians for the Lacedaemonians was not a little responsible for the rise of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and of the Macedonian empire, and the Arcadians did not help the Greeks at Chaeroneia or again in the struggle in Thessaly.

[8.27.11] After a short time a tyrant arose at Megalopolis in the person of Aristodemus, a Phigalian by birth and a son of Artylas, who had been adopted by Tritaeus, an influential citizen of Megalopolis. This Aristodemus, in spite of his being a tyrant, nevertheless won the surname of "the Good." During his tyranny the territory of Megalopolis was invaded by the Lacedaemonians under Acrotatus, the eldest of the sons of King Cleomenes, whose lineage I have already traced with that of all the other Spartan kings. A fierce battle took place, and after many had fallen on both sides the army of Megalopolis had the better of the encounter. Among the Spartans killed was Acrotatus, who never succeeded to the throne of his fathers.

[8.27.12] Some two generations after the death of Aristodemus, Lydiades became tyrant, a man of distinguished family, by nature ambitious and, as he proved later, a devoted patriot. For he came to power while still young, but on reaching years of discretion he was minded to resign voluntarily the tyranny, although by this time his power was securely established. At this time Megalopolis was already a member of the Achaean League, and Lydiades became so famous among not only the people of Megalopolis but also all the Achaeans that he rivalled the fame of Aratus.

[8.27.13] The Lacedaemonians with all their forces under Agis, the son of Eudamidas, the king of the other house, attacked Megalopolis with larger and stronger forces than those collected by Acrotatus. They overcame in battle the men of Megalopolis, who came out against them, and bringing up a powerful engine against the wall they shook by it the tower in this place, and hoped on the morrow to knock it down by the engine.

[8.27.14] But the north wind was not only to prove a help to the whole Greek nation, when it dashed the greater part of the Persian fleet on the Sepiad rocks, but it also saved Megalopolis from being captured. For it blew violently and continuously, and broke up the engine of Agis, scattering it to utter destruction. The Agis whom the north wind prevented from taking Megalopolis is the man from whom was taken Pellene in Achaia by the Sicyonians under Aratus, and later he met his end at Mantinea.

[8.27.15] Shortly afterwards Cleomenes the son of Leonidas seized Megalopolis during a truce. Of the Megalopolitans some fell at once on the night of the capture in the defence of their country, when Lydiades too met his death in the battle, fighting nobly; others, about two-thirds of those of military age along with the women and children, escaped to Messenia with Philopoemen the son of Craugis.

[8.27.16] But those who were caught in the city were massacred by Cleomenes, who razed it to the ground and burnt it. How the Megalopolitans restored their city, and their achievements on their return, will be set forth in my account of Philopoemen. The Lacedaemonian people were in no way responsible for the disaster to Megalopolis, because Cleomenes had changed their constitution from a kingship to a tyranny.

RIVER BUPHAGUS & MT PHOLOE

[8.27.17] As I have already related, the boundary between Megalopolis and Heraea is at the source of the river Buphagus. The river got its name, they say, from a hero called Buphagus, the son of Iapetus and Thornax. This is what they call her in Laconia also. They also say that Artemis shot Buphagus on Mount Pholoe because he attempted an unholy sin against her godhead.

GORTYS & RIVER LUSIUS

[8.28.1] XXVIII. As you go from the source of the river, you will reach first a place called Maratha, and after it Gortys, which to-day is a village, but of old was a city. Here there is a temple of Asclepius, made of Pentelic marble, with the god, as a beardless youth, and an image of Health. Scopas was the artist. The natives also say that Alexander the son of Philip dedicated to Asclepius his breastplate and spear. The breastplate and the head of the spear are still there to-day.

[8.28.2] Through Gortys flows a river called by those who live around its source the Lusius (Bathing River), because Zeus after his birth was bathed in it; those farther from the source call it the Gortynius after the village. The water of this Gortynius is colder than that of any other river. The Danube, Rhine, Hypanis, Borysthenes, and all rivers the streams of which freeze in winter, as they flow through land on which there is snow the greater part of the time, while the air about them is full of frost, might in my opinion rightly be called wintry;

[8.28.3] I call the water cold of those which flow through a land with a good climate and in summer have water refreshing to drink and to bathe in, without being painful in winter. Cold in this sense is the water of the Cydnus which passes through Tarsus, and of the Melas which flows past Side in Pamphylia. The coldness of the Ales in Colophon has even been celebrated in the verse of elegiac poets. But the Gortynius surpasses them all in coldness, especially in the season of summer. It has its source in Theisoa, which borders on Methydrium. The place where its stream joins the Alpheius is called Rhaeteae.

TEUTHIS

[8.28.4] Adjoining the land of Theisoa is a village called Teuthis, which in old

days was a town. In the Trojan war the inhabitants supplied a general of their own. His name according to some was Teuthis, according to others Ornytus. When the Greeks failed to secure favorable winds to take them from Aulis, but were shut in for a long time by a violent gale, Teuthis quarrelled with Agamemnon and was about to lead the Arcadians under his command back home again.

[8.28.5] Whereupon, they say, Athena in the guise of Melas, the son of Ops, tried to turn Teuthis aside from his journey home. But Teuthis, his wrath swelling within him, struck with his spear the thigh of the goddess, and actually did lead his army back from Aulis. On his return to his native land the goddess appeared to him in a vision with a wound in her thigh. After this a wasting disease fell on Teuthis, and its people, alone of the Arcadians, suffered from famine.

[8.28.6] Later, oracles were delivered to them from Dodona, telling them what to do to appease the goddess, and in particular they had an image of Athena made with a wound in the thigh. This image I have myself seen, with its thigh swathed in a purple bandage. There are also at Teuthis sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Artemis.

PARAEBASIUM

[8.28.6] These are the notable things at Teuthis. On the road from Gortys to Megalopolis stands the tomb of those who were killed in the fight with Cleomenes. This tomb the Megalopolitans call Paraebasium (Transgression) because Cleomenes broke his truce with them. Adjoining Paraebasium is a plain about sixty stades across. On the right of the road are ruins of a city Brenthe, and here rises a river Brentheates, which some five stades farther on falls into the Alpheius.

TRAPEZUS

[8.29.1] XXIX. After crossing the Alpheius you come to what is called Trapezuntian territory and to the ruins of a city Trapezus. On the left, as you go down again from Trapezus to the Alpheius, there is, not far from the river, a place called Bathos (Depth), where they celebrate mysteries every other year to the Great Goddesses. Here there is a spring called Olympias which, during every other year, does not flow, and near the spring rises up fire. The Arcadians say that the fabled battle between giants and gods took place here and not at Pellene in Thrace, and at this spot sacrifices are offered to lightnings, hurricanes and thunders.

[8.29.2] Homer does not mention giants at all in the *Iliad*, but in the *Odyssey* he relates how the Laestrygonians attacked the ships of Odysseus in the likeness not of men but of giants, and he makes also the king of the Phaeacians say that the Phaeacians are near to the gods like the Cyclopes and the race of giants. In these places then he indicates that the giants are mortal, and not of

divine race, and his words in the following passage are plainer still:–

Who once was king among the haughty giants;
But he destroyed the infatuate folk, and was destroyed himself. Hom. *Od.*
7.59-60

“Folk” in the poetry of Homer means the common people.

[8.29.3] That the giants had serpents for feet is an absurd tale, as many pieces of evidence show, especially the following incident. The Syrian river Orontes does not flow its whole course to the sea on a level, but meets a precipitous ridge with a slope away from it. The Roman emperor wished ships to sail up the river from the sea to Antioch. So with much labour and expense he dug a channel suitable for ships to sail up, and turned the course of the river into this.

[8.29.4] But when the old bed had dried up, an earthenware coffin more than eleven cubits long was found in it, and the corpse was proportionately large, and human in all parts of its body. This corpse the god in Clarus, when the Syrians came to his oracle there, declared to be Orontes, and that he was of Indian race. If it was by warming the earth of old when it was still wet and saturated with moisture that the sun made the first men, what other land is likely to have raised men either before India or of greater size, seeing that even to-day it still breeds beasts monstrous in their weird appearance and monstrous in size?

BASILIS & THOCNIA

[8.29.5] Some ten stades distant from the place named Depth is what is called Basilis. The founder of it was Cypselus, who gave his daughter in marriage to Cresphontes, the son of Aristomachus. To-day Basilis is in ruins, among which remains a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter. Going on from here you will cross the Alpheius again and reach Thocnia, which is named after Thocnus, the son of Lycaon, and to-day is altogether uninhabited. Thocnus was said to have built the city on the hill. The river Aminius, flowing by the hill, falls into the Helisson, and not far away the Helisson falls into the Alpheius.

MEGALOPOLIS

[8.30.1] XXX. This Helisson, beginning at a village of the same name – for the name of the village also is Helisson – passes through the lands of Dipaea and Iycaea, and then through Megalopolis itself, descending into the Alpheius twenty stades away from the city of Megalopolis. Near the city is a temple of Poseidon Overseer. I found the head of the image still remaining.

[8.30.2] The river Helisson divides Megalopolis just as Cnidus and Mitylene are cut in two by their straits, and in the north section, on the right as one

looks down the river, the townsfolk have made their market-place. In it is an enclosure of stones and a sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus, with no entrance into it. The things inside, however, can be seen – altars of the god, two tables, two eagles, and an image of Pan made of stone.

[8.30.3] His surname is Sinoeis, and they say that Pan was so surnamed after a nymph Sinoe, who with others of the nymphs nursed him on her own account. There is before this enclosure a bronze image of Apollo worth seeing, in height twelve feet, brought from Phigalia as a contribution to the adornment of Megalopolis.

[8.30.4] The place where the image was originally set up by the Phigalians is named Bassae. The surname of the god has followed him from Phigalia, but why he received the name of Helper will be set forth in my account of Phigalia. On the right of the Apollo is a small image of the Mother of the Gods, but of the temple there remains nothing save the pillars.

[8.30.5] Before the temple of the Mother is no statue, but I found still to be seen the pedestals on which statues once stood. An inscription in elegiacs on one of the pedestals says that the statue was that of Diophanes, the son of Diaeus, the man who first united the whole Peloponnesus into what was named the Achaean League.

[8.30.6] The portico of the marketplace, called the Philippeium, was not made by Philip, the son of Amyntas, but as a compliment to him the Megalopolitans gave his name to the building. Near it I found a temple of Hermes Acacesius in ruins, with nothing remaining except a tortoise of stone. Adjoining this Philippeium is another portico, smaller in size, where stand the government offices of Megalopolis, six rooms in number. In one of them is an image of Ephesian Artemis, and in another a bronze Pan, surnamed Scoleitas, one cubit high.

[8.30.7] It was brought from the hill Scoleitas, which is within the walls, and from a spring on it a stream descends to the Helisson. Behind the government offices is a temple of Fortune with a stone image not less than five feet high. The portico called Myropolis, situated in the market-place, was built from the spoils taken when the Lacedaemonians fighting under Acrotatus, the son of Cleomenes, suffered the reverse sustained at the hands of Aristodemus, then tyrant of Megalopolis.

[8.30.8] In the marketplace of that city, behind the enclosure sacred to Lycaean Zeus, is the figure of a man carved in relief on a slab, Polybius, the son of Lycortas. Elegiac verses are inscribed upon it saying that he roamed over every land and every sea, and that he became the ally of the Itomans and stayed their wrath against the Greek nation. This Polybius wrote also a history of the Romans, including how they went to war with Carthage, what the cause of the war was, and how at last, not before great dangers had been run, Scipio . . . whom they name Carthaginian, because he put an end to the war and razed Carthage to the ground.

[8.30.9] Whenever the Romans obeyed the advice of Polybius, things went

well with them, but they say that whenever they would not listen to his instructions they made mistakes. All the Greek cities that were members of the Achaean League got permission from the Itomans that Polybius should draw up constitutions for them and frame laws. On the left of the portrait-statue of Polybius is the Council Chamber.

[8.30.10] Here then is the Chamber, but the portico called "Aristander's" in the market-place was built, they say, by Aristander, one of their townsmen. Quite near to this portico, on the east, is a sanctuary of Zeus, surnamed Saviour. It is adorned with pillars round it. Zeus is seated on a throne, and by his side stand Megalopolis on the right and an image of Artemis Saviour on the left. These are of Pentelic marble and were made by the Athenians Cephisodotus and Xenophon.

[8.31.1] XXXI. At the other end, the western, of the portico is an enclosure sacred to the Great Goddesses. The Great Goddesses are Demeter and the Maid, as I have already explained in my account of Messenia, and the Maid is called Saviour by the Arcadians. Carved in relief before the entrance are, on one side Artemis, on the other Asclepius and Health.

[8.31.2] Of the Great Goddesses, Demeter is of stone throughout, but the Saviour has drapery of wood. The height of each is about fifteen feet. The images . . . and before them he made small maids in tunics reaching to the ankles, each of whom carries on her head a basket full of flowers. They are said to be daughters of Damophon, but those inclining to a more religious interpretation hold that they are Athena and Artemis gathering the flowers with Persephone.

[8.31.3] By the side of Demeter there is also a Heracles about a cubit high. This Heracles, says Onomacritus in his poem, is one of those called Idaean Dactyls. Before it stands a table, on which are carved in relief two seasons, Pan with pipes, and Apollo playing the harp. There is also an inscription by them saying that they are among the first gods.

[8.31.4] Nymphs too are carved on the table: Neda carrying an infant Zeus, Anthracia, another Arcadian nymph, holding a torch, and Hagno with a water-pot in one hand and a bowl in the other. Anchirhoe and Myrtoessa carry water-pots, with what is meant to be water coming down from them. Within the precinct is a temple of Zeus Friendly. Polycleitus of Argos made the image; it is like Dionysus in having buskins as footwear and in holding a beaker in one hand and a thyrsus in the other, but an eagle sitting on the thyrsus does not fit in with the received accounts of Dionysus.

[8.31.5] Behind this temple is a small grove of trees surrounded by a wall; nobody may go inside, and before it are images of Demeter and the Maid some three feet high. Within the enclosure of the Great Goddesses is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite. Before the entrance are old wooden images of Hera, Apollo and the Muses, brought, it is said, from Trapezus,

[8.31.6] and in the temple are images made by Damophon, a wooden Hermes and a wooden Aphrodite with hands, face and feet of stone. The surname

Deviser given to the goddess is, in my opinion, a most apt one; for very many are the devices, and most varied are the forms of speech invented by men because of Aphrodite and her works.

[8.31.7] In a building stand statues also, those of Callignotus, Mentas, Sosigenes and Polus. These men are said to have been the first to establish at Megalopolis the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, and the ritual acts are a copy of those at Eleusis. Within the enclosure of the goddesses are the following images, which all have a square shape: Hermes, surnamed Agetor, Apollo, Athena, Poseidon, Sun too, surnamed Saviour, and Heracles. There has also been built for them a of vast size, and here they celebrate the mysteries in honor of the goddesses.

[8.31.8] To the right of the temple of the Great Goddesses there is also a sanctuary of the Maid. The image is of stone, about eight feet high; ribbons cover the pedestal all over. Women may enter this sanctuary at all times, but men enter it only once every year. Adjoining the market-place on the west there is built a gymnasium.

[8.31.9] Behind the portico called after Philip of Macedon are two hills, rising to no great height. Ruins of a sanctuary of Athena Polias are on one, while on the other a temple of Hera Full-grown, this too being in ruins. Under this hill is a spring called Bathyllus, which is one of the tributaries that swell the Helisson.

[8.32.1] XXXII. Such are the notable things on this site. The southern portion, on the other side of the river, can boast of the largest theater in all Greece, and in it is a spring which never fails. Not far from the theater are left foundations of the council house built for the Ten Thousand Arcadians, and called Thersilium after the man who dedicated it. Hard by is a house, belonging to-day to a private person, which originally was built for Alexander, the son of Philip. By the house is an image of Ammon, like the square images of Hermes, with a ram's horns on his head.

[8.32.2] The sanctuary built in common for the Muses, Apollo and Hermes had for me to record only a few foundations, but there was still one of the Muses, with an image of Apollo after the style of the square Hermae. The sanctuary of Aphrodite too was in ruins, save that there were left the fore-temple mid three images, one surnamed Heavenly, the second Common, and the third without a surname.

[8.32.3] At no great distance is an altar of Ares, and it was said that originally a sanctuary too was built for the god. Beyond the Aphrodite is built also a race-course, extending on one side to the theater (and here they have a spring, held sacred to Dionysus), while at the other end of the race-course a temple of Dionysus was said to have been struck by lightning two generations before my time, and a few ruins of it were still there when I saw it. The temple near the race-course shared by Heracles and Hermes was no longer there, only their altar was left.

[8.32.4] There is also in this district a hill to the east, and on it a temple of

Artemis Huntress this too was dedicated by Aristodemus. To the right of the Huntress is a precinct. Here there is a sanctuary of Asclepius, with images of the god and of Health, and a little lower down there are gods, also of square shape, surnamed Workers, Athena Worker and Apollo, God of Streets. To Hermes, Heracles and Eileithyia are attached traditions from the poems of Homer: that Hermes is the minister of Zeus and leads the souls of the departed down to Hades, and that Heracles accomplished many difficult tasks; Eileithyia, he says in the Iliad, cares for the pangs of women.

[8.32.5] Under this hill there is another sanctuary of Boy Asclepius. His image is upright and about a cubit in height, that of Apollo is seated on a throne and is not less than six feet high. Here are also kept bones, too big for those of a human being, about which the story ran that they were those of one of the giants mustered by Hopladamus to fight for Rhea, as my story will relate hereafter. Near this sanctuary is a spring, the water flowing down from which is received by the Helisson.

[8.33.1] XXXIII. Megalopolis was founded by the Arcadians with the utmost enthusiasm amidst the highest hopes of the Greeks, but it has lost all its beauty and its old prosperity, being to-day for the most part in ruins. I am not in the least surprised, as I know that heaven is always willing something new, and likewise that all things, strong or weak, increasing or decreasing, are being changed by Fortune, who drives them with imperious necessity according to her whim.

[8.33.2] For Mycenae, the leader of the Greeks in the Trojan war, and Nineveh, where was the royal palace of the Assyrians, are utterly ruined and desolate; while Boeotian Thebes, once deemed worthy to be the head of the Greek people, why, its name includes only the acropolis and its few inhabitants. Of the opulent places in the ancient world, Egyptian Thebes and Minyan Orchomenus are now less prosperous than a private individual of moderate means, while Delos, once the common market of Greece, has no Delian inhabitant, but only the men sent by the Athenians to guard the sanctuary.

[8.33.3] At Babylon the sanctuary of Belus still is left, but of the Babylon that was the greatest city of its time under the sun nothing remains but the wall. The case of Tiryns in the Argolid is the same. These places have been reduced by heaven to nothing. But the city of Alexander in Egypt, and that of Seleucus on the Orontes, that were founded but yesterday, have reached their present size and prosperity because fortune favours them.

[8.33.4] The following incident proves the might of fortune to be greater and more marvellous than is shown by the disasters and prosperity of cities. No long sail from Lemnos was once an island Chryse, where, it is said, Philoctetes met with his accident from the water-snake. But the waves utterly overwhelmed it, and Chryse sank and disappeared in the depths. Another island called Hieria (Sacred) . . . was not during this time. So temporary and utterly weak are the fortunes of men.

MANIAE & THE EUMENIDIUM

[8.34.1] XXXIV. As you go from Megalopolis to Messene, after advancing about seven stades, there stands on the left of the highway a sanctuary of goddesses. They call the goddesses themselves, as well as the district around the sanctuary, Maniae (Madnesses). In my view this is a surname of the Eumenides; in fact they say that it was here that madness overtook Orestes as punishment for shedding his mother's blood.

[8.34.2] Not far from the sanctuary is a mound of earth, of no great size, surmounted by a finger made of stone; the name, indeed, of the mound is the Tomb of the Finger. Here, it is said, Orestes on losing his wits bit off one finger of one of his hands. Adjoining this place is another, called Ace (Remedies) because in it Orestes was cured of his malady. Here too there is a sanctuary for the Eumenides.

[8.34.3] The story is that, when these goddesses were about to put Orestes out

of his mind, they appeared to him black; but when he had bitten off his finger they seemed to him again to be white and he recovered his senses at the sight. So he offered a sin-offering to the black goddesses to avert their wrath, while to the white deities he sacrificed a thank-offering. It is customary to sacrifice to the Graces also along with the Eumenides. Near to the place called Ace is another . . . a sanctuary called . . . because here Orestes cut off his hair on coming to his senses.

[8.34.4] Historians of Peloponnesian antiquities say that what Clytaemnestra's Furies did to Orestes in Arcadia took place before the trial at the Areopagus; that his accuser was not Tyndareus, who no longer lived, but Perilaus, who asked for vengeance for the mother's murder in that he was a cousin of Clytaemnestra. For Perilaus, they say, was a son of Icarius, to whom afterwards daughters also were born.

RIVER GATHEATAS

[8.34.5] The road from Maniae to the Alpheiis is roughly fifteen stades long. At this point the river Gatheatas falls into the Alpheiis, and before this the Carnion flows into the Gatheatas. The source of the Carnion is in Aegyptian territory beneath the sanctuary of Apollo Cereatas; that of the Gatheatas is at Gatheae in Cromitian territory.

CROMI & NYMPHAS

[8.34.6] The Cromitian territory is about forty stades up from the Alpheiis, and in it the ruins of the city Cromi have not entirely disappeared. From Cromi it is about twenty stades to Nymphas, which is well supplied with water and covered with trees. From Nymphas it is twenty stades to the Hermaeum, where is the boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis. Here they have made a Hermes also on a slab.

ROAD TO MESSENIAN & BELEMINA

[8.35.1] XXXV. This road leads to Messene, and there is another leading from Megalopolis to Carnasium in Messenia. The first thing you come to on the latter road is the Alpheiis at the place where it is joined by the Malus and the Scyrus, whose waters have already united. From this point keeping the Malus on the right after about thirty stades you will cross it and ascend along a rather steep road to a place called Phaedrias.

[8.35.2] About fifteen stades distant from Phaedrias is an Hermaeum called "by the Mistress"; it too forms a boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis. There are small images of the Mistress and Demeter; likewise of Hermes and Heracles. I am of opinion that the wooden image also, made for Heracles by Daedalus, stood here on the borders of Messenia and Arcadia.

[8.35.3] The road from Megalopolis to Lacedaemon is thirty stades long at the

Alpheius. After this you will travel beside a river Theius, which is a tributary of the Alpheius, and some forty stades from the Alpheius leaving the Theius on the left you will come to Phalaesia. This place is twenty stades away from the Hermaeum at Belemina.

[8.35.4] The Arcadians say that Belemina belonged of old to Arcadia but was severed from it by the Lacedaemonians. This account struck me as improbable on various grounds, chiefly because the Thebans, I think, would never have allowed the Arcadians to suffer even this loss, if they could have brought about restitution with justice.

SCIAS, TRICOLONI & ZOETIA

[8.35.5] There are also roads from Megalopolis leading to the interior of Arcadia; to Methydrium it is one hundred and seventy stades, and thirteen stades from Megalopolis is a place called Scias, where are ruins of a sanctuary of Artemis Sciatis, said to have been built by Aristodemus the tyrant. About ten stades from here are a few memorials of the city Charisiae, and the journey from Charisiae to Tricoloni is another ten stades.

[8.35.6] Once Tricoloni also was a city, and even to-day there still remains on a hill a sanctuary of Poseidon with a square image, and around the sanctuary stands a grove of trees. These cities had as founders the sons of Lycaon; but Zoetia, some fifteen stades from Tricoloni, not lying on the straight road but to the left of Tricoloni, was founded, they say, by Zoeteus, the son of Tricolonus. Paroreus, the younger of the sons of Tricolonus, also founded a city, in this case Paroria, ten stades distant from Zoetia.

[8.35.7] To-day both towns are without inhabitants. In Zoetia, however, there still remains a temple of Demeter and Artemis. There are also other ruins of cities: of Thyraeum, fifteen stades from Paroria, and of Hypsus, lying above the plain on a mountain which is also called Hypsus. The district between Thyraeum and Hypsus is all mountainous and full of wild beasts. My narrative has already pointed out that Thyraeus and Hypsus were sons of Lycaon.

[8.35.8] To the right of Tricoloni there is first a steep road ascending to a spring called Cruni. Descending from Cruni for about thirty stades you come to the grave of Callisto, a high mound of earth, whereon grow many trees, both cultivated and also those that bear no fruit. On the top of the mound is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Calliste (Most Beautiful). I believe it was because he had learnt it from the Arcadians that Pamphos was the first in his poems to call Artemis by the name of Calliste.

PHALANTHUS

[8.35.9] Twenty-five stades from here, a hundred stades in all from Tricoloni, there is on the Helisson, on the straight road to Methydrium, the only city left to be described on the road from Tricoloni, a place called Anemosa, and also

Mount Phalanthus, on which are the ruins of a city Phalanthus. It is said that Phalanthus was a son of Agelaus, a son of Stymphalus.

SCHOENUS

[8.35.10] Beyond this is a plain called the Plain of Polus, and after it Schoenus, so named from a Boeotian, Schoeneus. If this Schoeneus emigrated to Arcadia, the race-courses of Atalanta, which are near Schoenus, probably got their name from his daughter. Adjoining is . . . in my opinion called, and they say that the land here is Arcadia to all.

METHYDRIMUM & MT THAUMASIUS

[8.36.1] XXXVI. From this point nothing remains to be recorded except Methydrimum itself, which is distant from Tricoloni one hundred and thirty-seven stades. It received the name Methydrimum (Between the Waters) because there is a high knoll between the river Maloetas and the Mylaon, and on it Orchomenus built his city. Methydrimum too had citizens victorious at Olympia before it belonged to Megalopolis.

[8.36.2] There is in Methydrimum a temple of Horse Poseidon, standing by the Mylaon. But Mount Thaumasius (Wonderful) lies beyond the river Maloetas, and the Methydrimians hold that when Rhea was pregnant with Zeus, she came to this mountain and enlisted as her allies, in case Cronus should attack her, Hopladamus and his few giants:

[8.36.3] They allow that she gave birth to her son on some part of Mount Lycaeus, but they claim that here Cronus was deceived, and here took place the substitution of a stone for the child that is spoken of in the Greek legend. On the summit of the mountain is Rhea's Cave, into which no human beings may enter save only the women who are sacred to the goddess.

[8.36.4] About thirty stades from Methydrimum is a spring Nymphasia, and it is also thirty stades from Nymphasia to the common boundaries of Megalopolis, Orchomenus and Caphyae.

MARSH GATE ROAD

[8.36.5] Passing through the gate at Megalopolis named the Gate to the Marsh, and proceeding by the side of the river Helisson towards Maenalus, there stands on the left of the road a temple of the Good God. If the gods are givers of good things to men, and if Zeus is supreme among gods, it would be consistent to infer that this surname is that of Zeus. A short distance farther on is a mound of earth which is the grave of Aristodemus, whom in spite of his being a tyrant they could not help calling the Good and there is also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Contriver, because the goddess is the inventor of plans and devices of all sorts.

[8.36.6] On the right of the road there has been made a precinct to the North

Wind, and the Megalopolitans offer sacrifices every year, holding none of the gods in greater honor than the North Wind, because he proved their saviour from the Lacedaemonians under Agis. Next is the tomb of Oicles, the father of Amphiaraus, if indeed he met his end in Arcadia, and not after he had joined Heracles in his campaign against Laomedon. After it comes a temple of Demeter styled in the Marsh and her grove, which is five stades away from the city, and women only may enter it.

MT MAENALUS & LYCOA

[8.36.7] Thirty stades away is a place named Paliscius. Going on from Paliscius and leaving on the left the Elaphus, an intermittent stream, after an advance of some twenty stades you reach ruins of Peraethenses, among which is a sanctuary of Pan. If you cross the torrent and go straight on for fifteen stades you come to a plain, and after crossing it to the mountain called, like the plain, Maenalian. Under the fringe of the mountain are traces of a city Lycoa, a sanctuary of Artemis Lycoan, and a bronze image of her.

[8.36.8] On the southern slope of the mountain once stood Sumetia. On this mountain is what is called the Meeting of the Three Ways, whence the Mantineans fetched the bones of Arcas, the son of Callisto, at the bidding of the Delphic oracle. There are still left ruins of Maenalus itself: traces of a temple of Athena, one race-course for athletes and one for horses. Mount Maenalus is held to be especially sacred to Pan, so that those who dwell around it say that they can actually hear him playing on his pipes.

ACACESIUM

[8.36.9] From the sanctuary of the Mistress to the city of Megalopolis it is forty stades. From Megalopolis to the stream of the Alpheius is half this distance. After crossing the river it is two stades from the Alpheius to the ruins of Macareae, from these to the ruins of Daseae seven stades, and seven again from Daseae to the hill called Acacesian Hill.

[8.36.10] At the foot of this hill used to be a city Acacesium, and even to-day there is on the hill a stone image of Acacesian Hermes, the story of the Arcadians about it being that here the child Hermes was reared, and that Acacus the son of Lycaon became his foster-father. The Theban legend is different, and the people of Tanagra, again, have a legend at variance with the Theban.

LYCOSURA & SANCTUARY OF DESPOENA

[8.37.1] XXXVII. From Acacesium it is four stades to the sanctuary of the Mistress. First in this place is a temple of Artemis Leader, with a bronze image, holding torches, which I conjecture to be about six feet high. From this place there is an entrance into the sacred enclosure of the Mistress. As you go to the temple

there is a portico on the right, with reliefs of white marble on the wall. On the first relief are wrought Fates and Zeus surnamed Guide of Fate, and on the second Heracles wrestling a tripod from Apollo. What I learned about the story of the two latter I will tell if I get as far as an account of Delphi in my history of Phocis.

[8.37.2] In the portico by the Mistress there is, between the reliefs I have mentioned, a tablet with descriptions of the mysteries. On the third relief are nymphs and Pans; on the fourth is Polybius, the son of Lycortas. On the latter is also an inscription, declaring that Greece would never have fallen at all, if she had obeyed Polybius in everything, and when she met disaster her only help came from him. In front of the temple is an altar to Demeter and another to the Mistress, after which is one of the Great Mother.

[8.37.3] The actual images of the goddesses, Mistress and Demeter, the throne on which they sit, along with the footstool under their feet, are all made out of one piece of stone. No part of the drapery, and no part of the carvings about the throne, is fastened to another stone by iron or cement, but the whole is from one block. This stone was not brought in by them, but they say that in obedience to a dream they dug up the earth within the enclosure and so found it. The size of both images just about corresponds to the image of the Mother at Athens.

[8.37.4] These too are works of Damophon. Demeter carries a torch in her right hand; her other hand she has laid upon the Mistress. The Mistress has on her knees a staff and what is called the box, which she holds in her right hand. On both sides of the throne are images. By the side of Demeter stands Artemis wrapped in the skin of a deer, and carrying a quiver on her shoulders, while in one hand she holds a torch, in the other two serpents; by her side a bitch, of a breed suitable for hunting, is lying down.

[8.37.5] By the image of the Mistress stands Anytus, represented as a man in armour. Those about the sanctuary say that the Mistress was brought up by Anytus, who was one of the Titans, as they are called. The first to introduce Titans into poetry was Homer, representing them as gods down in what is called Tartarus; the lines are in the passage about Hera's oath. From Homer the name of the Titans was taken by Onomacritus, who in the orgies he composed for Dionysus made the Titans the authors of the god's sufferings.

[8.37.6] This is the story of Anytus told by the Arcadians. That Artemis was the daughter, not of Leto but of Demeter, which is the Egyptian account, the Greeks learned from Aeschylus the son of Euphorion. The story of the Curetes, who are represented under the images, and that of the Corybantes (a different race from the Curetes), carved in relief upon the base, I know, but pass them by.

[8.37.7] The Arcadians bring into the sanctuary the fruit of all cultivated trees except the pomegranate. On the right as you go out of the temple there is a mirror fitted into the wall. If anyone looks into this mirror, he will see himself very dimly indeed or not at all, but the actual images of the gods and the

throne can be seen quite clearly.

[8.37.8] When you have gone up a little, beside the temple of the Mistress on the right is what is called the Hall, where the Arcadians celebrate mysteries, and sacrifice to the Mistress many victims in generous fashion. Every man of them sacrifices what he possesses. But he does not cut the throats of the victims, as is done in other sacrifices; each man chops off a limb of the sacrifice, just that which happens to come to hand.

[8.37.9] This Mistress the Arcadians worship more than any other god, declaring that she is a daughter of Poseidon and Demeter. Mistress is her surname among the many, just as they surname Demeter's daughter by Zeus the Maid. But whereas the real name of the Maid is Persephone, as Homer and Pamphos before him say in their poems, the real name of the Mistress I am afraid to write to the uninitiated.

[8.37.10] Beyond what is called the Hall is a grove, sacred to the Mistress and surrounded by a wall of stones, and within it are trees, including an olive and an evergreen oak growing out of one root, and that not the result of a clever piece of gardening. Beyond the grove are altars of Horse Poseidon, as being the father of the Mistress, and of other gods as well. On the last of them is an inscription saying that it is common to all the gods.

[8.37.11] Thence you will ascend by stairs to a sanctuary of Pan. Within the sanctuary has been made a portico, and a small image; and this Pan too, equally with the most powerful gods, can bring men's prayers to accomplishment and repay the wicked as they deserve. Beside this Pan a fire is kept burning which is never allowed to go out. It is said that in days of old this god also gave oracles, and that the nymph Erato became his prophetess, she who wedded Arcas, the son of Callisto.

[8.37.12] They also remember verses of Erato, which I too myself have read. Here is an altar of Ares, and there are two images of Aphrodite in a temple, one of white marble, and the other, the older, of wood. There are also wooden images of Apollo and of Athena. Of Athena a sanctuary also has been made.

[8.38.1] XXXVIII. A little farther up is the circuit of the wall of Lycosura, in which there are a few inhabitants. Of all the cities that earth has ever shown, whether on mainland or on islands, Lycosura is the oldest, and was the first that the sun beheld; from it the rest of mankind have learned how to make them cities.

MT LYCAEUS & THEISOA

[8.38.2] On the left of the sanctuary of the Mistress is Mount Lycaeus. Some Arcadians call it Olympus, and others Sacred Peak. On it, they say, Zeus was reared. There is a place on Mount Lycaeus called Cretea, on the left of the grove of Apollo surnamed Parrhasian. The Arcadians claim that the Crete, where the Cretan story has it that Zeus was reared, was this place and not the island.

[8.38.3] The nymphs, by whom they say that Zeus was reared, they call

Theisoa, Neda and Hagno. After Theisoa was named a city in Parrhasia; Theisoa to-day is a village in the district of Megalopolis. From Neda the river Neda takes its name; from Hagno a spring on Mount Lycaeus, which like the Danube flows with an equal volume of water in winter just as in the season of summer.

[8.38.4] Should a drought persist for a long time, and the seeds in the earth and the trees wither, then the priest of Lycaean Zeus, after praying towards the water and making the usual sacrifices, lowers an oak branch to the surface of the spring, not letting it sink deep. When the water has been stirred up there rises a vapor, like mist; after a time the mist becomes cloud, gathers to itself other clouds, and makes rain fall on the land of the Arcadians.

[8.38.5] There is on Mount Lycaeus a sanctuary of Pan, and a grove of trees around it, with a race-course in front of which is a running-track. Of old they used to hold here the Lycaean games. Here there are also bases of statues, with now no statues on them. On one of the bases an elegiac inscription declares that the statue was a portrait of Astyanax, and that Astyanax was of the race of Arceas.

[8.38.6] Among the marvels of Mount Lycaeus the most wonderful is this. On it is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus, into which people are not allowed to enter. If anyone takes no notice of the rule and enters, he must inevitably live no longer than a year. A legend, moreover, was current that everything alike within the precinct, whether beast or man, cast no shadow. For this reason when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not rush in after it, but remains outside, and though he sees the beast can behold no shadow. In Syene also just on this side of Aethiopia neither tree nor creature casts a shadow so long as the sun is in the constellation of the Crab, but the precinct on Mount Lycaeus affects shadows in the same way always and at every season.

[8.38.7] On the highest point of the mountain is a mound of earth, forming an altar of Zeus Lycaeus, and from it most of the Peloponnesus can be seen. Before the altar on the east stand two pillars, on which there were of old gilded eagles. On this altar they sacrifice in secret to Lycaean Zeus. I was reluctant to pry into the details of the sacrifice; let them be as they are and were from the beginning.

[8.38.8] On the east side of the mountain there is a sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Parrhasian. They also give him the name Pythian. They hold every year a festival in honor of the god and sacrifice in the market-place a boar to Apollo Helper, and after the sacrifice here they at once carry the victim to the sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo in procession to the music of the flute; cutting out the thigh-bones they burn them, and also consume the meat of the victim on the spot.

[8.38.9] This it is their custom to do. To the north of Mount Lycaeus is the Theisoan territory. The inhabitants of it worship most the nymph Theisoa. There flow through the land of Theisoa the following tributaries of the

Alpheius, the Mylaon, Nus, Achelous, Celadus, and Naliphus. There are two other rivers of the same name as the Achelous in Arcadia, and more famous than it.

[8.38.10] One, falling into the sea by the Echinadian islands, flows through Acarnania and Aetolia, and is said by Homer in the *Iliad* to be the prince of all rivers. Another Achelous, flowing from Mount Sipylus, along with the mountain also, he takes occasion to mention in connection with his account of Niobe. The third river called the Achelous is the one by Mount Lycaeus.

NOMIAN MTS

[8.38.11] On the right of Lycosura are the mountains called Nomian, and on them is a sanctuary of Nomian Pan; the place they name Melpeia, saying that here Pan discovered the music of the pipes. It is a very obvious conjecture that the name of the Nomian Mountains is derived from the pasturings (nomai) of Pan, but the Arcadians themselves derive the name from a nymph.

PHIGALIA

[8.39.1] XXXIX. By Lycosura to the west passes the river Plataniston. No traveller can possibly avoid crossing the Plataniston who is going to Phigalia. Afterwards there is an ascent for some thirty stades or so.

[8.39.2] The story of Phigalus, the son of Lycaon, who was the original founder of the city, how in course of time the city made a change and called itself after Phialus, the son of Bucolion, and again restored its old name, I have already set forth. Another account, but not worthy of credit, is current, that Phigalus was not a son of Lycaon but an aboriginal. Others have said that Phigalia was one of the nymphs called Dryads.

PHIGALIA, HISTORY

[8.39.3] When the Lacedaemonians attacked the Arcadians and invaded Phigalia, they overcame the inhabitants in battle and sat down to besiege the city. When the walls were in danger of capture the Phigalians ran away, or perhaps the Lacedaemonians let them come out under a truce. The taking of Phigalia and the flight of the Phigalians from it took place when Miltiades was Archon at Athens, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, when Chionis the Laconian was victorious for the third time.

[8.39.4] The Phigalians who escaped resolved to go to Delphi and ask the god about their return. The Pythian priestess said that if they made the attempt by themselves she saw no return for them; but if they took with them one hundred picked men from Oresthasium, these would die in the battle, but through them the Phigalians would be restored to their city. When the Oresthasians heard of the oracle delivered to the Phigalians, all vied with one another in their eagerness to be one of the picked hundred and take part in the

expedition to Phigalia.

[8.39.5] They advanced against the Lacedaemonian garrison and fulfilled the oracle in all respects. For they fought and met their end gloriously; expelling the Spartans they enabled the Phigalians to recover their native land.

Phigalia lies on high land that is for the most part precipitous, and the walls are built on the cliffs. But on the top the hill is level and flat. Here there is a sanctuary of Artemis Saviour with a standing image of stone. From this sanctuary it is their custom to start their processions.

[8.39.6] The image of Hermes in the gymnasium is like to one dressed in a cloak; but the statue does not end in feet, but in the square shape. A temple also of Dionysus is here, who by the inhabitants is surnamed Acratophorus, but the lower part of the image cannot be seen for laurel-leaves and ivy. As much of it as can be seen is painted . . . with cinnabar to shine. It is said to be found by the Iberians along with the gold.

[8.40.1] XL. The Phigalians have on their market-place a statue of the pancratiast Arrhachion; it is archaic, especially in its posture. The feet are close together, and the arms hang down by the side as far as the hips. The statue is made of stone, and it is said that an inscription was written upon it. This has disappeared with time,

ARRHACHION & CREUGAS, HISTORIES

but Arrhachion won two Olympic victories at Festivals before the fifty-fourth, while at this Festival he won one due partly to the fairness of the Umpires and partly to his own manhood.

[8.40.2] For when he was contending for the wild olive with the last remaining competitor, whoever he was, the latter got a grip first, and held Arrhachion, hugging him with his legs, and at the same time he squeezed his neck with his hands. Arrhachion dislocated his opponent's toe, but expired owing to suffocation; but he who suffocated Arrhachion was forced to give in at the same time because of the pain in his toe. The Eleans crowned and proclaimed victor the corpse of Arrhachion.

[8.40.3] I know that the Argives acted similarly in the case of Creugas, a boxer of Epidamnus. For the Argives too gave to Creugas after his death the crown in the Nemean games, because his opponent Damoxenus of Syracuse broke their mutual agreement. For evening drew near as they were boxing, and they agreed within the hearing of witnesses, that each should in turn allow the other to deal him a blow. At that time boxers did not yet wear a sharp thong on the wrist of each hand, but still boxed with the soft gloves, binding them in the hollow of the hand, so that their fingers might be left bare. These soft gloves were thin thongs of raw ox-hide plaited together after an ancient manner.

[8.40.4] On the occasion to which I refer Creugas aimed his blow at the head of Damoxenus, and the latter bade Creugas lift up his arm. On his doing so, Damoxenus with straight fingers struck his opponent under the ribs; and what

with the sharpness of his nails and the force of the blow he drove his hand into the other's inside, caught his bowels, and tore them as he pulled them out.

[8.40.5] Creugas expired on the spot, and the Argives expelled Damoxenus for breaking his agreement by dealing his opponent many blows instead of one. They gave the victory to the dead Creugas, and had a statue of him made in Argos. It still stood in my time in the sanctuary of Lycian Apollo.

[8.41.1] XLI. In the market-place of Phigalia there is also a common tomb of the picked men of Oresthasium, and every year they sacrifice to them as to heroes.

RIVERS NEDA & LYMAX

[8.41.2] A river called the Lymax flowing just beside Phigalia falls into the Neda, and the river, they say, got its name from the cleansing of Rhea. For when she had given birth to Zeus, the nymphs who cleansed her after her travail threw the refuse into this river. Now the ancients called refuse "lymata." Homer, for example, says that the Greeks were cleansed, after the pestilence was stayed, and threw the lymata into the sea.

[8.41.3] The source of the Neda is on Mount Cerausius, which is a part of Mount Lycaeus. At the place where the Neda approaches nearest to Phigalia the boys of the Phigalians cut off their hair in honor of the river. Near the sea the Neda is navigable for small ships. Of all known rivers the Maeander descends with the most winding course, which very often turns back and then bends round once more; but the second place for its twistings should be given to the Neda.

[8.41.4] Some twelve stades above Phigalia are hot baths, and not far from these the Lymax falls into the Neda. Where the streams meet is the sanctuary of Eurynome, a holy spot from of old and difficult of approach because of the roughness of the ground. Around it are many cypress trees, growing close together.

[8.41.5] Eurynome is believed by the people of Phigalia to be a surname of Artemis. Those of them, however, to whom have descended ancient traditions, declare that Eurynome was a daughter of Ocean, whom Homer mentions in the *Iliad*, saying that along with Thetis she received Hephaestus. On the same day in each year they open the sanctuary of Eurynome, but at any other time it is a transgression for them to open it.

[8.41.6] On this occasion sacrifices also are offered by the state and by individuals. I did not arrive at the season of the festival, and I did not see the image of Eurynome; but the Phigalians told me that golden chains bind the wooden image, which represents a woman as far as the hips, but below this a fish. If she is a daughter of Ocean, and lives with Thetis in the depth of the sea, the fish may be regarded as a kind of emblem of her. But there could be no probable connection between such a shape and Artemis.

[8.41.7] Phigalia is surrounded by mountains, on the left by the mountain called Cotilius, while on the right is another, Mount Elaius, which acts as a shield to the city. The distance from the city to Mount Cotilius is about forty stades. On the mountain is a place called Bassae, and the temple of Apollo the Helper, which, including the roof, is of stone.

[8.41.8] Of the temples in the Peloponnesus, this might be placed first after the one at Tegea for the beauty of its stone and for its symmetry. Apollo received his name from the help he gave in time of plague, just as the Athenians gave him the name of Averter of Evil for turning the plague away from them.

[8.41.9] It was at the time of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians that he also saved the Phigalians, and at no other time; the evidence is that of the two surnames of Apollo, which have practically the same meaning, and also the fact that Ictinus, the architect of the temple at Phigalia, was a contemporary of Pericles, and built for the Athenians what is called the Parthenon. My narrative has already said that the tile image of Apollo is in the market-place of Megalopolis.

[8.41.10] On Mount Cotilius is a spring of water, but the author who related that this spring is the source of the stream of the river Lymax neither saw it himself nor spoke to a man who had done so. But I did both. We saw the river actually flowing, and the water of the spring on Mount Cotilius running no long way, and within a short distance disappearing altogether. It did not, however, occur to me to take pains to discover where in Arcadia the source of the Lymax is. Beyond the sanctuary of Apollo the Helper is a place named Cotilum, and in Cotilum is an Aphrodite. She also has a temple, the roof of which is now gone, and an image of the goddess.

MT ELAIUS

[8.42.1] XLII. The second mountain, Mount Elaius, is some thirty stades away from Phigalia, and has a cave sacred to Demeter surnamed Black. The Phigalians accept the account of the people of Thelpusa about the mating of Poseidon and Demeter, but they assert that Demeter gave birth, not to a horse, but to the Mistress, as the Arcadians call her.

[8.42.2] Afterwards, they say, angry with Poseidon and grieved at the rape of Persephone, she put on black apparel and shut herself up in this cavern for a long time. But when all the fruits of the earth were perishing, and the human race dying yet more through famine, no god, it seemed, knew where Demeter was in hiding,

[8.42.3] until Pan, they say, visited Arcadia. Roaming from mountain to mountain as he hunted, he came at last to Mount Elaius and spied Demeter, the state she was in and the clothes she wore. So Zeus learnt this from Pan, and sent the Fates to Demeter, who listened to the Fates and laid aside her wrath, moderating her grief as well. For these reasons, the Phigalians say, they concluded that this cavern was sacred to Demeter and set up in it a wooden

image.

[8.42.4] The image, they say, was made after this fashion. It was seated on a rock, like to a woman in all respects save the head. She had the head and hair of a horse, and there grew out of her head images of serpents and other beasts. Her tunic reached right to her feet; on one of her hands was a dolphin, on the other a dove. Now why they had the image made after this fashion is plain to any intelligent man who is learned in traditions. They say that they named her Black because the goddess had black apparel.

[8.42.5] They cannot relate either who made this wooden image or how it caught fire. But the old image was destroyed, and the Phigalians gave the goddess no fresh image, while they neglected for the most part her festivals and sacrifices, until the barrenness fell on the land. Then they went as suppliants to the Pythian priestess and received this response:—

[8.42.6]

Azanian Arcadians, acorn-eaters, who dwell
In Phigaleia, the cave that hid Deo, who bare a horse,
You have come to learn a cure for grievous famine,
Who alone have twice been nomads, alone have twice lived on wild fruits.
It was Deo who made you cease from pasturing, Deo who made you pasture
again
After being binders of corn and eaters of cakes,
Because she was deprived of privileges and ancient honors given by men of
former times.
And soon will she make you eat each other and feed on your children,
Unless you appease her anger with libations offered by all your people,
And adorn with divine honors the nook of the cave.

[8.42.7] When the Phigalians heard the oracle that was brought back, they held Demeter in greater honor than before, and particularly they persuaded Onatas of Aegina, son of Micon, to make them an image of Demeter at a price. The Pergamenes have a bronze Apollo made by this Onatas, a most wonderful marvel both for its size and workmanship. This man then, about two generations after the Persian invasion of Greece, made the Phigalians an image of bronze, guided partly by a picture or copy of the ancient wooden image which he discovered, but mostly (so goes the story) by a vision that he saw in dreams. As to the date, I have the following evidence to produce.

[8.42.8] At the time when Xerxes crossed over into Europe, Gelon the son of Deinomenes was despot of Syracuse and of the rest of Sicily besides. When Gelon died, the kingdom devolved on his brother Hieron. Hieron died before he could dedicate to Olympian Zeus the offerings he had vowed for his victories in the chariot-race, and so Deinomenes his son paid the debt for his father.

[8.42.9] These too are works of Onatas, and there are two inscriptions at Olympia. The one over the offering is this:—

Having won victories in thy grand games, Olympian Zeus,
Once with the four-horse chariot, twice with the race-horse,
Hieron bestowed on thee these gifts: his son dedicated them,
Deinomenes, as a memorial to his Syracusan father.

[10] The other inscription is:—

Onatas, son of Micon, fashioned me,
Who had his home in the island of Aegina.

Onatas was contemporary with Hegias of Athens and Ageladas of Argos.

[8.42.11] It was mainly to see this Demeter that I came to Phigalia. I offered no burnt sacrifice to the goddess, that being a custom of the natives. But the rule for sacrifice by private persons, and at the annual sacrifice by the community of Phigalia, is to offer grapes and other cultivated fruits, with honeycombs and raw wool still full of its grease. These they place on the altar built before the cave, afterwards pouring oil over them.

[8.42.12] They have a priestess who performs the rites, and with her is the youngest of their “sacrificers,” as they are called, who are citizens, three in number. There is a grove of oaks around the cave, and a cold spring rises from the earth. The image made by Onatas no longer existed in my time, and most of the Phigalians were ignorant that it had ever existed at all.

[8.42.13] The oldest, however, of the inhabitants I met said that three generations before his time some stones had fallen on the image out of the roof; these crushed the image, destroying it utterly. Indeed, in the roof I could still discern plainly where the stones had broken away.

PALLANTIUM, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[8.43.1] XLIII. My story next requires me to describe whatever is notable at Pallantium, and the reason why the emperor Antoninus the first turned it from a village to a city, giving its inhabitants liberty and freedom from taxation.

[8.43.2] Well, the story is that the wisest man and the best soldier among the Arcadians was one Evander, whose mother was a nymph, a daughter of the Ladon, while his father was Hermes. Sent out to establish a colony at the head of a company of Arcadians from Pallantium, he founded a city on the banks of the river Tiber. That part of modern Rome, which once was the home of Evander and the Arcadians who accompanied him, got the name of Pallantium in memory of the city in Arcadia. Afterwards the name was changed by omitting the letters L and N. These are the reasons why the emperor bestowed boons upon Pallantium.

ANTONINUS OF ROME, HISTORY

[8.43.3] Antoninus, the benefactor of Pallantium, never willingly involved the

Romans in war; but when the Moors (who form the greatest part of the independent Libyans, being nomads, and more formidable enemies than even the Scythians in that they wandered, not on wagons, but on horseback with their womenfolk), when these, I say, began an unprovoked war, he drove them from all their country, forcing them to flee to the extreme parts of Libya, right up to Mount Atlas and to the people living on it.

[8.43.4] He also took away from the Brigantes in Britain the greater part of their territory, because they too had begun an unprovoked war on the province of Genunia, a Roman dependency. The cities of Lycia and of Caria, along with Cos and Rhodes, were overthrown by a violent earthquake that smote them. These cities also were restored by the emperor Antoninus, who was keenly anxious to rebuild them, and devoted vast sums to this task. As to his gifts of money to Greeks, and to such non-Greeks as needed it, and his buildings in Greece, Ionia, Carthage and Syria, others have written of them most exactly.

[8.43.5] But there is also another memorial of himself left by this emperor. There was a certain law whereby provincials who were themselves of Roman citizenship, while their children were considered of Greek nationality, were forced either to leave their property to strangers or let it increase the wealth of the emperor. Antoninus permitted all such to give to the children their heritage, choosing rather to show himself benevolent than to retain a law that swelled his riches. This emperor the Romans called Pius, because he showed himself to be a most religious man.

[8.44.6] In my opinion he might also be justly called by the same title as the elder Cyrus, who was styled Father of Men. He left to succeed him a son of the same name. This Antoninus the second brought retribution both on the Germans, the most numerous and warlike barbarians in Europe, and also on the Sarmatian nation, both of whom had been guilty of beginning a war of aggression.

HAEMONIAE & ORESTHASIUM

[8.44.1] XLIV. To complete my account of Arcadia I have only to describe the road from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, which also takes us as far as what is called the Dyke. On this road is a suburb named Ladoceia after Ladocus, the son of Echemus, and after it is the site of what was in old times the city of Haemoniae. Its founder was Haemon the son of Lycaon, and the name of the place has remained Haemoniae to this day.

[8.44.2] After Haemoniae on the right of the road are some noteworthy remains of the city of Oresthasium, especially the pillars of a sanctuary of Artemis, which still are there. The surname of Artemis is Priestess. On the straight road from Haemoniae is a place called Aphrodisium, and after it another, called Athenaeum. On the left of it is a temple of Athena with a stone image in it.

RIVER EUROTAS & MT BOREIUS

[8.44.3] About twenty stades away from Athenaeum are ruins of Asea, and the hill that once was the citadel has traces of fortifications to this day. Some five stades from Asea are the sources of the Alpheius and of the Eurotas, the former a little distance from the road, the latter just by the road itself. Near the source of the Alpheius is a temple of the Mother of the Gods without a roof, and two lions made of stone.

[8.44.4] The waters of the Eurotas mingle with the Alpheius, and the united streams flow on for some twenty stades. Then they fall into a chasm, and the Eurotas comes again to the surface in the Lacedaemonian territory, the Alpheius at Pegae (Sources) in the land of Megalopolis. From Asea is an ascent up Mount Boreius, and on the top of the mountain are traces of a sanctuary. It is said that the sanctuary was built in honor of Athena Saviour and Poseidon by Odysseus after his return from Troy.

PALLANTIUM

[8.44.5] What is called the Dyke is the boundary between Megalopolis on the one hand and Tegea and Pallantium on the other. The plain of Pallantium you reach by turning aside to the left from the Dyke. In Pallantium is a temple with two stone images, one of Pallas, the other of Evander. There is also a sanctuary of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, and not far away is a statue of Polybius. The hill above the city was of old used as a citadel. On the crest of the hill there still remains a sanctuary of certain gods.

[8.44.6] Their surname is the Pure, and here it is customary to take the most solemn oaths. The names of the gods either they do not know, or knowing will not divulge; but it might be inferred that they were called Pure because Pallas did not sacrifice to them after the same fashion as his father sacrificed to Lycaean Zeus.

MT CRESIUS

[8.44.7] On the right of the so-called Dyke lies the Manthuric plain. The plain is on the borders of Tegea, stretching just about fifty stades to that city. On the right of the road is a small mountain called Mount Cresius, on which stands the sanctuary of Aphneius. For Ares, the Tegeans say, mated with Aerope, daughter of Cepheus, the son of Aleus.

[8.44.8] She died in giving birth to a child, who clung to his mother even when she was dead, and sucked great abundance of milk from her breasts. Now this took place by the will of Ares, and because of it they name the god Aphneius (Abundant); but the name given to the hill was, it is said, Aeropus. There is on the way to Tegea a fountain called Leuconian. They say that Apheidas was the father of Leucone, and not far from Tegea is her tomb.

TEGEA

[8.45.1] XLV. The Tegeans say that in the time of Tegeates, son of Lycaon, only the district got its name from him, and that the inhabitants dwelt in parishes, Gareatae, Phylacenses, Caryatae, Corythenses, Potachidae, Oeatae, Manthyrenses, Echeuethenses. But in the reign of Apheidias a ninth parish was added to them, namely Apheidantes. Of the modern city Aleus was founder.

[8.45.2] Besides the exploits shared by the Tegeans with the Arcadians, which include the Trojan war, the Persian wars and the battle at Dipaea with the Lacedaemonians, the Tegeans have, besides the deeds already mentioned, the following claims of their own to fame. Ancaeus, the son of Lycurgus, though wounded, stood up to the Calydonian boar, which Atalanta shot at, being the first to hit the beast. For this feat she received, as a prize for valor, the head and hide of the boar.

[8.45.3] When the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus, Echemus, son of Aeropus, a Tegean, fought a duel with Hyllus, and overcame him in the fight. The Tegeans again were the first Arcadians to overcome Lacedaemonians; when invaded they defeated their enemies and took most of them prisoners.

[8.45.4] The ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea was made for the Tegeans by Aleus. Later on the Tegeans set up for the goddess a large temple, worth seeing. The sanctuary was utterly destroyed by a fire which suddenly broke out when Diophantus was archon at Athens, in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, at which Eupolemus of Elis won the foot-race.

[8.45.5] The modern temple is far superior to all other temples in the Peloponnesus on many grounds, especially for its size. Its first row of pillars is Doric, and the next to it Corinthian; also, outside the temple, stand pillars of the Ionic order. I discovered that its architect was Scopas the Parian, who made images in many places of ancient Greece, and some besides in Ionia and Caria.

[8.45.6] On the front gable is the hunting of the Calydonian boar. The boar stands right in the center. On one side are Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeuces, Iolaus, the partner in most of the labours of Heracles, and also the sons of Thestius, the brothers of Althaea, Prothous and Cometes.

[8.45.7] On the other side of the boar is Epochus supporting Ancaeus who is now wounded and has dropped his axe; by his side is Castor, with Amphiaraus, the son of Oicles, next to whom is Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, son of Agamedes, son of Stymphalus. The last figure is Peirithous. On the gable at the back is a representation of Telephus fighting Achilles on the plain of the Caicus.

[8.46.1] XLVI. The ancient image of Athena Alea, and with it the tusks of the Calydonian boar, were carried away by the Roman emperor Augustus after his defeat of Antonius and his allies, among whom were all the Arcadians except the Mantineans.

[8.46.2] It is clear that Augustus was not the first to carry away from the vanquished votive offerings and images of gods, but was only following an

old precedent. For when Troy was taken and the Greeks were dividing up the spoils, Sthenelus the son of Capaneus was given the wooden image of Zeus Herceius (Of the Courtyard); and many years later, when Dorians were migrating to Sicily, Antiphemus the founder of Gela, after the sack of Omphace, a town of the Sicanians, removed to Gela an image made by Daedalus.

[8.46.3] Xerxes, too, the son of Dareius, the king of Persia, apart from the spoil he carried away from the city of Athens, took besides, as we know, from Brauron the image of Brauronian Artemis, and furthermore, accusing the Milesians of cowardice in a naval engagement against the Athenians in Greek waters, carried away from them the bronze Apollo at Branchidae. This it was to be the lot of Seleucus afterwards to restore to the Milesians, but the Argives down to the present still retain the images they took from Tiryns; one, a wooden image, is by the Hera, the other is kept in the sanctuary of Lycian Apollo.

[8.46.4] Again, the people of Cyzicus, compelling the people of Proconnesus by war to live at Cyzicus, took away from Proconnesus an image of Mother Dindymene. The image is of gold, and its face is made of hippopotamus teeth instead of ivory. So the emperor Augustus only followed a custom in vogue among the Greeks and barbarians from of old. The image of Athena Alea at Rome is as you enter the Forum made by Augustus.

[8.46.5] Here then it has been set up, made throughout of ivory, the work of Endoeus. Those in charge of the curiosities say that one of the boar's tusks has broken off; the remaining one is kept in the gardens of the emperor, in a sanctuary of Dionysus, and is about half a fathom long.

[8.47.1] XLVII. The present image at Tegea was brought from the parish of Manthurenses, and among them it had the surname of Hippiia (Horse Goddess). According to their account, when the battle of the gods and giants took place the goddess drove the chariot and horses against Enceladus. Yet this goddess too has come to receive the name of Alea among the Greeks generally and the Peloponnesians themselves. On one side of the image of Athena stands Asclepius, on the other Health, works of Scopas of Paros in Pentelic marble.

[8.47.2] Of the votive offerings in the temple these are the most notable. There is the hide of the Calydonian boar, rotted by age and by now altogether without bristles. Hanging up are the fetters, except such as have been destroyed by rust, worn by the Lacedaemonian prisoners when they dug the plain of Tegea. There have been dedicated a sacred couch of Athena, a portrait painting of Auge, and the shield of Marpessa, surnamed Choera, a woman of Tegea;

[8.47.3] of Marpessa I shall make mention later. The priest of Athena is a boy; I do not know how long his priesthood lasts, but it must be before, and not after, puberty. The altar for the goddess was made, they say, by Melampus, the son of Amythaon. Represented on the altar are Rhea and the nymph Oenoe

holding the baby Zeus. On either side are four figures: on one, Glauce, Neda, Theisoa and Anthracia; on the other Ide, Hagno, Alcinoe and Phrixa. There are also images of the Muses and of Memory.

[8.47.4] Not far from the temple is a stadium formed by a mound of earth, where they celebrate games, one festival called Aleaea after Athena, the other Halotia (Capture Festival) because they captured the greater part of the Lacedaemonians alive in the battle. To the north of the temple is a fountain, and at this fountain they say that Auge was outraged by Heracles, therein differing from the account of Auge in Hecataeus. Some three stades away from the fountain is a temple of Hermes Aepytus.

[8.47.5] There is at Tegea another sanctuary of Athena, namely of Athena Poliatīs (Keeper of the City) into which a priest enters once in each year. This sanctuary they name Eryma (Defence) saying that Cepheus, the son of Aleus, received from Athena a boon, that Tegea should never be captured while time shall endure, adding that the goddess cut off some of the hair of Medusa and gave it to him as a guard to the city.

[8.47.6] Their story about Artemis, the same as is called Leader, is as follows. Aristomelidas, despot of Orchomenus in Arcadia, fell in love with a Tegean maiden, and, getting her somehow or other into his power, entrusted her to the keeping of Chronius. The girl, before she was delivered up to the despot, killed herself for fear and shame, and Artemis in a vision stirred up Chronius against Aristomelidas. He slew the despot, fled to Tegea, and made a sanctuary for Artemis.

[8.48.1] XLVIII. The market-place is in shape very like a brick, and in it is a temple of Aphrodite called "in brick," with a stone image. There are two slabs; on one are represented in relief Antiphanes, Crisus, Tyronidas and Pyrrhias, who made laws for the Tegeans, and down to this day receive honors for it from them. On the other slab is represented Iasius, holding a horse, and carrying in his right hand a branch of palm. It is said that Iasius won a horse-race at Olympia, at the time when Heracles the Theban celebrated the Olympian festival.

[8.48.2] The reason why at Olympia the victor receives a crown of wild-olive I have already explained in my account of Elis; why at Delphi the crown is of bay I shall make plain later. At the Isthmus the pine, and at Nemea celery became the prize to commemorate the sufferings of Palaemon and Archemorus. At most games, however, is given a crown of palm, and at all a palm is placed in the right hand of the victor.

[8.48.3] The origin of the custom is said to be that Theseus, on his return from Crete, held games in Delos in honor of Apollo, and crowned the victors with palm. Such, it is said, was the origin of the custom. The palm in Delos is mentioned by Homer in the passage where Odysseus supplicates the daughter of Alcinoüs.

[8.48.4] There is also an image of Ares in the marketplace of Tegea. Carved in relief on a slab it is called Gynaecothoenas (He who entertains women). At

the time of the Laconian war, when Charillus king of Lacedaemon made the first invasion, the women armed themselves and lay in ambush under the hill they call today Phylactris (Sentry Hill). When the armies met and the men on either side were performing many remarkable exploits,

[8.48.5] the women, they say, came on the scene and put the Lacedaemonians to flight. Marpessa, surnamed Choera, surpassed, they say, the other women in daring, while Charillus himself was one of the Spartan prisoners. The story goes on to say that he was set free without ransom, swore to the Tegeans that the Lacedaemonians would never again attack Tegea, and then broke his oath; that the women offered to Ares a sacrifice of victory on their own account without the men, and gave to the men no share in the meat of the victim. For this reason Ares got his surname.

[8.48.6] There is also an altar of Zeus Teleius (Full-grown), with a square image, a shape of which the Arcadians seem to me to be exceedingly fond. There are also here tombs of Tegeates, the son of Lycaon, and of Maera, the wife of Tegeates. They say that Maera was a daughter of Atlas, and Homer makes mention of her in the passage where Odysseus tells to Alcinous his journey to Hades, and of those whose ghosts he beheld there.

[8.48.7] The Tegeans surname Eileithyia, a temple of whom, with art image, they have in their market-place, Auge on her knees, saying that Aleus handed over his daughter to Nauplius with the order to take and drown her in the sea. As she was being carried along, they say, she fell on her knees and so gave birth to her son, at the place where is the sanctuary of Eileithyia. This story is different from another, that Auge was brought to bed without her father's knowing it, and that Telephus was exposed on Mount Parthenius, the abandoned child being suckled by a deer. This account is equally current among the people of Tegea.

[8.48.8] Close to the sanctuary of Eileithyia is an altar of Earth, next to which is a slab of white marble. On this is carved Polybius, the son of Lycortas, while on another slab is Elatus, one of the sons of Arcas.

[8.49.1] XLIX. Not far from the market-place is a theater, and near it are pedestals of bronze statues, but the statues themselves no longer exist. On one pedestal is an elegiac inscription that the statue is that of Philopoemen.

PHILOPOEMEN OF TEGEA, HISTORY

The memory of this Philopoemen is most carefully cherished by the Greeks, both for the wisdom he showed and for his many brave achievements.

[8.49.2] His father Craugis was as nobly born as any Arcadian of Megalopolis, but he died while Philopoemen was still a baby, and Cleander of Mantinea became his guardian. This man was an exile from Mantinea, resident in Megalopolis because of his misfortunes at home, and his house and that of Craugis had ties of guest-friendship. Among the teachers of Philopoemen, they say, were Megalophanes and Ecdelus, pupils, it is said, of Arcesilaus of Pitane.

[8.49.3] In size and strength of body no Peloponnesian was his superior, but he was ugly of countenance. He scorned training for the prizes of the games, but he worked the land he owned and did not neglect to clear it of wild beasts. They say that he read books of scholars of repute among the Greeks, stories of wars, and all that taught him anything of strategy. He wished to model his whole life on Epaminondas, his wisdom and his achievements, but could not rise to his height in every respect. For the temper of Epaminondas was calm and, in particular, free from anger, but the Arcadian was somewhat passionate.

[8.49.4] When Megalopolis was captured by Cleomenes, Philopoemen was not dismayed by the unexpected disaster, but led safely to Messene about two-thirds of the men of military age, along with the women and children, the Messenians being at that time friendly allies. To some of those who made good their escape Cleomenes offered terms, saying that he was beginning to repent his crime, and would treat with the Megalopolitans if they returned home; but Philopoemen induced the citizens at a meeting to win a return home by force of arms, and to refuse to negotiate or make a truce.

[8.49.5] When the battle had joined with the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes at Sellasia, in which Achaeans and Arcadians from all the cities took part, along with Antigonus at the head of a Macedonian army, Philopoemen served with the cavalry. But when he saw that the infantry would be the decisive factor in the engagement, he voluntarily fought on foot, showed conspicuous daring, and was pierced through both thighs by one of the enemy.

[8.49.6] Although so seriously impeded, he bent in his knees and forced himself forward, so that he actually broke the spear by the movement of his legs. After the defeat of the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes, Philopoemen returned to the camp, where the surgeons pulled out from one thigh the spike, from the other the blade. When Antigonus learned of his valor and saw it, he was anxious to take Philopoemen to Macedonia.

[8.49.7] But Philopoemen was not likely to care much about Antigonus. Sailing across to Crete, where a civil war was raging, he put himself at the head of a band of mercenaries. Going back to Megalopolis, he was at once chosen by the Achaeans to command the cavalry, and he turned them into the finest cavalry in Greece. In the battle at the river Larisus between the Achaeans with their allies and the Eleans with the Aetolians, who were helping the Eleans on grounds of kinship, Philopoemen first killed with his own hand Demophantus, the leader of the opposing cavalry, and then turned to flight all the mounted troops of Aetolia and Elis.

[8.50.1] L. As the Achaeans now turned their gaze on Philopoemen and placed in him all their hopes, he succeeded in changing the equipment of those serving in their infantry. They had been carrying short javelins and oblong shields after the fashion of the Celtic "door" or the Persian "wicker" Philopoemen, however, persuaded them to put on breast-plates and greaves, and also to use Argolic shields and long spears.

[8.50.2] When Machanidas the upstart became despot of Lacedaemon, and war began once again between that city under Machanidas and the Achaeans, Philopoemen commanded the Achaean forces. A battle took place at Mantinea. The light troops of the Lacedaemonians overcame the light-armed of the Achaeans, and Machanidas pressed hard on the fugitives. Philopoemen, however, with the phalanx of infantry put to flight the Lacedaemonian men-at-arms, met Machanidas returning from the pursuit and killed him. The Lacedaemonians were unfortunate in the battle, but their good fortune more than compensated for their defeat, for they were delivered from their despot.

[8.50.3] Not long afterwards the Argives celebrated the Nemean games, and Philopoemen chanced to be present at the competition of the harpists. Pylades, a man of Megalopolis, the most famous harpist of his time, who had won a Pythian victory, was then singing the Persians, an ode of Timotheus the Milesian. When he had begun the song:

Who to Greece gives the great and glorious jewel of freedom, Timotheus, unknown location.

The audience of Greeks looked at Philopoemen and by their clapping signified that the song applied to him. I am told that a similar thing happened to Themistocles at Olympia, for the audience there rose to do him honor.

[8.50.4] But Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, who poisoned Aratus of Sicyon, sent men to Megalopolis with orders to murder Philopoemen. The attempt failed, and Philip incurred the hatred of all Greece. The Thebans had defeated the Megarians in battle, and were already climbing the wall of Megara, when the Megarians deceived them into thinking that Philopoemen had come to Megara. This made the Thebans so cautious that they went away home, and abandoned their military operation.

[8.50.5] In Lacedaemon another despot arose, Nabis, and the first of the Peloponnesians to be attacked by him were the Messenians. Coming upon them by night, when they by no means were expecting an assault, he took the city except the citadel; but when on the morrow Philopoemen arrived with an army, he evacuated Messene under a truce.

[8.50.6] When Philopoemen's term of office as general expired, and others were chosen to be generals of the Achaeans, he again crossed to Crete and sided with the Gortynians, who were hard pressed in war. The Arcadians were wroth with him for his absence; so he returned from Crete and found that the Romans had begun a war against Nabis.

[8.50.7] The Romans had equipped a fleet against Nabis, and Philopoemen was too enthusiastic to keep out of the quarrel. But being entirely ignorant of nautical affairs he unwittingly embarked on a leaky trireme, so that the Romans and their allies were reminded of the verses of Homer, where in the *Catalogue* he remarks on the ignorance of the Arcadians of nautical matters.

[8.50.8] A few days after the sea-fight, Philopoemen and his band, waiting for a moonless night, burnt down the camp of the Lacedaemonians at Gythium. Thereupon Nabis caught Philopoemen himself and the Arcadians with him in

a disadvantageous position. The Arcadians, though few in number, were good soldiers,

[8.50.9] and Philopoemen, by changing the order of his line of retreat, caused the strongest positions to be to his advantage and not to that of his enemy. He overcame Nabis in the battle and massacred during the night many of the Lacedaemonians, so raising yet higher his reputation among the Greeks.

[8.50.10] After this Nabis secured from the Romans a truce for a fixed period, but died before this period came to an end, being assassinated by a man of Calydon, who pretended that he had come about an alliance, but was in reality an enemy who had been sent for this very purpose of assassination by the Aetolians.

[8.51.1] LI. At this time Philopoemen flung himself into Sparta and forced her to join the Achaean League. Shortly afterwards Titus, the Roman commander in Greece, and Diophanes, the son of Diaeus, a Megalopolitan who had been elected general of the Achaeans, attacked Lacedaemon, accusing the Lacedaemonians of rebellion against the Romans. But Philopoemen, though at the time holding no office, shut the gates against them.

[8.51.2] For this reason, and because of his courage shown against both the despots, the Lacedaemonians offered him the house of Nabis, worth more than a hundred talents. But he scorned the wealth, and bade the Lacedaemonians court with gifts, not himself, but those who could persuade the many in the meeting of the Achaeans — a suggestion, it is said, directed against Timolaus. He was again appointed general of the Achaeans.

[8.51.3] At this time the Lacedaemonians were involved in civil war, and Philopoemen expelled from the Peloponnesus three hundred who were chiefly responsible for the civil war, sold some three thousand Helots, razed the walls of Sparta, and forbade the youths to train in the manner laid down by the laws of Lycurgus, ordering them to follow the training of the Achaean youths. The Romans, in course of time, were to restore to the Lacedaemonians the discipline of their native land.

[8.51.4] When the Romans under Manius defeated at Thermopylae Antiochus the descendant of Seleucus, named Nicator, and the Syrian army with him, Aristaenus of Megalopolis advised the Achaeans to approve the wishes of the Romans in all respects, and to oppose them in nothing. Philopoemen looked angrily at Aristaenus, and said that he was hastening on the doom of Greece. Manius wished the Lacedaemonian exiles to return, but Philopoemen opposed his plan, and only when Manius had gone away did he allow the exiles to be restored.

[8.51.5] But, nevertheless, Philopoemen too was to be punished for his pride. After being appointed commander of the Achaeans for the eighth time, he reproached a man of no little distinction for having been captured alive by the enemy. Now at this time the Achaeans had a grievance against the Messenians, and Philopoemen, despatching Lycortas with the army to lay waste the land of the Messenians, was very anxious two or three days later, in

spite of his seventy years and a severe attack of fever, to take his share in the expedition of Lycortas. He led about sixty horsemen and targeteers.

[8.51.6] Lycortas, however, and his army were already on their way back to their country, having neither suffered great harm nor inflicted it on the Messenians. Philopoemen, wounded in the head during the battle, fell from his horse and was taken alive to Messene. A meeting of the assembly was immediately held, at which the most widely divergent opinions were expressed.

[8.51.7] Deinocrates, and all the Messenians whose wealth made them influential, urged that Philopoemen should be put to death; but the popular party were keen on saving his life, calling him Father, and more than Father, of all the Greek people. But Deinocrates, after all, and in spite of Messenian opposition, was to bring about the death of Philopoemen, for he sent poison in to him.

[8.51.8] Shortly afterwards Lycortas gathered a force from Arcadia and Achaia and marched against Messene. The Messenian populace at once went over to the side of the Arcadians, and those responsible for the death of Philopoemen were caught and punished, all except Deinocrates, who perished by his own hand. The Arcadians also brought back to Megalopolis the bones of Philopoemen.

[8.52.1] LII. After this Greece ceased to bear good men. For Miltiades, the son of Cimon, overcame in battle the foreign invaders who had landed at Marathon, stayed the advance of the Persian army, and so became the first benefactor of all Greece, just as Philopoemen, the son of Craugis, was the last. Those who before Miltiades accomplished brilliant deeds, Codrus, the son of Melanthus, Polydorus the Spartan, Aristomenes the Messenian, and all the rest, will be seen to have helped each his own country and not Greece as a whole.

[8.52.2] Later than Miltiades, Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrides, and Themistocles, the son of Neocles, repulsed Xerxes from Greece, Themistocles by the two sea-fights, Leonidas by the action at Thermopylae. But Aristides the son of Lysimachus, and Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, commanders at Plataea, were debarred from being called benefactors of Greece, Pausanias by his subsequent sins, Aristides by his imposition of tribute on the island Greeks; for before Aristides all the Greeks were immune from tribute.

[8.52.3] Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, with Leotychidaes the king of Sparta destroyed the Persian fleet at Mycale, and with Cimon accomplished many enviable achievements on behalf of the Greeks. But those who took part in the Peloponnesian war against Athens, especially the most distinguished of them, might be said to be murderers, almost wreckers, of Greece.

[8.52.4] When the Greek nation was reduced to a miserable condition, it recovered under the efforts of Conon, the son of Timotheus, and of Epaminondas, the son of Polymnis, who drove out the Lacedaemonian garrisons and governors, and put down the boards of ten, Conon from the

islands and coasts, Epaminondas from the cities of the interior. By founding cities too, of no small fame, Messene and Arcadian Megalopolis, Epaminondas made Greece more famous.

[8.52.5] I reckon Leosthenes also and Aratus benefactors of all the Greeks. Leosthenes, in spite of Alexander's opposition, brought back safe by sea to Greece the force of Greek mercenaries in Persia, about fifty thousand in number, who had descended to the coast. As for Aratus, I have related his exploits in my history of Sicyon.

[8.52.6] The inscription on the statue of Philopoemen at Tegea runs thus: —

The valor and glory of this man are famed throughout Greece, who worked
Many achievements by might and many by his counsels,
Philopoemen, the Arcadian spearman, whom great renown attended,
When he commanded the lances in war.
Witness are two trophies, won from the despots
Of Sparta; the swelling flood of slavery he stayed.
Wherefore did Tegea set up in stone the great-hearted son of Craugis,
Author of blameless freedom.

[8.53.1] LIII. Such is the inscription at Tegea on Philopoemen. The images of Apollo, Lord of Streets, the Tegeans say they set up for the following reason. Apollo and Artemis, they say, throughout every land visited with punishment all the men of that time who, when Leto was with child and in the course of her wanderings, took no heed of her when she came to their land.

[8.53.2] So when the divinities came to the land of Tegea, Scephrus, they say, the son of Tegeates, came to Apollo and had a private conversation with him. And Leimon, who also was a son of Tegeates, suspecting that the conversation of Scephrus contained a charge against him, rushed on his brother and killed him.

[8.53.3] Immediate punishment for the murder overtook Leimon, for he was shot by Artemis. At the time Tegeates and Maera sacrificed to Apollo and Artemis, but afterwards a severe famine fell on the land, and an oracle of Delphi ordered a mourning for Scephrus. At the feast of the Lord of Streets rites are performed in honor of Scephrus, and in particular the priestess of Artemis pursues a man, pretending she is Artemis herself pursuing Leimon.

[8.53.4] It is also said that all the surviving sons of Tegeates, namely, Cydon, Archedius and Gortys, migrated of their own free will to Crete, and that after them were named the cities Cydonia, Gortyna and Catreus. The Cretans dissent from the account of the Tegeans, saying that Cydon was a son of Hermes and of Acacallis, daughter of Minos, that Catreus was a son of Minos, and Gortys a son of Rhadamanthys.

[8.53.5] As to Rhadamanthys himself, Homer says, in the talk of Proteus with Menelaus, that Menelaus would go to the Elysian plain, but that Rhadamanthys was already arrived there. Cinaethon too in his poem represents Rhadamanthys as the son of Hephaestus, Hephaestus as a son of

Talos, and Talos as a son of Cres. The legends of Greece generally have different forms, and this is particularly true of genealogy.

[8.53.6] At Tegea the images of the Lord of Streets are four in number, one set up by each of the tribes. The names given to the tribes are Clareotis, Hippothoetis, Apolloniatis, and Athaneatis; they are called after the lots cast by Arcas to divide the land among his sons, and after Hippothous, the son of Cercyon.

[8.53.7] There is also at Tegea a temple of Demeter and the Maid, whom they surname the Fruit-bringers, and hard by is one of Aphrodite called Paphian. The latter was built by Laodice, who was descended, as I have already said, from Agapenor, who led the Arcadians to Troy, and it was in Paphos that she dwelt. Not far from it are two sanctuaries of Dionysus, an altar of the Maid, and a temple of Apollo with a gilded image.

[8.53.8] The artist was Cheirisophus; he was a Cretan by race, but his date and teacher we do not know. The residence of Daedalus with Minos at Cnossus secured for the Cretans a reputation for the making of wooden images also, which lasted for a long period. By the Apollo stands Cheirisophus in stone.

[8.53.9] The Tegeans also have what they call a Common Hearth of the Arcadians. Here there is an image of Heracles, and on his thigh is represented a wound received in the first fight with the sons of Hippocoon. The lofty place, on which are most of the altars of the Tegeans, is called the place of Zeus Clarius (Of Lots), and it is plain that the god got his surname from the lots cast for the sons of Arcas. Here the Tegeans celebrate a feast every year.

[8.53.10] It is said that once at the time of the feast they were invaded by the Lacedaemonians. As it was snowing, these were chilled, and thus distressed by their armour, but the Tegeans, without their enemies knowing it, lighted a fire. So untroubled by the cold they donned, they say, their armour, went out against the Lacedaemonians, and had the better of the engagement. I also saw in Tegea:— the house of Aleus, the tomb of Echemus, and the fight between Echemus and Hyllus carved in relief upon a slab.

ROAD TO LACONIA

[8.53.11] On the left of the road as you go from Tegea to Laconia there is an altar of Pan, and likewise one of Lycaean Zeus. The foundations, too, of sanctuaries are still there. These altars are two stades from the wall; and about seven stades farther on is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Lady of the Lake, with an image of ebony. The fashion of the workmanship is what the Greeks call Aeginetan. Some ten stades farther on are the ruins of a temple of Artemis Cnaceatis.

RIVER ALPHEIUS

[8.54.1] LIV. The boundary between the territories of Lacedaemon and Tegea is the river Alpheius. Its water begins in Phylace, and not far from its source there

flows down into it another water from springs that are not large, but many in number, whence the place has received the name Symbola (Meetings).

[8.54.2] It is known that the Alpheius differs from other rivers in exhibiting this natural peculiarity; it often disappears beneath the earth to reappear again. So flowing on from Phylace and the place called Symbola it sinks into the Tegean plain; rising at Asea, and mingling its stream with the Eurotas, it sinks again into the earth.

[8.54.3] Coming up at the place called by the Arcadians Pegae (Springs), and flowing past the land of Pisa and past Olympia, it falls into the sea above Cyllene, the port of Elis. Not even the Adriatic could check its flowing onwards, but passing through it, so large and stormy a sea, it shows in Ortygia, before Syracuse, that it is the Alpheius, and unites its water with Arethusa.

RIVER GARATES

[8.54.4] The straight road from Tegea to Thyrea and to the villages its territory contains can show a notable sight in the tomb of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon; from here, say the Tegeans, a Spartan stole his bones. In our time the grave is no longer within the gates. By the road flows also the river Garates. Crossing the Garates and advancing ten stades you come to a sanctuary of Pan, by which is an oak, like the sanctuary sacred to Pan.

ROAD TO ARGOS

[8.54.5] The road from Tegea to Argos is very well suited for carriages, in fact a first-rate highway. On the road come first a temple and image of Asclepius. Next, turning aside to the left for about a stade, you see a dilapidated sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Pythian which is utterly in ruins. Along the straight road there are many oaks, and in the grove of oaks is a temple of Demeter called "in Corythenses." Hard by is another sanctuary, that of Mystic Dionysus.

MT PARTHENIUS

[8.54.6] At this point begins Mount Parthenius. On it is shown a sacred enclosure of Telephus, where it is said that he was exposed when a child and was suckled by a deer. A little farther on is a sanctuary of Pan, where Athenians and Tegeans agree that he appeared to Philippides and conversed with him.

[8.54.7] Mount Parthenius rears also tortoises most suitable for the making of harps; but the men on the mountain are always afraid to capture them, and will not allow strangers to do so either, thinking them to be sacred to Pan. Crossing the peak of the mountain you are within the cultivated area, and reach the boundary between Tegea and Argos; it is near Hysiae in Argolis.

These are the divisions of the Peloponnesus, the cities in the divisions, and

the most noteworthy things in each city.

BOOK IX.

PLATAEA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[9.1.1] 1. Boeotia borders on Attica at several places, one of which is where Plataea touches Eleutherae. The Boeotians as a race got their name from Boeotus, who, legend says, was the son of Itonus and the nymph Melanippe, and Itonus was the son of Amphictyon. The cities are called in some cases after men, but in most after women. The Plataeans were originally, in my opinion, sprung from the soil; their name comes from Plataea, whom they consider to be a daughter of the river Asopus.

[9.1.2] It is clear that the Plataeans too were of old ruled by kings; for everywhere in Greece in ancient times, kingship and not democracy was the established form of government. But the Plataeans know of no king except Asopus and Cithaeron before him, holding that the latter gave his name to the mountain, the former to the river. I think that Plataea also, after whom the city is named, was a daughter of King Asopus, and not of the river.

PLATAEA, HISTORY

[9.1.3] Before the battle that the Athenians fought at Marathon, the Plataeans had no claim to renown. But they were present at the battle of Marathon, and later, when Xerxes came down to the sea, they bravely manned the fleet with the Athenians, and defended themselves in their own country against the general of Xerxes, Mardonius, the son of Gobryas. Twice it was their fate to be driven from their homes and to be taken back to Boeotia.

[9.1.4] For in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athens, the Lacedaemonians reduced Plataea by siege, but it was restored during the peace made by the Spartan Antalcidas between the Persians and the Greeks, and the Plataeans returned from Athens. But a second disaster was destined to befall them. There was no open war between Plataea and Thebes; in fact the Plataeans declared that the peace with them still held, because when the Lacedaemonians seized the Cadmeia they had no part either in the plan or in the performance.

[9.1.5] But the Thebans maintained that as the Lacedaemonians had themselves made the peace and then broken it, all alike, in their view, were freed from its terms. The Plataeans, therefore, looked upon the attitude of the Thebans with suspicion, and maintained strict watch over their city. They did not go either daily to the fields at some distance from the city, but, knowing that the Thebans were wont to conduct their assemblies with every voter present, and at the same time to prolong their discussions, they waited for their assemblies to be called, and then, even those whose farms lay farthest away, looked after their lands at their leisure.

[9.1.6] But Neocles, who was at the time Boeotarch at Thebes, not being

unaware of the Plataean trick, proclaimed that every Theban should attend the assembly armed, and at once proceeded to lead them, not by the direct way from Thebes across the plain, but along the road to Hysiae in the direction of Eleutherae and Attica, where not even a scout had been placed by the Plataeans, being due to reach the walls about noon.

[9.1.7] The Plataeans, thinking that the Thebans were holding an assembly, were afield and cut off from their gates. With those caught within the city the Thebans came to terms, allowing them to depart before sundown, the men with one garment each, the women with two. What happened to the Plataeans on this occasion was the reverse of what happened to them formerly when they were taken by the Lacedaemonians under Archidamus. For the Lacedaemonians reduced them by preventing them from getting out of the city, building a double line of circumvallation; the Thebans on this occasion by preventing them from getting within their walls.

[9.1.8] The second capture of Plataea occurred two years before the battle of Leuctra, when Asteius was Archon at Athens. The Thebans destroyed all the city except the sanctuaries, but the method of its capture saved the lives of all the Plataeans alike, and on their expulsion they were again received by the Athenians. When Philip after his victory at Chaeroneia introduced a garrison into Thebes, one of the means he employed to bring the Thebans low was to restore the Plataeans to their homes.

MT CITHAERON

[9.2.1] II. On Mount Cithaeron, within the territory of Plataea, if you turn off to the right for a little way from the straight road, you reach the ruins of Hysiae and Erythrae. Once they were cities of Boeotia, and even at the present day among the ruins of Hysiae are a half-finished temple of Apollo and a sacred well. According to the Boeotian story oracles were obtained of old from the well by drinking of it.

[9.2.2] Returning to the highway you again see on the right a tomb, said to be that of Mardonius. It is agreed that the body of Mardonius was not seen again after the battle, but there is not a similar agreement as to the person who gave it burial. It is admitted that Artontes, son of Mardonius, gave many gifts to Dionysophanes the Ephesian, but also that he gave them to others of the Ionians, in recognition that they too had spent some pains on the burial of Mardonius.

[9.2.3] This road leads to Plataea from Eleutherae. On the road from Megara there is a spring on the right, and a little farther on a rock. It is called the bed of Actaeon, for it is said that he slept thereon when weary with hunting, and that into this spring he looked while Artemis was bathing in it. Stesichorus of Himera says that the goddess cast a deer-skin round Actaeon to make sure that his hounds would kill him, so as to prevent his taking Semele to wife.

[9.2.4] My own view is that without divine interference the hounds of Actaeon were smitten with madness, and so they were sure to tear to pieces

without distinction everybody they chanced to meet. Whereabouts on Cithaeron the disaster befell Pentheus, the son of Echion, or where Oedipus was exposed at birth, nobody knows with the assurance with which we know the Cleft Road to Phocis, where Oedipus killed his father (Mount Cithaeron is sacred to Cithaeronian Zeus), as I shall tell of at greater length when this place in my story has been reached.

PLATAEA

[9.2.5] Roughly at the entrance into Plataea are the graves of those who fought against the Persians. Of the Greeks generally there is a common tomb, but the Lacedaemonians and Athenians who fell have separate graves, on which are written elegiac verses by Simonides. Not far from the common tomb of the Greeks is an altar of Zeus, God of Freedom. This then is of bronze, but the altar and the image he made of white marble.

[9.2.6] Even at the present day they hold every four years games called Eleutheria (Of Freedom), in which great prizes are offered for running. The competitors run in armour before the altar. The trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle at Plataea stands about fifteen stades from the city.

[9.2.7] Advancing in the city itself from the altar and the image which have been made to Zeus of Freedom, you come to a hero-shrine of Plataea. The legends about her, and my own conjectures, I have already stated.

CULT OF HERA DAEDALA

There is at Plataea a temple of Hera, worth seeing for its size and for the beauty of its images. On entering you see Rhea carrying to Cronus the stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, as though it were the babe to which she had given birth. The Hera they call Full-grown; it is an upright image of huge size. Both figures are of Pentelic marble, and the artist was Praxiteles.

Here too is another image of Hera; it is seated, and was made by Callimachus. The goddess they call the Bride for the following reason.

[9.3.1] III. Hera, they say, was for some reason or other angry with Zeus, and had retreated to Euboea. Zeus, failing to make her change her mind, visited Cithaeron, at that time despot in Plataea, who surpassed all men for his cleverness. So he ordered Zeus to make an image of wood, and to carry it, wrapped up, in a bullock wagon, and to say that he was celebrating his marriage with Plataea, the daughter of Asopus.

[9.3.2] So Zeus followed the advice of Cithaeron. Hera heard the news at once, and at once appeared on the scene. But when she came near the wagon and tore away the dress from the image, she was pleased at the deceit, on finding it a wooden image and not a bride, and was reconciled to Zeus. To commemorate this reconciliation they celebrate a festival called Daedala, because the men of old time gave the name of daedala to wooden images. My own view is that this name was given to wooden images before Daedalus, the

son of Palamaon, was born at Athens, and that he did not receive this name at birth, but that it was a surname afterwards given him from the daedala.

[9.3.3] So the Plataeans hold the festival of the Daedala every six years, according to the local guide, but really at a shorter interval. I wanted very much to calculate exactly the interval between one Daedala and the next, but I was unable to do so. In this way they celebrate the feast.

[9.3.4] Not far from Alalcomenae is a grove of oaks. Here the trunks of the oaks are the largest in Boeotia. To this grove come the Plataeans, and lay out portions of boiled flesh. They keep a strict watch on the crows which flock to them, but they are not troubled at all about the other birds. They mark carefully the tree on which a crow settles with the meat he has seized. They cut down the trunk of the tree on which the crow has settled, and make of it the daedalum; for this is the name that they give to the wooden image also.

[9.3.5] This feast the Plataeans celebrate by themselves, calling it the Little Daedala, but the Great Daedala, which is shared with them by the Boeotians, is a festival held at intervals of fifty-nine years, for that is the period during which, they say, the festival could not be held, as the Plataeans were in exile. There are fourteen wooden images ready, having been provided each year at the Little Daedala.

[9.3.6] Lots are cast for them by the Plataeans, Coroneans, Thespians, Tanagraeans, Chaeroneans, Orchomenians, Lebadeans, and Thebans; for at the time when Cassander, the son of Antipater, rebuilt Thebes, the Thebans wished to be reconciled with the Plataeans, to share in the common assembly, and to send a sacrifice to the Daedala. The towns of less account pool their funds for images.

[9.3.7] Bringing the image to the Asopus, and setting it upon a wagon, they place a bridesmaid also on the wagon. They again cast lots for the position they are to hold in the procession. After this they drive the wagons from the river to the summit of Cithaeron. On the peak of the mountain an altar has been prepared, which they make after the following way. They fit together quadrangular pieces of wood, putting them together just as if they were making a stone building, and having raised it to a height they place brushwood upon the altar.

[9.3.8] The cities with their magistrates sacrifice severally a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, burning on the altar the victims, full of wine and incense, along with the daedala. Rich people, as individuals, sacrifice what they wish; but the less wealthy sacrifice the smaller cattle; all the victims alike are burned. The fire seizes the altar and the victims as well, and consumes them all together. I know of no blaze that is so high, or seen so far as this.

PLATAEA CONT.

[9.3.9] About fifteen stades below the peak, on which they make the altar, is a cave of the Cithaeronian nymphs. It is named Sphragidium, and the story is that of old the nymphs gave oracles in this place.

[9.4.1] IV. The Plataeans have also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Warlike; it was built from the spoils given them by the Athenians as their share from the battle of Marathon. It is a wooden image gilded, but the face, hands and feet are of Pentelic marble. In size it is but little smaller than the bronze Athena on the Acropolis, the one which the Athenians also erected as first-fruits of the battle at Marathon; the Plataeans too had Pheidias for the maker of their image of Athena.

[9.4.2] In the temple are paintings: one of them, by Polygnotus, represents Odysseus after he has killed the wooers; the other, painted by Onasias, is the former expedition of the Argives, under Adrastus, against Thebes. These paintings are on the walls of the fore-temple, while at the feet of the image is a portrait of Arimnestus, who commanded the Plataeans at the battle against Mardonius, and yet before that at Marathon.

[9.4.3] There is also at Plataea a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Eleusinian, and a tomb of Leitus, who was the only one to return home of the chiefs who led Boeotians to Troy. The spring Gargaphia was filled in by the Persian cavalry under Mardonius, because the Greek army encamped against them got therefrom their drinking-water. Afterwards, however, the Plataeans recovered the water.

SCOLUS & THE RIVER ASOPUS

[9.4.4] On the road from Plataea to Thebes is the river Oeroe, said to have been a daughter of the Asopus. Before crossing the Asopus, if you turn aside to lower ground in a direction parallel to the river, after about forty stades you come to the ruins of Scolus. The temple of Demeter and the Maid among the ruins is not finished, and only half-finished are the images of the goddesses. Even to-day the Asopus is the boundary between Thebes and Plataea.

THEBES, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[9.5.1] V. The first to occupy the land of Thebes are said to have been the Ectenes, whose king was Ogygus, an aboriginal. From his name is derived Ogygian, which is an epithet of Thebes used by most of the poets. The Ectenes perished, they say, by pestilence, and after them there settled in the land the Hyantes and the Aones, who I think were Boeotian tribes and not foreigners.

[9.5.2] When the Phoenician army under Cadmus invaded the land these tribes were defeated; the Hyantes fled from the land when night came, but the Aones begged for mercy, and were allowed by Cadmus to remain and unite with the Phoenicians. The Aones still lived in village communities, but Cadmus built the city which even at the present day is called Cadmeia. Afterwards the city grew, and so the Cadmeia became the citadel of the lower city of Thebes. Cadmus made a brilliant marriage, if, as the Greek legend says, he indeed took to wife a daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. His daughters

too have made him a name; Semele was famed for having a child by Zeus, Ino for being a divinity of the sea.

[9.5.3] In the time of Cadmus, the greatest power, next after his, was in the hands of the Sparti, namely, Chthonius, Hyperenor, Pelorus and Udaeus; but it was Echion who, for his great valor, was preferred by Cadmus to be his son-in-law. As I was unable to discover anything new about these men, I adopt the story that makes their name result from the way in which they came into being. When Cadmus migrated to the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans, Polydorus his son got the kingdom.

[9.5.4] Now Pentheus the son of Echion was also powerful by reason of his noble birth and friendship with the king. Being a man of insolent character who had shown impiety to Dionysus, he was punished by the god. Polydorus had a son, Labdacus. When Polydorus was about to die, Labdacus was still a child, and so he was entrusted, along with the government, to the care of Nycteus.

[9.5.5] The sequel of this story, how Nycteus died, and how the care of the boy with the sovereignty of Thebes devolved on Lycus, the brother of Nycteus, I have already set forth in my account of Sicyon. When Labdacus grew up, Lycus handed over to him the reins of government; but Labdacus too died shortly afterwards, and Lycus again became guardian, this time to Laius, the son of Labdacus.

[9.5.6] While Lycus was regent for the second time, Amphion and Zethus gathered a force and came back to Thebes. Laius was secretly removed by such as were anxious that the race of Cadmus should not be forgotten by posterity, and Lycus was overcome in the fighting by the sons of Antiope. When they succeeded to the throne they added the lower city to the Cadmeia, giving it, because of their kinship to Thebe, the name of Thebes.

[9.5.7] What I have said is confirmed by what Homer says in the *Odyssey*:—

Who first laid the foundation of seven-gated Thebe,
And built towers about it, for without towers they could not
Dwell in wide-wayed Thebe, in spite of their strength. *Hom. Od.* 11.263

Homer, however, makes no mention in his poetry of Amphion's singing, and how he built the wall to the music of his harp. Amphion won fame for his music, learning from the Lydians themselves the Lydian mode, because of his relationship to Tantalus, and adding three strings to the four old ones.

[9.5.8] The writer of the poem on Europa says that Amphion was the first harpist, and that Hermes was his teacher. He also says that Amphion's songs drew even stones and beasts after him. Myro of Byzantium, a poetess who wrote epic and elegiac poetry, states that Amphion was the first to set up an altar to Hermes, and for this reason was presented by him with a harp. It is also said that Amphion is punished in Hades for being among those who made a mock of Leto and her children.

[9.5.9] The punishment of Amphion is dealt with in the epic poem *Minyad*,

which treats both of Amphion and also of Thamyras of Thrace. The houses of both Amphion and Zethus were visited by bereavement; Amphion's was left desolate by plague, and the son of Zethus was killed through some mistake or other of his mother. Zethus himself died of a broken heart, and so Laius was restored by the Thebans to the kingdom.

[9.5.10] When Laius was king and married to Iocasta, an oracle came from Delphi that, if Iocasta bore a child, Laius would meet his death at his son's hands. Whereupon Oedipus was exposed, who was fated when he grew up to kill his father; he also married his mother. But I do not think that he had children by her; my witness is Homer, who says in the *Odyssey*:—

[9.5.11]

And I saw the mother of Oedipodes, fair Epicaste,
Who wrought a dreadful deed unwittingly,
Marrying her son, who slew his father and
Wedded her. But forthwith the gods made it known among men. Hom. *Od.*
11.271

How could they “have made it known forthwith,” if Epicaste had borne four children to Oedipus? But the mother of these children was Euryganeia, daughter of Hyperphas. Among the proofs of this are the words of the author of the poem called the *Oedipodia*; and moreover, Onasias painted a picture at Plataea of Euryganeia bowed with grief because of the fight between her children.

[9.5.12] Polyneices retired from Thebes while Oedipus was still alive and reigning, in fear lest the curses of the father should be brought to pass upon the sons. He went to Argos and married a daughter of Adrastus, but returned to Thebes, being fetched by Eteocles after the death of Oedipus. On his return he quarrelled with Eteocles, and so went into exile a second time. He begged Adrastus to give him a force to effect his return, but lost his army and fought a duel with Eteocles as the result of a challenge.

[9.5.13] Both fell in the duel, and the kingdom devolved on Laodamas, son of Eteocles; Creon, the son of Menoeceus, was in power as regent and guardian of Laodamas. When the latter had grown up and held the kingship, the Argives led their army for the second time against Thebes. The Thebans encamped over against them at Glisas. When they joined in battle, Aegialeus, the son of Adrastus, was killed by Laodamas but the Argives were victorious in the fight, and Laodamas, with any Theban willing to accompany him, withdrew when night came to Illyria.

[9.5.14] The Argives captured Thebes and handed it over to Thersander, son of Polyneices. When the expedition under Agamemnon against Troy mistook its course and the reverse in Mysia occurred, Thersander too met his death at the hands of Telephus. He had shown himself the bravest Greek at the battle; his tomb, the stone in the open part of the market-place, is in the city Elea on the way to the plain of the Caicus, and the natives say that they sacrifice to

him as to a hero.

[9.5.15] On the death of Thersander, when a second expedition was being mustered to fight Alexander at Troy, Peneleos was chosen to command it, because Tisamenus, the son of Thersander, was not yet old enough. When Peneleos was killed by Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, Tisamenus was chosen king, who was the son of Thersander and of Demonassa, the daughter of Amphiaraus. The Furies of Laius and Oedipus did not vent their wrath on Tisamenus, but they did on his son Autesion, so that, at the bidding of the oracle, he migrated to the Dorians.

THEBES, HISTORY

[9.5.16] On the departure of Autesion, Damasichthon was chosen to be king, who was a son of Opheltis, the son of Peneleos. This Damasichthon had a son Ptolemy, who was the father of Xanthus. Xanthus fought a duel with Andropompus, who killed him by craft and not in fair fight. Hereafter the Thebans thought it better to entrust the government to several people, rather than to let everything depend on one man.

[9.6.1] VI. Of the successes and failures of the Thebans in battle I found the most famous to be the following. They were overcome in battle by the Athenians, who had come to the aid of the Plataeans, when a war had arisen about the boundaries of their territory. They met with a second disaster when arrayed against the Athenians at Plataea, at the time when they are considered to have chosen the cause of King Xerxes rather than that of Greece.

[9.6.2] The Theban people are in no way responsible for this choice, as at that time an oligarchy was in power at Thebes and not their ancestral form of government. In the same way, if it had been while Peisistratus or his sons still held Athens under a despotism that the foreigner had invaded Greece, the Athenians too would certainly have been accused of favouring Persia.

[9.6.3] Afterwards, however, the Thebans won a victory over the Athenians at Delium in the territory of Tanagra, where the Athenian general Hippocrates, son of Ariphron, perished with the greater part of the army. During the period that began with the departure of the Persians and ended with the war between Athens and the Peloponnesus, the relations between Thebes and the Lacedaemonians were friendly. But when the war was fought out and the Athenian navy destroyed, after a brief interval Thebes along with Corinth was involved in the war with Lacedaemon.

[9.6.4] Overcome in battle at Corinth and Coroncia, they won on the other hand at Leuctra the most famous victory we know of gained by Greeks over Greeks. They put down the boards of ten, which the Lacedaemonians had set up in the cities, and drove out the Spartan governors. Afterwards they also waged for ten years consecutively the Phocian war, called by the Greeks the Sacred war.

[9.6.5] I have already said in my history of Attica that the defeat at Chaeroneia was a disaster for all the Greeks; but it was even more so for the

Thebans, as a garrison was brought into their city. When Philip died, and the kingship of Macedonia devolved on Alexander, the Thebans succeeded in destroying the garrison. But as soon as they had done so, heaven warned them of the destruction that was coming on them, and the signs that occurred in the sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver were the opposite of those that occurred before the action at Leuctra.

[9.6.6] For then spiders spun a white web over the door of the sanctuary, but on the approach of Alexander with his Macedonians the web was black. It is also said that there was a shower of ashes at Athens the year before the war waged against them by Sulla, which brought on them such great sufferings.

[9.7.1] VII. On this occasion the Thebans were removed from their homes by Alexander, and straggled to Athens; afterwards they were restored by Cassander, son of Antipater. Heartiest in their support of the restoration of Thebes were the Athenians, and they were helped by Messenians and the Arcadians of Megalopolis.

[9.7.2] My own view is that in building Thebes Cassander was mainly influenced by hatred of Alexander. He destroyed the whole house of Alexander to the bitter end. Olympias he threw to the exasperated Macedonians to be stoned to death; and the sons of Alexander, Heracles by Barsina and Alexander by Roxana, he killed by poison. But he himself was not to come to a good end. He was filled with dropsy, and from the dropsy came worms while he was yet alive.

[9.7.3] Philip, the eldest of his sons, shortly after coming to the throne was seized by a wasting disease which proved fatal. Antipater, the next son, murdered his mother Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, and of Nicasipolis, charging her with being too fond of Alexander, who was the youngest of Cassander's sons. Getting the support of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, he deposed with his help and punished his brother Antipater. However, it appeared that in Demetrius he found a murderer and not an ally.

[9.7.4] So some god was to exact from Cassander a just requital. In the time of Cassander all the ancient circuit of the Theban walls was rebuilt, but fate after all willed that afterwards the Thebans were again to taste the cup of great misfortune. For when Mithridates had begun the war with the Romans, he was joined by the Thebans, for no other reason, in my opinion, except their friendship for the Athenian people. But when Sulla invaded Boeotia, terror seized the Thebans; they at once changed sides, and sought the friendship of the Romans.

[9.7.5] Sulla nevertheless was angry with them, and among his plans to humble them was to cut away one half of their territory. His pretext was as follows. When he began the war against Mithridates, he was short of funds. So he collected offerings from Olympia, those at Epidauros, and all those at Delphi that had been left by the Phocians.

[9.7.6] These he divided among his soldiery, and repaid the gods with half of the Theban territory. Although by favour of the Romans the Thebans

afterwards recovered the land of which they had been deprived, yet from this point they sank into the greatest depths of weakness. The lower city of Thebes is all deserted to-day, except the sanctuaries, and the people live on the citadel, which they call Thebes and not Cadmeia.

POTNIAE

[9.8.1] VIII. Across the Asopus, about ten stades distant from the city, are the ruins of Potniae, in which is a grove of Demeter and the Maid. The images at the river that flows past Potniae. . . they name the goddesses. At an appointed time they perform their accustomed ritual, one part of which is to let loose young pigs into what are called "the halls." At the same time next year these pigs appear, they say, in Dodona. This story others can believe if they wish.

[9.8.2] Here there is also a temple of Dionysus Goat-shooter. For once, when they were sacrificing to the god, they grew so violent with wine that they actually killed the priest of Dionysus. Immediately after the murder they were visited by a pestilence, and the Delphic oracle said that to cure it they must sacrifice a boy in the bloom of youth. A few years afterwards, so they say, the god substituted a goat as a victim in place of their boy. In Potniae is also shown a well. The mares of the country are said on drinking this water to become mad.

[9.8.3] On the way from Potniae to Thebes there is on the right of the road a small enclosure with pillars in it. Here they think the earth opened to receive Amphiaraus, and they add further that neither do birds sit upon these pillars, nor will a beast, tame or wild, graze on the grass that grows here.

THEBES

[9.8.4] In the circuit of the ancient wall of Thebes were gates seven in number, and these remain to-day. One got its name, I learned, from Electra, the sister of Cadmus, and another, the Proetidian, from a native of Thebes. He was Proetus, but I found it difficult to discover his date and lineage. The Neistan gate, they say, got its name for the following reason. The last of the harp's strings they call nete, and Amphion invented it, they say, at this gate. I have also heard that the son of Zethus, the brother of Amphion, was named Neis, and that after him was this gate called.

[9.8.5] The Crenaeon gate and the Hypsistan they so name for the following reason. . . and by the Hypsistan is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Hypsistus (Most High). Next after these gates is the one called Ogygian, and lastly the Homoloid gate. It appeared to me too that the name of the last was the most recent, and that of the Ogygian the most ancient.

[9.8.6] The name Homoloid is derived, they say, from the following circumstance. When the Thebans were beaten in battle by the Argives near Glisas, most of them withdrew along with Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. A portion of them shrank from the journey to Illyria, and turning aside to

Thessaly they seized Homole, the most fertile and best-watered of the Thessalian mountains.

[9.8.7] When they were recalled to their homes by Thersander, the son of Polyneices, they called the gate, through which they passed on their return, the Homoloid gate after Homole. The entry into Thebes from Plataea is by the Electran gate. At this, so they say, Capaneus, the son of Hipponous, was struck by lightning as he was making a more furious attack upon the fortifications.

[9.9.1] IX. This war between Argos and Thebes was, in my opinion, the most memorable of all those waged by Greeks against Greeks in what is called the heroic age. In the case of the war between the Eleusinians and the rest of the Athenians, and likewise in that between the Thebans and the Minyans, the attackers had but a short distance through which to pass to the fight, and one battle decided the war, immediately after which hostilities ceased and peace was made.

[9.9.2] But the Argive army marched from mid-Peloponnesus to mid-Boeotia, while Adrastus collected his allied forces out of Arcadia and from the Messenians, and likewise mercenaries came to the help of the Thebans from Phocis, and the Phlegyans from the Minyan country. When the battle took place at the Ismenian sanctuary, the Thebans were worsted in the encounter, and after the rout took refuge within their fortifications.

[9.9.3] As the Peloponnesians did not know how to assail the walls, and attacked with greater spirit than knowledge, many of them were killed by missiles hurled from the walls by the Thebans, who afterwards sallied forth and overcame the rest while they were in disorder, so that the whole army was destroyed with the exception of Adrastus. But the action was attended by severe losses to the Thebans, and from that time they term a Cadmean victory one that brings destruction to the victors.

[9.9.4] A few years afterwards Thebes was attacked by Thersander and those whom the Greeks call Epigoni (Born later). It is clear that they too were accompanied not only by the Argives, Messenians and Arcadians, but also by allies from Corinth and Megara invited to help them. Thebes too was defended by their neighbors, and a battle at Glisas was fiercely contested on both sides.

[9.9.5] Some of the Thebans escaped with Laodamas immediately after their defeat; those who remained behind were besieged and taken. About this war an epic poem also was written called the *Thebaid*. This poem is mentioned by Callinus, who says that the author was Homer, and many good authorities agree with his judgment. With the exception of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* I rate the *Thebaid* more highly than any other poem. So much for the war waged by the Argives against the Thebans on account of the sons of Oedipus.

[9.10.1] X. Not far from the gate is a common tomb, where lie all those who met their death when fighting against Alexander and the Macedonians. Hard by they show a place where, it is said, Cadmus (he may believe the story who

likes) sowed the teeth of the dragon, which he slew at the fountain, from which teeth men came up out of the earth.

[9.10.2] On the right of the gate is a hill sacred to Apollo. Both the hill and the god are called Ismenian, as the river Ismenus flows by the place. First at the entrance are Athena and Hermes, stone figures and named Pronai (Of the fore-temple). The Hermes is said to have been made by Pheidias, the Athena by Scopas. The temple is built behind. The image is in size equal to that at Branchidae; and does not differ from it at all in shape. Whoever has seen one of these two images, and learnt who was the artist, does not need much skill to discern, when he looks at the other, that it is a work of Canachus. The only difference is that the image at Branchidae is of bronze, while the Ismenian is of cedar-wood.

[9.10.3] Here there is a stone, on which, they say, used to sit Manto, the daughter of Teiresias. This stone lies before the entrance, and they still call it Manto's chair. On the right of the temple are statues of women made of stone, said to be portraits of Henioche and Pyrrha, daughters of Creon, who reigned as guardian of Laodamas, the son of Eteocles.

[9.10.4] The following custom is, to my knowledge, still carried out in Thebes. A boy of noble family, who is himself both handsome and strong, is chosen priest of Ismenian Apollo for a year. He is called Laurel-bearer, for the boys wear wreaths of laurel leaves. I cannot say for certain whether all alike who have worn the laurel dedicate by custom a bronze tripod to the god; but I do not think that it is the rule for all, because I did not see many votive tripods there. But the wealthier of the boys do certainly dedicate them. Most remarkable both for its age and for the fame of him who dedicated it is a tripod dedicated by Amphitryon for Heracles after he had worn the laurel.

[9.10.5] Higher up than the Ismenian sanctuary you may see the fountain which they say is sacred to Ares, and they add that a dragon was posted by Ares as a sentry over the spring. By this fountain is the grave of Caanthus. They say that he was brother to Melia and son to Ocean, and that he was commissioned by his father to seek his sister, who had been carried away. Finding that Apollo had Melia, and being unable to get her from him, he dared to set fire to the precinct of Apollo that is now called the Ismenian sanctuary. The god, according to the Thebans, shot him.

[9.10.6] Here then is the tomb of Caanthus. They say that Apollo had sons by Melia, to wit, Tenerus and Ismenus. To Tenerus Apollo gave the art of divination, and from Ismenus the river got its name. Not that the river was nameless before, if indeed it was called Ladon before Ismenus was born to Apollo.

[9.11.1] XI. On the left of the gate named Electran are the ruins of a house where they say Amphitryon came to live when exiled from Tiryns because of the death of Electryon; and the chamber of Alcmena is still plainly to be seen among the ruins. They say that it was built for Amphitryon by Trophonius and Agamedes, and that on it was written the following inscription:—

When Amphitryon was about to bring hither his bride Alcmena, he chose this as a chamber for himself. Anchasian Trophonius and Agamedes made it.

[9.11.2] Such was the inscription that the Thebans say was written here. They show also the tomb of the children of Heracles by Megara. Their account of the death of these is in no way different from that in the poems of Panyassis and of Stesichorus of Himera. But the Thebans add that Heracles in his madness was about to kill Amphitryon as well, but before he could do so he was rendered unconscious by the blow of the stone. Athena, they say, threw at him this stone, which they name Chastiser.

[9.11.3] Here are portraits of women in relief, but the figures are by this time rather indistinct. The Thebans call them Witches, adding that they were sent by Hera to hinder the birth-pangs of Alcmena. So these kept Alcmena from bringing forth her child. But Historis, the daughter of Teiresias, thought of a trick to deceive the Witches, and she uttered a loud cry of joy in their hearing, that Alcmena had been delivered. So the story goes that the Witches were deceived and went away, and Alcmena brought forth her child.

[9.11.4] Here is a sanctuary of Heracles. The image, of white marble, is called Champion, and the Thebans Xenocritus and Eubius were the artists. But the ancient wooden image is thought by the Thebans to be by Daedalus, and the same opinion occurred to me. It was dedicated, they say, by Daedalus himself, as a thank-offering for a benefit. For when he was fleeing from Crete in small vessels which he had made for himself and his son Icarus, he devised for the ships sails, an invention as yet unknown to the men of those times, so as to take advantage of a favorable wind and outsail the oared fleet of Minos. Daedalus himself was saved,

[9.11.5] but the ship of Icarus is said to have overturned, as he was a clumsy helmsman. The drowned man was carried ashore by the current to the island, then without a name, that lies off Samos. Heracles came across the body and recognized it, giving it burial where even to-day a small mound still stands to Icarus on a promontory jutting out into the Aegean. After this Icarus are named both the island and the sea around it.

[9.11.6] The carvings on the gables at Thebes are by Praxiteles, and include most of what are called the twelve labours. The slaughter of the Stymphalian birds and the cleansing of the land of Elis by Heracles are omitted; in their place is represented the wrestling with Antaeus. Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, and the Athenians who with him put down the tyranny of the Thirty, set out from Thebes when they returned to Athens, and therefore they dedicated in the sanctuary of Heracles colossal figures of Athena and Heracles, carved by Alcamenes in relief out of Pentelic marble.

[9.11.7] Adjoining the sanctuary of Heracles are a gymnasium and a race-course, both being named after the god. Beyond the Chastiser stone is an altar of Apollo surnamed God of Ashes; it is made out of the ashes of the victims.

The customary mode of divination here is from voices, which is used by the Smyrnaeans, to my knowledge, more than by any other Greeks. For at Smyrna also there is a sanctuary of Voices outside the wall and beyond the city.

[9.12.1] XII. The Thebans in ancient days used to sacrifice bulls to Apollo of the Ashes. Once when the festival was being held, the hour of the sacrifice was near but those sent to fetch the bull had not arrived. And so, as a wagon happened to be near by, they sacrificed to the god one of the oxen, and ever since it has been the custom to sacrifice working oxen. The following story also is current among the Thebans. As Cadmus was leaving Delphi by the road to Phocis, a cow, it is said, guided him on his way. This cow was one bought from the herdsmen of Pelagon, and on each of her sides was a white mark like the orb of a full moon.

[9.12.2] Now the oracle of the god had said that Cadmus and the host with him were to make their dwelling where the cow was going to sink down in weariness. So this is one of the places that they point out. Here there is in the open an altar and an image of Athena, said to have been dedicated by Cadmus. Those who think that the Cadmus who came to the Theban land was an Egyptian, and not a Phoenician, have their opinion contradicted by the name of this Athena, because she is called by the Phoenician name of Onga, and not by the Egyptian name of Sais.

[9.12.3] The Thebans assert that on the part of their citadel, where to-day stands their market-place, was in ancient times the house of Cadmus. They point out the ruins of the bridal-chamber of Harmonia, and of one which they say was Semele's into the latter they allow no man to step even now. Those Greeks who allow that the Muses sang at the wedding of Harmonia, can point to the spot in the market-place where it is said that the goddesses sang.

[9.12.4] There is also a story that along with the thunderbolt hurled at the bridalchamber of Semele there fell a log from heaven. They say that Polydorus adorned this log with bronze and called it Dionysus Cadmus. Near is an image of Dionysus; Onasimedes made it of solid bronze. The altar was built by the sons of Praxiteles.

[9.12.5] There is a statue of Pronomus, a very great favorite with the people for his playing on the flute. For a time flute-players had three forms of the flute. On one they played Dorian music; for Phrygian melodies flutes of a different pattern were made; what is called the Lydian mode was played on flutes of a third kind. It was Pronomus who first devised a flute equally suited for every kind of melody, and was the first to play on the same instrument music so vastly different in form.

[9.12.6] It is also said that he gave his audience untold delight by the expression of his face and by the movement of his whole body. He also composed for the Chalcidians on the Euripus a processional tune for their use in Delos. So the Thebans set up here a statue of this man, and like-wise one of Epaminondas, son of Polymnis.

[9.13.1] XIII. Epaminondas had famous ancestors, but his father had less wealth than a Theban of ordinary means. He was most thoroughly taught all the subjects of the national education, and when a young man went to receive instruction from Lysis, a Tarentine by descent, learned in the philosophy of Pythagoras the Samian. When Lacedaemon was at war with Mantinea, Epaminondas is said to have been sent with certain others from Thebes to help the Lacedaemonians. In the battle Pelopidas received wounds, but his life was saved by Epaminondas at the greatest risk to his own.

[9.13.2] Later on, when Epaminondas had come to Sparta as an envoy, what time the Lacedaemonians said they were concluding with the Greeks the peace called the Peace of Antalcidas, Agesilaus asked him whether they would allow each Boeotian city to swear to the peace separately. He replied: "No, Spartans, not before we see your vassals taking the oath city by city."

[9.13.3] When the war between Lacedaemon and Thebes had already broken out, and the Lacedaemonians were advancing to attack the Thebans with a force of their own men and of their allies, Epaminondas with a part of the army occupied to meet them a position above the Cephisian lake, under the impression that at this point the Peloponnesians would make their invasion. But Cleombrotus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, turned towards Ambrossus in Phocis. He massacred a Theban force under Chaereas, who was under orders to guard the passes, crossed the high ground and reached Leuctra in Boeotia.

[9.13.4] Here heaven sent signs to the Lacedaemonian people and to Cleombrotus personally. The Lacedaemonian kings were accompanied on their expeditions by sheep, to serve as sacrifices to the gods and to give fair omens before battles. The flocks were led on the march by she-goats, called katoiades by the herdsmen. On this occasion, then, the wolves dashed on the flock, did no harm at all to the sheep, but killed the goats called katoiades.

[9.13.5] It was also said that the wrath of the daughters of Scedasus fell upon the Lacedaemonians. Scedasus, who lived near Leuctra, had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo. These in the bloom of their youth were wickedly outraged by two Lacedaemonians, Phrurarchidas and Parthenius. The maidens, unable to bear the shame of their violation, immediately hanged themselves. Scedasus repaired to Lacedaemon, but meeting with no justice returned to Leuctra and committed suicide.

[9.13.6] Well, on this occasion Epaminondas sacrificed with prayers to Scedasus and his girls, implying that the battle would be to avenge them no less than to secure the salvation of Thebes. The Boeotarchs were not agreed, but differed widely in their opinions. For Epaminondas, Malgis and Xenocrates were minded to do battle with the Lacedaemonians at once, but Damocleidas, Damophilus and Simangelus were against joining in battle, and urged that they should put wives and children safely out of the way in Attica,

and prepare to undergo a siege themselves.

[9.13.7] So divergent were the views of the six. The seventh Boeotarch, whose name was Brachyllides, was guarding the pass by Cithaeron, and on his return to the army added his vote to the side of Epaminondas, and then there was a unanimous decision to try the ordeal of battle.

[9.13.8] But Epaminondas had his suspicions of some of the Boeotians especially of the Thespians. Fearing, therefore, lest they should desert during the engagement, he permitted all who would to leave the camp and go home. The Thespians left with all their forces, as did any other Boeotians who felt annoyed with the Thebans.

[9.13.9] When the battle joined, the allies of the Lacedaemonians, who had hitherto been not the best of friends, now showed most clearly their hostility, by their reluctance to stand their ground, and by giving way wherever the enemy attacked them. The Lacedaemonians themselves and the Thebans were not badly matched adversaries. The former had their previous experience, and their shame of lessening the reputation of Sparta; the Thebans realized that what was at stake was their country, their wives and their children.

[9.13.10] But when king Cleombrotus with several Lacedaemonian magistrates had fallen, the Spartans were bound by necessity not to give way, in spite of their distress. For among the Lacedaemonians it was considered the greatest disgrace to allow the body of a king to come into the hands of enemies.

[9.13.11] The victory of Thebes was the most famous ever won by Greeks over Greeks. The Lacedaemonians on the following day were minded to bury their dead, and sent a herald to the Thebans. But Epaminondas, knowing that the Lacedaemonians were always inclined to cover up their disasters, said that he permitted their allies first to take up their dead, and only when these had done so did he approve of the Lacedaemonians' burying their own dead.

[9.13.12] Some of the allies took up no dead at all, as not a man of them had fallen; others had but slight loss to report. So when the Lacedaemonians proceeded to bury their own, it was at once proved that the fallen were Spartans. The loss of the Thebans and of such Boeotians as remained loyal amounted to forty-seven, but of the Lacedaemonians themselves there fell more than a thousand men.

[9.14.1] XIV. After the battle Epaminondas for a while, having proclaimed that the other Peloponnesians should depart home, kept the Lacedaemonians cooped up in Leuctra. But when reports came that the Spartans in the city were marching to a man to the help of their countrymen at Leuctra, Epaminondas allowed his enemy to depart under a truce, saying that it would be better for the Boeotians to shift the war from Boeotia to Lacedaemon.

[9.14.2] The Thespians, apprehensive because of the ancient hostility of Thebes and its present good fortune, resolved to abandon their city and to seek a refuge in Ceressus. It is a stronghold in the land of the Thespians, in which once in days of old they had established themselves to meet the invasion of

the Thessalians. On that occasion the Thessalians tried to take Ceressus, but success seemed hopeless. So they consulted the god at Delphi,

[9.14.3] and received the following response:—

A care to me is shady Leuctra, and so is the Alesian soil;
A care to me are the two sorrowful girls of Scedasus.
There a tearful battle is nigh, and no one will foretell it,
Until the Dorians have lost their glorious youth,
When the day of fate has come.
Then may Ceressus be captured, but at no other time.

[9.14.4] On the latter occasion Epaminondas captured the Thespians who had taken refuge in Ceressus, and immediately afterwards devoted his attention to the situation in the Peloponnesus, to which also the Arcadians were eagerly inviting him. On his arrival he won the willing support of Argos, while he collected again into their ancient city the Mantineans, who had been scattered into village communities by Agesipolis. He persuaded the Arcadians to destroy all their weak towns, and built them a home where they could live together, which even at the present day is called Megalopolis (Great City).

[9.14.5] The period of his office as Boeotarch had now expired, and death was the penalty fixed if a man exceeded it. So Epaminondas, disregarding the law as out of date, remained in office, marched to Sparta with his army, and when Agesilaus did not come out to meet him, turned to the founding of Messene. Epaminondas, was the founder of the modern Messene, and the history of its foundation I have included in my account of the Messenians themselves.

[9.14.6] Meanwhile the allies of Thebes scattered and overran the Laconian territory, pillaging what it contained. This persuaded Epaminondas to lead the Thebans back to Boeotia. In his advance with the army he came over against Lechaeum, and was about to cross the narrow and difficult parts of the road, when Iphicrates, the son of Timotheus, attacked the Thebans with a force of targeteers and other Athenians.

[9.14.7] Epaminondas put his assailants to flight and came right up to the very city of Athens, but as Iphicrates dissuaded the Athenians from coming out to fight, he proceeded to march back to Thebes. Epaminondas stood his trial on a capital charge for holding the office of Boeotarch when his tenure had already expired. It is said that the jury appointed to try him did not even record their votes on the charge.

[9.15.1] xv. After these things when Alexander held sway in Thessaly, Pelopidas came to him, under the impression that he was well-disposed to him personally as well as a friend to the Theban commonwealth, but on his arrival was treacherously and insolently thrown into prison and kept there by Alexander. The Thebans at once set out to attack Alexander, and made leaders of the expedition Cleomenes and Hypatus, who were Boeotarchs at that time; Epaminondas was serving in the ranks.

[9.15.2] When the force had reached the other side of Thermopylae,

Alexander surprised and attacked it on difficult ground. As there appeared to be no means of safety, the rest of the army chose Epaminondas to be leader, and the Boeotarchs of their own accord resigned the command. Alexander lost confidence in winning the war when he saw Epaminondas at the head of his opponents, and of his own accord set free Pelopidas.

[9.15.3] In the absence of Epaminondas the Thebans removed the Orchomenians from their land. Epaminondas regarded their removal as a disaster, and declared that had he been present never would the Thebans have been guilty of such an outrage.

[9.15.4] Elected again to be Boeotarch, and again invading the Peloponnesus with an army of Boeotians, he overcame the Lacedaemonians in a battle at Lechaeum, and with them Achaeans of Pellene and Athenians led from Athens by Chabrias. The Thebans had a rule that they should set free for a ransom all their prisoners except such as were Boeotian fugitives; these they punished with death. So when he captured the Sicyonian town of Phoebia, in which were gathered most of the Boeotian fugitives, he assigned to each of those whom he captured in it a new nationality, any that occurred to him, and set them free.

[9.15.5] On reaching Mantinea with his army, he was killed in the hour of victory by an Athenian. In the painting at Athens of the battle of the cavalry the man who is killing Epaminondas is Grylus, the son of the Xenophon who took part in the expedition of Cyrus against king Artaxerxes and led the Greeks back to the sea.

[9.15.6] On the statue of Epaminondas is an inscription in elegiac verse relating among other things that he founded Messene, and that through him the Greeks won freedom. The elegiac verses are these:—

By my counsels was Sparta shorn of her glory,
And holy Messene received at last her children.
By the arms of Thebe was Megalopolis encircled with walls,
And all Greece won independence and freedom.

[9.16.1] XVI. Such were the claims to fame of Epaminondas. Not far away is a temple of Ammon; the image, a work of Calamis, was dedicated by Pindar, who also sent to the Ammonians of Libya a hymn to Ammon. This hymn I found still carved on a triangular slab by the side of the altar dedicated to Ammon by Ptolemy the son of Lagus. After the sanctuary of Ammon at Thebes comes what is called the bird-observatory of Teiresias, and near it is a sanctuary of Fortune, who carries the child Wealth.

[9.16.2] According to the Thebans, the hands and face of the image were made by Xenophon the Athenian, the rest of it by Callistonicus, a native. It was a clever idea of these artists to place Wealth in the arms of Fortune, and so to suggest that she is his mother or nurse. Equally clever was the conception of Cephisodotus, who made the image of Peace for the Athenians with Wealth in her arms.

[9.16.3] At Thebes are three wooden images of Aphrodite, so very ancient that they are actually said to be votive offerings of Harmonia, and the story is that they were made out of the wooden figure-heads on the ships of Cadmus. They call the first Heavenly, the second Common, and the third Rejecter. Harmoina gave to Aphrodite the surname of Heavenly

[9.16.4] to signify a love pure and free from bodily lust; that of Common, to denote sexual intercourse; the third, that of Rejecter, that mankind might reject unlawful passion and sinful acts. For Harmonia knew of many crimes already perpetrated not only among foreigners but even by Greeks, similar to those attributed later by legend to the mother of Adonis, to Phaedra, the daughter of Minos, and to the Thracian Tereus.

[9.16.5] The sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver is said to have been at one time the house of Cadmus and his descendants. The image of Demeter is visible down to the chest. Here have been dedicated bronze shields, said to be those of Lacedaemonian officers who fell at Leuctra.

[9.16.6] Near the Proetidian gate is built a theater, and quite close to the theater is a temple of Dionysus surnamed Deliverer. For when some Theban prisoners in the hands of Thracians had reached Haliartia on their march, they were delivered by the god, who gave up the sleeping Thracians to be put to death. One of the two images here the Thebans say is Semele. Once in each year, they say, they open the sanctuary on stated days.

[9.16.7] There are also ruins of the house of Lycus, and the tomb of Semele, but Alcmena has no tomb. It is said that on her death she was turned from human form to a stone, but the Theban account does not agree with the Megarian. The Greek legends generally have for the most part different versions. Here too at Thebes are the tombs of the children of Amphion. The boys lie apart; the girls are buried by themselves.

[9.17.1] XVII. Near is the temple of Artemis of Fair Fame. The image was made by Scopas. They say that within the sanctuary were buried Androcleia and Aleis, daughters of Antipoenus. For when Heracles and the Thebans were about to engage in battle with the Orchomenians, an oracle was delivered to them that success in the war would be theirs if their citizen of the most noble descent would consent to die by his own hand. Now Antipoenus, who had the most famous ancestors, was loath to die for the people, but his daughters were quite ready to do so. So they took their own lives and are honored therefor.

[9.17.2] Before the temple of Artemis of Fair Fame is a lion made of stone, said to have been dedicated by Heracles after he had conquered in the battle the Orchomenians and their king, Erginus son of Clymenus. Near it is Apollo surnamed Rescuer, and Hermes called of the Market-place, another of the votive offerings of Pindar. The pyre of the children of Amphion is about half a stade from the graves. The ashes from the pyre are still there.

[9.17.3] Near this are two stone images of Athena, surnamed Girder, said to have been dedicated by Amphitryon. For here, they say, he put on his armour when he was about to give battle to Chalcodon and the Euboeans. It seems

that the ancients used the verb “to gird oneself” in the sense of “to put on one’s armour,” and so they say that when Homer compares Agamemnon to Ares “in respect of his girdle,” he is really saying that they were alike in the fashion of their armour.

[9.17.4] The tomb shared by Zethus and Amphion is a small mound of earth. The inhabitants of Tithorea in Phocis like to steal earth from it when the sun is passing through the constellation Taurus. For if at that time they take earth from the mound and set it on Antiope’s tomb, the land of Tithorea will yield a harvest, but that of Thebes be less fertile. For this reason the Thebans at that time keep watch over the tomb.

[9.17.5] Both these cities hold this belief, and they do so because of the oracles of Bacis, in which are the lines:–

But when a man of Tithorea to Amphion and to Zethus
Pours on the earth peace-offerings of libation and prayer,
When Taurus is warmed by the might of the glorious sun,
Beware then of no slight disaster threatening the city;
For the harvest wastes away in it,
When they take of the earth, and bring it to the tomb of Phocus.

[9.17.6] Bacis calls it the tomb of Phocus for the following reason. The wife of Lycus worshipped Dionysus more than any other deity. When she had suffered what the story says she suffered, Dionysus was angry with Antiope. For some reason extravagant punishments always arouse the resentment of the gods. They say that Antiope went mad, and when out of her wits roamed all over Greece; but Phocus, son of Ornytion, son of Sisypheus, chanced to meet her, cured her madness, and then married her.

[9.17.7] So Antiope and Phocus share the same grave. The roughly quarried stones, laid along the tomb of Amphion at its base, are said to be the very rocks that followed the singing of Amphion. A similar story is told of Orpheus, how wild creatures followed him as he played the harp.

PROETIDIAN GATE OF THEBES

[9.18.1] XVIII. The road from Thebes to Chalcis is by this Proetidian gate. On the highway is pointed out the grave of Melanippus, one of the very best of the soldiers of Thebes. When the Argive invasion occurred this Melanippus killed Tydeus, as well as Mecisteus, one of the brothers of Adrastus, while he himself, they say, met his death at the hands of Amphiaras.

[9.18.2] Quite close to it are three unwrought stones. The Theban antiquaries assert that the man lying here is Tydeus, and that his burial was carried out by Maeon. As proof of their assertion they quoted a line of the *Iliad*:–

Of Tydeus, who at Thebes is covered by a heap of earth. Hom. *Il.* 14.114

[9.18.3] Adjoining are the tombs of the children of Oedipus. The ritual observed at them I have never seen, but I regard it as credible. For the

Thebans say that among those called heroes to whom they offer sacrifice are the children of Oedipus. As the sacrifice is being offered, the flame, so they say, and the smoke from it divide themselves into two. I was led to believe their story by the fact that I have seen a similar wonder. It was this.

[9.18.4] In Mysia beyond the Caicus is a town called Pioniae, the founder of which according to the inhabitants was Pionis, one of the descendants of Heracles. When they are going to sacrifice to him as to a hero, smoke of itself rises up out of the grave. This occurrence, then, I have seen happening. The Thebans show also the tomb of Teiresias, about fifteen stades from the grave of the children of Oedipus. The Thebans themselves agree that Teiresias met his end in Haliartia, and admit that the monument at Thebes is a cenotaph.

[9.18.5] There is also at Thebes the grave of Hector, the son of Priam. It is near the spring called the Fountain of Oedipus, and the Thebans say that they brought Hector's bones from Troy because of the following oracle:—

Ye Thebans who dwell in the city of Cadmus,
If you wish blameless wealth for the country in which you live,
Bring to your homes the bones of Hector, Priam's son,
From Asia, and reverence him as a hero, according to the bidding of Zeus.

[9.18.6] The Fountain of Oedipus was so named because Oedipus washed off into it the blood of his murdered father. Hard by the spring is the grave of Asphodius. He it was who in the fighting with the Argives killed Parthenopaeus, the son of Talaus. This is the Theban account, but according to the passage in the Thebaid which tells of the death of Parthenopaeus it was Periclymenus who killed him.

TEUMESSUS

[9.19.1] XIX. On this highway is a place called Teumessus, where it is said that Europa was hidden by Zeus. There is also another legend, which tells of a fox called the Teumessian fox, how owing to the wrath of Dionysus the beast was reared to destroy the Thebans, and how, when about to be caught by the hound given by Artemis to Procris the daughter of Erechtheus, the fox was turned into a stone, as was likewise this hound. In Teumessus there is also a sanctuary of Telchinian Athena, which contains no image. As to her surname, we may hazard the conjecture that a division of the Telchinians who once dwelt in Cyprus came to Boeotia and established a sanctuary of Telchinian Athena.

GLISAS & MT HYPASTUS

[9.19.2] Seven stades from Teumessus on the left are the ruins of Glisas, and before them on the right of the way a small mound shaded by cultivated trees and a wood of wild ones. Here were buried Promachus, the son of

Parthenopaeus, and other Argive officers, who joined with Aegialeus, the son of Adrastus, in the expedition against Thebes. That the tomb of Aegialeus is at Pegae I have already stated in an earlier part of my history that deals with Megara.

[9.19.3] On the straight road from Thebes to Glisas is a place surrounded by unhewn stones, called by the Thebans the Snake's Head. This snake, whatever it was, popped its head, they say, out of its hole here, and Teiresias, chancing to meet it, cut off the head with his sword. This then is how the place got its name. Above Glisas is a mountain called Supreme, and on it a temple and image of Supreme Zeus. The river, a torrent, they call the Thermodon. Returning to Teumessus and the road to Chalcis, you come to the tomb of Chalcodon, who was killed by Amphitryon in a fight between the Thebans and the Euboeans.

HARMA & MYCALESSUS

[9.19.4] Adjoining are the ruins of the cities Harma (Chariot) and Mycalessus. The former got its name, according to the people of Tanagra, because the chariot of Amphiarus disappeared here, and not where the Thebans say it did. Both peoples agree that Mycalessus was so named because the cow lowed (*emykesato*) here that was guiding Cadmus and his host to Thebes. How Mycalessus was laid waste I have related in that part of my history that deals with the Athenians.

[9.19.5] On the way to the coast of Mycalessus is a sanctuary of Mycalessian Demeter. They say that each night it is shut up and opened again by Heracles, and that Heracles is one of what are called the Idaean Dactyls. Here is shown the following marvel. Before the feet of the image they place all the fruits of autumn, and these remain fresh throughout all the year.

[9.19.6] At this place the Euripus separates Euboea from Boeotia. On the right is the sanctuary of Mycalessian Demeter, and a little farther on is Aulis, said to have been named after the daughter of Ogygus. Here there is a temple of Artemis with two images of white marble; one carries torches, and the other is like to one shooting an arrow. The story is that when, in obedience to the soothsaying of Calchas, the Greeks were about to sacrifice Iphigeneia on the altar, the goddess substituted a deer to be the victim instead of her. They preserve in the temple what still survives of the

[9.19.7] plane-tree mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad*. The story is that the Greeks were kept at Aulis by contrary winds, and when suddenly a favouring breeze sprang up, each sacrificed to Artemis the victim he had to hand, female and male alike. From that time the rule has held good at Aulis that oil victims are permissible. There is also shown the spring, by which the plane-tree grew, and on a hill near by the bronze threshold of Agamemnon's tent.

[9.19.8] In front of the sanctuary grow palm-trees, the fruit of which, though not wholly edible like the dates of Palestine, yet are riper than those of Ionia. There are but few inhabitants of Aulis, and these are potters. This land, and

that about Mycalessus and Harma, is tilled by the people of Tanagra.

TANAGRA

[9.20.1] XX. Within the territory of Tanagra is what is called Delium on Sea. In it are images of Artemis and Leto. The people of Tanagra say that their founder was Poemander, the son of Chaeresilaus, the son of Iasius, the son of Eleuther, who, they say, was the son of Apollo by Aethusa, the daughter of Poseidon. It is said that Poemander married Tanagra, a daughter of Aeolus. But in a poem of Corinna she is said to be a daughter of Asopus.

[9.20.2] There is a story that, as she reached extreme old age, her neighbors ceased to call her by this name, and gave the name of Graea (old woman), first to the woman herself, and in course of time to the city. The name, they say, persisted so long that even Homer says in the *Catalogue*:—

Thespeia, Graea, and wide Mycalessus. Hom. Il. 2.498

Later, however, it recovered its old name.

[9.20.3] There is in Tanagra the tomb of Orion, and Mount Cerycius, the reputed birthplace of Hermes, and also a place called Polus. Here they say that Atlas sat and meditated deeply upon hell and heaven, as Homer says of him:—

Daughter of baneful Atlas, who knows the depths
Of every sea, while he himself holds up the tall pillars,
Which keep apart earth and heaven. Hom. *Od.* 1.152

[9.20.4] In the temple of Dionysus the image too is worth seeing, being of Parian marble and a work of Calamis. But a greater marvel still is the Triton. The grander of the two versions of the Triton legend relates that the women of Tanagra before the orgies of Dionysus went down to the sea to be purified, were attacked by the Triton as they were swimming, and prayed that Dionysus would come to their aid. The god, it is said, heard their cry and overcame the Triton in the fight.

[9.20.5] The other version is less grand but more credible. It says that the Triton would waylay and lift all the cattle that were driven to the sea. He used even to attack small vessels, until the people of Tanagra set out for him a bowl of wine. They say that, attracted by the smell, he came at once, drank the wine, flung himself on the shore and slept, and that a man of Tanagra struck him on the neck with an axe and chopped off his head. for this reason the image has no head. And because they caught him drunk, it is supposed that it was Dionysus who killed him.

[9.21.1] XXI. I saw another Triton among the curiosities at Rome, less in size than the one at Tanagra. The Tritons have the following appearance. On their heads they grow hair like that of marsh frogs not only in color, but also in the impossibility of separating one hair from another. The rest of their body is rough with fine scales just as is the shark. Under their ears they have gills and a man's nose; but the mouth is broader and the teeth are those of a beast. Their

eyes seem to me blue, and they have hands, fingers, and nails like the shells of the murex. Under the breast and belly is a tail like a dolphin's instead of feet.

ON FABULOUS ANIMALS

[9.21.2] I saw also the Ethiopian bulls, called rhinoceroses owing to the fact that each has one horn (*ceras*) at the end of the nose (*rhis*), over which is another but smaller one, but there is no trace of horns on their heads. I saw too the Paeonian bulls, which are shaggy all over, but especially about the chest and lower jaw. I saw also Indian camels with the color of leopards.

[9.21.3] There is also a beast called the elk, in form between a deer and a camel, which breeds in the land of the Celts. Of all the beasts we know it alone cannot be tracked or seen at a distance by man; sometimes, however, when men are out hunting other game they fall in with an elk by luck. Now they say that it smells man even at a great distance, and dashes down into ravines or the deepest caverns. So the hunters surround the plain or mountain in a circuit of at least a thousand stades, and, taking care not to break the circle, they keep on narrowing the area enclosed, and so catch all the beasts inside, the elks included. But if there chance to be no lair within, there is no other way of catching the elk.

[9.21.4] The beast described by Ctesias in his Indian history, which he says is called martichoras by the Indians and man-eater by the Greeks, I am inclined to think is the tiger. But that it has three rows of teeth along each jaw and spikes at the tip of its tail with which it defends itself at close quarters, while it hurls them like an archer's arrows at more distant enemies; all this is, I think, a false story that the Indians pass on from one to another owing to their excessive dread of the beast.

[9.21.5] They were also deceived about its color, and whenever the tiger showed itself in the light of the sun it appeared to be a homogeneous red, either because of its speed, or, if it were not running, because of its continual twists and turns, especially when it was not seen at close quarters. And I think that if one were to traverse the most remote parts of Libya, India or Arabia, in search of such beasts as are found in Greece, some he would not discover at all, and others would have a different appearance.

[9.21.6] For man is not the only creature that has a different appearance in different climates and in different countries; the others too obey the same rule. For instance, the Libyan asps have a different colors compared with the Egyptian, while in Ethiopia are bred asps quite as black as the men. So everyone should be neither over-hasty in one's judgments, nor incredulous when considering rarities. For instance, though I have never seen winged snakes I believe that they exist, as I believe that a Phrygian brought to Ionia a scorpion with wings exactly like those of locusts.

[9.22.1] XXII. Beside the sanctuary of Dionysus at Tanagra are three temples, one of Themis, another of Aphrodite, and the third of Apollo; with Apollo are joined Artemis and Leto. There are sanctuaries of Hermes Ram-bearer and of

Hermes called Champion. They account for the former surname by a story that Hermes averted a pestilence from the city by carrying a ram round the walls; to commemorate this Calamis made an image of Hermes carrying a ram upon his shoulders. Whichever of the youths is judged to be the most handsome goes round the walls at the feast of Hermes, carrying a lamb on his shoulders.

[9.22.2] Hermes Champion is said, on the occasion when an Eretrian fleet put into Tanagra from Euboea, to have led out the youths to the battle; he himself, armed with a scraper like a youth, was chiefly responsible for the rout of the Euboeans. In the sanctuary of the Champion is kept all that is left of the wild strawberry-tree under which they believe that Hermes was nourished. Near by is a theater and by it a portico. I consider that the people of Tanagra have better arrangements for the worship of the gods than any other Greeks. For their houses are in one place, while the sanctuaries are apart beyond the houses in a clear space where no men live.

[9.22.3] Corinna, the only lyric poetess of Tanagra, has her tomb in a, conspicuous part of the city, and in the gymnasium is a painting of Corinna binding her head with a fillet for the victory she won over Pindar at Thebes with a lyric poem. I believe that her victory was partly due to the dialect she used, for she composed, not in Doric speech like Pindar, but in one Aeolians would understand, and partly to her being, if one may judge from the likeness, the most beautiful woman of her time.

[9.22.4] Here there are two breeds of cocks, the fighters and the blackbirds, as they are called. The size of these blackbirds is the same as that of the Lydian birds, but in color they are like crows, while wattles and comb are very like the anemone. They have small, white markings on the end of the beak and at the end of the tail.

ANTHEDON

[9.22.5] Such is the appearance of the blackbirds. Within Boeotia to the left of the Euripus is Mount Messapius, at the foot of which on the coast is the Boeotian city of Anthedon. Some say that the city received its name from a nymph called Anthedon, while others say that one Anthas was despot here, a son of Poseidon by Alcione, the daughter of Atlas. Just about the center of Anthedon is a sanctuary of the Cabeiri, with a grove around it, near which is a temple of Demeter and her daughter, with images of white marble.

[9.22.6] There are a sanctuary and an image of Dionysus in front of the city on the side towards the mainland. Here are the graves of the children of Iphimedeia and Aloeus. They met their end at the hands of Apollo according to both Homer and Pindar, the latter adding that their doom overtook them in Naxos, which lies off Paros. Their tombs then are in Anthedon, and by the sea is what is called the Leap of Glaucus.

[9.22.7] That Glaucus was a fisherman, who, on eating of the grass, turned into a deity of the sea and ever since has foretold to men the future, is a belief

generally accepted; in particular, seafaring men tell every year many a tale about the soothsaying of Glaucus. Pindar and Aeschylus got a story about Glaucus from the people of Anthedon. Pindar has not thought fit to say much about him in his odes, but the story actually supplied Aeschylus with material for a play.

PROETIDIAN GATE OF THEBES

[9.23.1] XXIII. In front of the Proetidian gate at Thebes is the gymnasium called the Gymnasium of Iolaus and also a race-course, a bank of earth like those at Olympia and Epidaurus. Here there is also shown a hero-shrine of Iolaus. That Iolaus himself died at Sardis along with the Athenians and Thespians who made the crossing with him is admitted even by the Thebans themselves.

[9.23.2] Crossing over the right side of the course you come to a race-course for horses, in which is the tomb of Pindar.

THE POET PINDAR, HISTORY

When Pindar was a young man he was once on his way to Thespieae in the hot season. At about noon he was seized with fatigue and the drowsiness that follows it, so just as he was, he lay down a little way above the road. As he slept bees alighted on him and plastered his lips with their wax.

[9.23.3] Such was the beginning of Pindar's career as a lyric poet. When his reputation had already spread throughout Greece he was raised to a greater height of fame by an order of the Pythian priestess, who bade the Delphians give to Pindar one half of all the first-fruits they offered to Apollo. It is also said that on reaching old age a vision came to him in a dream. As he slept Persephone stood by him and declared that she alone of the deities had not been honored by Pindar with a hymn, but that Pindar would compose an ode to her also when he had come to her.

[9.23.4] Pindar died at once, before ten days had passed since the dream. But there was in Thebes an old woman related by birth to Pindar who had practised singing most of his odes. By her side in a dream stood Pindar, and sang a hymn to Persephone. Immediately on waking out of her sleep she wrote down all she had heard him singing in her dream. In this song, among the epithets he applies to Hades is "golden-reined" – a clear reference to the rape of Persephone.

ACRAEPHNIUM & MT PTOUS

[9.23.5] From this point to Acraephnum is mainly flat. They say that originally the city formed part of the territory belonging to Thebes, and I learned that in later times men of Thebes escaped to it, at the time when Alexander destroyed Thebes. Weak and old, they could not even get safely away to Attica, but made their homes here. The town lies on Mount Ptoús, and there are here a

temple and image of Dionysus that are worth seeing.

[9.23.6] About fifteen stades away from the city on the right is the sanctuary of Ptoan Apollo. We are told by Asius in his epic that Ptous, who gave a surname to Apollo and the name to the mountain, was a son of Athamas by Themisto. Before the expedition of the Macedonians under Alexander, in which Thebes was destroyed, there was here an oracle that never lied. Once too a mail of Europus, of the name of Mys, who was sent by Mardonius, inquired of the god in his own language, and the god too gave a response, not in Greek but in the Carian speech.

LARYMNA

[9.23.7] On crossing Mount Ptous you come to Larymna, a Boeotian city on the coast, said to have been named after Larymna, the daughter of Cynus. Her earlier ancestors I shall give in my account of Locris. Of old Larymna belonged to Opus, but when Thebes rose to great power the citizens of their own accord joined the Boeotians. Here there is a temple of Dionysus with a standing image. The town has a harbor with deep water near the shore, and on the mountains commanding the city wild boars can be hunted.

LAKE COPAIS

[9.24.1] XXIV. On the straight road from Acraephnum to the Cephisian, or as it is also called, the Copaic Lake, is what is styled the Athamantian Plain, on which, they say, Athamas made his home. Into the lake flows the river Cephisus, which rises at Lilaea in Phocis, and on sailing across it you come to Copae, a town lying on the shore of the lake. Homer mentions it in the *Catalogue*. Here is a sanctuary of Demeter, one of Dionysus and a third of Serapis.

[9.24.2] According to the Boeotians there were once other inhabited towns near the lake, Athens and Eleusis, but there occurred a flood one winter which destroyed them. The fish of the Cephisian Lake are in general no different from those of other lakes, but the eels there are of great size and very pleasant to the palate.

OLMONES & HYETTUS

[9.24.3] On the left of Copae about twelve stades from it is Olmones, and some seven stades distant from Olmones is Hyettus both right from their foundation to the present day have been villages. In my view Hyettus, as well as the Athamantian plain, belongs to the district of Orchomenus. All the stories I heard about Hyettus the Argive and Olmus, the son of Sisypheus, I shall include in my history of Orchomenus. In Olmones they did not show me anything that was in the least worth seeing, but in Hyettus is a temple of Heracles, from whom the sick may get cures. There is an image not carefully

carved, but of unwrought stone after the ancient fashion.

CYRTONES & CORSEIA

[9.24.4] About twenty stades away from Hyettus is Cyrtones. The ancient name of the town was, they say, Cyrtone. It is built on a high mountain, and here are a temple and grove of Apollo. There are also standing images of Apollo and Artemis. There is here too a cool stream of water rising from a rock. By the spring is a sanctuary of the nymphs, and a small grove, in which all the trees alike are cultivated.

[9.24.5] Going out of Cyrtones, as you cross the mountain you come to Corseia, under which is a grove of trees that are not cultivated, being mostly evergreen oaks. A small image of Hermes stands in the open part of the grove. This is distant from Corseia about half a stade. On descending to the level you reach a river called the Platanius, which flows into the sea. On the right of the river the last of the Boeotians in this part dwell in Halae-on-Sea, which separates the Locrian mainland from Euboea.

NEISTAN GATE OF THEBES

[9.25.1] XXV. Very near to the Neistan gate at Thebes is the tomb of Menoeceus, the son of Creon. He committed suicide in obedience to the oracle from Delphi, at the time when Polyneices and the host with him arrived from Argos. On the tomb of Menoeceus grows a pomegranate-tree. If you break through the outer part of the ripe fruit, you will then find the inside like blood. This pomegranate-tree is still flourishing. The Thebans assert that they were the first men among whom the vine grew, but they have now no memorial of it to show.

[9.25.2] Not far from the grave of Menoeceus is the place where they say the sons of Oedipus killed each other in a duel. The scene of their fight is marked by a pillar, upon which is a stone shield. There is shown a place where according to the Thebans Hera was deceived by Zeus into giving the breast to Heracles when he was a baby. The whole of this place is called the Dragging of Antigone. For when she found that she had not the strength to lift the body of Polyneices, in spite of her eager efforts, a second plan occurred to her, to drag him. So she dragged him right up to the burning pyre of Eteocles and threw him on it.

[9.25.3] There is a river called Dirce after the wife of Lycus. The story goes that Antiope was ill-treated by this Dirce, and therefore the children of Antiope put Dirce to death. Crossing the river you reach the ruins of the house of Pindar, and a sanctuary of the Mother Dindymene. Pindar dedicated the image, and Aristomedes and Socrates, sculptors of Thebes, made it. Their custom is to open the sanctuary on one day in each year, and no more. It was my fortune to arrive on that day, and I saw the image, which, like the throne, is of Pentelic marble.

[9.25.4] Along the road from the Neistan gate are three sanctuaries. There is a sanctuary of Themis, with an image of white marble; adjoining it is a sanctuary of the Fates, while the third is of Zeus of the Market. Zeus is made of stone; the Fates have no images. A little farther off in the open stands Heracles, surnamed Nose-docker; the reason for the name is, as the Thebans say, that Heracles cut off the noses, as an insult, of the heralds who came from Orchomenus to demand the tribute.

THE CABEIRIUM

[9.25.5] Advancing from here twenty-five stades you come to a grove of Cabeirean Demeter and the Maid. The initiated are permitted to enter it. The sanctuary of the Cabeiri is some seven stades distant from this grove. I must ask the curious to forgive me if I keep silence as to who the Cabeiri are, and what is the nature of the ritual performed in honor of them and of the Mother.

[9.25.6] But there is nothing to prevent my declaring to all what the Thebans say was the origin of the ritual. They say that once there was in this place a city, with inhabitants called Cabeiri; and that Demeter came to know Prometheus, one of the Cabeiri, and Aetnaelis his son, and entrusted something to their keeping. What was entrusted to them, and what happened to it, seemed to me a sin to put into writing, but at any rate the rites are a gift of Demeter to the Cabeiri.

[9.25.7] At the time of the invasion of the Epigoni and the taking of Thebes, the Cabeiri were expelled from their homes by the Argives and the rites for a while ceased to be performed. But they go on to say that afterwards Pelarge, the daughter of Potnieus, and Isthmiades her husband established the mysteries here to begin with, but transferred them to the place called Alexiarus.

[9.25.8] But because Pelarge conducted the initiation outside the ancient borders, Telondes and those who were left of the clan of the Cabeiri returned again to Cabeiraea. Various honors were to be established for Pelarge by Telondes in accordance with an oracle from Dodona, one being the sacrifice of a pregnant victim. The wrath of the Cabeiri no man may placate, as has been proved on many occasions.

[9.25.9] For certain private people dared to perform in Naupactus the ritual just as it was done in Thebes, and soon afterwards justice overtook them. Then, again, certain men of the army of Xerxes left behind with Mardonius in Boeotia entered the sanctuary of the Cabeiri, perhaps in the hope of great wealth, but rather, I suspect, to show their contempt of its gods; all these immediately were struck with madness, and flung themselves to their deaths into the sea or from the tops of precipices.

[9.25.10] Again, when Alexander after his victory wasted with fire all the Thebaid, including Thebes itself, some men from Macedonia entered the sanctuary of the Cabeiri, as it was in enemy territory, and were destroyed by thunder and lightning from heaven.

[9.26.1] XXVI. So sacred this sanctuary has been from the beginning. On the right of the sanctuary is a plain named after Tenerus the seer, whom they hold to be a son of Apollo by Melia; there is also a large sanctuary of Heracles surnamed Hippiodetus (Binder of Horses). For they say that the Orchomenians came to this place with an army, and that Heracles by night took their chariot-horses and bound them tight.

MT PHIX

[9.26.2] Farther on we come to the mountain from which they say the Sphinx, chanting a riddle, sallied to bring death upon those she caught. Others say that roving with a force of ships on a piratical expedition she put in at Anthedon, seized the mountain I mentioned, and used it for plundering raids until Oedipus overwhelmed her by the superior numbers of the army he had with him on his arrival from Corinth.

[9.26.3] There is another version of the story which makes her the natural daughter of Laius, who, because he was fond of her, told her the oracle delivered to Cadmus from Delphi. No one, they say, except the kings knew the oracle. Now Laius (the story goes on to say) had sons by concubines, and the oracle delivered from Delphi applied only to Epicaste and her sons. So when any of her brothers came in order to claim the throne from the Sphinx, she resorted to trickery in dealing with them, saying that if they were sons of Laius they should know the oracle that came to Cadmus.

[9.26.4] When they could not answer she would punish them with death, on the ground that they had no valid claim to the kingdom or to relationship. But Oedipus came because it appears he had been told the oracle in a dream.

ONCHESTUS

[9.26.5] Distant from this mountain fifteen stades are the ruins of the city Onchestus. They say that here dwelt Onchestus, a son of Poseidon. In my day there remained a temple and image of Onchestian Poseidon, and the grove which Homer too praised.

THESPIAE

[9.26.6] Taking a turn left from the Cabeirian sanctuary, and advancing about fifty stades, you come to Thespieae, built at the foot of Mount Helicon. They say that Thespia was a daughter of Asopus, who gave her name to the city, while others say that Thespius, who was descended from Erechtheus, came from Athens and was the man after whom the city was called.

[9.26.7] In Thespieae is a bronze image of Zeus Saviour. They say about it that when a dragon once was devastating their city, the god commanded that every year one of their youths, upon whom the lot fell, should be offered to the monster. Now the names of those who perished they say that they do not

remember. But when the lot fell on Cleostratus, his lover Menestratus, they say, devised a trick.

[9.26.8] He had made a bronze breastplate, with a fish-hook, the point turned outwards, upon each of its plates. Clad in this breastplate he gave himself up, of his own free will, to the dragon, convinced that having done so he would, though destroyed himself, prove the destroyer of the monster. This is why the Zeus has been surnamed Saviour. The image of Dionysus, and also that of Fortune, and in another place that of Health . . . But the Athena Worker, as well as Wealth, who stands beside her, was made by. . .

[9.27.1] XXVII. Of the gods the Thespians have from the beginning honored Love most, and they have a very ancient image of him, an unwrought stone. Who established among the Thespians the custom of worshipping Love more than any other god I do not know. He is worshipped equally by the people of Parium on the Hellespont, who were originally colonists from Erythrae in Ionia, but to-day are subject to the Romans.

[9.27.2] Most men consider Love to be the youngest of the gods and the son of Aphrodite. But Olen the Lycian, who composed the oldest Greek hymns, says in a hymn to Eileithyia that she was the mother of Love. Later than Olen, both Pamphos and Orpheus wrote hexameter verse, and composed poems on Love, in order that they might be among those sung by the Lycomidae to accompany the ritual. I read them after conversation with a Torchbearer. Of these things I will make no further mention. Hesiod, or he who wrote the *Theogony* fathered on Hesiod, writes, I know, that Chaos was born first, and after Chaos, Earth, Tartarus and Love.

[9.27.3] Sappho of Lesbos wrote many poems about Love, but they are not consistent. Later on Lysippus made a bronze Love for the Thespians, and previously Praxiteles one of Pentelic marble. The story of Phryne and the trick she played on Praxiteles I have related in another place. The first to remove the image of Love, it is said, was Gaius the Roman Emperor; Claudius, they say, sent it back to Thespieae, but Nero carried it away a second time.

[9.27.4] At Rome the image perished by fire. Of the pair who sinned against the god, Gaius was killed by a private soldier, just as he was giving the password; he had made the soldier very angry by always giving the same password with a covert sneer. The other, Nero, in addition to his violence to his mother, committed accursed and hateful crimes against his wedded wives. The modern Love at Thespieae was made by the Athenian Menodorus, who copied the work of Praxiteles.

[9.27.5] Here too are statues made by Praxiteles himself, one of Aphrodite and one of Phryne, both Phryne and the goddess being of stone. Elsewhere too is a sanctuary of Black Aphrodite, with a theater and a market-place, well worth seeing. Here is set up Hesiod in bronze. Not far from the market-place is a Victory of bronze and a small temple of the Muses. In it are small images made of stone.

[9.27.6] At Thespieae is also a sanctuary of Heracles. The priestess there is a

virgin, who acts as such until she dies. The reason of this is said to be as follows. Heracles, they say, had intercourse with the fifty daughters of Thestius, except one, in a single night. She was the only one who refused to have connection with him. Heracles, thinking that he had been insulted, condemned her to remain a virgin all her life, serving him as his priest.

[9.27.7] I have heard another story, how Heracles had connection with all the virgin daughters of Thestius in one and the same night, and how they all bore him sons, the youngest and the eldest bearing twins. But I cannot think it credible that Heracles would rise to such a pitch of wrath against a daughter of a friend. Moreover, while he was still among men, punishing them for insolence, and especially such as were impious towards the gods, he would not himself have set up a temple and appointed a priestess to himself, just as though he were a god.

[9.27.8] As a matter of fact this sanctuary seemed to me too old to be of the time of Heracles the son of Amphitryon, and to belong to Heracles called one of the Idaean Dactyls, to whom I found the people of Erythrae in Ionia and of Tyre possessed sanctuaries. Nevertheless, the Boeotians were not unacquainted with this name of Heracles, seeing that they themselves say that the sanctuary of Demeter of Mycalessus has been entrusted to Idaean Heracles.

MT HELICON

[9.28.1] XXVIII. Helicon is one of the mountains of Greece with the most fertile soil and the greatest number of cultivated trees. The wild-strawberry bushes supply to the goats sweeter fruit than that growing anywhere else. The dwellers around Helicon say that all the grasses too and roots growing on the mountain are not at all poisonous to men. Moreover, the food makes the poison of the snakes too less deadly, so that most of those bitten escape with their lives, should they fall in with a Libyan of the race of the Psyllians, or with any suitable remedies.

[9.28.2] Now the poison of the most venomous snakes is of itself deadly to men and all animals alike, but what they feed on contributes very much to the strength of their poison; for instance, I learnt from a Phoenician that the roots they eat make more venomous the vipers in the highland of Phoenicia. He said that he had himself seen a man trying to escape from the rush of a viper; the man, he said, ran up a tree, but the viper, coming up too late, puffed some of its poison towards the tree, and the man died instantaneously.

[9.28.3] Such was the story I heard from him. Those vipers in Arabia that nest around the balsam trees have, I know, the following peculiarities. The balsams are about as big as a myrtle bush, and their leaves are like those of the herb marjoram. The vipers of Arabia lodge in certain numbers, larger or smaller, under each tree. For the balsam-juice is the food they like most, and moreover they are fond of the shade of the bushes.

[9.28.4] So when the time has come for the Arabians to collect the juice of the

balsam, each man takes two sticks to the vipers, and by striking them together they drive the vipers away. Kill them they will not, considering them sacred to the balsam. And even if a man should have the misfortune to be bitten by the vipers, though the wound is like the cut of a knife, nevertheless there is no fear from the poison. For as the vipers feed on the most fragrant of perfumes, their poison is mitigated and less deadly.

THE MUSEUM OF HELICON

[9.29.1] XXIX. Such is the truth about these things. The first to sacrifice on Helicon to the Muses and to call the mountain sacred to the Muses were, they say, Ephialtes and Otus, who also founded Ascrea. To this also Hegesinus alludes in his poem *Atthis*:—

And again with Ascrea lay Poseidon Earth-shaker,
Who when the year revolved bore him a son
Oecolus, who first with the children of Aloeus founded
Ascrea, which lies at the foot of Helicon, rich in springs. Hegesinus, *Atthis*,
unknown location.

[9.29.2] This poem of Hegesinus I have not read, for it was no longer extant when I was born. But Callippus of Corinth in his history of Orchomenus uses the verses of Hegesinus as evidence in support of his own views, and I too have done likewise, using the quotation of Callippus himself. Of Ascrea in my day nothing memorable was left except one tower. The sons of Aloeus held that the Muses were three in number, and gave them the names of Melete (Practice), Mneme (Memory) and Aoede (Song).

[9.29.3] But they say that afterwards Pierus, a Macedonian, after whom the mountain in Macedonia was named, came to Thespieae and established nine Muses, changing their names to the present ones. Pierus was of this opinion either because it seemed to him wiser, or because an oracle so ordered, or having so learned from one of the Thracians. For the Thracians had the reputation of old of being more clever than the Macedonians, and in particular of being not so careless in religious matters.

[9.29.4] There are some who say that Pierus himself had nine daughters, that their names were the same as those of the goddesses, and that those whom the Greeks called the children of the Muses were sons of the daughters of Pierus. Mimnermus, who composed elegiac verses about the battle between the Smyrnaeans and the Lydians under Gyges, says in the preface that the elder Muses are daughters of Uranus, and that there are other and younger Muses, children of Zeus.

[9.29.5] On Helicon, on the left as you go to the grove of the Muses, is the spring Aganippe; they say that Aganippe was a daughter of the Termessus, which flows round Helicon. As you go along the straight road to the grove is a portrait of Eupheme carved in relief on a stone. She was, they say, the nurse of

the Muses.

[9.29.6] So her portrait is here, and after it is Linus on a small rock worked into the shape of a cave. To Linus every year they sacrifice as to a hero before they sacrifice to the Muses. It is said that this Linus was a son of Urania and Amphimarus, a son of Poseidon, that he won a reputation for music greater than that of any contemporary or predecessor, and that Apollo killed him for being his rival in singing.

[9.29.7] On the death of Linus, mourning for him spread, it seems, to all the foreign world, so that even among the Egyptians there came to be a Linus song, in the Egyptian language called Maneros. Of the Greek poets, Homer shows that he knew that the sufferings of Linus were the theme of a Greek song when he says that Hephaestus, among the other scenes he worked upon the shield of Achilles, represented a boy harpist singing the Linus song:—

In the midst of them a boy on a clear-toned lyre
Played with great charm, and to his playing sang of beautiful Linus. Hom. *Il.*
18.569-70

[9.29.8] Pamphos, who composed the oldest Athenian hymns, called him Oetolinus (Linus doomed) at the time when the mourning for Linus was at its height. Sappho of Lesbos, who learnt the name of Oetolinus from the epic poetry of Pamphos, sang of both Adonis and Oetolinus together. The Thebans assert that Linus was buried among them, and that after the Greek defeat at Chaeroneia, Philip the son of Amyntas, in obedience to a vision in a dream, took up the bones of Linus and conveyed them to Macedonia;

[9.29.9] other visions induced him to send the bones of Linus back to Thebes. But all that was over the grave, and whatever marks were on it, vanished, they say, with the lapse of time. Other tales are told by the Thebans, how that later than this Linus there was born another, called the son of Ismenius, a teacher of music, and how Heracles, while still a child, killed him. But hexameter poetry was written neither by Linus the son of Amphimarus nor by the later Linus; or if it was, it has not survived for posterity.

[9.30.1] XXX. The first images of the Muses are of them all, from the hand of Cephisodotus, while a little farther on are three, also from the hand of Cephisodotus, and three more by Strongylion, an excellent artist of oxen and horses. The remaining three were made by Olympiosthenes. There is also on Helicon a bronze Apollo fighting with Hermes for the lyre. There is also a Dionysus by Lysippus; the standing image, however, of Dionysus, that Sulla dedicated, is the most noteworthy of the works of Myron after the Erechtheus at Athens. What he dedicated was not his own; he took it away from the Minyae of Orchomenus. This is an illustration of the Greek proverb, “to worship the gods with other people’s incense.”

[9.30.2] Of poets or famous musicians they have set up likenesses of the following. There is Thamyris himself, when already blind, with a broken lyre in his hand, and Arion of Methymna upon a dolphin. The sculptor who made

the statue of Sacadas of Argos, not understanding the prelude of Pindar about him, has made the flute-player with a body no bigger than his flute.

[9.30.3] Hesiod too sits holding a harp upon his knees, a thing not at all appropriate for Hesiod to carry, for his own verses make it clear that he sang holding a laurel wand. As to the age of Hesiod and Homer, I have conducted very careful researches into this matter, but I do not like to write on the subject, as I know the quarrelsome nature of those especially who constitute the modern school of epic criticism.

[9.30.4] By the side of Orpheus the Thracian stands a statue of Telete, and around him are beasts of stone and bronze listening to his singing. There are many untruths believed by the Greeks, one of which is that Orpheus was a son of the Muse Calliope, and not of the daughter of Pierus, that the beasts followed him fascinated by his songs, and that he went down alive to Hades to ask for his wife from the gods below. In my opinion Orpheus excelled his predecessors in the beauty of his verse, and reached a high degree of power because he was believed to have discovered mysteries, purification from sins, cures of diseases and means of averting divine wrath.

[9.30.5] But they say that the women of the Thracians plotted his death, because he had persuaded their husbands to accompany him in his wanderings, but dared not carry out their intention through fear of their husbands. Flushed with wine, however, they dared the deed, and hereafter the custom of their men has been to march to battle drunk. Some say that Orpheus came to his end by being struck by a thunderbolt, hurled at him by the god because he revealed sayings in the mysteries to men who had not heard them before.

[9.30.6] Others have said that his wife died before him, and that for her sake he came to Aornum in Thesprotis, where of old was an oracle of the dead. He thought, they say, that the soul of Eurydice followed him, but turning round he lost her, and committed suicide for grief. The Thracians say that such nightingales as nest on the grave of Orpheus sing more sweetly and louder than others.

[9.30.7] The Macedonians who dwell in the district below Mount Pieria and the city of Dium say that it was here that Orpheus met his end at the hands of the women. Going from Dium along the road to the mountain, and advancing twenty stades, you come to a pillar on the right surmounted by a stone urn, which according to the natives contains the bones of Orpheus.

[9.30.8] There is also a river called Helicon. After a course of seventy-five stades the stream hereupon disappears under the earth. After a gap of about twenty-two stades the water rises again, and under the name of Baphyra instead of Helicon flows into the sea as a navigable river. The people of Dium say that at first this river flowed on land throughout its course. But, they go on to say, the women who killed Orpheus wished to wash off in it the blood-stains, and thereat the river sank underground, so as not to lend its waters to cleanse manslaughter.

[9.30.9] In Larisa I heard another story, how that on Olympus is a city Libethra, where the mountain faces, Macedonia, not far from which city is the tomb of Orpheus. The Libethrians, it is said, received out of Thrace an oracle from Dionysus, stating that when the sun should see the bones of Orpheus, then the city of Libethra would be destroyed by a boar. The citizens paid little regard to the oracle, thinking that no other beast was big or mighty enough to take their city, while a boar was bold rather than powerful.

[9.30.10] But when it seemed good to the god the following events befell the citizens. About midday a shepherd was asleep leaning against the grave of Orpheus, and even as he slept he began to sing poetry of Orpheus in a loud and sweet voice. Those who were pasturing or tilling nearest to him left their several tasks and gathered together to hear the shepherd sing in his sleep. And jostling one another and striving who could get nearest the shepherd they overturned the pillar, the urn fell from it and broke, and the sun saw whatever was left of the bones of Orpheus.

[9.30.11] Immediately when night came the god sent heavy rain, and the river Sys (Boar), one of the torrents about Olympus, on this occasion threw down the walls of Libethra, overturning sanctuaries of gods and houses of men, and drowning the inhabitants and all the animals in the city. When Libethra was now a city of ruin, the Macedonians in Dium, according to my friend of Larisa, carried the bones of Orpheus to their own country.

[9.30.12] Whoever has devoted himself to the study of poetry knows that the hymns of Orpheus are all very short, and that the total number of them is not great. The Lycomidae know them and chant them over the ritual of the mysteries. For poetic beauty they may be said to come next to the hymns of Homer, while they have been even more honored by the gods.

[9.31.1] XXXI. On Helicon there is also a statue of Arsinoe, who married Ptolemy her brother. She is being carried by a bronze ostrich. Ostriches grow wings just like other birds, but their bodies are so heavy and large that the wings cannot lift them into the air.

[9.31.2] Here too is Telephus, the son of Heracles, represented as a baby being suckled by a deer. By his side is an ox, and an image of Priapus worth seeing. This god is worshipped where goats and sheep pasture or there are swarms of bees; but by the people of Lampsacus he is more revered than any other god, being called by them a son of Dionysus and Aphrodite.

[9.31.3] On Helicon tripods have been dedicated, of which the oldest is the one which it is said Hesiod received for winning the prize for song at Chalcis on the Euripus. Men too live round about the grove, and here the Thespians celebrate a festival, and also games called the Museia. They celebrate other games in honor of Love, offering prizes not only for music but also for athletic events. Ascending about twenty stades from this grove is what is called the Horse's Fountain (Hippocrene). It was made, they say, by the horse of Bellerophon striking the ground with his hoof.

[9.31.4] The Boeotians dwelling around Helicon hold the tradition that Hesiod

wrote nothing but the *Works*, and even of this they reject the prelude to the Muses, saying that the poem begins with the account of the Strifes. They showed me also a tablet of lead where the spring is, mostly defaced by time, on which is engraved the *Works*.

[9.31.5] There is another tradition, very different from the first, that Hesiod wrote a great number of poems; the one on women, the one called the *Great Eoëae*, the *Theogony*, the poem on the seer Melampus, the one on the descent to Hades of Theseus and Perithous, the *Precepts of Chiron*, professing to be for the instruction of Achilles, and other poems besides the *Works and Days*. These same Boeotians say that Hesiod learnt seercraft from the Acarnanians, and there are extant a poem called *Mantica* (Seercraft), which I myself have read, and interpretations of portents.

[9.31.6] Opposite stories are also told of Hesiod's death. All agree that Ctimenus and Antiphus, the sons of Ganyctor, fled from Naupactus to Molycrìa because of the murder of Hesiod, that here they sinned against Poseidon, and that in Molycrìa their punishment was inflicted. The sister of the young men had been ravished; some say the deed was Hesiod's, and others that Hesiod was wrongly thought guilty of another's crime. So widely different are the traditions of Hesiod himself and his poems.

[9.31.7] On the summit of Helicon is a small river called the *Lamus*.

DONACON

In the territory of the Thespians is a place called *Donacon* (Reed-bed). Here is the spring of *Narcissus*. They say that *Narcissus* looked into this water, and not understanding that he saw his own reflection, unconsciously fell in love with himself, and died of love at the spring. But it is utter stupidity to imagine that a man old enough to fall in love was incapable of distinguishing a man from a man's reflection.

[9.31.8] There is another story about *Narcissus*, less popular indeed than the other, but not without some support. It is said that *Narcissus* had a twin sister; they were exactly alike in appearance, their hair was the same, they wore similar clothes, and went hunting together. The story goes on that *Narcissus* fell in love with his sister, and when the girl died, would go to the spring, knowing that it was his reflection that he saw, but in spite of this knowledge finding some relief for his love in imagining that he saw, not his own reflection, but the likeness of his sister.

[9.31.9] The flower *narcissus* grew, in my opinion, before this, if we are to judge by the verses of *Pamphos*. This poet was born many years before *Narcissus* the Thespian, and he says that the *Maid*, the daughter of *Demeter*, was carried off when she was playing and gathering flowers, and that the flowers by which she was deceived into being carried off were not violets, but the *narcissus*.

CREUSIS, THISBE & TIPHA

[9.32.1] XXXII. Creusis, the harbor of Thespieae, has nothing to show publicly, but at the home of a private person I found an image of Dionysus made of gypsum and adorned with painting. The voyage from the Peloponnesus to Creusis is winding and, besides, not a calm one. For capes jut out so that a straight sea-crossing is impossible, and at the same time violent gales blow down from the mountains.

[9.32.2] Sailing from Creusis, not out to sea, but along Boeotia, you reach on the right a city called Thisbe. First there is a mountain by the sea; on crossing it you will come to a plain, and after that to another mountain, at the foot of which is the city. Here there is a sanctuary of Heracles with a standing image of stone, and they hold a festival called the Heracleia.

[9.32.3] Nothing would prevent the plain between the mountains becoming a lake owing to the volume of the water, had they not made a strong dyke right through it. So every other year they divert the water to the farther side of the dyke, and farm the other side. Thisbe, they say, was a nymph of the country, from whom the city has received its name.

[9.32.4] Sailing from here you come to Tiphia, a small town by the sea. The townsfolk have a sanctuary of Heracles and hold an annual festival. They claim to have been from of old the best sailors in Boeotia, and remind you that Tiphys, who was chosen to steer the Argo, was a fellow-townsmen. They point out also the place before the city where they say Argo anchored on her return from Colchis.

HALIARTUS

[9.32.5] As you go inland from Thespieae you come to Haliartus. The question who became founder of Haliartus and Coroneia I cannot separate from my account of Orchomenus.

LYSANDER OF SPARTA, HISTORY

At the Persian invasion the people of Haliartus sided with the Greeks, and so a division of the army of Xerxes overran and burnt both their territory and their city. In Haliartus is the tomb of Lysander the Lacedaemonian. For having attacked the walls of Haliartus, in which were troops from Thebes and Athens, he fell in the fighting that followed a sortie of the enemy.

[9.32.6] Lysander in some ways is worthy of the greatest praise, in others of the sharpest blame. He certainly showed cleverness in the following ways. When in command of the Peloponnesian triremes he waited till Alcibiades was away from the fleet, and then led on Antiochus, the pilot of Alcibiades, to believe that he was a match for the Lacedaemonians at sea, and when in the rashness of vainglory he put out to sea, Lysander overcame him not far from the city of Colophon.

[9.32.7] And when for the second time he arrived from Sparta to take charge of the triremes, he so tamed Cyrus that, whenever he asked for money to pay

the fleet, he received it in good time and without stint. When the Athenian fleet of one hundred ships anchored at Aegospotami, waiting until the sailors were scattered to get water and provisions, he thus captured their vessels. He showed the following example of justice.

[9.32.8] Autolycus the pancratiast, whose statue I saw in the Prytaneium of the Athenians, had a dispute about some piece of property with Eteonicus of Sparta. When Eteonicus was convicted of making unjust statements, as the rule of the Thirty was then supreme at Athens, and Lysander had not yet departed, Eteonicus was encouraged to make an unprovoked assault, and when Autolycus resisted, summoned him before Lysander, confidently expecting that judgment would be given in his favour. But Lysander gave judgment against Eteonicus and dismissed him with a reprimand.

[9.32.9] All this redounds to the credit of Lysander, but the following incidents are a reproach. Philocles, the Athenian commander-in-chief at Aegospotami, along with four thousand other Athenian prisoners, were put to death by Lysander, who even refused them burial afterwards, a thing which even the Persians who landed at Marathon received from the Athenians, and the Lacedaemonians themselves who fell at Thermopylae received from King Xerxes. Lysander brought a yet deeper disgrace upon the Lacedaemonians by the Commissions of Ten he set over the cities and by the Laconian governors.

[9.32.10] Again, an oracle had warned the Lacedaemonians that only love of money could destroy Sparta, and so they were not used to acquiring wealth, yet Lysander aroused in the Spartans a strong desire for riches. I for my part follow the Persians, and judge by the Persian law, and decide that Lysander brought on the Lacedaemonians more harm than benefit.

[9.33.1] XXXIII. In Haliartus too there is the tomb of Lysander and a hero-shrine of Cecrops the son of Pandion.

MT TILPHUSIUS

Mount Tilphusius and the spring called Tilphusa are about fifty stades away from Haliartus. The Greeks declare that the Argives, along with the sons of Polyneices, after capturing Thebes, were bringing Teiresias and some other of the spoil to the god at Delphi, when Teiresias, being thirsty, drank by the wayside of the Tilphusa, and forthwith gave up the ghost; his grave is by the spring.

[9.33.2] They say that the daughter of Teiresias was given to Apollo by the Argives, and at the command of the god crossed with ships to the Colophonian land in what is now called Ionia. Manto there married Rhacius, a Cretan. The rest of the history of Teiresias is known to all as a tradition: the number of years it is recorded that he lived, how he changed from a woman to a man, and that Homer in the *Odyssey* represents Teiresias as the only one in Hades endowed with intelligence.

HALIARTUS CONT.

[9.33.3] At Haliartus there is in the open a sanctuary of the goddesses they call Praxidicae (those who exact punishments). Here they swear, but they do not make the oath rashly. The sanctuary of the goddesses is near Mount Tilphusius. In Haliartus are temples, with no images inside, and without roofs. I could not discover either to whom these temples were built.

RIVER LOPHIS

[9.33.4] In the land of Haliartus there is a river Lophis. It is said that the land was originally arid and without water, so that one of the rulers came to Delphi and asked in what way they would find water in the land. The Pythian priestess, they say, commanded him to kill the man who should first meet him on his return to Haliartus. On his arrival he was met by his son Lophis, and at once smote the youth with his sword. Still living, the lad ran about, and where the blood ran water rose up from the earth. Wherefore the river is called Lophis.

ALALCOMENIA

[9.33.5] Alalcomenae is a small village, and it lies at the very foot of a mountain of no great height. Its name, some say, is derived from Alalcomeneus, an aboriginal, by whom Athena was brought up; others declare that Alalcomenia was one of the daughters of Ogygus. At some distance from the village on the level ground has been made a temple of Athena with an ancient image of ivory.

[9.33.6] Sulla's treatment of the Athenians was savage and foreign to the Roman character, but quite consistent with his treatment of Thebes and Orchomenus. But in Alalcomenae he added yet another to his crimes by stealing the image of Athena itself. After these mad outrages against the Greek cities and the gods of the Greeks he was attacked by the most foul of diseases. He broke out into lice, and what was formerly accounted his good fortune came to such an end. The sanctuary at Alalcomenae, deprived of the goddess, was hereafter neglected.

[9.33.7] In my time yet another incident added to the ruin of the temple. A large and strong ivy-tree grew over it, loosening the stones from their joints and tearing them apart. Here too there flows a river, a small torrent. They call it Triton, because the story is that beside a river Triton Athena was reared, the implication being that the Triton was this and not the river in Libya, which flows into the Libyan sea out of lake Tritonis.

CORONEIA

[9.34.1] XXXIV. Before reaching Coroneia from Alalcomenae we come to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena. It is named after Itonius the son of Amphictyon, and here the Boeotians gather for their general assembly. In the temple are bronze images of Itonian Athena and Zeus; the artist was Agoracritus, pupil

and loved one of Pheidias. In my time they dedicated too images of the Graces.

[9.34.2] The following tale, too, is told. Iodama, who served the goddess as priestess, entered the precinct by night, where there appeared to her Athena, upon whose tunic was worked the head of Medusa the Gorgon. When Iodama saw it, she was turned to stone. For this reason a woman puts fire every day on the altar of Iodama, and as she does this she thrice repeats in the Boeotian dialect that Iodama is living and asking for fire.

[9.34.3] On the market-place of Coroneia I found two remarkable things, an altar of Hermes Epimelius (Keeper of flocks) and an altar of the winds. A little lower down is a sanctuary of Hera with an ancient image, the work of Pythodorus of Thebes; in her hand she carries Sirens. For the story goes that the daughters of Achelous were persuaded by Hera to compete with the Muses in singing. The Muses won, plucked out the Sirens' feathers (so they say) and made crowns for themselves out of them.

MT LIBETHRIUS & MT LAPHYSTIUS

[9.34.4] Some forty stades from Coroneia is Mount Libethrius, on which are images of the Muses and Nymphs surnamed Libethrian. There are springs too, one named Libethrias and the other Rock (Petra), which are shaped like a woman's breasts, and from them rises water like milk.

[9.34.5] The distance from Coroneia to Mount Laphystius and the precinct of Laphystian Zeus is about twenty stades. The image is of stone. They say that when Athamas was about to sacrifice here Phrixus and Helle, a ram with his fleece of gold was sent by Zeus to the children, and that on the back of this ram they made good their escape. Higher up is a Heracles surnamed Charops (With bright eyes). Here, say the Boeotians, Heracles ascended with the hound of Hades. On the way down from Mount Laphystius to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena is the river Phalarus, which runs into the Cephisian lake.

ORCHOMENUS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[9.34.6] Over against Mount Laphystius is Orchomenus, as famous a city as any in Greece. Once raised to the greatest heights of prosperity, it too was fated to fall almost as low as Mycenae and Delos. Its ancient history is confined to the following traditions. They say that Andreus, son of the river Peneius, was the first to settle here, and after him the land Andreis was named.

[9.34.7] When Athamas joined him, he assigned to him, of his own land, the territory round Mount Laphystius with what are now the territories of Coroneia and Haliartus. Athamas, thinking that none of his male children were left, adopted Haliartus and Coronus, the sons of Thersander, the son of Sisyphus, his brother. For he himself had put to death Learchus and Melicertes; Leucon had fallen sick and died; while as for Phrixus, Athamas did not know if he survived or had descendants surviving.

[9.34.8] When later Phrixus himself, according to some, or Presbon, according to others, returned from Colchis – Presbon was a son of Phrixus by the daughter of Aeetes – the sons of Thersander agreed that the house of Athamas belonged to Athamas and his descendants, while they themselves became founders of Haliartus and Coroneia, for Athamas gave them a part of his land.

[9.34.9] Even before this Andreus took to wife from Athamas Euippe, daughter of Leucon, and had a son, Eteocles. According to the report of the citizens, Eteocles was the son of the river Cephisus, wherefore some of the poets in their verses called him Cephisiades.

[9.34.10] When this Eteocles became king, he let the country be still called after Andreus, but he established two tribes, naming one Cephisias, and the other after himself. When Almus, the son of Sisypheus, came to him, he gave him to dwell in a little of the land, and a village was then called Almones after this Almus. Afterwards the name of the village that was generally adopted was Olmones.

[9.35.1] XXXV. The Boeotians say that Eteocles was the first man to sacrifice to the Graces. Moreover, they are aware that he established three as the number of the Graces, but they have no tradition of the names he gave them. The Lacedaemonians, however, say that the Graces are two, and that they were instituted by Lacedaemon, son of Taygete, who gave them the names of Clea and Phaenna.

[9.35.2] These are appropriate names for Graces, as are those given by the Athenians, who from of old have worshipped two Graces, Auxo and Hegemone. Carpo is the name, not of a Grace, but of a Season. The other Season is worshipped together with Pandrosus by the Athenians, who call the goddess Thallo.

[9.35.3] It was from Eteocles of Orchomenus that we learned the custom of praying to three Graces. And Angelion and Tectaus, sons of Dionysus, who made the image of Apollo for the Delians, set three Graces in his hand. Again, at Athens, before the entrance to the Acropolis, the Graces are three in number; by their side are celebrated mysteries which must not be divulged to the many.

[9.35.4] Pamphos was the first we know of to sing about the Graces, but his poetry contains no information either as to their number or about their names. Homer (he too refers to the Graces) makes one the wife of Hephaestus, giving her the name of Grace. He also says that Sleep was a lover of Pasithea, and in the speech of Sleep there is this verse:–

Verily that he would give me one of the younger Graces. Hom. *Il.* 14.270-276

Hence some have suspected that Homer knew of older Graces as well.

[9.35.5] Hesiod in the *Theogony* (though the authorship is doubtful, this poem is good evidence) says that the Graces are daughters of Zeus and Eurynome, giving them the names of Euphrosyne, Aglaia and Thalia. The poem of Onomacritus agrees with this account. Antimachus, while giving neither the number of the Graces nor their names, says that they are daughters of Aegle and the Sun. The elegiac poet Hermesianax disagrees with his predecessors in that he makes Persuasion also one of the Graces.

[9.35.6] Who it was who first represented the Graces naked, whether in sculpture or in painting, I could not discover. During the earlier period, certainly, sculptors and painters alike represented them draped. At Smyrna, for instance, in the sanctuary of the Nemeses, above the images have been dedicated Graces of gold, the work of Bupalus; and in the Music Hall in the same city there is a portrait of a Grace, painted by Apelles. At Pergamus likewise, in the chamber of Attalus, are other images of Graces made by Bupalus;

[9.35.7] and near what is called the Pythium there is a portrait of Graces, painted by Pythagoras the Parian. Socrates too, son of Sophroniscus, made images of Graces for the Athenians, which are before the entrance to the Acropolis. All these are alike draped; but later artists, I do not know the reason, have changed the way of portraying them. Certainly to-day sculptors and painters represent Graces naked.

[9.36.1] XXXVI. When Eteocles died the kingdom devolved on the family of Almus. Almus himself had daughters born to him, Chrysogeneia and Chryse. Tradition has it that Chryse, daughter of Almus, had by Ares a son Phlegyas, who, as Eteocles died childless, got the throne. To the whole country they gave the name of Phlegyantis instead of Andreis,

[9.36.2] and besides the originally founded city of Andreis, Phlegyas founded another, which he named after himself, collecting into it the best soldiers in Greece. In course of time the foolhardy and reckless Phlegyans seceded from Orchomenus and began to ravage their neighbors. At last they even marched against the sanctuary at Delphi to raid it, when Philammon with picked men of Argos went out to meet them, but he and his picked men perished in the engagement.

[9.36.3] That the Phlegyans took more pleasure in war than any other Greeks is also shown by the lines of the *Iliad* dealing with Ares and his son Panic:—

They twain were arming themselves for war to go to the Ephyrians,
Or to the great-hearted Phlegyans. Hom. *Il.* 13.301-2

By Ephyrians in this passage Homer means, I think, those in Thesprotis. The Phlegyan race was completely overthrown by the god with continual thunderbolts and violent earthquakes. The remnant were wasted by an epidemic of plague, but a few of them escaped to Phocis.

[9.36.4] Phlegyas had no sons, and Chryses succeeded to the throne, a son of Poseidon by Chrysogeneia, daughter of Almus. This Chryses had a son called

Minyas, and after him the people over whom he ruled are still called Minyans. The revenues that Minyas received were so great that he surpassed his predecessors in wealth, and he was the first man we know of to build a treasury to receive his riches.

[9.36.5] The Greeks appear apt to regard with greater wonder foreign sights than sights at home. For whereas distinguished historians have described the Egyptian pyramids with the minutest detail, they have not made even the briefest mention of the treasury of Minyas and the walls of Tiryns, though these are no less marvellous.

[9.36.6] Minyas had a son Orchomenus, in whose reign the city was called Orchomenus and the men Orchomenians. Nevertheless, they continued to bear the additional name of Minyans, to distinguish them from the Orchomenians in Arcadia. To this Orchomenus during his kingship came Hyettus from Argos, who was an exile because of the slaying of Molurus, son of Arisbas, whom he caught with his wedded wife and killed. Orchomenus assigned to him such of the land as is now around the village Hyettus, and the land adjacent to this.

[9.36.7] Hyettus is also mentioned by the poet who composed the poem called by the Greeks the *Great Eoeae*:-

And Hyettus killed Molurus, the dear son of Arisbas,
In the halls, because of his wife's bed;
Leaving his home he fled from horse-breeding Argos,
And reached Minyan Orchomenus, and the hero
Welcomed him, and bestowed on him a portion of his possessions, as was fitting.

The Great Eoeae, unknown location.

[9.36.8] This Hyettus was the first man known to have exacted punishment from an adulterer. Later on, when Dracon was legislator for the Athenians, it was enacted in the laws which he drew up for the Athenians that the punishment of an adulterer should be one of the acts condoned by the State. So high did the reputation of the Minyans stand, that even Neleus, son of Cretheus, who was king of Pylus, took a wife from Orchomenus, namely Chloris, daughter of Amphion, son of Iasius.

[9.37.1] XXXVII. But it was destined for the race of Almus too to come to an end. For Orchomenus left no child, and so the kingdom devolved on Clymenus, son of Presbon, son of Phrixus. Sons were born to Clymenus; the eldest was Erginus, the next after him were Stratius, Arrhon and Pyleus, while the youngest was Azeus. Clymenus was murdered at the feast of Onchestian Poseidon by men of Thebes, whom a trivial cause had thrown into a violent passion. So Erginus, the eldest of the sons of Glymenus, received the kingdom.

[9.37.2] Immediately he and his brothers gathered a force and attacked Thebes. Victorious in the battle, they then came to an agreement that the

Thebans should pay tribute each year for the murder of Clymenus. But when Heracles had grown to manhood in Thebes, the Thebans were thus relieved of the tribute, and the Minyans suffered a grievous defeat in the war.

[9.37.3] Erginus, as his citizens had been utterly crushed, made peace with Heracles, but in his efforts to restore his former wealth and prosperity neglected everything else, so that unconsciously he came to a wifeless and childless old age. But when he had gathered riches, the desire seized him to have children.

[9.37.4] So going to Delphi he inquired of the oracle about children, and the Pythian priestess gave this reply:—

Erginus, son of Clymenus Presboniades,
Late thou camest seeking offspring, but even now
To the old plough-tree put a new tip.

Obeying the oracle he took to himself a young wife, and had children, Trophonius and Agamedes.

[9.37.5] Trophonius is said to have been a son of Apollo, not of Erginus. This I am inclined to believe, as does everyone who has gone to Trophonius to inquire of his oracle. They say that these, when they grew up, proved clever at building sanctuaries for the gods and palaces for men. For they built the temple for Apollo at Delphi and the treasury for Hyrieus. One of the stones in it they made so that they could take it away from the outside. So they kept on removing something from the store. Hyrieus was dumbfounded when he saw keys and seals untampered with, while the treasure kept on getting less.

[9.37.6] So he set over the vessels, in which were his silver and gold, snares or other contrivance, to arrest any who should enter and lay hands on the treasure. Agamedes entered and was kept fast in the trap, but Trophonius cut off his head, lest when day came his brother should be tortured, and he himself be informed of as being concerned in the crime.

[9.37.7] The earth opened and swallowed up Trophonius at the point in the grove at Lebadeia where is what is called the pit of Agamedes, with a slab beside it. The kingdom of Orchomenus was taken by Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, said to be sons of Ares, while their mother was Astyoche, daughter of Actor, son of Azeus, son of Clymenus. Under the leadership of these the Minyans marched against Troy.

[9.37.8] Orchomenians also joined with the sons of Codrus in the expedition to Ionia. When expelled from their city by the Thebans they were restored again to Orchomenus by Philip the son of Amyntas. But Providence was to drag them ever lower and lower into decay.

ORCHOMENUS

[9.38.1] XXXVIII. At Orchomenus is a sanctuary of Dionysus, but the oldest is one of the Graces. They worship the stones most, and say that they fell for

Eteocles out of heaven. The artistic images were dedicated in my time, and they too are of stone.

[9.38.2] They have also a fountain worth seeing, and go down to it to fetch water. The treasury of Minyas, a wonder second to none either in Greece itself or elsewhere, has been built in the following way. It is made of stone; its shape is round, rising to a rather blunt apex; they say that the highest stone is the keystone of the whole building.

[9.38.3] There are graves of Minyas and Hesiod. They say that they thus recovered the bones of Hesiod. A pestilence fell on men and beasts, so that they sent envoys to the god. To these, it is said, the Pythian priestess made answer that to bring the bones of Hesiod from the land of Naupactus to the land of Orchomenus was their one and only remedy. Whereupon the envoys asked a further question, where in the land of Naupactus they would find the bones; to which the Pythian priestess answered again that a crow would indicate to them the place.

[9.38.4] So when the envoys landed, they saw, it is said, a rock not far from the road, with the bird upon the rock; the bones of Hesiod they found in a cleft of the rock. Elegiac verses are inscribed on the tomb:—

Ascra rich in corn was his native land, but when Hesiod died,
The land of the horse-striking Minyans holds his bones,
Whose fame will rise very high in Greece
When men are judged by the touchstone of artistry.

[9.38.5] About Actaeon the Orchomenians had the following story. A ghost, they say, carrying a rock was ravaging the land. When they inquired at Delphi, the god bade them discover the remains of Actaeon and bury them in the earth. He also bade them make a bronze likeness of the ghost and fasten it to a rock with iron. I have myself seen this image thus fastened. They also sacrifice every year to Actaeon as to a hero.

NEAR ORCHOMENUS

[9.38.6] Seven stades from Orchomenus is a temple of Heracles with a small image. Here is the source of the river Melas (black), one of the streams running into the Cephisian Lake. The lake at all times covers the greater part of the Orchomenian territory, but in the winter season, after the south-west wind has generally prevailed, the water spreads over a yet greater extent of the territory.

[9.38.7] The Thebans declare that the river Cephissus was diverted into the Orchomenian plain by Heracles, and that for a time it passed under the mountain and entered the sea, until Heracles blocked up the chasm through the mountain. Now Homer too knows that the Cephisian Lake was a lake of itself, and not made by Heracles. Wherefore Homer says:—

Sloping towards the Cephisian Lake. *Hom. Il.* 5.709

[9.38.8] It is not likely either that the Orchomenians would not have discovered the chasm, and, breaking down the work put up by Heracles, have given back to the Gephissus its ancient passage, since right down to the Trojan war they were a wealthy people. There is evidence in my favour in the passage of Homer where Achilles replies to the envoys from Agamemnon:—

Not even the wealth that comes to Orchomenus, Hom. *Il.* 9.381

a line that clearly shows that even then the revenues coming to Orchomenus were large.

ASPLEDON

[9.38.9] They say that Aspledon was left by the inhabitants because of a shortage of water. They say also that the city got its name from Aspledon, who was a son of the nymph Mideia and Poseidon. Their view is confirmed by some verses composed by Chersias, a man of Orchomenus:—

To Poseidon and glorious Mideia was born Aspledon in the spacious city. Chersias of Orchomenus, unknown location.

[10] The poem of Chersias was no longer extant in my day, but these verses are quoted by Callippus in the same history of Orchomenus. The Orchomenians have a tradition that this Chersias wrote also the inscription on the grave of Hesiod.

LEBADEIA & THE ORACLE OF TROPHONIUS

[9.39.1] XXXIX. On the side towards the mountains the boundary of Orchomenus is Phocis, but on the plain it is Lebadeia. Originally this city stood on high ground, and was called Mideia after the mother of Aspledon. But when Lebadus came to it from Athens, the inhabitants went down to the low ground, and the city was named Lebadeia after him. Who was the father of Lebadus, and why he came, they do not know; they know only that the wife of Lebadus was Laonice.

[9.39.2] The city is no less adorned than the most prosperous of the Greek cities, and it is separated from the grove of Trophonius by the river Hercyna. They say that here Hercyna, when playing with the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, held a goose which against her will she let loose. The bird flew into a hollow cave and hid under a stone; the Maid entered and took the bird as it lay under the stone. The water flowed, they say, from the place where the Maid took up the stone, and hence the river received the name of Hercyna.

[9.39.3] On the bank of the river there is a temple of Hercyna, in which is a maiden holding a goose in her arms. In the cave are the sources of the river and images standing, and serpents are coiled around their scepters. One might conjecture the images to be of Asclepius and Health, but they might be Trophonius and Hercyna, because they think that serpents are just as much sacred to Trophonius as to Asclepius. By the side of the river is the tomb of Arcesilaus, whose bones, they say, were carried back from Troy by Leitus.

[9.39.4] The most famous things in the grove are a temple and image of Trophonius; the image, made by Praxiteles, is after the likeness of Asclepius. There is also a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Europa, and a Zeus Rain-god in the open. If you go up to the oracle, and thence onwards up the mountain, you come to what is called the Maid's Hunting and a temple of King Zeus. This temple they have left half finished, either because of its size or because of the long succession of the wars. In a second temple are images of Cronus, Hera and Zeus. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo.

[9.39.5] What happens at the oracle is as follows. When a man has made up his mind to descend to the oracle of Trophonius, he first lodges in a certain building for an appointed number of days, this being sacred to the good Spirit and to good Fortune. While he lodges there, among other regulations for purity he abstains from hot baths, bathing only in the river Hercyna. Meat he has in plenty from the sacrifices, for he who descends sacrifices to Trophonius himself and to the children of Trophonius, to Apollo also and Cronus, to Zeus surnamed King, to Hera Charioteer, and to Demeter whom they surname Europa and say was the nurse of Trophonius.

[9.39.6] At each sacrifice a diviner is present, who looks into the entrails of the victim, and after an inspection prophesies to the person descending whether Trophonius will give him a kind and gracious reception. The entrails of the other victims do not declare the mind of Trophonius so much as a ram, which each inquirer sacrifices over a pit on the night he descends, calling upon Agamedes. Even though the previous sacrifices have appeared propitious, no account is taken of them unless the entrails of this ram indicate the same; but if they agree, then the inquirer descends in good hope. The procedure of the descent is this.

[9.39.7] First, during the night he is taken to the river Hercyna by two boys of the citizens about thirteen years old, named Hermae, who after taking him there anoint him with oil and wash him. It is these who wash the descender, and do all the other necessary services as his attendant boys. After this he is taken by the priests, not at once to the oracle, but to fountains of water very near to each other.

[9.39.8] Here he must drink water called the water of Forgetfulness, that he may forget all that he has been thinking of hitherto, and afterwards he drinks of another water, the water of Memory, which causes him to remember what he sees after his descent. After looking at the image which they say was made by Daedalus (it is not shown by the priests save to such as are going to visit Trophonius), having seen it, worshipped it and prayed, he proceeds to the oracle, dressed in a linen tunic, with ribbons girding it, and wearing the boots of the country.

[9.39.9] The oracle is on the mountain, beyond the grove. Round it is a circular basement of white marble, the circumference of which is about that of the smallest threshing floor, while its height is just short of two cubits. On the basement stand spikes, which, like the cross-bars holding them together, are of

bronze, while through them has been made a double door. Within the enclosure is a chasm in the earth, not natural, but artificially constructed after the most accurate masonry.

[9.39.10] The shape of this structure is like that of a bread-oven. Its breadth across the middle one might conjecture to be about four cubits, and its depth also could not be estimated to extend to more than eight cubits. They have made no way of descent to the bottom, but when a man comes to Trophonius, they bring him a narrow, light ladder. After going down he finds a hole between the floor and the structure. Its breadth appeared to be two spans, and its height one span.

[9.39.11] The descender lies with his back on the ground, holding barley-cakes kneaded with honey, thrusts his feet into the hole and himself follows, trying hard to get his knees into the hole. After his knees the rest of his body is at once swiftly drawn in, just as the largest and most rapid river will catch a man in its eddy and carry him under. After this those who have entered the shrine learn the future, not in one and the same way in all cases, but by sight sometimes and at other times by hearing. The return upwards is by the same mouth, the feet darting out first.

[9.39.12] They say that no one who has made the descent has been killed, save only one of the bodyguard of Demetrius. But they declare that he performed none of the usual rites in the sanctuary, and that he descended, not to consult the god but in the hope of stealing gold and silver from the shrine. It is said that the body of this man appeared in a different place, and was not cast out at the sacred mouth. Other tales are told about the fellow, but I have given the one most worthy of consideration.

[9.39.13] After his ascent from Trophonius the inquirer is again taken in hand by the priests, who set him upon a chair called the chair of Memory, which stands not far from the shrine, and they ask of him, when seated there, all he has seen or learned. After gaining this information they then entrust him to his relatives. These lift him, paralyzed with terror and unconscious both of himself and of his surroundings, and carry him to the building where he lodged before with Good Fortune and the Good Spirit. Afterwards, however, he will recover all his faculties, and the power to laugh will return to him.

[9.39.14] What I write is not hearsay; I have myself inquired of Trophonius and seen other inquirers. Those who have descended into the shrine of Trophonius are obliged to dedicate a tablet on which is written all that each has heard or seen. The shield also of Aristomenes is still preserved here. Its story I have already given in a former part of my work.

[9.40.1] XL. This oracle was once unknown to the Boeotians, but they learned of it in the following way. As there had been no rain for a year and more, they sent to Delphi envoys from each city. These asked for a cure for the drought, and were bidden by the Pythian priestess to go to Trophonius at Lebadeia and to discover the remedy from him.

[9.40.2] Coming to Lebadeia they could not find the oracle. Thereupon Saon,

one of the envoys from the city Acraephnum and the oldest of all the envoys, saw a swarm of bees. It occurred to him to follow himself wheresoever the bees turned. At once he saw the bees flying into the ground here, and he went with them into the oracle. It is said that Trophonius taught this Saon the customary ritual, and all the observances kept at the oracle.

ART WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO DAEDALUS

[9.40.3] Of the works of Daedalus there are these two in Boeotia, a Heracles in Thebes and the Trophonius at Lebadeia. There are also two wooden images in Crete, a Britomartis at Olus and an Athena at Cnossus, at which latter place is also Ariadne's Dance, mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad*, carved in relief on white marble. At Delos, too, there is a small wooden image of Aphrodite, its right hand defaced by time, and with a square base instead of feet.

[9.40.4] I am of opinion that Ariadne got this image from Daedalus, and when she followed Theseus, took it with her from home. Bereft of Ariadne, say the Delians, Theseus dedicated the wooden image of the goddess to the Delian Apollo, lest by taking it home he should be dragged into remembering Ariadne, and so find the grief for his love ever renewed. I know of no other works of Daedalus still in existence. For the images dedicated by the Argives in the Heraeum and those brought from Omphace to Gela in Sicily have disappeared in course of time.

CHAERONEIA

[9.40.5] Next to Lebadeia comes Chaeroneia. Its name of old was Arne, said to have been a daughter of Aeolus, who gave her name also to a city in Thessaly. The present name of Chaeroneia, they say, is derived from Chaeron, reputed to be a son of Apollo by Thero, a daughter of Phylas. This is confirmed also by the writer of the epic poem, the *Great Eoeae*:—

[9.40.6]

Phylas wedded a daughter of famous Iolais,
Leipephilene, like in form to the Olympian goddesses;
She bore him in the halls a son Hippotes,
And lovely Thero, like to the moonbeams.
Thero, falling into the embrace of Apollo,
Bore mighty Chaeron, tamer of horses. *The Great Eoeae*, unknown location.

Homer, I think, though he knew that Chaeroneia and Lebadeia were already so called, yet uses their ancient names, just as he speaks of the river Aegyptus, not the Nile.

[9.40.7] In the territory of Chaeroneia are two trophies, which the Romans under Sulla set up to commemorate their victory over the army of Mithridates under Taxilus. But Philip, son of Amyntas, set up no trophy, neither here nor for any other success, whether won over Greeks or non-Greeks, as the

Macedonians were not accustomed to raise trophies.

[9.40.8] The Macedonians say that Caranus, king of Macedonia, overcame in battle Cisseus, a chieftain in a bordering country. For his victory Caranus set up a trophy after the Argive fashion, but it is said to have been upset by a lion from Olympus, which then vanished.

[9.40.9] Caranus, they assert, realized that it was a mistaken policy to incur the undying hatred of the non-Greeks dwelling around, and so, they say, the rule was adopted that no king of Macedonia, neither Caranus himself nor any of his successors, should set up trophies, if they were ever to gain the goodwill of their neighbors. This story is confirmed by the fact that Alexander set up no trophies, neither for his victory over Dareius nor for those he won in India.

[9.40.10] As you approach the city you see a common grave of the Thebans who were killed in the struggle against Philip. It has no inscription, but is surmounted by a lion, probably a reference to the spirit of the men. That there is no inscription is, in my opinion, because their courage was not favoured by appropriate good fortune.

[9.40.11] Of the gods, the people of Chaeroneia honor most the scepter which Homer says Hephaestus made for Zeus, Hermes received from Zeus and gave to Pelops, Pelops left to Atreus, Atreus to Thyestes, and Agamemnon had from Thyestes. This scepter, then, they worship, calling it Spear. That there is something peculiarly divine about this scepter is most clearly shown by the fame it brings to the Chaeroneans.

[9.40.12] They say that it was discovered on the border of their own country and of Panopeus in Phocis, that with it the Phocians discovered gold, and that they were glad themselves to get the scepter instead of the gold. I am of opinion that it was brought to Phocis by Agamemnon's daughter Electra. It has no public temple made for it, but its priest keeps the scepter for one year in a house. Sacrifices are offered to it every day, and by its side stands a table full of meats and cakes of all sorts.

ART WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO HEPHAESTUS

[9.41.1] XLI. Poets have sung, and the tradition of men has followed them, that Hephaestus made many works of art, but none is authentic except only the scepter of Agamemnon. However, the Lycians in Patara show a bronze bowl in their temple of Apollo, saying that Telephus dedicated it and Hephaestus made it, apparently in ignorance of the fact that the first to melt bronze were the Samians Theodorus and Rhoecus.

[9.41.2] The Achaeans of Patrae assert indeed that Hephaestus made the chest brought by Eurypylos from Troy, but they do not actually exhibit it to view. In Cyprus is a city Amathus, in which is an old sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite. Here they say is dedicated a necklace given originally to Harmonia, but called the necklace of Eriphyle, because it was the bribe she took to betray her husband. It was dedicated at Delphi by the sons of Phegeus

(how they got it I have already related in my history of Arcadia), but it was carried off by the tyrants of Phocis.

[9.41.3] However, I do not think that it is in the sanctuary of Adonis at Amathus. For the necklace at Amathus is composed of green stones held together by gold, but the necklace given to Eriphyle was made entirely of gold, according to Homer, who says in the *Odyssey*:—

Who received precious gold, the price of her own husband. Hom. *Od.* 11.327

Not that Homer was unaware of necklaces made of various materials.

[9.41.4] For example, in the speech of Eumaeus to Odysseus before Telemachus reaches the court from Pylus, he says:—

There came a cunning man to the home of my father,
With a necklace of gold strung with amber in between. Hom. *Od.* 15.459

[9.41.5] Again, in the passage called the gifts of Penelope, for he represents the wooers, Eurymachus among them, offering her gifts, he says:—

And Eurymachus straightway brought a necklace of varied materials,
Of gold strung with pieces of amber, like the sun. Hom. *Od.* 18.295

But Homer does not say that the necklace given to Eriphyle was of gold varied with stones. So probably the scepter is the only work of Hephaestus.

MT PETRACHUS

[9.41.6] There is beyond the city a crag called Petrachus. Here they hold that Cronus was deceived, and received from Rhea a stone instead of Zeus, and there is a small image of Zeus on the summit of the mountain.

[9.41.7] Here in Chaeroneia they distil unguents from flowers, namely, the lily, the rose, the narcissus and the iris. These prove to be cures for the pains of men. The unguent from the rose, if it be smeared on wooden images, prevents their decaying. The iris grows in marshes, is in size as large as a lily, but is not white in color, and smells less sweet.

BOOK X.

PHOCIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[10.1.1] It is plain that such part of Phocis as is around Tithorea and Delphi was so named in very ancient days after a Corinthian, Phocus, a son of Ornytion. Not many years afterwards, the name established itself as the received title of what is today called Phocis, when the Aeginetans had disembarked on the land with Phocus the son of Aeacus.

[10.1.2] Opposite the Peloponnesus, and in the direction of Boeotia, Phocis stretches to the sea, and touches it on one side at Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and on the other at the city of Anticyra. In the direction of the Lamian Gulf there are between Phocis and the sea only the Hypocnemidian Locrians. By these is Phocis bounded in this direction, by Scarpheia on the other side of Elateia, and by Opus and its port Cynus beyond Hyampolis and Abae.

[10.1.3] The most renowned exploits of the Phocian people were undertaken by the whole nation. They took part in the Trojan war, and fought against the Thessalians before the Persian invasion of Greece, when they accomplished some noteworthy deeds.

PHOCIS, HISTORY

Expecting that the Thessalians would invade their land at Hyampolis, they buried there earthen water-pots, covered these with earth, and so waited for the Thessalian cavalry. Ignorant of the Phocian stratagem, the Thessalians without knowing it drove their horses on to the water-pots, where stumbling into them the horses were lamed, and threw or killed their riders.

[10.1.4] The Thessalians, more enraged than ever against the Phocians, gathered levies from all their cities and marched out against them. Whereupon the Phocians, greatly terrified at the army of the Thessalians, especially at the number of their cavalry and the practised discipline of both mounts and riders, despatched a mission to Delphi, praying the god that they might escape the danger that threatened them. The oracle given them was this:—

I will match in fight mortal and immortal,
And to both will I give victory, but more to the mortal.

[10.1.5] On receiving this oracle, the Phocians sent three hundred picked men with Gelon in command to make an attack on the enemy. The night was just falling, and the orders given were to reconnoiter without being observed, to return to the main body by the least known route, and to remain strictly on the defensive. These picked men along with their leader Gelon, trampled on by horses and butchered by their enemies, perished to a man at the hands of the Thessalians.

[10.1.6] Their disaster created such panic among the Phocians in the camp that they actually gathered together in one spot their women, children, movable property, and also their clothes, gold, silver and images of the gods, and making a vast pyre they left in charge a force of thirty men.

[10.1.7] These were under orders that, should the Phocians chance to be worsted in the battle, they were first to put to death the women and the children, then to lay them like victims with the valuables on the pyre, and finally to set it alight and perish themselves, either by each other's hands or by charging the cavalry of the Thessalians. Hence all forlorn hopes are called by the Greeks "Phocian despair." On this occasion the Phocians forthwith proceeded to attack the Thessalians.

[10.1.8] The commander of their cavalry was Daiphantes of Hyampolis, of their infantry Rhoëus of Ambrossus. But the office of commander-in-chief was held by Tellias, a seer of Elis, upon whom rested all the Phocians' hopes of salvation.

[10.1.9] When the battle joined, the Phocians had before their eyes what they had resolved to do to their women and children, and seeing that their own salvation trembled in the balance, they dared the most desperate deeds, and, with the favour of heaven, achieved the most famous victory of that time.

[10.1.10] Then did all Greece understand the oracle given to the Phocians by Apollo. For the watchword given in battle on every occasion by the Thessalian generals was Itonian Athena, and by the Phocian generals Phocus, from whom the Phocians were named. Because of this engagement the Phocians sent as offerings to Delphi statues of Apollo, of Tellias the seer, and of all their other generals in the battle, together with images of their local heroes. The figures were the work of the Argive Aristomedon.

[10.1.11] Afterwards the Phocians discovered a stratagem quite as clever as their former ones. For when the armies were lying opposite each other at the pass into Phocis, five hundred picked men of Phocis, waiting until the moon was full, attacked the Thessalians on that night, first smearing themselves with chalk and, in addition to the chalk, putting on white armour. It is said that there then occurred a wholesale slaughter of the Thessalians, who thought this apparition of the night to be too unearthly to be an attack of their enemies. It was Tellias of Elis who devised this stratagem also for the Phocians to use against the Thessalians.

[10.2.1] II. When the Persian army crossed into Europe, it is said that the Phocians were forced to join the Great King, but deserted the Persian cause and ranged themselves with the Greeks at the battle of Plataea. Subsequently it happened that a fine was inflicted on them by the Amphictyons. I cannot find out the truth of the story, whether the fine was inflicted because of the misdeeds of the Phocians, or whether the Thessalians exacted the fine from the Phocians because of their ancient hatred.

[10.2.2] As they were disheartened at the greatness of the fine, Philomelus, son of Theotimus, than whom no Phocian stood higher in rank, his country

being Ledon, a city of Phocis, took charge and tried to persuade them to seize the sanctuary at Delphi, pointing out that the amount of the sum to be paid was beyond their resources. He stated, among other plausible arguments, that Athens and Sparta had always been favorable to them, and that if Thebes or any other state made war against them, they would have the better owing to their courage and resources.

[10.2.3] When Philomelus put all this before them, the Phocians were nothing loath, either because their judgment was blinded by heaven, or because their nature was to put gain before religion. The seizure of Delphi by the Phocians occurred when Heracleides was president at Delphi and Agathocles archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, when Prorus of Cyrene was victorious in the foot-race.

[10.2.4] When they had seized the sanctuary, the best mercenaries in Greece at once mustered to join them, while the Thebans, at variance before, declared open war against them. The war lasted ten successive years, and during this long time victory often fell to the Phocians and their mercenaries, and often the Thebans proved the better. An engagement took place at the town of Neon, in which the Phocians were worsted, and in the rout Philomelus threw himself down a high precipice, and so lost his life. This was the very punishment fixed by the Amphictyons for spoilers of the sanctuary.

[10.2.5] After the death of Philomelus the Phocians gave the command to Onomarchus, while Philip, son of Amyntas, made an alliance with the Thebans. Philip had the better of the encounter, and Onomarchus fleeing to the coast was there shot down by his own troops, who considered their defeat due to his lack of enterprise and inexperience as a general.

[10.2.6] Such was the end which fate brought upon Onomarchus, and his brother Phaylus was chosen as commander-in-chief. It is said that no sooner had this Phaylus come to rule over the Phocians when he saw the following vision in a dream. Among the votive offerings to Apollo was a representation in bronze of a man's body in an advanced stage of decay, with the flesh already fallen off, and nothing left but the bones. The Delphians said that it was an offering of Hippocrates the physician. Now the thought came to Phaylus that he resembled this offering. Forthwith he was attacked by a wasting disease, which so fulfilled the omen of the dream.

[10.2.7] On the death of Phaylus the sovereignty of the Phocians devolved on Phalaecus his son. Phalaecus, accused of appropriating to his own use the sacred treasures, was deposed, and crossing with a fleet to Crete, accompanied by such Phocians as sided with him and by a part of his mercenaries, he sat down to besiege Cydonia, which refused to accede to his demand for money, and perished along with the greater part of his army.

[10.3.1] III. In the tenth year after the seizure of the sanctuary, Philip put an end to the war, which was called both the Phocian War and the Sacred War, in the year when Theophilus was archon at Athens, which was the first of the hundred and eighth Olympiad at which Polycles of Cyrene was victorious in

the foot-race. The cities of Phocis were captured and razed to the ground. The tale of them was Lilaea, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus and Daulis. These cities were distinguished in days of old, especially because of the poetry of Homer.

[10.3.2] The army of Xerxes, burning down certain of these, made them better known in Greece, namely Erochus, Charadra, Amphicleia, Neon, Tithronium and Drymaea. The rest of the Phocian cities, except Elateia, were not famous in former times, I mean Phocian Trachis, Phocian Medeon, Echedameia, Ambrossus, Ledon, Phlygonium and Stiris. On the occasion to which I have referred all the cities enumerated were razed to the ground and their people scattered in villages. The one exception to this treatment was Abae, whose citizens were free from impiety, and had had no share in the seizure of the sanctuary or in the war.

[10.3.3] The Phocians were deprived of their share in the Delphic sanctuary and in the Greek assembly, and their votes were given by the Amphictyons to the Macedonians. Subsequently, however, the Phocian cities were rebuilt, and their inhabitants restored from the villages to their native cities, save such as were prevented from being rebuilt by their original weakness and by their want of funds at the period of restoration. It was the Athenians and Thebans who brought back the inhabitants before the disaster of Chaeroneia befell the Greeks.

[10.3.4] The Phocians took part in the battle of Chaeroneia, and afterwards fought at Lamia and Crannon against the Macedonians under Antipater. No Greeks were keener defenders against the Gauls and the Celtic invaders than were the Phocians, who considered that they were helping the god of Delphi, and at the same time, I take it, that they were making amends for the old crimes they had committed.

PANOPEUS

[10.4.1] IV. Such were the memorable exploits of the Phocians. From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbors, and even send delegates to the Phocian assembly. The name of the city is derived, they say, from the father of Epeius, and they maintain that they are not Phocians, but were originally Phlegyans who fled to Phocis from the land of Orchomenus.

[10.4.2] A survey of the ancient circuit of Panopeus led me to guess it to be about seven stades. I was reminded of Homer's verses about Tityos, where he mentions the city of Panopeus with its beautiful dancing-floors, and how in the fight over the body of Patroclus he says that Schedius, son of Iphitus and king of the Phocians, who was killed by Hector, lived in Panopeus. It seemed to me that the reason why the king lived here was fear of the Boeotians; at this

point is the easiest pass from Boeotia into Phocis, so the king used Panopeus as a fortified post.

[10.4.3] The former passage, in which Homer speaks of the beautiful dancing-floors of Panopeus, I could not understand until I was taught by the women whom the Athenians call Thyiads. The Thyiads are Attic women, who with the Delphian women go to Parnassus every other year and celebrate orgies in honor of Dionysus. It is the custom for these Thyiads to hold dances at places, including Panopeus, along the road from Athens. The epithet Homer applies to Panopeus is thought to refer to the dance of the Thyiads.

[10.4.4] At Panopeus there is by the roadside a small building of unburnt brick, in which is an image of Pentelic marble, said by some to be Asclepius, by others Prometheus. The latter produce evidence of their contention. At the ravine there lie two stones, each of which is big enough to fill a cart. They have the color of clay, not earthy clay, but such as would be found in a ravine or sandy torrent, and they smell very like the skin of a man. They say that these are remains of the clay out of which the whole race of mankind was fashioned by Prometheus.

[10.4.5] Here at the ravine is the tomb of Tityos. The circumference of the mound is just about one-third of a stade, and they say that the verse in the *Odyssey*:—

Lying on the ground, and lie lay over nine roods, Hom. *Od.* 11.577

refers, not to the size of Tityos, but to the place where he lay, the name of which was Nine Roods.

[10.4.6] Cleon of Magnesia on the Hermus used to say that those men were incredulous of wonders who in the course of their own lives had not met yet greater marvels. He declared that Tityos and other monsters had been as tradition says they were. He happened, he said, to be at Cadiz, and he, with the rest of the crowd, sailed forth from the island in accordance with the command of Heracles; on their return to Cadiz they found cast ashore a man of the sea, who was about five roods in size, and burning away, because heaven had blasted him with a thunderbolt.

DAULIS

[10.4.7] So said Cleon. About twenty-seven stades distant from Panopeus is Daulis. The men there are few in number, but for size and strength no Phocians are more renowned even to this day. They say that the name of the city is derived from Daulis, a nymph, the daughter of the Cephissus. Others say that the place, on which the city was built, was wooded, and that such shaggy places (*dasea*) were called *daula* by the ancients. For this reason, they say, Aeschylus called the beard of Glaucus of Anthedon *hypene daulos*.

[10.4.8] Here in Daulis the women are said to have served up to Tereus his own son, which act was the first pollution of the dining-table among men. The hoopoe, into which the legend says Tereus was changed, is a bird a little larger than the quail, while the feathers on its head rise into the shape of a crest.

[10.4.9] It is noteworthy that in Phocis swallows neither hatch nor lay eggs; in fact no swallow would even make a nest in the roof of a house. The Phocians say that even when Philomela was a bird she had a terror of Tereus, and so kept away from his country. At Daulis is a sanctuary of Athena with an ancient image. The wooden image, of an even earlier date, the Daulians say was brought from Athens by Procne.

NEAR DAULIS

[10.4.10] In the territory of Daulis is a place called Tronis. Here has been built a shrine of the Founder hero. This founder is said by some to have been Xanthippus, a distinguished soldier; others say that he was Phocus, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus. At any rate, he is worshipped every day, and the Phocians bring victims and pour the blood into the grave through a hole, but the flesh they are wont to consume on the spot.

[10.5.1] V. There is also an ascent through Daulis to the summit of Parnassus, a longer one than that from Delphi, though not so difficult. Turning back from Daulis to the straight road to Delphi and going forwards, you see on the left of the road a building called the Phocian Building, where assemble the Phocian delegates from each city.

[10.5.2] The building is large, and within are pillars standing throughout its length. From the pillars rise steps to each wall, on which steps the Phocian delegates take their seats. At the end are neither pillars nor steps, but images of Zeus, Athena and Hera. That of Zeus is on a throne; on his right stands Hera, on his left Athena.

THE CLEFT ROAD

[10.5.3] Going forward from here you will come to a road called the Cleft Road, the very road on which Oedipus slew his father. Fate would have it that memorials of the sufferings of Oedipus should be left throughout the length and breadth of Greece. At his birth they pieced his ankles with goads and exposed him on Mount Cithaeron in Plataean territory. Corinth and the land at the Isthmus were the scene of his upbringing. Phocis and the Cleft Road received the pollution of his murdered father's blood. Thebes is even more notorious for the marriage of Oedipus and for the sin of Eteocles.

[10.5.4] The Cleft Road and the rash deed committed on it by Oedipus were the beginning of his troubles, and the tombs of Laius and the servant who followed him are still just as they were in the very middle of the place where the three roads meet, and over them have been piled unhewn stones. According to the story, it was Damasistratus, king of Plataea, who found the bodies lying and buried them.

DELPHI, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[10.5.5] From here the high road to Delphi becomes both steeper and more difficult for the walker. Many and different are the stories told about Delphi, and even more so about the oracle of Apollo. For they say that in the earliest times the oracular seat belonged to Earth, who appointed as prophetess at it Daphnis, one of the nymphs of the mountain.

[10.5.6] There is extant among the Greeks an hexameter poem, the name of which is Eumolpia, and it is assigned to Musaeus, son of Antiophemus. In it the poet states that the oracle belonged to Poseidon and Earth in common; that Earth gave her oracles herself, but Poseidon used Pyrcon as his mouthpiece in giving responses. The verses are these:—

Forthwith the voice of the Earth-goddess uttered a wise word,
And with her Pyrcon, servant of the renowned Earth-shaker. [Musaeus],
Eumolpia

They say that afterwards Earth gave her share to Themis, who gave it to Apollo as a gift. It is said that he gave to Poseidon Calauria, that lies off Troezen, in exchange for his oracle.

[10.5.7] I have heard too that shepherds feeding their flocks came upon the oracle, were inspired by the vapor, and prophesied as the mouthpiece of Apollo. The most prevalent view, however, is that Phemonoe was the first prophetess of the god, and first sang in hexameter verse. Boeo, a native woman who composed a hymn for the Delphians, said that the oracle was established for the god by comers from the Hyperboreans, Olen and others, and that he was the first to prophesy and the first to chant the hexameter oracles.

[10.5.8] The verses of Boeo are:—

Here in truth a mindful oracle was built
By the sons of the Hyperboreans, Pagasus and divine Agyieus. Boeo, work
unknown

After enumerating others also of the Hyperboreans, at the end of the hymn she names Olen:—

And Olen, who became the first prophet of Phoebus,
And first fashioned a song of ancient verses. Boeo, work unknown

Tradition, however, reports no other man as prophet, but makes mention of prophetesses only.

[10.5.9] They say that the most ancient temple of Apollo was made of laurel, the branches of which were brought from the laurel in Tempe. This temple must have had the form of a hut. The Delphians say that the second temple was made by bees from bees-wax and feathers, and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by Apollo.

[10.5.10] Another story is current, that the temple was set up by a Delphian, whose name was Pteras, and so the temple received its name from the builder. After this Pteras, so they say, the city in Crete was named, with the addition of a letter, Apterei. The story that the temple was built of the fern (*pteris*) that grows on the mountains, by interweaving fresh stalks of it, I do not accept at all.

[10.5.11] It is no wonder that the third temple was made of bronze, seeing that Acrisius made a bedchamber of bronze for his daughter, the Lacedaemonians still possess a sanctuary of Athena of the Bronze House, and the Roman forum, a marvel for its size and style, possesses a roof of bronze. So it would not be unlikely that a temple of bronze was made for Apollo.

[10.5.12] The rest of the story I cannot believe, either that the temple was the work of Hephaestus, or the legend about the golden singers, referred to by Pindar in his verses about this bronze temple:—

Above the pediment sang Golden Charmers. Pindar, work unknown

These words, it seems to me, are but an imitation of Homer's account of the Sirens. Neither did I find the accounts agree of the way this temple disappeared. Some say that it fell into a chasm in the earth, others that it was melted by fire.

[10.5.13] The fourth temple was made by Trophonius and Agamedes; the tradition is that it was made of stone. It was burnt down in the archonship of Erxicleides at Athens, in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, when Diognetus of Crotona was victorious. The modern temple was built for the god by the Amphictyons from the sacred treasures, and the architect was one Spintharus of Corinth.

[10.6.1] VI. They say that the oldest city was founded here by Parnassus, a son of Cleodora, a nymph. Like the other heroes, as they are called, he had two fathers; one they say was the god Poseidon, the human father being Cleopompus. After this Parnassus were named, they say, both the mountain and also the Parnassian glen. Augury from flying birds was, it is said, a discovery of Parnassus.

[10.6.2] Now this city, so the story goes on, was flooded by the rains that fell in the time of Deucalion. Such of the inhabitants as were able to escape the storm were led by the howls of wolves to safety on the top of Parnassus, being led on their way by these beasts, and on this account they called the city that they founded Lycoreia (Mountainwolf-city).

[10.6.3] Another and different legend is current that Apollo had a son Lycorus by a nymph, Corycia, and that after Lycorus was named the city Lycoreia, and after the nymph the Corycian cave. It is also said that Celaeno was daughter to Hyamus, son of Lycorus, and that Delphus, from whom comes the present name of the city, was a son of Celaeno, daughter of Hyamus, by Apollo.

[10.6.4] Others maintain that Castalius, an aboriginal, had a daughter Thyia, who was the first to be priestess of Dionysus and celebrate orgies in honor of the god. It is said that later on men called after her Thyiads all women who

rave in honor of Dionysus. At any rate they hold that Delphus was a son of Apollo and Thyia. Others say that his mother was Melaena, daughter of Cephisus.

[10.6.5] Afterwards the dwellers around called the city Pytho, as well as Delphi, just as Homer so calls it in the list of the Phocians. Those who would find pedigrees for everything think that Pythes was a son of Delphus, and that because he was king the city was called Pytho. But the most widespread tradition has it that the victim of Apollo's arrows rotted here, and that this was the reason why the city received the name Pytho. For the men of those days used *pythesthai* for the verb "to rot," and hence Homer in his poem says that the island of the Sirens was full of bones, because the men who heard their singing rotted (*epythonto*).

[10.6.6] The poets say that the victim of Apollo was a dragon posted by Earth to be a guard for the oracle. It is also said that he was a violent son of Crius, a man with authority around Euboea. He pillaged the sanctuary of the god, and he also pillaged the houses of rich men. But when he was making a second expedition, the Delphians besought Apollo to keep from them the danger that threatened them.

[10.6.7] Phemonoe, the prophetess of that day, gave them an oracle in hexameter verse:—

At close quarters a grievous arrow shall Apollo shoot
At the spoiler of Parnassus; and of his blood-guilt
The Cretans shall cleanse his hands; but the renown shall never die.

[10.7.1] VII. It seems that from the beginning the sanctuary at Delphi has been plotted against by a vast number of men. Attacks were made against it by this Euboean pirate, and years afterwards by the Phlegyan nation; furthermore by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, by a portion of the army of Xerxes, by the Phocian chieftains, whose attacks on the wealth of the god were the longest and fiercest, and by the Gallic invaders. It was fated too that Delphi was to suffer from the universal irreverence of Nero, who robbed Apollo of five hundred bronze statues, some of gods, some of men.

PYTHIAN GAMES, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[10.7.2] The oldest contest and the one for which they first offered prizes was, according to tradition, the singing of a hymn to the god. The man who sang and won the prize was Chrysothemis of Crete, whose father Carmanor is said to have cleansed Apollo. After Chrysothemis, says tradition, Philammon won with a song, and after him his son Thamyras. But they say that Orpheus, a proud man and conceited about his mysteries, and Musaeus, who copied Orpheus in everything, refused to submit to the competition in musical skill.

[10.7.3] They say too that Eleuther won a Pythian victory for his loud and sweet voice, for the song that he sang was not of his own composition. The

story is that Hesiod too was debarred from competing because he had not learned to accompany his own singing on the harp. Homer too came to Delphi to inquire about his needs, but even though he had learned to play the harp, he would have found the skill useless owing to the loss of his eye-sight.

PYTHIAN GAMES, HISTORY

[10.7.4] In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, at which Glaucias of Crotona was victorious, the Amphictyons held contests for harping as from the beginning, but added competitions for flute-playing and for singing to the flute. The conquerors proclaimed were Melampus, a Cephallenian, for harping, and Echembrotus, an Arcadian, for singing to the flute, with Sacadas of Argos for flute-playing. This same Sacadas won victories at the next two Pythian festivals.

[10.7.5] On that occasion they also offered for the first time prizes for athletes, the competitions being the same as those at Olympia, except the four-horse chariot, and the Delphians themselves added to the contests running-races for boys, the long course and the double course. At the second Pythian Festival they no longer offered prizes for events, and hereafter gave a crown for victory. On this occasion they no longer included singing to the flute, thinking that the music was ill-omened to listen to. For the tunes of the flute were most dismal, and the words sung to the tunes were lamentations.

[10.7.6] What I say is confirmed by the votive offering of Echembrotus, a bronze tripod dedicated to the Heracles at Thebes. The tripod has as its inscription:—

Echembrotus of Arcadia dedicated this pleasant gift to Heracles
When he won a victory at the games of the Amphictyons,
Singing for the Greeks tunes and lamentations.

In this way the competition in singing to the flute was dropped. But they added a chariot-race, and Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race.

[10.7.7] At the eighth Pythian Festival they added a contest for harpists playing without singing; Agelaus of Tegea was crowned. At the twenty-third Pythian Festival they added a race in armour. For this Timaenetus of Phlius won the laurel, five Olympiads after Damaretus of Heraea was victorious. At the forty-eighth Pythian Festival they established a race for two-horse chariots, and the chariot won of Excestides the Phocian. At the fifth Festival after this they yoked foals to a chariot, and the chariot of Orphondas of Thebes came in first.

[10.7.8] The pancratium for boys, a race for a chariot drawn by two foals, and a race for ridden foals, were many years afterwards introduced from Elis. The first was brought in at the sixty-first Pythian Festival, and Iolaidas of Thebes was victorious. At the next Festival but one they held a race for a ridden foal,

and at the sixty-ninth Festival a race for a chariot drawn by two foals; the victor proclaimed for the former was Lycormas of Larisa, for the latter Ptolemy the Macedonian. For the kings of Egypt liked to be called Macedonians, as in fact they were.

The reason why a crown of laurel is the prize for a Pythian victory is in my opinion simply and solely because the prevailing tradition has it that Apollo fell in love with the daughter of Ladon.

AMPHITYONIC LEAGUE, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[10.8.1] VIII. Some are of opinion that the assembly of the Greeks that meets at Delphi was established by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, and that the delegates were styled Amphictyons after him. But Androtion, in his history of Attica, says that originally the councillors came to Delphi from the neighboring states, that the deputies were styled Amphictions (neighbors), but that as time went on their modern name prevailed.

[10.8.2] They say that Amphictyon himself summoned to the common assembly the following tribes of the Greek people: — Ionians, Dolopes, Thessalians, Aenianians, Magnesians, Malians, Phthiotians, Dorians, Phocians, Locrians who border on Phocis, living at the bottom of Mount Cnemis.

AMPHICTYONIC LEAGUE, HISTORY

But when the Phocians seized the sanctuary, and the war came to an end nine years afterwards, there came a change in the Amphictyonic League. The Macedonians managed to enter it, while the Phocian nation and a section of the Dorians, namely the Lacedaemonians, lost their membership, the Phocians because of their rash crime, the Lacedaemonians as a penalty for allying themselves with the Phocians.

[10.8.3] When Brennus led the Gallic army against Delphi, no Greeks showed greater zeal for the war than the Phocians, and for this conduct of theirs recovered their membership of the League, as well as their old reputation. The emperor Augustus willed that the Nicopolitans, whose city is near Actium, should be members of the Amphictyonic League, that the Magnesians moreover and the Malians, together with the Aenianians and Phthiotians, should be numbered with the Thessalians, and that all their votes, together with those of the Dolopes, who were no longer a separate people, should be assigned to the Nicopolitans.

[10.8.4] The Amphictyons to-day number thirty. Nicopolis, Macedonia and Thessaly each send six deputies; the Boeotians, who in more ancient days inhabited Thessaly and were then called Aeolians, the Phocians and the Delphians, each send two; ancient Doris sends one.

[10.8.5] The Ozolian Locrians, and the Locrians opposite Euboea, send one each; there is also one from Euboea. Of the Peloponnesians, the Argives,

Sicyonians, Corinthians and Megarians send one, as Nicopolis send deputies to every meeting of the Amphictyonic League; but each city of the nations mentioned has the privilege of sending members in turn after the lapse of periodic intervals.

DELPHI

[10.8.6] When you enter the city you see temples in a row. The first of them was in ruins, and the one next to it had neither images nor statues. The third had statues of a few Roman emperors; the fourth is called the temple of Athena Forethought. Of its two images the one in the fore-temple is a votive offering of the Massiliots, and is larger than the one inside the temple. The Massiliots are a colony of Phocaea in Ionia, and their city was founded by some of those who ran away from Phocaea when attacked by Harpagus the Persian. They proved superior to the Carthaginians in a sea war, acquired the territory they now hold, and reached great prosperity.

[10.8.7] The votive offering of the Massiliots is of bronze. The gold shield given to Athena Forethought by Croesus the Lydian was said by the Delphians to have been stolen by Philomelus. Near the sanctuary of Forethought is a precinct of the hero Phylacus. This Phylacus is reported by the Delphians to have defended them at the time of the Persian invasion.

[10.8.8] They say that in the open part of the gymnasium there once grew a wild wood, and that Odysseus, when as the guest of Autolycus he was hunting with the sons of Autolycus, received here from the wild boar the wound above the knee. Turning to the left from the gymnasium and going down not more, I think, than three stades, you come to a river named Pleistus. This Pleistus descends to Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and flows into the sea there.

[10.8.9] Ascending from the gymnasium along the way to the sanctuary you reach, on the right of the way, the water of Castalia, which is sweet to drink and pleasant to bathe in. Some say that the spring was named after a native woman, others after a man called Castalius. But Panyassis, son of Polyarchus, who composed an epic poem on Heracles, says that Castalia was a daughter of Achelous. For about Heracles he says:—

Crossing with swift feet snowy Parnassus he reached the immortal water of Castalia, daughter of Achelous. Panyassis, work unknown

[10.8.10] I have heard another account, that the water was a gift to Castalia from the river Cephissus. So Alcaeus has it in his prelude to Apollo. The strongest confirmation of this view is a custom of the Lilaeans, who on certain specified days throw into the spring of the Cephissus cakes of the district and other things ordained by use, and it is said that these reappear in Castalia.

[10.9.1] IX. The city of Delphi, both the sacred enclosure of Apollo and the city generally, lies altogether on sloping ground. The enclosure is very large, and is on the highest part of the city. Passages run through it, close to one another. I will mention which of the votive offerings seemed to me most worthy of notice.

[10.9.2] The athletes and competitors in music that the majority of mankind have neglected, are, I think, scarcely worthy of serious attention; and the athletes who have left a reputation behind them I have set forth in my account of Elis. There is a statue at Delphi of Phaylus of Crotona. He won no victory at Olympia, but his victories at Pytho were two in the pentathlum and one in the foot-race. He also fought at sea against the Persian, in a ship of his own, equipped by himself and manned by citizens of Crotona who were staying in Greece.

[10.9.3] Such is the story of the athlete of Crotona. On entering the enclosure you come to a bronze bull, a votive offering of the Corcyraeans made by Theopropus of Aegina. The story is that in Corcyra a bull, leaving the cows, would go down from the pasture and bellow on the shore. As the same thing happened every day, the herdsman went down to the sea and saw a countless number of tunny-fish.

[10.9.4] He reported the matter to the Corcyraeans, who, finding their labour lost in trying to catch the tunnies, sent envoys to Delphi. So they sacrificed the bull to Poseidon, and straightway after the sacrifice they caught the fish, and dedicated their offerings at Olympia and at Delphi with a tithe of their catch.

[10.9.5] Next to this are offerings of the Tegeans from spoils of the Lacedaemonians: an Apollo, a Victory, the heroes of the country, Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, Arcas, who gave Arcadia its name, Elatus, Apeidas, and Azan, the sons of Arcas, and also Triphylus. The mother of this Triphylus was not Erato, but Laodameia, the daughter of Amyclas, king of Lacedaemon. There is also a statue dedicated of Erasmus, son of Triphylus.

[10.9.6] They who made the images are as follows: The Apollo and Callisto were made by Pausanias of Apollonia; the Victory and the likeness of Arcas by Daedalus of Sicyon; Triphylus and Azan by Samolas the Arcadian; Elatus, Apeidas and Erasmus by Antiphanes of Argos. These offerings were sent by the Tegeans to Delphi after they took prisoners the Lacedaemonians that attacked their city.

[10.9.7] Opposite these are offerings of the Lacedaemonians from spoils of the Athenians: the Dioscuri, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and beside these Poseidon, Lysander, son of Aristocritus, represented as being crowned by Poseidon, Agias, soothsayer to Lysander on the occasion of his victory, and Hermon, who steered his flag-ship.

[10.9.8] This statue of Hermon was not unnaturally made by Theocosmus of Megara, who had been enrolled as a citizen of that city. The Dioscuri were made by Antiphanes of Argos; the soothsayer by Pison, from Calauria, in the territory of Troezen; the Artemis, Poseidon and also Lysander by Dameas; the Apollo and Zeus by Athenodorus. The last two artists were Arcadians from Cleitor.

[10.9.9] Behind the offerings enumerated are statues of those who, whether

Spartans or Spartan allies, assisted Lysander at Aegospotami. They are these:—Aracus of Lacedaemon, Erianthes a Boeotian . . . above Mimas, whence came Astycrates, Cephisocles, Hermophantus and Hicesius of Chios; Timarchus and Diagoras of Rhodes; Theodamus of Cnidus; Cimmerius of Ephesus and Aeantides of Miletus.

[10.9.10] These were made by Tisander, but the next were made by Alypus of Sicyon, namely:—Theopompus the Myndian, Cleomedes of Samos, the two Euboeans Aristocles of Carystus and Autonomus of Eretria, Aristophantus of Corinth, Apollodorus of Troezen, and Dion from Epidaurus in Argolis. Next to these come the Achaean Axionicus from Pellene, Theares of Hermion, Pyrrhias the Phocian, Comon of Megara, Agasimenes of Sicyon, Telycrates the Leucadian, Pythodotus of Corinth and Euantidas the Ambraciot; last come the Lacedaemonians Epicydidas and Eteonicus. These, they say, are works of Patrocles and Canachus.

[10.9.11] The Athenians refuse to confess that their defeat at Aegospotami was fairly inflicted, maintaining that they were betrayed by Tydeus and Adeimantus, their generals, who had been bribed, they say, with money by Lysander. As a proof of this assertion they quote the following oracle of the Sibyl:—

And then on the Athenians will be laid grievous troubles
By Zeus the high-thunderer, whose might is the greatest,
On the war-ships battle and fighting,
As they are destroyed by treacherous tricks, through the baseness of the captains.

The other evidence that they quote is taken from the oracles of Musaeus:—

For on the Athenians comes a wild rain
Through the baseness of their leaders, but some consolation will there be
For the defeat; they shall not escape the notice of the city, but shall pay the penalty.

[10.9.12] So much for this belief. The struggle for the district called Thyrea between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives was also foretold by the Sibyl, who said that the battle would be drawn. But the Argives claimed that they had the better of the engagement, and sent to Delphi a bronze horse, supposed to be the wooden horse of Troy. It is the work of Antiphanes of Argos.

[10.10.1] X. On the base below the wooden horse is an inscription which says that the statues were dedicated from a tithe of the spoils taken in the engagement at Marathon. They represent Athena, Apollo, and Miltiades, one of the generals. Of those called heroes there are Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochus, son of Heracles by Meda, daughter of Phylas, as well as Aegeus and Acamas, one of the sons of Theseus. These heroes gave names, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, to tribes at Athens. Codrus however,

the son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Neleus, these are not givers of names to tribes.

[10.10.2] The statues enumerated were made by Pheidias, and really are a tithe of the spoils of the battle. But the statues of Antigonus, of his son Demetrius, and of Ptolemy the Egyptian, were sent to Delphi by the Athenians afterwards. The statue of the Egyptian they sent out of good-will; those of the Macedonians were sent because of the dread that they inspired.

[10.10.3] Near the horse are also other votive offerings of the Argives, likenesses of the captains of those who with Polyneices made war on Thebes: Adrastus, the son of Talaus, Tydeus, son of Oeneus, the descendants of Proetus, namely, Capaneus, son of Hipponous, and Eteoclus, son of Iphis, Polyneices, and Hippomedon, son of the sister of Adrastus. Near is represented the chariot of Amphiaras, and in it stands Baton, a relative of Amphiaras who served as his charioteer. The last of them is Alitherses.

[10.10.4] These are works of Hypatodorus and Aristogeiton, who made them, as the Argives themselves say, from the spoils of the victory which they and their Athenian allies won over the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe in Argive territory. From spoils of the same action, it seems to me, the Argives set up statues of those whom the Greeks call the Epigoni. For there stand statues of these also, Sthenelus, Alcmaeon, who I think was honored before Amphilocheus on account of his age, Promachus also, Thersander, Aegialeus and Diomedes. Between Diomedes and Aegialeus is Euryalus.

[10.10.5] Opposite them are other statues, dedicated by the Argives who helped the Thebans under Epaminondas to found Messene. The statues are of heroes: Danaus, the most powerful king of Argos, and Hypermnestra, for she alone of her sisters kept her hands undefiled. By her side is Lynceus also, and the whole family of them to Heracles, and further back still to Perseus.

[10.10.6] The bronze horses and captive women dedicated by the Tarentines were made from spoils taken from the Messapians, a non-Greek people bordering on the territory of Tarentum, and are works of Ageladas the Argive. Tarentum is a colony of the Lacedaemonians, and its founder was Phalanthus, a Spartan. On setting out to found a colony Phalanthus received an oracle from Delphi, declaring that when he should feel rain under a cloudless sky (*aethra*), he would then win both a territory and a city.

[10.10.7] At first he neither examined the oracle himself nor informed one of his interpreters, but came to Italy with his ships. But when, although he won victories over the barbarians, he succeeded neither in taking a city nor in making himself master of a territory, he called to mind the oracle, and thought that the god had foretold an impossibility. For never could rain fall from a clear and cloudless sky. When he was in despair, his wife, who had accompanied him from home, among other endearments placed her husband's head between her knees and began to pick out the lice. And it chanced that the wife, such was her affection, wept as she saw her husband's fortunes coming to nothing.

[10.10.8] As her tears fell in showers, and she wetted the head of Phalanthus, he realized the meaning of the oracle, for his wife's name was Aethra. And so on that night he took from the barbarians Tarentum, the largest and most prosperous city on the coast. They say that Taras the hero was a son of Poseidon by a nymph of the country, and that after this hero were named both the city and the river. For the river, just like the city, is called Taras.

[10.11.1] XI. Near the votive offering of the Tarentines is a treasury of the Sicyonians, but there is no treasure to be seen either here or in any other of the treasuries. The Cnidians brought the following images to Delphi: Triopas, founder of Cnidus, standing by a horse, Leto, and Apollo and Artemis shooting arrows at Tityos, who has already been wounded in the body.

[10.11.2] These stand by the treasury of the Sicyonians. The Siphnians too made a treasury, the reason being as follows. Their island contained gold mines, and the god ordered them to pay a tithe of the revenues to Delphi. So they built the treasury, and continued to pay the tithe until greed made them omit the tribute, when the sea flooded their mines and hid them from sight.

[10.11.3] The people of Lipara too dedicated statues to commemorate a naval victory over the Etruscans. These people were colonists from Cnidus, and the leader of the colony is said to have been a Cnidian, whose name was Pentathlus according to a statement made by the Syracusan Antiochus, son of Xenophanes, in his history of Sicily. He says also that they built a city on Cape Pachynum in Sicily, but were hard pressed in a war with the Elymi and Phoenicians, and driven out, but occupied the islands, from which they expelled the inhabitants if they were not still uninhabited, still called, as they are called by Homer, the Islands of Aeolus.

[10.11.4] Of these islands they dwell in Lipara, on which they built a city, but Hieria, Strongyle and Didymae they cultivate, crossing to them in ships. On Strongyle fire is to be seen rising out of the ground, while in Hieria fire of its own accord bursts out on the summit of the island, and by the sea are baths, comfortable enough if the water receive you kindly, but if not, painful to enter because of the heat.

[10.11.5] The Thebans have a treasury built from the spoils of war, and so have the Athenians. Whether the Cnidians built to commemorate a victory or to display their prosperity I do not know, but the Theban treasury was made from the spoils taken at the battle of Leuctra, and the Athenian treasury from those taken from the army that landed with Datis at Marathon. The inhabitants of Cleonae were, like the Athenians, afflicted with the plague, and obeying an oracle from Delphi sacrificed a he-goat to the sun while it was still rising. This put an end to the trouble, and so they sent a bronze he-goat to Apollo. The Syracusans have a treasury built from the spoils taken in the great Athenian disaster, the Potidaeans in Thrace built one to show their piety to the god.

[10.11.6] The Athenians also built a portico out of the spoils they took in their war against the Peloponnesians and their Greek allies. There are also

dedicated the figure-heads of ships and bronze shields. The inscription on them enumerates the cities from which the Athenians sent the first-fruits: Elis, Lacedaemon, Sicyon, Megara, Pellene in Achaia, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth itself. It also says that from the spoils taken in these sea-battles a sacrifice was offered to Theseus and to Poseidon at the cape called Rhium. It seems to me that the inscription refers to Phormio, son of Asopichus, and to his achievements.

THE SIBYLS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[10.12.1] XII. There is a rock rising up above the ground. On it, say the Delphians, there stood and chanted the oracles a woman, by name Herophile and surnamed Sibyl. The former Sibyl I find was as ancient as any; the Greeks say that she was a daughter of Zeus by Lamia, daughter of Poseidon, that she was the first woman to chant oracles, and that the name Sibyl was given her by the Libyans.

[10.12.2] Herophile was younger than she was, but nevertheless she too was clearly born before the Trojan war, as she foretold in her oracles that Helen would be brought up in Sparta to be the ruin of Asia and of Europe, and that for her sake the Greeks would capture Troy. The Delians remember also a hymn this woman composed to Apollo. In her poem she calls herself not only Herophile but also Artemis, and the wedded wife of Apollo, saying too sometimes that she is his sister, and sometimes that she is his daughter.

[10.12.3] These statements she made in her poetry when in a frenzy and possessed by the god. Elsewhere in her oracles she states that her mother was an immortal, one of the nymphs of Ida, while her father was a human. These are the verses:—

I am by birth half mortal, half divine;
An immortal nymph was my mother, my father an eater of corn;
On my mother's side of Idaean birth, but my fatherland was red
Marpessus, sacred to the Mother, and the river Aidoneus.

[10.12.4] Even to-day there remain on Trojan Ida the ruins of the city Marpessus, with some sixty inhabitants. All the land around Marpessus is reddish and terribly parched, so that the light and porous nature of Ida in this place is in my opinion the reason why the river Aidoneus sinks into the ground, rises to sink once more, finally disappearing altogether beneath the earth. Marpessus is two hundred and forty stades distant from Alexandria in the Troad.

[10.12.5] The inhabitants of this Alexandria say that Herophile became the attendant of the temple of Apollo Smintheus, and that on the occasion of Hecuba's dream she uttered the prophecy which we know was actually fulfilled. This Sibyl passed the greater part of her life in Samos, but she also visited Clarus in the territory of Colophon, Delos and Delphi. Whenever she

visited Delphi, she would stand on this rock and sing her chants.

[10.12.6] However, death came upon her in the Troad, and her tomb is in the grove of the Sminthian with these elegiac verses inscribed upon the tombstone:—

Here I am, the plain-speaking Sibyl of Phoebus,
Hidden beneath this stone tomb.
A maiden once gifted with voice, but now for ever voiceless,
By hard fate doomed to this fetter.
But I am buried near the nymphs and this Hermes,
Enjoying in the world below a part of the kingdom I had then.

The Hermes stands by the side of the tomb, a square-shaped figure of stone. On the left is water running down into a well, and the images of the nymphs.

[10.12.7] The Erythraeans, who are more eager than any other Greeks to lay claim to Herophile, adduce as evidence a mountain called Mount Corycus with a cave in it, saying that Herophile was born in it, and that she was a daughter of Theodorus, a shepherd of the district, and of a nymph. They add that the surname Idaean was given to the nymph simply because the men of those days called idai places that were thickly wooded. The verse about Marpeesus and the river Aidoneus is cut out of the oracles by the Erythraeans.

[10.12.8] The next woman to give oracles in the same way, according to Hyperochus of Cumae, a historian, was called Demo, and came from Cumae in the territory of the Opici. The Cumaeans can point to no oracle given by this woman, but they show a small stone urn in a sanctuary of Apollo, in which they say are placed the bones of the Sibyl.

[10.12.9] Later than Demo there grew up among the Hebrews above Palestine a woman who gave oracles and was named Sabbe. They say that the father of Sabbe was Berosus, and her mother Erymanthe. But some call her a Babylonian Sibyl, others an Egyptian.

[10.12.10] Phaennis, daughter of a king of the Chaonians, and the Peleiae (Doves) at Dodona also gave oracles under the inspiration of a god, but they were not called by men Sibyls. To learn the date of Phaennis and to read her oracles . . . for Phaennis was born when Antiochus was establishing his kingship immediately after the capture of Demetrius. The Peleiaes are said to have been born still earlier than Phemonoe, and to have been the first women to chant these verses:—

Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be; O mighty Zeus.
Earth sends up the harvest, therefore sing the praise of earth as Mother.

[10.12.11] It is said that the men who uttered oracles were Euclus of Cyprus, the Athenians Musaeus, son of Antiophemus, and Lycus, son of Pandion, and also Baxis, a Boeotian who was possessed by nymphs. I have read the oracles

of all these except those of Lycus.

These are the women and men who, down to the present day, are said to have been the mouthpiece by which a god prophesied. But time is long, and perhaps similar things may occur again.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONT.

[10.13.1] XIII. A bronze head of the Paeonian bull called the bison was sent to Delphi by the Paeonian king Dropion, son of Leon. These bisons are the most difficult beasts to capture alive, and no nets could be made strong enough to hold out against their rush. They are hunted in the following manner. When the hunters have found a place sinking to a hollow, they first strengthen it all round with a stout fence, and then they cover the slope and the level part at the end with fresh skins, or, if they should chance to be without skins, they make dry hides slippery with olive oil.

[10.13.2] Next their best riders drive the bisons together into the place I have described. These at once slip on the first skins and roll down the slope until they reach the level ground, where at the first they are left to lie. On about the fourth or fifth day, when the beasts have lost most of their spirit through hunger and distress,

[10.13.3] those of the hunters who are professional tamers bring to them as they lie fruit of the cultivated pine, first peeling off the inner husk; for the moment the beasts would touch no other food. Finally they tie ropes round them and lead them off.

[10.13.4] This is the way in which the bisons are caught. Opposite the bronze head of the bison is a statue of a man wearing a breastplate, on which is a cloak. The Delphians say that it is an offering of the Andrians, and a portrait of Andreus, their founder. The images of Apollo, Athena, and Artemis were dedicated by the Phocians from the spoils taken from the Thessalians, their enemies always, who are their neighbors except where the Epicnemidian Locrians come between.

[10.13.5] The Thessalians too of Pharsalus dedicated an Achilles on horseback, with Patroclus running beside his horse: the Macedonians living in Dium, a city at the foot of Mount Pieria, the Apollo who has taken hold of the deer; the people of Cyrene, a Greek city in Libya, the chariot with an image of Ammon in it. The Dorians of Corinth too built a treasury, where used to be stored the gold from Lydia.

[10.13.6] The image of Heracles is a votive offering of the Thebans, sent when they had fought what is called the Sacred War against the Phocians. There are also bronze statues, which the Phocians dedicated when they had put to flight the Thessalian cavalry in the second engagement. The Phliasians brought to Delphi a bronze Zeus, and with the Zeus an image of Aegina. The Mantineans of Arcadia dedicated a bronze Apollo, which stands near the treasury of the Corinthians.

[10.13.7] Heracles and Apollo are holding on to the tripod, and are preparing

to fight about it. Leto and Artemis are calming Apollo, and Athena is calming Heracles. This too is an offering of the Phocians, dedicated when Tellias of Elis led them against the Thessalians. Athena and Artemis were made by Chionis, the other images are works shared by Diyllus and Amyclaeus. They are said to be Corinthians.

[10.13.8] The Delphians say that when Heracles the son of Amphitryon came to the oracle, the prophetess Xenocleia refused to give a response on the ground that he was guilty of the death of Iphitus. Whereupon Heracles took up the tripod and carried it out of the temple. Then the prophetess said:–

Then there was another Heracles, of Tiryns, not the Canopian.

For before this the Egyptian Heracles had visited Delphi. On the occasion to which I refer the son of Amphitryon restored the tripod to Apollo, and was told by Xenocleia all he wished to know. The poets adopted the story, and sing about a fight between Heracles and Apollo for a tripod.

[10.13.9] The Greeks in common dedicated from the spoils taken at the battle of Plataea a gold tripod set on a bronze serpent. The bronze part of the offering is still preserved, but the Phocian leaders did not leave the gold as they did the bronze.

[10.13.10] The Tarentines sent yet another tithe to Delphi from spoils taken from the Peucetii, a non-Greek people. The offerings are the work of Onatas the Aeginetan, and Ageladas the Argive, and consist of statues of footmen and horsemen – Opis, king of the Iapygians, come to be an ally to the Peucetii. Opis is represented as killed in the fighting, and on his prostrate body stand the hero Taras and Phalanthus of Lacedaemon, near whom is a dolphin. For they say that before Phalanthus reached Italy, he suffered shipwreck in the Crisaean sea, and was brought ashore by a dolphin.

[10.14.1] XIV. The axes were dedicated by Periclytus, son of Euthymachus, a man of Tenedos, and allude to an old story. Cynus, they say, was a son of Poseidon, and ruled as king in Colonaë, a city in the Troad situated opposite the island Leucophrys.

[10.14.2] He had a daughter, by name Hemitheia, and a son, called Tennes, by Procleia, who was a daughter of Clytius and a sister of Caletor. Homer in the *Iliad* says that this Caletor, as he was putting the fire under the ship of Protesilaus, was killed by Ajax. Procleia died before Cynus, and his second wife, Philonome, daughter of Cragasus, fell in love with Tennes. Rejected by him she falsely accused him before her husband, saying that he had made love to her, and she had rejected him. Cynus was deceived by the trick, placed Tennes with his sister in a chest and launched it out to sea.

[10.14.3] The young people came safely to the island Leucophrys, and the island was given its present name from Tennes. Cynus, however, was not to remain for ever ignorant of the trick, and sailed to his son to confess his ignorance and to ask for pardon for his mistake. He put in at the island and fastened the cables of his ship to something – a rock or a tree – but Tennes in a passion cut them adrift with an axe.

[10.14.4] For this reason a by-word has arisen, which is used of those who make a stern refusal: "So and so has cut whatever it may be with an axe of Tenedos." The Greeks say that while Tennes was defending his country he was killed by Achilles. In course of time weakness compelled the people of Tenedos to merge themselves with the Alexandrians on the Troad mainland.

[10.14.5] The Greeks who fought against the king, besides dedicating at Olympia a bronze Zeus, dedicated also an Apollo at Delphi, from spoils taken in the naval actions at Artemisium and Salamis. There is also a story that Themistocles came to Delphi bringing with him for Apollo some of the Persian spoils. He asked whether he should dedicate them within the temple, but the Pythian priestess bade him carry them from the sanctuary altogether. The part of the oracle referring to this runs as follows:—

The splendid beauty of the Persian's spoils
Set not within my temple. Despatch them home speedily.

[10.14.6] Now I greatly marveled that it was from Themistocles alone that the priestess refused to accept Persian spoils. Some thought that the god would have rejected alike all offerings from Persian spoils, if like Themistocles the others had inquired of Apollo before making their dedication. Others said that the god knew that Themistocles would become a suppliant of the Persian king, and refused to take the gifts so that Themistocles might not by a dedication render the Persian's enmity unappeasable. The expedition of the barbarian against Greece we find foretold in the oracles of Bacis, and Euclus wrote his verses about it at an even earlier date.

[10.14.7] Near the great altar is a bronze wolf, an offering of the Delphians themselves. They say that a fellow robbed the god of some treasure, and kept himself and the gold hidden at the place on Mount Parnassus where the forest is thickest. As he slept a wolf attacked and killed him, and every day went to the city and howled. When the people began to realize that the matter was not without the direction of heaven, they followed the beast and found the sacred gold. So to the god they dedicated a bronze wolf.

[10.15.1] XV. A gilt statue of Phryne was made by Praxiteles, one of her lovers, but it was Phryne herself who dedicated the statue. The offerings next to Phryne include two images of Apollo, one dedicated from Persian spoils by the Epidaurians of Argolis, the other dedicated by the Megarians to commemorate a victory over the Athenians at Nisaea. The Plataeans have dedicated an ox, an offering made at the time when, in their own territory, they took part, along with the other Greeks, in the defence against Mardonius, the son of Gobryas. Then there are another two images of Apollo, one dedicated by the citizens of Heracleia on the Euxine, the other by the Amphictyons when they fined the Phocians for tilling the territory of the god.

[10.15.2] The second Apollo the Delphians call Sitalcas, and he is thirty-five cubits high. The Aetolians have statues of most of their generals, and images of Artemis, Athena and two of Apollo, dedicated after their conclusion of the

war against the Gauls. That the Celtic army would cross from Europe to Asia to destroy the cities there was prophesied by Phaennis in her oracles a generation before the invasion occurred:—

[10.15.3]

Then verily, having crossed the narrow strait of the Hellespont,
The devastating host of the Gauls shall pipe; and lawlessly
They shall ravage Asia; and much worse shall God do
To those who dwell by the shores of the sea
For a short while. For right soon the son of Cronos
Shall raise them a helper, the dear son of a bull reared by Zeus,
Who on all the Gauls shall bring a day of destruction.

By the son of a bull she meant Attalus, king of Pergamus, who was also styled bull-horned by an oracle.

[10.15.4] Statues of cavalry leaders, mounted on horses, were dedicated in Apollo's sanctuary by the Pheraeans after routing the Attic cavalry.

The bronze palm-tree, as well as a gilt image of Athena on it, was dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils they took in their two successes on the same day at the Eurymedon, one on land, and the other with their fleet on the river. The gold on this image was, I noticed, damaged in parts.

[10.15.5] I myself put the blame on rogues and thieves. But Cleitodemus, the oldest writer to describe the customs of the Athenians, says in his account of Attica that when the Athenians were preparing the Sicilian expedition a vast flock of crows swooped on Delphi, pecked this image all over, and with their beaks tore away its gold. He says that the crows also broke off the spear, the owls, and the imitation fruit on the palm-tree.

[10.15.6] Cleitodemus describes other omens that told the Athenians to beware of sailing against Sicily. The Cyrenaeans have dedicated at Delphi a figure of Battus in a chariot; he it was who brought them in ships from Thera to Libya. The reins are held by Cyrene, and in the chariot is Battus, who is being crowned by Libya. The artist was a Cnossian, Amphion the son of Acestor.

[10.15.7] It is said that, after Battus had founded Cyrene, he was cured of his stammering in the following way. As he was passing through the territory of the Cyrenaeans, in the extreme parts of it, as yet desert, he saw a lion, and the terror of the sight compelled him to cry out in a clear and loud voice. Not far from the Battus the Amphictyons have set up yet another Apollo from the fine they inflicted on the Phocians for their sin against the god.

[10.16.1] XVI. Of the offerings sent by the Lydian kings I found nothing remaining except the iron stand of the bowl of Alyattes. This is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the man who discovered how to weld iron. Each plate of the stand is fastened to another, not by bolts or rivets, but by the welding, which is the only thing that fastens and holds together the iron.

[10.16.2] The shape of the stand is very like that of a tower, wider at the bottom and rising to a narrow top. Each side of the stand is not solid

throughout, but the iron cross-strips are placed like the rungs of a ladder. The upright iron plates are turned outwards at the top, so forming a seat for the bowl.

[10.16.3] What is called the Omphalus (Navel) by the Delphians is made of white marble, and is said by the Delphians to be the center of all the earth. Pindar in one of his odes supports their view.

[10.16.4] There is here an offering of the Lacedaemonians, made by Calamis, depicting Hermione, daughter of Menelaus, who married Orestes, son of Agamemnon, having previously been wedded to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. The Aetolians have dedicated a statue of Eurydamus, general of the Aetolians, who was their leader in the war against the army of the Gauls.

[10.16.5] On the mountains of Crete there is still in my time a city called Elyrus. Now the citizens sent to Delphi a bronze goat, which is suckling the babies, Phylacides and Philander. The Elyrians say that these were children of Apollo by the nymph Acacallis, and that Apollo mated with Acacallis in the house of Carmanor in the city of Tarrha.

[10.16.6] The Euboeans of Carystus too set up in the sanctuary of Apollo a bronze ox, from spoils taken in the Persian war. The Carystians and the Plataeans dedicated oxen, I believe, because, having repulsed the barbarian, they had won a secure prosperity, and especially a land free to plough. The Aetolian nation, having subdued their neighbors the Acarnanians, sent statues of generals and images of Apollo and Artemis.

[10.16.7] I learnt a very strange thing that happened to the Liparaeans in a war with the Etruscans. For the Liparaeans were bidden by the Pythian priestess to engage the Etruscans with the fewest possible ships. So they put out against the Etruscans with five triremes. Their enemies, refusing to admit that their seamanship was unequal to that of the Liparaeans, went out to meet them with an equal number of ships. These the Liparaeans captured, as they did a second five that came out against them, overcoming too a third squadron of five, and likewise a fourth. So they dedicated at Delphi images of Apollo equal in number to the ships that they had captured.

[10.16.8] Echecratides of Larisa dedicated the small Apollo, said by the Delphians to have been the very first offering to be set up.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONT.

[10.17.1] XVII. Of the non-Greeks in the west, the people of Sardinia have sent a bronze statue of him after whom they are called. In size and prosperity Sardinia is the equal of the most celebrated islands. What the ancient name was that the natives give it I do not know, but those of the Greeks who sailed there to trade called it Ichnussa, because the shape of the island is very like a man's footprint (ichnos). Its length is one thousand one hundred and twenty stades, and its breadth extends to four hundred and twenty.

SARDINIA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[10.17.2] The first sailors to cross to the island are said to have been Libyans. Their leader was Sardus, son of Maceris, the Maceris surnamed Heracles by the Egyptians and Libyans. Maceris himself was celebrated chiefly for his journey to Delphi, but Sardus it was who led the Libyans to Ichnussa, and after him the island was renamed. However, the Libyan army did not expel the aboriginals, who received the invaders as settlers through compulsion rather than in goodwill. Neither the Libyans nor the native population knew how to build cities. They dwelt in scattered groups, where chance found them a home in cabins or caves.

[10.17.3] Years after the Libyans, there came to the island from Greece Aristaeus and his followers. Aristaeus is said to have been a son of Apollo and Cyrene, and they say that, deeply grieved by the fate of Actaeon, and vexed alike with Boeotia and the whole of Greece, he migrated to Sardinia.

[10.17.4] Others think that Daedalus too ran away from Camicus on this occasion, because of the invasion of the Cretans, and took a part in the colony that Aristaeus led to Sardinia. But it is nonsense to think that Daedalus, a contemporary of Oedipus, king of Thebes, had a part in a colony or anything else along with Aristaeus, who married Autonoe, the daughter of Cadmus. At any rate, these colonists too founded no city, the reason being, I think, that neither in numbers nor in strength were they capable of the task.

[10.17.5] After Aristaeus the Iberians crossed to Sardinia, under Norax as leader of the expedition, and they founded the city of Nora. The tradition is that this was the first city in the island, and they say that Norax was a son of Erytheia, the daughter of Geryones, with Hermes for his father. A fourth component part of the population was the army of Iolaus, consisting of Thespians and men from Attica, which put in at Sardinia and founded Olbia; by themselves the Athenians founded Ogryle, either in commemoration of one of their parishes in the home-land, or else because one Ogrylus himself took part in the expedition. Be this as it may, there are still today places in Sardinia called Iolaia, and Iolaus is worshipped by the inhabitants.

[10.17.6] When Troy was taken, among those Trojans who fled were those who escaped with Aeneas. A part of them, carried from their course by winds, reached Sardinia and intermarried with the Greeks already settled there. But the non-Greek element were prevented from coming to blows with the Greeks and Trojans, for the two enemies were evenly matched in all warlike equipment, while the river Thorsus, flowing between their territories, made both equally afraid to cross it.

[10.17.7] However, many years afterwards the Libyans crossed again to the island with a stronger army, and began a war against the Greeks. The Greeks were utterly destroyed, or only a few of them survived. The Trojans made their escape to the high parts of the island, and occupied mountains difficult to climb, being precipitous and protected by stakes. Even at the present day they are called Ilians, but in figure, in the fashion of their arms, and in their mode of living generally, they are like the Libyans.

SARDINIA, HISTORY

[10.17.8] Not far distant from Sardinia is an island, called Cynus by the Greeks, but Corsica by the Libyans who inhabit it. A large part of the population, oppressed by civil strife, left it and came to Sardinia; there they took up their abode, confining themselves to the highlands. The Sardinians, however, call them by the name of Corsicans, which they brought with them from home.

[10.17.9] When the Carthaginians were at the height of their sea power, they overcame all in Sardinia except the Ilians and Corsicans, who were kept from slavery by the strength of the mountains. These Carthaginians, like those who preceded them, founded cities in the island, namely, Caralis and Sulci. Some of the Carthaginian mercenaries, either Libyans or Iberians, quarrelled about the booty, mutinied in a passion, and added to the number of the highland settlers. Their name in the Cynian language is Balari, which is the Cynian word for fugitives.

SARDINIA, GEOGRAPHY

[10.17.10] These are the races that dwell in Sardinia, and such was the method of their settlement. The northern part of the island and that towards the mainland of Italy consist of an unbroken chain of impassable mountains. And if you sail along the coast you will find no anchorage on this side of the island, while violent but irregular gusts of wind sweep down to the sea from the tops of the mountains.

[10.17.11] Across the middle of the island runs another chain of mountains, but lower in height. The atmosphere here is on the whole heavy and unwholesome. The reason is partly the salt that crystallizes here, partly the oppressive, violent south wind, and partly the fact that, because of the height of the mountains on the side towards Italy, the north winds are prevented, when they blow in summer, from cooling the atmosphere and the ground here. Others say that the cause is Cynus, which is separated from Sardinia by no more than eight stades of sea, and is hilly and high all over. So they think that Cynus prevents the west wind and the north wind from reaching as far as Sardinia.

[10.17.12] Neither poisonous nor harmless snakes can live in Sardinia, nor yet wolves. The he-goats are no bigger than those found elsewhere, but their shape is that of the wild ram which an artist would carve in Aeginetan style, except that their breasts are too shaggy to liken them to Aeginetan art. Their horns do not stand out away from the head, but curl straight beside the ears. In speed they are the swiftest of all beasts.

[10.17.13] Except for one plant the island is free from poisons. This deadly herb is like celery, and they say that those who eat it die laughing. Wherefore Homer, and men after him, call unwholesome laughter sardonic. The herb grows mostly around springs, but does not impart any of its poison to the water.

I have introduced into my history of Phocis this account of Sardinia, because it is an island about which the Greeks are very ignorant.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONT.

[10.18.1] XVIII. The horse next to the statue of Sardus was dedicated, says the Athenian Callias son of Lysimachides, in the inscription, by Callias himself from spoils he had taken in the Persian war. The Achaeans dedicated an image of Athena after reducing by siege one of the cities of Aetolia, the name of which was Phana. They say that the siege was not a short one, and being unable to take the city, they sent envoys to Delphi, to whom was given the following response:—

[10.18.2]

Dwellers in the land of Pelops and in Achaia, who to Pytho
Have come to inquire how ye shall take a city,
Come, consider what daily ration,
Drunk by the folk, saves the city which has so drunk.
For so ye may take the towered village of Phana.

[10.18.3] So not understanding what was the meaning of the oracle, they were minded to raise the siege and sail away, while the defenders paid no attention to them, one of their women coming from behind the walls to fetch water from the spring just under them. Some of the besiegers ran up and took the woman prisoner, who informed the Achaeans that the scanty water from the spring, that was fetched each night, was rationed among the besieged, who had nothing else to quench their thirst. So the Achaeans, by filling up the spring, captured the town.

[10.18.4] By the side of this Athena the Rhodians of Lindus set up their image of Apollo. The Ambraciots dedicated also a bronze ass, having conquered the Molossians in a night battle. The Molossians had prepared an ambush for them by night. It chanced that an ass, being driven back from the fields, was chasing a she-ass with harsh braying and wanton gait, while the driver of the ass increased the din by his horrible, inarticulate yells. So the men in the Molossian ambush rushed out affrighted, and the Ambraciots, detecting the trap prepared for them, attacked in the night and overcame the Molossians in battle.

[10.18.5] The men of Orneae in Argolis, when hard pressed in war by the Sicyonians, vowed to Apollo that, if they should drive the host of the Sicyonians out of their native land, they would organize a daily procession in his honor at Delphi, and sacrifice victims of a certain kind and of a certain number. Well, they conquered the Sicyonians in battle. But finding the daily fulfillment of their vow a great expense and a still greater trouble, they devised the trick of dedicating to the god bronze figures representing a sacrifice and a procession.

[10.18.6] There is here one of the labours of Heracles, namely, his fight with the hydra. Tisagoras not only dedicated the offering, but also made it. Both the hydra and Heracles are of iron. To make images of iron is a very difficult task, involving great labour. So the work of Tisagoras, whoever he was, is marvellous. Very marvellous too are the heads of a lion and wild boar at Pergamus, also of iron, which were made as offerings to Dionysus.

[10.18.7] The Phocians who live at Elateia, who held their city, with the help of Olympiodorus from Athens, when besieged by Cassander, sent to Apollo at Delphi a bronze lion. The Apollo, very near to the lion, was dedicated by the Massiliots as firstfruits of their naval victory over the Carthaginians. The Aetolians have made a trophy and the image of an armed woman, supposed to represent Aetolia. These were dedicated by the Aetolians when they had punished the Gauls for their cruelty to the Callians. A gilt statue, offered by Gorgias of Leontini, is a portrait of Gorgias himself.

[10.19.1] XIX. Beside the Gorgias is a votive offering of the Amphictyons, representing Scyllis of Scione, who, tradition says, dived into the very deepest parts of every sea. He also taught his daughter Hydna to dive.

[10.19.2] When the fleet of Xerxes was attacked by a violent storm off Mount Pelion, father and daughter completed its destruction by dragging away under the sea the anchors and any other security the triremes had. In return for this deed the Amphictyons dedicated statues of Scyllis and his daughter. The statue of Hydna completed the number of the statues that Nero carried off from Delphi. Only those of the female sex who are pure virgins may dive into the sea.

[10.19.3] I am going on to tell a Lesbian story. Certain fishermen of Methymna found that their nets dragged up to the surface of the sea a face made of olive-wood. Its appearance suggested a touch of divinity, but it was outlandish, and unlike the normal features of Greek gods. So the people of Methymna asked the Pythian priestess of what god or hero the figure was a likeness, and she bade them worship Dionysus Phallen. Whereupon the people of Methymna kept for themselves the wooden image out of the sea, worshipping it with sacrifices and prayers, but sent a bronze copy to Delphi.

TEMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPHI

[10.19.4] The carvings in the pediments are: Artemis, Leto, Apollo, Muses, a setting Sun, and Dionysus together with the Thyiad women. The first of them are the work of Praxias, an Athenian and a pupil of Calamis, but the temple took some time to build, during which Praxias died. So the rest of the ornament in the pediments was carved by Androstenes, like Praxias an Athenian by birth, but a pupil of Eucadmus. There are arms of gold on the architraves; the Athenians dedicated the shields from spoils taken at the battle of Marathon, and the Aetolians the arms, supposed to be Gallic, behind and on the left. Their shape is very like that of Persian wicker shields.

[10.19.5] I have made some mention of the Gallic invasion of Greece in my description of the Athenian Council Chamber. But I have resolved to give a more detailed account of the Gauls in my description of Delphi, because the greatest of the Greek exploits against the barbarians took place there. The Celts conducted their first foreign expedition under the leadership of Cambaules. Advancing as far as Thrace they lost heart and broke off their march, realizing that they were too few in number to be a match for the Greeks.

[10.19.6] But when they decided to invade foreign territory a second time, so great was the influence of Cambaules' veterans, who had tasted the joy of plunder and acquired a passion for robbery and plunder, that a large force of infantry and no small number of mounted men attended the muster. So the army was split up into three divisions by the chieftains, to each of whom was assigned a separate land to invade.

[10.19.7] Cerethrius was to be leader against the Thracians and the nation of the Triballi. The invaders of Paenonia were under the command of Brennus and Acichorius. Bolgius attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians, and engaged in a struggle with Ptolemy, king of the Macedonians at that time. It was this Ptolemy who, though he had taken refuge as a suppliant with Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, treacherously murdered him, and was surnamed Thunderbolt because of his recklessness. Ptolemy himself perished in the fighting, and the Macedonian losses were heavy. But once more the Celts lacked courage to advance against Greece, and so the second expedition returned home.

[10.19.8] It was then that Brennus, both in public meetings and also in personal talks with individual Gallic officers, strongly urged a campaign against Greece, enlarging on the weakness of Greece at the time, on the wealth of the Greek states, and on the even greater wealth in sanctuaries, including votive offerings and coined silver and gold. So he induced the Gauls to march against Greece. Among the officers he chose to be his colleagues was Acichorius.

[10.19.9] The muster of foot amounted to one hundred and fifty-two thousand, with twenty thousand four hundred horse. This was the number of horsemen in action at any one time, but the real number was sixty-one thousand two hundred. For to each horseman were attached two servants, who were themselves skilled riders and, like their masters, had a horse.

[10.19.10] When the Gallic horsemen were engaged, the servants remained behind the ranks and proved useful in the following way. Should a horseman or his horse fall, the slave brought him a horse to mount; if the rider was killed, the slave mounted the horse in his master's place; if both rider and horse were killed, there was a mounted man ready. When a rider was wounded, one slave brought back to camp the wounded man, while the other

took his vacant place in the ranks.

[10.19.11] I believe that the Gauls in adopting these methods copied the Persian regiment of the Ten Thousand, who were called the Immortals. There was, however, this difference. The Persians used to wait until the battle was over before replacing casualties, while the Gauls kept reinforcing the horsemen to their full number during the height of the action. This organization is called in their native speech trimarcisia, for I would have you know that marca is the Celtic name for a horse.

[10.19.12] This was the size of the army, and such was the intention of Brennus, when he attacked Greece. The spirit of the Greeks was utterly broken, but the extremity of their terror forced them to defend Greece. They realized that the struggle that faced them would not be one for liberty, as it was when they fought the Persian, and that giving water and earth would not bring them safety. They still remembered the fate of Macedonia, Thrace and Paeonia during the former incursion of the Gauls, and reports were coming in of enormities committed at that very time on the Thessalians. So every man, as well as every state, was convinced that they must either conquer or perish.

[10.20.1] XX. Any one who so wishes can compare the number of those who mustered to meet king Xerxes at Thermopylae with those who now mustered to oppose the Gauls. To meet the Persians there came Greek contingents of the following strength. Lacedaemonians with Leonidas not more than three hundred; Tegeans five hundred, and five hundred from Mantinea; from Orchomenus in Arcadia a hundred and twenty; from the other cities in Arcadia one thousand; from Mycenae eighty; from Phlius two hundred, and from Corinth twice this number; of the Boeotians there mustered seven hundred from Thespieae and four hundred from Thebes. A thousand Phocians guarded the path on Mount Oeta, and the number of these should be added to the Greek total.

[10.20.2] Herodotus does not give the number of the Locrians under Mount Cnemis, but he does say that each of their cities sent a contingent. It is possible, however, to make an estimate of these also that comes very near to the truth. For not more than nine thousand Athenians marched to Marathon, even if we include those who were too old for active service and slaves; so the number of Locrian fighting men who marched to Thermopylae cannot have exceeded six thousand. So the whole army would amount to eleven thousand two hundred. But it is well known that not even these remained all the time guarding the pass; for if we except the Lacedaemonians, Thespians and Mycenaean, the rest left the field before the conclusion of the fighting.

[10.20.3] To meet the barbarians who came from the Ocean the following Greek forces came to Thermopylae. Of the Boeotians ten thousand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, the Boeotarchs being Cephisodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes and Lysander. From Phocis came five hundred cavalry with footmen three thousand in number. The generals of the Phocians were Critobulus and Antiochus.

[10.20.4] The Locrians over against the island of Atalanta were under the command of Meidias; they numbered seven hundred, and no cavalry was with them. Of the Megarians came four hundred hoplites commanded by Hipponicus of Megara. The Aetolians sent a large contingent, including every class of fighting men; the number of cavalry is not given, but the light-armed were seven hundred and ninety, and their hoplites numbered more than seven thousand. Their leaders were Polyarchus, Polyphron and Lacrates.

[10.20.5] The Athenian general was Callippus, the son of Moerocles, as I have said in an earlier part of my work, and their forces consisted of all their seaworthy triremes, five hundred horse and one thousand foot. Because of their ancient reputation the Athenians held the chief command. The king of Macedonia sent five hundred mercenaries, and the king of Asia a like number; the leader of those sent by Antigonos was Aristodemus, a Macedonian, and Telesarchus, one of the Syrians on the Orontes, commanded the forces that Antiochus sent from Asia.

[10.20.6] When the Greeks assembled at Thermopylae learned that the army of the Gauls was already in the neighborhood of Magnesia and Phthiotis, they resolved to detach the cavalry and a thousand light armed troops and to send them to the Spercheius, so that even the crossing of the river could not be effected by the barbarians without a struggle and risks. On their arrival these forces broke down the bridges and by themselves encamped along the bank. But Brennus himself was not utterly stupid, nor inexperienced, for a barbarian, in devising tricks of strategy.

[10.20.7] So on that very night he despatched some troops to the Spercheius, not to the places where the old bridges had stood, but lower down, where the Greeks would not notice the crossing, and just where the river spread over the plain and made a marsh and lake instead of a narrow, violent stream. Hither Brennus sent some ten thousand Gauls, picking out the swimmers and the tallest men; and the Celts as a race are far taller than any other people.

[10.20.8] So these crossed in the night, swimming over the river where it expands into a lake; each man used his shield, his national buckler, as a raft, and the tallest of them were able to cross the water by wading. The Greeks on the Spercheius, as soon as they learned that a detachment of the barbarians had crossed by the marsh, forthwith retreated to the main army. Brennus ordered the dwellers round the Malian gulf to build bridges across the Spercheius, and they proceeded to accomplish their task with a will, for they were frightened of Brennus, and anxious for the barbarians to go away out of their country instead of staying to devastate it further.

[10.20.9] Brennus brought his army across over the bridges and proceeded to Heracleia. The Gauls plundered the country, and massacred those whom they caught in the fields, but did not capture the city. For a year previous to this the Aetolians had forced Heracleia to join the Aetolian League; so now they defended a city which they considered to belong to them just as much as to the Heracleots.

Brennus did not trouble himself much about Heracleia, but directed his efforts to driving away those opposed to him at the pass, in order to invade Greece south of Thermopylae.

[10.21.1] XXI. Deserters kept Brennus informed about the forces from each city mustered at Thermopylae. So despising the Greek army he advanced from Heracleia, and began the battle at sun-rise on the next day. He had no Greek soothsayer, and made no use of his own country's sacrifices, if indeed the Celts have any art of divination. Whereupon the Greeks attacked silently and in good order. When they came to close quarters, the infantry did not rush out of their line far enough to disturb their proper formation, while the light-armed troops remained in position, throwing javelins, shooting arrows or slinging bullets.

[10.21.2] The cavalry on both sides proved useless, as the ground at the Pass is not only narrow, but also smooth because of the natural rock, while most of it is slippery owing to its being covered with streams. The Gauls were worse armed than the Greeks, having no other defensive armour than their national shields, while they were still more inferior in war experience.

[10.21.3] On they marched against their enemies with the unreasoning fury and passion of brutes. Slashed with axe or sword they kept their desperation while they still breathed; pierced by arrow or javelin, they did not abate of their passion so long as life remained. Some drew out from their wounds the spears, by which they had been hit, and threw them at the Greeks or used them in close fighting.

[10.21.4] Meanwhile the Athenians on the triremes, with difficulty and with danger, nevertheless coasted along through the mud that extends far out to sea, brought their ships as close to the barbarians as possible, and raked them with arrows and every other kind of missile. The Celts were in unspeakable distress, and as in the confined space they inflicted few losses but suffered twice or four times as many, their captains gave the signal to retire to their camp. Retreating in confusion and without any order, many were crushed beneath the feet of their friends, and many others fell into the swamp and disappeared under the mud. Their loss in the retreat was no less than the loss that occurred while the battle raged.

[10.21.5] On this day the Attic contingent surpassed the other Greeks in courage. Of the Athenians themselves the bravest was Cydias, a young man who had never before been in battle. He was killed by the Gauls, but his relatives dedicated his shield to Zeus God of Freedom, and the inscription ran:—

Here hang I, yearning for the still youthful bloom of Cydias,
The shield of a glorious man, an offering to Zeus.
I was the very first through which at this battle he thrust his left arm,
When the battle raged furiously against the Gaul.

[10.21.6] This inscription remained until Sulla and his army took away, among

other Athenian treasures, the shields in the porch of Zeus, God of Freedom. After this battle at Thermopylae the Greeks buried their own dead and spoiled the barbarians, but the Gauls sent no herald to ask leave to take up the bodies, and were indifferent whether the earth received them or whether they were devoured by wild beasts or carrion birds.

[10.21.7] There were in my opinion two reasons that made them careless about the burial of their dead: they wished to strike terror into their enemies, and through habit they have no tender feeling for those who have gone. In the battle there fell forty of the Greeks; the losses of the barbarians it was impossible to discover exactly. For the number of them that disappeared beneath the mud was great.

[10.22.1] XXII. On the seventh day after the battle a regiment of Gauls attempted to go up to Oeta by way of Heracleia. Here too a narrow path rises just past the ruins of Trachis. There was also at that time a sanctuary of Athena above the Trachinian territory, and in it were votive offerings. So they hoped to ascend Oeta by this path and at the same time to get possession of the offerings in the temple in passing. <This path was defended by the Phocians under Telesarchus.> They overcame the barbarians in the engagement, but Telesarchus himself fell, a man devoted, if ever a man was, to the Greek cause.

[10.22.2] All the leaders of the barbarians except Brennus were terrified of the Greeks, and at the same time were despondent of the future, seeing that their present condition showed no signs of improvement. But Brennus reasoned that if he could compel the Aetolians to return home to Aetolia, he would find the war against Greece prove easier hereafter. So he detached from his army forty thousand foot and about eight hundred horse. Over these he set in command Orestorius and Combutis,

[10.22.3] who, making their way back by way of the bridges over the Spercheius and across Thessaly again, invaded Aetolia. The fate of the Callians at the hands of Combutis and Orestorius is the most wicked ever heard of, and is without a parallel in the crimes of men. Every male they put to the sword, and there were butchered old men equally with children at their mothers' breasts. The more plump of these sucking babes the Gauls killed, drinking their blood and eating their flesh.

[10.22.4] Women and adult maidens, if they had any spirit at all in them, anticipated their end when the city was captured. Those who survived suffered under imperious violence every form of outrage at the hands of men equally void of pity or of love. Every woman who chanced to find a Gallic sword committed suicide. The others were soon to die of hunger and want of sleep, the incontinent barbarians outraging them by turns, and sating their lust even on the dying and the dead.

[10.22.5] The Aetolians had been informed by messengers what disasters had befallen them, and at once with all speed removed their forces from Thermopylae and hastened to Aetolia, being exasperated at the sufferings of

the Callians, and still more fired with determination to save the cities not yet captured. From all the cities at home were mobilized the men of military age; and even those too old for service, their fighting spirit roused by the crisis, were in the ranks, and their very women gladly served with them, being even more enraged against the Gauls than were the men.

[10.22.6] When the barbarians, having pillaged houses and sanctuaries, and having fired Callium, were returning by the same way, they were met by the Patraeans, who alone of the Achaeans were helping the Aetolians. Being trained as hoplites they made a frontal attack on the barbarians, but suffered severely owing to the number and desperation of the Gauls. But the Aetolians, men and women, drawn up all along the road, kept shooting at the barbarians, and few shots failed to find a mark among enemies protected by nothing but their national shields. Pursued by the Gauls they easily escaped, renewing their attack with vigor when their enemies returned from the pursuit.

[10.22.7] Although the Callians suffered so terribly that even Homer's account of the Laestrygonians and the Cyclops does not seem outside the truth, yet they were duly and fully avenged. For out of their number of forty thousand eight hundred, there escaped of the barbarians to the camp at Thermopylae less than one half.

[10.22.8] Meantime the Greeks at Thermopylae were faring as follows. There are two paths across Mount Oeta: the one above Trachis is very steep, and for the most part precipitous; the other, through the territory of the Aenianians, is easier for an army to cross. It was through this that on a former occasion Hydarnes the Persian passed to attack in the rear the Greeks under Leonidas.

[10.22.9] By this road the Heracleots and the Aenianians promised to lead Brennus, not that they were ill-disposed to the Greek cause, but because they were anxious for the Celts to go away from their country, and not to establish themselves in it to its ruin. I think that Pindar spoke the truth again when he said that every one is crushed by his own misfortunes but is untouched by the woes of others.

[10.22.10] Brennus was encouraged by the promise made by the Aenianians and Heracleots. Leaving Acichorius behind in charge of the main army, with instructions that it was to attack only when the enveloping movement was complete, Brennus himself, with a detachment of forty thousand, began his march along the pass.

[10.22.11] It so happened on that day that the mist rolled thick down the mountain, darkening the sun, so that the Phocians who were guarding the path found the barbarians upon them before they were aware of their approach. Thereupon the Gauls attacked. The Phocians resisted manfully, but at last were forced to retreat from the path. However, they succeeded in running down to their friends with a report of what was happening before the envelopment of the Greek army was quite complete on all sides.

[10.22.12] Whereupon the Athenians with the fleet succeeded in withdrawing in time the Greek forces from Thermopylae, which disbanded and returned to

their several homes. Brennus, without delaying any longer, began his march against Delphi without waiting for the army with Acichorius to join up. In terror the Delphians took refuge in the oracle. The god bade them not to be afraid, and promised that he would himself defend his own.

[10.22.13] The Greeks who came in defence of the god were as follow: the Phocians, who came from all their cities; from Amphissa four hundred hoplites; from the Aetolians a few came at once on hearing of the advance of the barbarians, and later on Philomelus brought one thousand two hundred. The flower of the Aetolians turned against the army of Acichorius, and without offering battle attacked continuously the rear of their line of march, plundering the baggage and putting the carriers to the sword. It was chiefly for this reason that their march proved slow. Futhermore, at Heracleia Acichorius had left a part of his army, who were to guard the baggage of the camp.

[10.23.1] XXIII. Brennus and his army were now faced by the Greeks who had mustered at Delphi, and soon portents boding no good to the barbarians were sent by the god, the clearest recorded in history. For the whole ground occupied by the Gallic army was shaken violently most of the day, with continuous thunder and lightning.

[10.23.2] The thunder both terrified the Gauls and prevented them hearing their orders, while the bolts from heaven set on fire not only those whom they struck but also their neighbors, themselves and their armour alike. Then there were seen by them ghosts of the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus and Pyrrhus; according to some a fourth appeared, Phylacus, a local hero of Delphi.

[10.23.3] Among the many Phocians who were killed in the action was Aleximachus, who in this battle excelled all the other Greeks in devoting youth, physical strength, and a stout heart, to slaying the barbarians. The Phocians made a statue of Aleximachus and sent it to Delphi as an offering to Apollo.

[10.23.4] All the day the barbarians were beset by calamities and terrors of this kind. But the night was to bring upon them experiences far more painful. For there came on a severe frost, and snow with it; and great rocks slipping from Parnassus, and crags breaking away, made the barbarians their target, the crash of which brought destruction, not on one or two at a time, but on thirty or even more, as they chanced to be gathered in groups, keeping guard or taking rest.

[10.23.5] At sunrise the Greeks came on from Delphi, making a frontal attack with the exception of the Phocians, who, being more familiar with the district, descended through the snow down the precipitous parts of Parnassus, and surprised the Celts in their rear, shooting them down with arrows and javelins without anything to fear from the barbarians.

[10.23.6] At the beginning of the fight the Gauls offered a spirited resistance, especially the company attached to Brennus, which was composed of the tallest and bravest of the Gauls, and that though they were shot at from all sides, and no less distressed by the frost, especially the wounded men. But

when Brennus himself was wounded, he was carried fainting from the battle, and the barbarians, harassed on all sides by the Greeks, fell back reluctantly, putting to the sword those who, disabled by wounds or sickness, could not go with them.

[10.23.7] They encamped where night overtook them in their retreat, and during the night there fell on them a “panic.” For causeless terrors are said to come from the god Pan. It was when evening was turning to night that the confusion fell on the army, and at first only a few became mad, and these imagined that they heard the trampling of horses at a gallop, and the attack of advancing enemies; but after a little time the delusion spread to all.

[10.23.8] So rushing to arms they divided into two parties, killing and being killed, neither understanding their mother tongue nor recognizing one another’s forms or the shape of their shields. Both parties alike under the present delusion thought that their opponents were Greek, men and armour, and that the language they spoke was Greek, so that a great mutual slaughter was wrought among the Gauls by the madness sent by the god.

[10.23.9] Those Phocians who had been left behind in the fields to guard the flocks were the first to perceive and report to the Greeks the panic that had seized the barbarians in the night. The Phocians were thus encouraged to attack the Celts with yet greater spirit, keeping a more careful watch on their encampments, and not letting them take from the country the necessities of life without a struggle, so that the whole Gallic army suffered at once from a pressing shortage of corn and other food.

[10.23.10] Their losses in Phocis were these: in the battles were killed close on six thousand; those who perished in the wintry storm at night and afterwards in the panic terror amounted to over ten thousand, as likewise did those who were starved to death.

[10.23.11] Athenian scouts arrived at Delphi to gather information, after which they returned and reported what had happened to the barbarians, and all that the god had inflicted upon them. Whereupon the Athenians took the field, and as they marched through Boeotia they were joined by the Boeotians. Thus the combined armies followed the barbarians, lying in wait and killing those who happened to be the last.

[10.23.12] Those who fled with Brennus had been joined by the army under Acichorius only on the previous night. For the Aetolians had delayed their march, hurling at them a merciless shower of javelins and anything else they could lay hands on, so that only a small part of them escaped to the camp at Heracleia. There was still a hope of saving the life of Brennus, so far as his wounds were concerned; but, they say, partly because he feared his fellow-countrymen, and still more because he was conscience-stricken at the calamities he had brought on Greece, he took his own life by drinking neat wine.

[10.23.13] After this the barbarians proceeded with difficulty as far as the Spercheius, pressed hotly by the Aetolians. But after their arrival at the

Spercheius, during the rest of the retreat the Thessalians and Malians kept lying in wait for them, and so took their fill of slaughter that not a Gaul returned home in safety.

[10.23.14] The expedition of the Celts against Greece, and their destruction, took place when Anaxicrates was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, when Ladas of Aegium was victor in the footrace. In the following year, when Democles was archon at Athens, the Celts crossed back again to Asia.

TEMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPHI CONT.

[10.24.1] XXIV. Such was the course of the war. In the fore-temple at Delphi are written maxims useful for the life of men, inscribed by those whom the Greeks say were sages. These were: from Ionia, Thales of Miletus and Bias of Priene; of the Aeolians in Lesbos, Pittacus of Mitylene; of the Dorians in Asia, Cleobulus of Lindus; Solon of Athens and Chilon of Sparta; the seventh sage, according to the list of Plato, the son of Ariston, is not Periander, the son of Cypselus, but Myson of Chenae, a village on Mount Oeta. These sages, then, came to Delphi and dedicated to Apollo the celebrated maxims, “Know thyself,” and “Nothing in excess.”

[10.24.2] So these men wrote what I have said, and you can see a bronze statue of Homer on a slab, and read the oracle that they say Homer received:—

Blessed and unhappy, for to be both wast thou born.
Thou seekest thy father-land; but no father-land hast thou, only a mother-land.
The island of Ios is the father-land of thy mother, which will receive thee
When thou hast died; but be on thy guard against the riddle of the young children.

The inhabitants of Ios point to Homer’s tomb in the island, and in another part to that of Clymene, who was, they say, the mother of Homer.

[10.24.3] But the Cyprians, who also claim Homer as their own, say that Themisto, one of their native women, was the mother of Homer, and that Euclus foretold the birth of Homer in the following verses:—

And then in sea-girt Cyprus there will be a mighty singer,
Whom Themisto, lady fair, shall bear in the fields, A man of renown, far from rich Salamis.
Leaving Cyprus, tossed and wetted by the waves,
The first and only poet to sing of the woes of spacious Greece,
For ever shall he be deathless and ageless.

These things I have heard, and I have read the oracles, but express no private opinion about either the age or date of Homer.

[10.24.4] In the temple has been built an altar of Poseidon, because Poseidon

too possessed in part the most ancient oracle. There are also images of two Fates; but in place of the third Fate there stand by their side Zeus, Guide of Fate, and Apollo, Guide of Fate. Here you may behold the hearth on which the priest of Apollo killed Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. The story of the end of Neoptolemus I have told elsewhere.

[10.24.5] Not far from the hearth has been dedicated a chair of Pindar. The chair is of iron, and on it they say Pindar sat whenever he came to Delphi, and there composed his songs to Apollo. Into the innermost part of the temple there pass but few, but there is dedicated in it another image of Apollo, made of gold.

GRAVE OF NEOPTOLEMUS AT DELPHI

[10.24.6] Leaving the temple and turning to the left you will come to an enclosure in which is the grave of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. Every year the Delphians sacrifice to him as to a hero. Ascending from the tomb you come to a stone of no large size. Over it every day they pour olive oil, and at each feast they place on it unworked wool. There is also an opinion about this stone, that it was given to Cronus instead of his child, and that Cronus vomited it up again.

SPRING OF CASSOTIS AT DELPHI

[10.24.7] Coming back to the temple after seeing the stone, you come to the spring called Cassotis. By it is a wall of no great size, and the ascent to the spring is through the wall. It is said that the water of this Cassotis sinks under the ground, and inspires the women in the shrine of the god. She who gave her name to the spring is said to have been a nymph of Parnassus.

PAINTINGS BY POLYGNOTUS AT DELPHI

[10.25.1] XXV. Beyond the Cassotis stands a building with paintings of Polygnotus. It was dedicated by the Cnidiens, and is called by the Delphians *Lesche* (Place of Talk, Club Room), because here in days of old they used to meet and chat about the more serious matters and legendary history. That there used to be many such places all over Greece is shown by Homer's words in the passage where Melanthe abuses Odysseus:—

And you will not go to the smith's house to sleep,
Nor yet to the place of talk, but you make long speeches here. Hom. *Od.*
18.328

[10.25.2] Inside this building the whole of the painting on the right depicts Troy taken and the Greeks sailing away. On the ship of Menelaus they are preparing to put to sea. The ship is painted with children among the grown-up sailors; amidships is Phrontis the steersman holding two boat-hooks. Homer

represents Nestor as speaking about Phrontis in his conversation with Telemachus, saying that he was the son of Onetor and the steersman of Menelaus, of very high repute in his craft, and how he came to his end when he was already rounding Sunium in Attica. Up to this point Menelaus had been sailing along with Nestor, but now he was left behind to build Phrontis a tomb, and to pay him the due rites of burial.

[10.25.3] Phrontis then is in the painting of Polygnotus, and beneath him is one Ithaemenes carrying clothes, and Echoeax is going down the gangway, carrying a bronze urn. Polites, Strophius and Alphius are pulling down the hut of Menelaus, which is not far from the ship. Another hut is being pulled down by Amphialus, at whose feet is seated a boy. There is no inscription on the boy, and Phrontis is the only one with a beard. His too is the only name that Polygnotus took from the *Odyssey*; the names of the others he invented, I think, himself.

[10.25.4] Briseis is standing with Diomeda above her and Iphis in front of both; they appear to be examining the form of Helen. Helen herself is sitting, and so is Eurybates near her. We inferred that he was the herald of Odysseus, although he had yet no beard. One handmaid, Panthalis, is standing beside Helen; another, Electra, is fastening her mistress' sandals. These names too are different from those given by Homer in the *Iliad*, where he tells of Helen going to the wall with her slave women.

[10.25.5] Beyond Helen, a man wrapped in a purple cloak is sitting in an attitude of the deepest dejection; one might conjecture that he was Helenus, the son of Priam, even before reading the inscription. Near Helenus is Meges, who is wounded in the arm, as Lescheos of Pyrrha, son of Aeschylinus, describes in the Sack of Troy. For he says that he was wounded by Admetus, son of Augeias, in the battle that the Trojans fought in the night.

[10.25.6] Beside Meges is also painted Lycomedes the son of Creon, who has a wound in the wrist; Lescheos says he was so wounded by Agenor. So it is plain that Polygnotus would not have represented them so wounded, if he had not read the poem of Lescheos. However, he has painted Lycomedes as wounded also in the ankle, and yet again in the head. Euryalus the son of Mecisteus has also received a wound in the head and another in the wrist.

[10.25.7] These are painted higher up than Helen in the picture. Next to Helen comes the mother of Theseus with her head shaved, and Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus, is considering, to judge from his attitude, whether it will be possible for him to rescue Aethra. The Argives say that Theseus had also a son Melanippus by the daughter of Sinis, and that Melanippus won a running-race when the Epigoni, as they are called, held the second celebration of the Nemean games, that of Adrastus being the first.

[10.25.8] Lescheos says of Aethra that, when Troy was taken, she came stealthily to the Greek camp. She was recognized by the sons of Theseus, and Demophon asked for her from Agamemnon. He was ready to grant Demophon the favour, but said that Helen must first give her consent. He sent

a herald, and Helen granted him the favour. So in the painting Eurybates appears to have come to Helen to ask about Aethra, and to be saying what he had been told to say by Agamemnon.

[10.25.9] The Trojan women are represented as already captives and lamenting. Andromache is in the painting, and near stands her boy grasping her breast; this child Lescheos says was put to death by being flung from the tower, not that the Greeks had so decreed, but Neoptolemus, of his own accord, was minded to murder him. In the painting is also Medesicaste, another of Priam's illegitimate daughters, who according to Homer left her home and went to the city of Pedaeum to be the wife of Imbrius, the son of Mentor.

[10.25.10] Andromache and Medesicaste are wearing hoods, but the hair of Polyxena is braided after the custom of maidens. Poets sing of her death at the tomb of Achilles, and both at Athens and at Pergamus on the Calcus I have seen the tragedy of Polyxena depicted in paintings.

[10.25.11] The artist has painted Nestor with a cap on his head and a spear in his hand. There is also a horse, in the attitude of one about to roll in the dust. Right up to the horse there is a beach with what appear to be pebbles, but beyond the horse the sea-scene breaks off.

[10.26.1] XXVI. Above the women between Aethra and Nestor are other captive women, Clymene, Creusa, Aristomache and Xenodice. Now Stesichorus, in the Sack of Troy, includes Clymene in the number of the captives; and similarly, in the Returns, he speaks of Aristomache as the daughter of Priam and the wife of Critolaus, son of Hicetaon. But I know of no poet, and of no prose-writer, who makes mention of Xenodice. About Creusa the story is told that the mother of the gods and Aphrodite rescued her from slavery among the Greeks, as she was, of course, the wife of Aeneas. But Lescheos and the writer of the epic poem Cypria make Eurydice the wife of Aeneas.

[10.26.2] Beyond these are painted on a couch Deinome, Metioche, Peisis and Cleodice. Deinome is the only one of these names to occur in what is called the Little Iliad; Polygnotus, I think, invented the names of the others. Epeius is painted naked; he is razing to the ground the Trojan wall. Above the wall rises the head only of the Wooden Horse. There is Polypoetes, the son of Peirithous, his head bound with a fillet; by his side is Acamas, the son of Theseus, wearing on his head a helmet with a crest on it.

[10.26.3] There is also Odysseus . . . and Odysseus has put on his corselet. Ajax, the son of Oileus, holding a shield, stands by an altar, taking an oath about the outrage on Cassandra. Cassandra is sitting on the ground, and holds the image of Athena, for she had knocked over the wooden image from its stand when Ajax was dragging her away from sanctuary. In the painting are also the sons of Atreus, wearing helmets like the others; Menelaus carries a shield, on which is wrought a serpent as a memorial of the prodigy that appeared on the victims at Aulis.

[10.26.4] Under those who are administering the oath to Ajax, and in a line

with the horse by Nestor, is Neoptolemus, who has killed Elasmus, whoever Elasmus may be. Elasmus is represented as a man only just alive. Astynous, who is also mentioned by Lescheos, has fallen to his knees, and Neoptolemus is striking him with a sword. Neoptolemus is the only one of the Greek army represented by Polygnotus as still killing the Trojans, the reason being that he intended the whole painting to be placed over the grave of Neoptolemus. The son of Achilles is named Neoptolemus by Homer in all his poetry. The epic poem, however, called *Cypria* says that Lycomedes named him Pyrrhus, but Phoenix gave him the name of Neoptolemus (young soldier) because Achilles was but young when he first went to war.

[10.26.5] In the picture is an altar, to which a small boy clings in terror. On the altar lies a bronze corselet. At the present day corselets of this form are rare, but they used to be worn in days of old. They were made of two bronze pieces, one fitting the chest and the parts about the belly, the other intended to protect the back. They were called *gyala*. One was put on in front, and the other behind; then they were fastened together by buckles.

[10.26.6] They were thought to afford sufficient safety even without a shield. Wherefore Homer speaks of Phorcys the Phrygian as without a shield, because he wore a two-piece corselet. Not only have I seen this armour depicted by Polygnotus, but in the temple of Ephesian Artemis Calliphon of Samos has painted women fitting on the *gyala* of the corselet of Patroclus.

[10.26.7] Beyond the altar he has painted Laodice standing, whom I do not find among the Trojan captive women enumerated by any poet, so I think that the only probable conclusion is that she was set free by the Greeks. Homer in the *Iliad* speaks of the hospitality given to Menelaus and Odysseus by Antenor, and how Laodice was wife to Helicaon, Antenor's son.

[10.26.8] Lescheos says that Helicaon, wounded in the night battle, was recognized by Odysseus and carried alive out of the fighting. So the tie binding Menelaus and Odysseus to the house of Antenor makes it unlikely that Agamemnon and Menelaus committed any spiteful act against the wife of Helicaon. The account of Laodice given by the Chalcidian poet Euphorion is entirely unlikely.

[10.26.9] Next to Laodice is a stone stand with a bronze washing-basin upon it. Medusa is sitting on the ground, holding the stand in both hands. If we are to believe the ode of the poet of Himera, Medusa should be reckoned as one of the daughters of Priam. Beside Medusa is a shaved old woman or eunuch, holding on the knees a naked child. It is represented as holding its hand before its eyes in terror.

[10.27.1] XXVII. There are also corpses: the naked man, Pelis by name, lies thrown on his back, and under Pelis lie Eioneus and Admetus, still clad in their corselets. Of these Lescheos says that Eioneus was killed by Neoptolemus, and Admetus by Philoctetes. Above these are others: under the washing-basin is Leocritus, the son of Pulydamas, killed by Odysseus; beyond Eioneus and Admetus is Coroebus, the son of Mygdon. Of Mygdon there is a

notable tomb on the borders of the Phrygians of Stectorium, and after him poets are wont to call Phrygians by the name of Mygdones. Coroebus came to marry Cassandra, and was killed, according to the more popular account, by Neoptolemus, but according to the poet Lescheos, by Diomedes.

[10.27.2] Higher up than Coroebus are Priam, Axion and Agenor. Lescheos says that Priam was not killed at the hearth of the Courtyard God, but that he was dragged away from the altar and fell an easy prey to Neoptolemus at the gate of his own palace. As to Hecuba, Stesichorus says in the Sack of Troy that she was brought by Apollo to Lycia. Lescheos says that Axion was a son of Priam, killed by Eurypylus, the son of Euaemon. According to the same poet Agenor was slain by Neoptolemus. So it would appear that Echeclus the son of Agenor was slaughtered by Achilles, and Agenor himself by Neoptolemus.

[10.27.3] The body of Laomedon is being carried off by Sinon, a comrade of Odysseus, and Anchialus. There is also in the painting another corpse, that of Eresus. The tale of Eresus and Laomedon, so far as we know, no poet has sung. There is the house of Antenor, with a leopard's skin hanging over the entrance, as a sign to the Greeks to keep their hands off the home of Antenor. There are painted Theano and her sons, Glaucus sitting on a corselet fitted with the two pieces, and Eurymachus upon a rock.

[10.27.4] By the latter stands Antenor, and next to him Crino, a daughter of Antenor. Crino is carrying a baby. The look upon their faces is that of those on whom a calamity has fallen. Servants are lading an ass with a chest and other furniture. There is also sitting on the ass a small child. At this part of the painting there is also an elegiac couplet of Simonides:—

Polygnotus, a Thasian by birth, son of Aglaophon,
Painted a picture of Troy's citadel being sacked. Simonides, unknown
location.

[10.28.1] XXVIII. The other part of the picture, the one on the left, shows Odysseus, who has descended into what is called Hades to inquire of the soul of Teiresias about his safe return home. The objects depicted are as follow. There is water like a river, clearly intended for Acheron, with reeds growing in it; the forms of the fishes appear so dim that you will take them to be shadows rather than fish. On the river is a boat, with the ferryman at the oars.

[10.28.2] Polygnotus followed, I think, the poem called the *Minyad*. For in this poem occur lines referring to Theseus and Peirithous:—

Then the boat on which embark the dead, that the old ferryman, Charon, used to steer, they found not within its moorings. *The Minyad*, an unknown work.

For this reason then Polygnotus too painted Charon as a man well stricken in years.

[10.28.3] Those on board the boat are not altogether distinguished. Tellis appears as a youth in years, and Cleoboea as still a maiden, holding on her

knees a chest such as they are wont to make for Demeter. All I heard about Tellis was that Archilochus the poet was his grandson, while as for Cleoboea, they say that she was the first to bring the orgies of Demeter to Thasos from Paros.

[10.28.4] On the bank of Acheron there is a notable group under the boat of Charon, consisting of a man who had been undutiful to his father and is now being throttled by him. For the men of old held their parents in the greatest respect, as we may infer, among other instances, from those in Catana called the Pious, who, when the fire flowed down on Catana from Aetna, held of no account gold or silver, but when they fled took up, one his mother and another his father. As they struggled on, the fire rushed up and caught them in the flames. Not even so would they put down their parents, and it is said that the stream of lava divided itself in two, and the fire passed on, doing no hurt to either young men or their parents. These Catanians even at the present day receive honors from their fellow countrymen.

[10.28.5] Near to the man in Polygnotus' picture who maltreated his father and for this drinks his cup of woe in Hades, is a man who paid the penalty for sacrilege. The woman who is punishing him is skilled in poisonous and other drugs.

[10.28.6] So it appears that in those days men laid the greatest stress on piety to the gods, as the Athenians showed when they took the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse; they moved none of the offerings, but left the Syracusan priest as their keeper. Datis the Persian too showed his piety in his address to the Delians, and in this act as well, when having found an image of Apollo in a Phoenician ship he restored it to the Tanagraeans at Delium. So at that time all men held the divine in reverence, and this is why Polygnotus has depicted the punishment of him who committed sacrilege.

[10.28.7] Higher up than the figures I have enumerated comes Eurynomus, said by the Delphian guides to be one of the demons in Hades, who eats off all the flesh of the corpses, leaving only their bones. But Homer's *Odyssey*, the poem called the *Minyad*, and the *Returns*, although they tell of Hades, and its horrors, know of no demon called Eurynomus. However, I will describe what he is like and his attitude in the painting. He is of a color between blue and black, like that of meat flies; he is showing his teeth and is seated, and under him is spread a vulture's skin.

[10.28.8] Next after Eurynomus are Auge of Arcadia and Iphimedeia. Auge visited the house of Teuthras in Mysia, and of all the women with whom Heracles is said to have mated, none gave birth to a son more like his father than she did. Great honors are paid to Iphimedeia by the Carians in Mylasa.

[10.29.1] XXIX. Higher up than the figures I have already enumerated are Perimedes and Eurylochus, the companions of Odysseus, carrying victims for sacrifice; these are black -rams. After them is a man seated, said by the inscription to be Ocnus (Sloth). He is depicted as plaiting a cord, and by him stands a she-ass, eating up the cord as quickly as it is plaited. They say that this Ocnus was a diligent man with an extravagant wife. Everything he earned by working was quickly spent by his wife.

[10.29.2] So they will have it that Polygnotus has painted a parable about the wife of Ocnus. I know also that the Ionians, whenever they see a man labouring at nothing profitable, say that such an one is plaiting the cord of Ocnus. Ocnus too is the name given to a bird by the seers who observe birds that are ominous. This Ocnus is the largest and most beautiful of the herons, a rare bird if ever there was one.

[10.29.3] Tityos too is in the picture; he is no longer being punished, but has been reduced to nothing by continuous torture, an indistinct and mutilated phantom.

Going on to the next part of the picture, you see very near to the man who is twisting the rope a painting of Ariadne. Seated on a rock she is looking at her sister Phaedra, who is on a swing grasping in either hand the rope on each side. The attitude, though quite gracefully drawn, makes us infer the manner of Phaedra's death.

[10.29.4] Ariadne was taken away from Theseus by Dionysus, who sailed against him with superior forces, and either fell in with Ariadne by chance or else set an ambush to catch her. This Dionysus was, in my opinion, none other than he who was the first to invade India, and the first to bridge the river Euphrates. Zeugma (Bridge) was the name given to that part of the country where the Euphrates was bridged, and at the present day the cable is still preserved with which he spanned the river; it is plaited with branches of the vine and ivy.

[10.29.5] Both the Greeks and the Egyptians have many legends about Dionysus. Underneath Phaedra is Chloris leaning against the knees of Thyia. He will not be mistaken who says that all during the lives of these women they remained friends. For Chloris came from Orchomenus in Boeotia, and the other was a daughter of Castalius from Parnassus. Other authorities have told their history, how that Thyia had connection with Poseidon, and how Chloris wedded Neleus, son of Poseidon.

[10.29.6] Beside Thyia stands Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, and after her Clymene, who is turning her back to Chloris. The poem the Returns says that Clymene was a daughter of Minyas, that she married Cephalus the son of Deion, and that a son Iphiclus was born to them. The story of Procris is told

by all men, how she had married Cephalus before Clymene, and in what way she was put to death by her husband.

[10.29.7] Farther within from Clymene you will see Megara from Thebes. This Megara married Heracles, but was divorced by him in course of time, on the ground that he had lost the children he had by her, and so thought that his marriage with her was unlucky.

Above the heads of the women I have enumerated is the daughter of Salmoneus sitting on a rock, beside whom is standing Eriphyle, who is holding up the ends of her fingers along her neck through her tunic, and you will conjecture that in the folds of her tunic she is holding in one of her hands the famous necklace.

[10.29.8] Beyond Eriphyle have been painted Elpenor and Odysseus. The latter is squatting on his feet, and holding his sword over the trench, towards which the seer Teiresias is advancing. After Teiresias is Anticleia, the mother of Odysseus, upon a rock. Elpenor has on instead of clothes a mat, such as is usual for sailors to wear.

[10.29.9] Lower down than Odysseus are Theseus and Peirithous sitting upon chairs. The former is holding in his hands the sword of Peirithous and his own. Peirithous is looking at the swords, and you might conjecture that he is angry with them for having been useless and of no help in their daring adventures. Panyassis the poet says that Theseus and Peirithous did not sit chained to their chairs, but that the rock grew to their flesh and so served as chains.

[10.29.10] The proverbial friendship of Theseus and Peirithous has been mentioned by Homer in both his poems. In the *Odyssey* Odysseus says to the Phaeacians:—

And now I should have seen more men of former days, whom I wished very much to see,
Theseus and Peirithous, renowned children of gods. Hom. *Od.* 11.631 foll.

And in the *Iliad* he has made Nestor give advice to Agamemnon and Achilles, and speaking among others the following verses:—

I have never yet seen such men, and I am never likely to see
As were Peirithous, Dryas, shepherd of the folk,
Caeneus, Exadius, god-like Polyphemos,
And Theseus, son of Aegeus, like to the immortals. Hom. *Il.* 1.262 foll.

[10.30.1] XXX. Next Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandareos. Homer makes Penelope say in a speech that the parents of the maidens died because of the wrath of the gods, that they were reared as orphans by Aphrodite and received gifts from other goddesses: from Hera wisdom and beauty of form, from Artemis high stature, from Athena schooling in the works that befit women.

[10.30.2] He goes on to say that Aphrodite ascended into heaven, wishing to secure for the girls a happy marriage, and in her absence they were carried off by the Harpies and given by them to the Furies. This is the story as given by Homer. Polygnotus has painted them as girls crowned with flowers and playing with dice, and gives them the names of Cameiro and Clytie. I must tell you that Pandareos was a Milesian from Miletus in Crete, and implicated in the theft of Tantalus and in the trick of the oath.

[10.30.3] After the daughters of Pandareos is Antilochus, with one foot upon a rock and his face and head resting upon both hands, while after Antilochus is Agamemnon, leaning on a scepter beneath his left armpit, and holding up a staff in his hands. Protesilaus is seated with his gaze fixed on Achilles. Such is the posture of Protesilaus, and beyond Achilles is Patroclus standing. With the exception of Agamemnon these figures have no beard.

[10.30.4] Beyond them has been painted Phocus as a stripling, and Iaseus, well bearded, is taking off a ring from the left hand of Phocus. The story about this is as follows. When Phocus, the son of Aeacus, had crossed from Aegina into what is now called Phocis, and wished to gain the rule over the men living on that part of the mainland, and to settle there himself, Iaseus conceived a great friendship for him. Among the gifts that Iaseus gave (as friends will) was a seal-ring, a stone set in gold. But when Phocus returned, not long afterwards, to Aegina, Peleus at once plotted to kill him. This is the reason why in the painting, as a reminder of their great friendship, Iaseus is anxious to look at the ring and Phocus has let him take it.

[10.30.5] Beyond these is Maera sitting on a rock. About her the poem *Returns* says that she was still a maid when she departed this life, being the daughter of Proetus, son of Thersander, who was a son of Sisyphus. Next to Maera is Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, together with the mother of Actaeon; they hold in their hands a young deer, and are sitting on a deer's skin. A hunting dog lies stretched out beside them, an allusion to Actaeon's mode of life, and to the manner of his death.

[10.30.6] Turning our gaze again to the lower part of the picture we see, next after Patroclus, Orpheus sitting on what seems to be a sort of hill; he grasps with his left hand a harp, and with his right he touches a willow. It is the branches that he touches, and he is leaning against the tree. The grove seems to be that of Persephone, where grow, as Homer thought, black poplars and willows. The appearance of Orpheus is Greek, and neither his garb nor his head-gear is Thracian.

[10.30.7] On the other side of the willow-tree Promedon is leaning against it. Some there are who think that the name Promedon is as it were a poetic invention of Polygnotus; others have said that Promedon was a Greek who was fond of listening to all kinds of music, especially to the singing of Orpheus.

[10.30.8] In this part of the painting is Schedius, who led the Phocians to Troy, and after him is Pelias, sitting on a chair, with grey hair and grey beard, and

looking at Orpheus. Schedius holds a dagger and is crowned with grass. Thamyris is sitting near Pelias. He has lost the sight of his eyes; his attitude is one of utter dejection; his hair and beard are long; at his feet lies thrown a lyre with its horns and strings broken.

[10.30.9] Above him is Marsyas, sitting on a rock, and by his side is Olympus, with the appearance of a boy in the bloom of youth learning to play the flute. The Phrygians in Celaenae hold that the river passing through the city was once this great flute-player, and they also hold that the Song of the Mother, an air for the flute, was composed by Marsyas. They say too that they repelled the army of the Gauls by the aid of Marsyas, who defended them against the barbarians by the water from the river and by the music of his flute.

[10.31.1] XXXI. If you turn your gaze again to the upper part of the painting, you see, next to Actaeon, Ajax of Salamis, and also Palamedes and Thersites playing with dice, the invention of Palamedes; the other Ajax is looking at them as they play. The color of the latter Ajax is like that of a shipwrecked sailor with the brine still rough on the surface of his skin.

[10.31.2] Polygnotus has intentionally gathered into one group the enemies of Odysseus. Ajax, son of Oileus, conceived a hatred of Odysseus, because Odysseus urged the Greeks to stone him for the outrage on Cassandra. Palamedes, as I know from reading the epic poem *Cypria*, was drowned when he put out to catch fish, and his murderers were Diomedes and Odysseus.

[10.31.3] Meleager, the son of Oeneus, is higher up in the picture than Ajax, the son of Oileus, and he seems to be looking at Ajax. Palamedes has no beard, but the others have. As to the death of Meleager, Homer says that the Fury heard the curses of Althaea, and that this was the cause of Meleager's death. But the poem *Eoeae*, as it is called, and the *Minyad* agree in giving a different account. For these poems say that Apollo helped the Curetes against the Aetolians, and that Meleager was killed by Apollo.

[10.31.4] The story about the brand, how it was given by the Fates to Althaea, how Meleager was not to die before the brand was consumed by fire, and how Althaea burnt it up in a passion – this story was first made the subject of a drama by Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, in his *Pleuronian Women*:–

For chill doom he escaped not, but a swift flame consumed him, as the brand was destroyed by his terrible mother, contriver of evil. Phrynichus, *Pleuronian Women*, unknown location.

However, it appears that Phrynichus did not elaborate the story as a man would his own invention, but only touched on it as one already in the mouths of everybody in Greece.

[10.31.5] In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyris, comes Hector, who is sitting with both hands clasped about his left knee, in an attitude of deep grief. After him is Memnon, sitting on a rock, and Sarpedon next to Memnon. Sarpedon has his face buried in both hands, and one of Memnon's hands lies on Sarpedon's shoulder.

[10.31.6] All are bearded; and on the cloak of Memnon are embroidered birds.

Their name is Memnonides, and the people of the Hellespont say that on stated days every year they go to the grave of Memnon, and sweep all that part of the tomb that is bare of trees or grass, and sprinkle it with the water of the Aeseus from their wet wings.

[10.31.7] Beside Memnon is depicted a naked Ethiopian boy, because Memnon was king of the Ethiopian nation. He came to Troy, however, not from Ethiopia, but from Susa in Persia and from the river Choaspes, having subdued all the peoples that lived between these and Troy. The Phrygians still point out the road through which he led his army, picking out the shortest routes. The road is divided up by halting-places.

[10.31.8] Beyond Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, as yet beardless. He is clapping his hands like a boor, and you will say that it is as though Paris were calling Penthesileia to him by the noise of his hands. Penthesileia too is there, looking at Paris, but by the toss of her head she seems to show her disdain and contempt. In appearance Penthesileia is a maiden, carrying a bow like Scythian bows, and wearing a leopard's skin on her shoulders.

[10.31.9] The women beyond Penthesileia are carrying water in broken pitchers; one is depicted as in the bloom of youth, the other is already advanced in years. There is no separate inscription on either woman, but there is one common to the pair, which states that they are of the number of the uninitiated.

[10.31.10] Higher up than these is Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, Nomia, and Pero, daughter of Neleus. As her bride-price Neleus asked for the oxen of Iphiclus. Instead of a mattress, Callisto has a bearskin, and her feet are lying on Nomia's knees. I have already mentioned that the Arcadians say that Nomia is a nymph native to their country. The poets say that the nymphs live for a great number of years, but are not altogether exempt from death.

After Callisto and the women with her is the form of a cliff, and Sisyphus, the son of Aeolus, is trying his hardest to push the rock up it.

[10.31.11] There is also in the painting a jar, and an old man, with a boy and two women. One of these, who is young, is under the rock; the other is beside the old man and of a like age to his. The others are carrying water, but you will guess that the old woman's water-jar is broken. All that remains of the water in the sherd she is pouring out again into the jar. We inferred that these people too were of those who had held of no account the rites at Eleusis. For the Greeks of an earlier period looked upon the Eleusinian mysteries as being as much higher than all other religious acts as gods are higher than heroes.

[10.31.12] Under this jar is Tantalus, enduring all the pains that Homer speaks of, and in addition the terror of the stone that hangs over him. Polygnotus has plainly followed the account of Archilochus, but I do not know whether Archilochus borrowed from others the story of the stone or whether it was an invention of his that he introduced into his poem.

So great is the number of the figures and so many are their beauties, in this painting of the Thasian artist.

[10.32.1] XXXII. Adjoining the sacred enclosure is a theater worth seeing, and on coming up from the enclosure...and here is an image of Dionysus, dedicated by the Cnidiens. The Delphian race-course is on the highest part of their city. It was made of the stone that is most common about Parnassus, until Herodes the Athenian rebuilt it of Pentelic marble. Such in my day the objects remaining in Delphi that are worth recording.

THE CORYCIAN CAVE

[10.32.2] On the way from Delphi to the summit of Parnassus, about sixty stades distant from Delphi, there is a bronze image. The ascent to the Corycian cave is easier for an active walker than it is for mules or horses. I mentioned a little earlier in my narrative that this cave was named after a nymph called Corycia, and of all the caves I have ever seen this seemed to me the best worth seeing.

[10.32.3] It would be impossible to discover even the mere number of caves whose entrances face the beach or the deep sea, but the most famous ones in Greek or in foreign lands are the following. The Phrygians on the river Peneus, and those who came to this land originally from the Arcadians in Arcadia, show visitors a cave called Steunos, which is round, and handsome in its loftiness. It is sacred to the Mother, and there is an image of her.

[10.32.4] Themisonium above Laodiceia is also inhabited by Phrygians. When the army of the Gauls was laying waste Ionia and the borders of Ionia, the Themisonians say that they were helped by Heracles, Apollo and Hermes, who revealed to their magistrates in dreams a cave, and commanded that in it should be hidden the Themisonians with their wives and children.

[10.32.5] This is the reason why in front of the cave they have set up small images, called Gods of the Cave, of Heracles, Hermes and Apollo. The cave is some thirty stades distant from the city, and in it are springs of water. There is no entrance to it, the sunlight does not reach very far, and the greater part of the roof lies quite close to the floor.

[10.32.6] There is also near Magnesia on the river Lethaeus a place called Aulæ (Halls), where there is a cave sacred to Apollo, not very remarkable for its size, but the image of Apollo is very old indeed, and bestows strength equal to any task. The men sacred to the god leap down from sheer precipices and high rocks, and uprooting trees of exceeding height walk with their burdens down the narrowest of paths.

[10.32.7] But the Corycian cave exceeds in size those I have mentioned, and it is possible to make one's way through the greater part of it even without lights. The roof stands at a sufficient height from the floor, and water, rising in part from springs but still more dripping from the roof, has made clearly visible the marks of drops on the floor throughout the cave. The dwellers around Parnassus believe it to be sacred to the Corycian nymphs, and especially to Pan. From the Corycian cave it is difficult even for an active

walker to reach the heights of Parnassus. The heights are above the clouds, and the Thyiad women rave there in honor of Dionysus and Apollo.

TITHOREA

[10.32.8] Tithorea is, I should guess, about one hundred and eighty stades distant from Delphi on the road across Parnassus. This road is not mountainous throughout, being fit even for vehicles, but was said to be several stades longer. I am aware that Herodotus in his account of the Persian invasion gives the town a different name from that given to it in the oracles of Bacis.

[10.32.9] For Bacis called the inhabitants Tithoreans, but the account of them in Herodotus states that during the advance of the barbarian the people dwelling here fled up to the summit, and that the city's name was Neon, Tithorea being the name of the peak of Parnassus. It appears, then, that at first Tithorea was the name applied to the whole district; but in course of time, when the people migrated from the villages, the city too came to be called Tithorea, and not Neon any longer. The natives say that Tithorea was so called after a nymph of the same name, one of those who in days of old, according to the story of the poets, grew out of trees and especially out of oaks.

[10.32.10] One generation before I was born heaven made the fortunes of Tithorea decay. There are the buildings of a theater, and the enclosure of a rather ancient market-place. The most noteworthy objects in the city are the grove, temple and image of Athena. There is also the tomb of Antiope and Phocus. I have already in my account of Thebes mentioned how Antiope went mad because of the wrath of Dionysus, and the reason why she brought on herself the anger of the god;

[10.32.11] I have also told how Phocus, the son of Ornytion, fell in love with her, how she married him and is buried with him, and what Bacis the soothsayer says about this grave in common with that of Zethus and Amphion at Thebes. I found nothing else remarkable in the town except what I have already mentioned. Running past the city of Tithorea is a river that gives the inhabitants drinking-water. They go down to the bank and draw the water up. The name of the river is Cachales.

NEAR TITHOREA

[10.32.12] Seventy stades distant from Tithorea is a temple of Asclepius, called Archagetas (Founder). He receives divine honors from the Tithoreans, and no less from the other Phocians. Within the precincts are dwellings for both the suppliants of the god and his servants. In the middle is the temple of the god and an image made of stone, having a beard more than two feet long. A couch is set on the right of the image. It is usual to sacrifice to the god any animal except the goat.

[10.32.13] About forty stades distant from Asclepius is a precinct and shrine sacred to Isis, the holiest of all those made by the Greeks for the Egyptian

goddess. For the Tithoreans think it wrong to dwell round about it, and no one may enter the shrine except those whom Isis herself has honored by inviting them in dreams. The same rule is observed in the cities above the Maeander by the gods of the lower world; for to all whom they wish to enter their shrines they send visions seen in dreams.

[10.32.14] In the country of the Tithoreans a festival in honor of Isis is held twice each year, one in spring and the other in autumn. On the third day before each of the feasts those who have permission to enter cleanse the shrine in a certain secret way, and also take and bury, always in the same spot, whatever remnants they may find of the victims thrown in at the previous festival. We estimated that the distance from the shrine to this place was two stades.

[10.32.15] So on this day they perform these acts about the sanctuary, and on the next day the small traders make themselves booths of reeds or other improvised material. On the last of the three days they hold a fair, selling slaves, cattle of all kinds, clothes, silver and gold.

[10.32.16] After mid-day they turn to sacrificing. The more wealthy sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer people geese and guinea fowl. But it is not the custom to use for the sacrifice sheep, pigs or goats. Those whose business it is to burn the victims and send them into the shrine . . . having made a beginning must wrap the victims in bandages of coarse or fine linen; the mode of preparing is the Egyptian.

[10.32.17] All that they have devoted to sacrifice are led in procession; some send the victims into the shrine, while others burn the booths before the shrine and themselves go away in haste. They say that once a profane man, who was not one of those descending into the shrine, when the pyre began to burn, entered the shrine to satisfy his rash inquisitiveness. It is said that everywhere he saw ghosts, and on returning to Tithorea and telling what he had seen he departed this life.

[10.32.18] I have heard a similar story from a man of Phoenicia, that the Egyptians hold the feast for Isis at a time when they say she is mourning for Osiris. At this time the Nile begins to rise, and it is a saying among many of the natives that what makes the river rise and water their fields is the tears of Isis. At that time then, so said my Phoenician, the Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go down into the shrine of Isis in Coptus. The man despatched into the shrine returned indeed out of it, but after relating what he had seen, he too, so I was told, died immediately. So it appears that Homer's verse speaks the truth when it says that it bodes no good to man to see godhead face to face.

[10.32.19] The olive oil of Tithorea is less abundant than Attic or Sicyonian oil, but in color and pleasantness it surpasses Iberian oil and that from the island of Istria. They distil all manner of unguents from the oil, and also send it to the Emperor.

LEDON

[10.33.1] XXXIII. Another road from Tithorea is the one that leads to Ledon. Once Ledon also was considered a city, but in my day the Ledontians owing to their weakness had abandoned the city, and the dwellers on the Cephisus were about seventy people. Still the name of Ledon is given to their dwellings, and the citizens, like the Panopeans, have the right to be represented at the general assembly of the Phocians. The ruins of the ancient Ledon are forty stades farther up from these dwellers on the Cephisus. They say that the city took its name from an aboriginal.

[10.33.2] Other cities have incurred incurable harm through the sin of their own citizens, hut Troy's ruin was complete when it fell through the outrage that Alexander committed against Menelaus, and Miletus through the lack of control shown by Histiaeus, and his passionate desire, now to possess the city in the land of the Edonians, now to be admitted to the councils of Dareius, and now to go back to Ionia. Again, Philomelus brought on the community of Ledon the punishment to be paid for the crime of his own impiety.

LILAEA

[10.33.3] Lilaea is a winter day's journey distant from Delphi; we estimated the length of the road, which goes across and down Parnassus, to be one hundred and eighty stades. Even after their city had been restored, its inhabitants were fated to suffer a second disaster at the hands of the Macedonians. Besieged by Philip, the son of Demetrius, they made terms and surrendered, and a garrison was brought into the city, until a native of the city, whose name was Patron, united against the garrison those of the citizens who were of military age, conquered the Macedonians in battle, and forced them to withdraw under a truce. In return for this good deed the Lilaeans dedicated his statue at Delphi.

[10.33.4] In Lilaea are also a theater, a market-place and baths. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Artemis. the images are standing, of Attic workmanship, and of marble from the Pentelic quarries. They say that Lilaea was one of the Naids, as they are called, a daughter of the Cephisus, and that after this nymph the city was named. Here the river has its source.

[10.33.5] It is not always quiet when it rises from the ground, but it usually happens that at about mid-day it makes a noise as it wells up. You could compare the roar of the water to the bellowing of a bull. Lilaea has a temperate climate in autumn, in summer, and in spring; but Mount Parnassus prevents the winter from being correspondingly mild.

CHARADRA & PARAPOTAMII

[10.33.6] Charadra is twenty stades distant, situated on the top of a lofty crag. The inhabitants are badly off for water; their drinking water is the river Charadrus, and they have to go down about three stades to reach it. This river

is a tributary of the Cephissus, and it seems to me that the town was named after the Charadrus. In the market-place at Charadra are altars of Heroes, as they are called, said by some to be the Dioscuri, by others to be local heroes.

[10.33.7] The land beside the Cephissus is distinctly the best in Phocis for planting, sowing and pasture. This part of the district, too, is the one most under cultivation, so that there is a saying that the verse,

And they who dwelt beside the divine river Cephissus, Hom. *Il.* 2.522

alludes, not to a city Parapotamii (Riverside), but to the farmers beside the Cephissus.

[10.33.8] The saying, however, is at variance with the history of Herodotus as well as with the records of victories at the Pythian games. For the Pythian games were first held by the Amphictyons, and at this first meeting a Parapotamian of the name of Aechmeas won the prize in the boxing match for boys. Similarly Herodotus, enumerating the cities that King Xerxes burnt in Phocis, includes among them the city of Parapotamii. However, Parapotamii was not restored by the Athenians and Boeotians, but the inhabitants, being poverty stricken and few in number, were distributed among the other cities. I found no ruins of Parapotamii left, nor is the site of the city remembered.

AMPHICLEIA

[10.33.9] The road from Lilaea to Amphicleia is sixty stades. The name of this Amphicleia has been corrupted by the native inhabitants. Herodotus, following the most ancient account, called it Amphicaea; but the Amphictyons, when they published their decree for the destruction of the cities in Phocis, gave it the name of Amphicleia. The natives tell about it the following story. A certain chief, suspecting that enemies were plotting against his baby son, put the child in a vessel, and hid him in that part of the land where he knew there would be most security. Now a wolf attacked the child, but a serpent coiled itself round the vessel, and kept up a strict watch.

[10.33.10] When the child's father came, supposing that the serpent had purposed to attack the child, he threw his javelin, which killed the serpent and his son as well. But being informed by the shepherds that he had killed the benefactor and protector of his child, he made one common pyre for both the serpent and his son. Now they say that even to-day the place resembles a burning pyre, maintaining that after this serpent the city was called Ophiteia.

[10.33.11] They celebrate orgies, well worth seeing, in honor of Dionysus, but there is no entrance to the shrine, nor have they any image that can be seen. The people of Amphicleia say that this god is their prophet and their helper in disease. The diseases of the Amphicleans themselves and of their neighbors are cured by means of dreams. The oracles of the god are given by the priest, who utters them when under the divine inspiration.

DRYMAEA

[10.33.12] Fifteen stades away from Amphicleia is Tithronium, lying on a plain. It contains nothing remarkable. From Tithronium it is twenty stades to Drymaea. At the place where this road joins at the Cephissus the straight road from Amphicleia to Drymaea, the Tithronians have a grove and altars of Apollo. There has also been made a temple, but no image.

Drymaea is eighty stades distant from Amphicleia, on the left . . . according to the account in Herodotus, but in earlier days Naubolenses. The inhabitants say that their founder was Naubolus, son of Phocus, son of Aeacus. At Drymaea is an ancient sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver, with a standing image made of stone. Every year they hold a feast in her honor, the Thesmophoria.

ELATEIA

[10.34.1] XXXIV. Elateia is, with the exception of Delphi, the largest city in Phocis. It lies over against Amphicleia, and the road to it from Amphicleia is one hundred and eighty stades long, level for the most part, but with an upward gradient for a short distance quite close to the town of Elateia. In the plain flows the Cephissus, and the most common bird to live along its banks is the bustard.

[10.34.2] The Elateans were successful in repelling the Macedonian army under Cassander, and they managed to escape from the war that Taxilus, general of Mithridates, brought against them. In return for this deed the Romans have given them the privilege of living in the country free and immune from taxation. They claim to be of foreign stock, saying that of old they came from Arcadia. For they say that when the Phlegyans marched against the sanctuary at Delphi, Elatus, the son of Arcas, came to the assistance of the god, and with his army stayed behind in Phocis, becoming the founder of Elateia.

[10.34.3] Elateia must be numbered among the cities of the Phocians burnt by the Persians. Some disasters were shared by Elateia with the other Phocians, but she had peculiar calamities of her own, inflicted by fate at the hands of the Macedonians. In the war waged by Cassander, it is Olympiodorus who must receive most credit for the Macedonians being forced to abandon a siege. Philip, the son of Demetrius, reduced the people of Elateia to the utmost terror, and at the same time seduced by bribery the more powerful of the citizens.

[10.34.4] Titus, the Roman governor, who had a commission from Rome to give all Greeks their freedom, promised to give back to Elateia its ancient constitution, and by messengers made overtures to its citizens to secede from Macedonia. But either they or their government were stupid enough to be faithful to Philip, and the Romans reduced them by siege. Later on the Elateans held out when besieged by the barbarians of Pontus under the command of Taxilus, the general of Mithridates. As a reward for this deed the Romans gave them their freedom.

[10.34.5] An army of bandits, called the Costoboes, who overran Greece in my day, visited among other cities Elateia. Whereupon a certain Mnesibulus gathered round him a company of men and put to the sword many of the barbarians, but he himself fell in the fighting. This Mnesibulus won several prizes for running, among which were prizes for the foot-race, and for the double race with shield, at the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympic festival. In Runner Street at Elateia there stands a bronze statue of Mnesibulus.

[10.34.6] The market-place itself is worth seeing, and so is the figure of Elatus carved in relief upon a slab. I do not know for certain whether they made the slab to honor him as their founder or merely to serve as a gravestone to his tomb. A temple has been built to Asclepius, with a bearded image of the god. The names of the makers of the image are Timocles and Timarchides, artists of Attic birth. At the end of the city on the right is a theater, and an ancient bronze image of Athena. They say that this goddess helped them against the barbarians under Taxilus.

[10.34.7] About twenty stades away from Elateia is a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Cranaea. The road to it slopes upwards, but so gentle is the ascent that it causes no fatigue – in fact one scarcely notices it. At the end of the road is a hill which, though for the most part precipitous, is neither very large nor very high. On this hill the sanctuary has been built, with porticoes and dwellings through them, where live those whose duty it is to wait on the god, chief of whom is the priest.

[10.34.8] They choose the priest from boys who have not yet reached the age of puberty, taking care beforehand that his term of office shall run out before puberty arrives. The office lasts for five successive years, during which the priest boards with the goddess, and bathes in tubs after the ancient manner. This image too was made by the sons of Polycles. It is armed as for battle, and on the shield is wrought in relief a copy of what at Athens is wrought on the shield of her whom the Athenians call the Virgin.

ABAE

[10.35.1] XXXV. To reach Abae and Hyampolis from Elateia you may go along a mountain road on the right of the city of Elateia, but the highway from Orchomenus to Opus also leads to those cities. If then you go along the road from Orchomenus to Opus, and turn off a little to the left, you reach the road to Abae. The people of Abae say that they came to Phocis from Argos, and that the city got its name from Abas, the founder, who was a son of Lynceus and of Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danails. Abae from of old has been considered sacred to Apollo, and here too there was an oracle of that god.

[10.35.2] The treatment that the god at Abae received at the hands of the Persians was very different from the honor paid him by the Romans. For while the Romans have given freedom of government to Abae because of their reverence for Apollo, the army of Xerxes burned down, as it did others, the sanctuary at Abae. The Greeks who opposed the barbarians resolved not to

rebuild the sanctuaries burnt down by them, but to leave them for all time as memorials of their hatred. This too is the reason why the temples in the territory of Haliartus, as well as the Athenian temples of Hera on the road to Phalerum and of Demeter at Phalerum, still remain half-burnt even at the present day.

[10.35.3] Such, I suppose, was the appearance of the sanctuary at Abae also, after the Persian invasion, until in the Phocian war some Phocians, overcome in battle, took refuge in Abae. Whereupon the Thebans gave them to the flames, and with the refugees the sanctuary, which was thus burnt down a second time. However, it still stood even in my time, the frailest of buildings ever damaged by fire, seeing that the ruin begun by the Persian incendiaries was completed by the incendiaries of Boeotia.

[10.35.4] Beside the large temple there is another, but smaller in size, made for Apollo by the emperor Hadrian. The images are of earlier date, being dedicated by the Abaeans themselves; they are made of bronze, and all alike are standing, Apollo, Leto and Artemis. At Abae there is a theater, and also a market-place, both of ancient construction.

HYAMPOLIS

[10.35.5] Returning to the straight road to Opus, you come next to Hyampolis. Its mere name tells you who the inhabitants originally were, and the place from which they were expelled when they came to this land. For it was the Hyantes of Thebes who came here when they fled from Cadmus and his army. In earlier times the city was called by its neighbors the city of the Hyantes, but in course of time the name of Hyampolis prevailed over the other.

[10.35.6] Although Xerxes had burnt down the city, and afterwards Philip had razed it to the ground, nevertheless there were left the structure of an old market-place, a council-chamber (a building of no great size) and a theater not far from the gates. The emperor Hadrian built a portico which bears the name of the emperor who dedicated it. The citizens have one well only. This is their sole supply, both for drinking and for washing; from no other source can they get water, save only from the winter rains.

[10.35.7] Above all other divinities they worship Artemis, of whom they have a temple. The image of her I cannot describe, for their rule is to open the sanctuary twice, and not more often, every year. They say that whatever cattle they consecrate to Artemis grow up immune to disease and fatter than other cattle.

STIRIS

[10.35.8] The straight road to Delphi that leads through Panopeus and past Daulis and the Cleft Way, is not the only pass from Chaeroneia to Phocis. There is another road, rough and for the most part mountainous, that leads from Chaeroneia to the Phocian city of Stiris. The length of the road is one hundred

and twenty stades. The inhabitants assert that by descent they are not Phocian, but Athenian, and that they came from Attica with Peteus, the son of Orneus, when he was pursued from Athens by Aegeus. They add that, because the greater part of those who accompanied Peteus came from the parish of Stiria, the city received the name of Stiris.

[10.35.9] The people of Stiris have their dwellings on a high and rocky site. For this reason they suffer from a shortage of water in summer; the wells are few, and the water is bad that they supply. These wells give washing-water to the people and drinking-water to the beasts of burden, but for their own drinking water the people go down about four stades and draw it from a spring. The spring is in a hole dug into the rocks, and they go down to it to fetch water.

[10.35.10] In Stiris is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Stiria. It is of unburnt brick; the image is of Pentelic marble, and the goddess is holding torches. Beside her, bound with ribbons, is an image of Demeter, as ancient as any of that goddess that exists.

AMBROSSUS

[10.36.1] XXXVI. From Stiris to Ambrossus is about six stades. The road is flat, lying on the level with mountains on both sides of it. The greater part of the plain is covered with vines, and in the territory of Ambrossus grow shrubs, though not close together like the vines. This shrub the Ionians, as well as the rest of the Greeks, call *kokkos*, and the Gauls above Phrygia call it in their native speech *hys*. This kokkos grows to the size of what is called the rhamnos; the leaves are darker and softer than those of the mastich-tree, though in other respects the two are alike.

[10.36.2] Its fruit is like the fruit of the nightshade, and its size is about that of the bitter vetch. There breeds in the fruit of the kokkos a small creature. If this should reach the air when the fruit has ripened, it becomes in appearance like a gnat, and immediately flies away. But as it is they gather the fruit of the kokkos before the creature begins to move, and the blood of the creature serves as a dye for wool.

[10.36.3] Ambrossus lies at the foot of Mount Parnassus, on the side opposite to Delphi. They say that the city was named after Ambrossus, a hero. On going to war with Philip and his Macedonians the Thebans drew round Ambrossus a double wall. It is made of a local stone, black in color and very hard indeed. Each ring of wall is a little less than a fathom broad, and two and a half fathoms in height except where it has broken down.

[10.36.4] The interval between the first ring and the second is a fathom. The building of towers, of battlements, or of any ornament, has been entirely neglected, as the only object the citizens had in constructing the walls was immediate protection. There is a small market-place at Ambrossus, and of the stone statues set up in it most are broken.

[10.36.5] The road to Anticyra is at first up-hill. About two stades up the slope is a level place, and on the right of the road is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Dictynnaean, a goddess worshipped with great reverence by citizens. The image is of Aeginetan workmanship, and made of a black stone. From the sanctuary of the Dictynnaean goddess the road is downhill all the way to Anticyra. They say that in days of old the name of the city was Cyparissus, and that Homer in the list of Phocians was determined to call it by this name, although it was called Anticyra in Homer's day, because Anticyreus was a contemporary of Heracles.

[10.36.6] The city lies over against the ruins of Medeon. I have mentioned in the beginning of my account of Phocis that the people of Anticyra were guilty of sacrilege against the sanctuary at Delphi. They were driven from home by Philip, son of Amyntas, and yet once more by the Roman Otilius, because they were subjects of the Macedonian king Philip, son of Demetrius. Otilius had been despatched from Rome to help the Athenians against Philip.

[10.36.7] The mountains beyond Anticyra are very rocky, and on them grows hellebore in great profusion. Black hellebore sends those who take it to stool, and purges the bowels; the nature of the other, the white kind, is to purge by vomiting. It is the root of the hellebore which is used as a purging drug.

[10.36.8] In the market-place at Anticyra are bronze statues, and at the harbor is a small sanctuary of Poseidon, built of unhewn stones. The inside is covered with stucco. The image, which is made of bronze, is a standing figure, with one foot resting on a dolphin. On this side he has one hand upon his thigh; in his other hand is a trident.

[10.36.9] Opposite the gymnasium, in which the baths have been made, is another gymnasium, an old one, in which stands a bronze statue. The inscription on it says that Xenodamus of Anticyra, a pancratiast, won an Olympic victory in the match for men. If the inscription speaks the truth, it would seem that Xenodamus received the wild olive at the two hundred and eleventh Olympic festival. But this is the only festival omitted in the Elean records.

[10.36.10] Beyond the market-place there is in a well a spring of water. Over the well there is a roof to shelter it from the sun, with columns to support the roof. A little higher up than the well is a tomb built of any stones that came to hand. Here they say are buried the sons of Iphitus; one returned safe from Troy and died in his native land; the other, Schedius, died, they say, in the Troad, but his bones also were brought home.

[10.37.1] XXXVII. About two stades off the city there is, on the right, a high rock, which forms part of a mountain, with a sanctuary of Artemis built upon it. The image of Artemis is one of the works of Praxiteles; she carries a torch in her right hand and a quiver over her shoulders, while at her left side there is a dog. The image is taller than the tallest woman.

BULIS

[10.37.2] Bordering on the Phocian territory is a land named after Bulon, the leader of the colony, which was founded by a union of emigrants from the cities in ancient Doris. The Bulians are said of Philomelus and the Phocians . . . the general assembly. To Bulis from Thisbe in Boeotia is a journey of eighty stades; but I do not know if in Phocis there be a road by land at all from Anticyra, so rough and difficult to cross are the mountains between Anticyra and Bulis. To the harbor from Anticyra is a sail of one hundred stades, and the road by land from the harbor to Bulis we conjectured to be about seven stades long.

[10.37.3] Here a torrent falls into the sea, called by the natives Heracleius. Bulis lies on high ground, and it is passed by travellers crossing by sea from Anticyra to Lechaeum in Corinthian territory. More than half its inhabitants are fishers of the shell-fish that gives the purple dye. The buildings in Bulis are not very wonderful; among them is a sanctuary of Artemis and one of Dionysus. The images are made of wood, but we were unable to judge who was the artist. The god worshipped most by the Bulians is named by them the Greatest, a surname, I should think, of Zeus. At Bulis there is a spring called Saunium.

CIRRHA

[10.37.4] The length of the road from Delphi to Cirrha, the port of Delphi, is sixty stades. Descending to the plain you come to a race-course, where at the Pythian games the horses compete. I have told in my account of Elis the story of the Taraxippus at Olympia, and it is likely that the race-course of Apollo too may possibly harm here and there a driver, for heaven in every activity of man bestows either better fortune or worse. But the race-course itself is not of a nature to startle the horses, either by reason of a hero or on any other account.

[10.37.5] The plain from Cirrha is altogether bare, and the inhabitants will not plant trees, either because the land is under a curse, or because they know that the ground is useless for growing trees. It is said that to Cirrha . . . and they say that from Cirrha the place received its modern name. Homer, however, in the *Iliad*, and similarly in the hymn to Apollo, calls the city by its ancient name of Crisa. Afterwards the people of Cirrha behaved wickedly towards Apollo; especially in appropriating some of the god's land.

[10.37.6] So the Amphictyons determined to make war on the Cirrhaeans, put Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, at the head of their army, and brought over Solon from Athens to give them advice. They asked the oracle about victory, and the Pythian priestess replied:—

You will not take and throw down the tower of this city,
Until on my precinct shall dash the wave

Of blue-eyed Amphitrite, roaring over the winedark sea.

So Solon induced them to consecrate to the god the territory of Cirrha, in order that the sea might become neighbor to the precinct of Apollo.

[10.37.7] Solon invented another trick to outwit the Cirrhaeans. The water of the river Pleistus ran along a channel to the city, and Solon diverted it in another direction. When the Cirrhaeans still held out against the besiegers, drinking well-water and rain-water, Solon threw into the Pleistus roots of hellebore, and when he perceived that water held enough of the drug he diverted it back again into its channel. The Cirrhaeans drank without stint of the water, and those on the wall, seized with obstinate diarrhoea, deserted their posts,

[10.37.8] and the Amphictyons captured the city. They exacted punishment from the Cirrhaeans on behalf of the god, and Cirrha is the port of Delphi. Its notable sights include a temple of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, with very large images of Attic workmanship. Adrasteia has been set up by the Cirrhaeans in the same place, but she is not so large as the other images.

OZOLIAN LOCRI, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[10.38.1] XXXVIII. The territory of the Locrians called Ozolian adjoins Phocis opposite Cirrha. I have heard various stories about the surname of these Locrians, all of which I will tell my readers. Orestheus, son of Deucalion, king of the land, had a bitch that gave birth to a stick instead of a puppy. Orestheus buried the stick, and in the spring, it is said, a vine grew from it, and from the branches (*ozoi*) of the stick the people got their name.

[10.38.2] Others believe that Nessus, ferrying on the Evenus, was wounded by Heracles, but not killed on the spot, making his escape to this country; when he died his body rotted unburied, imparting a foul stench to the atmosphere of the place. The third story says that the exhalations from a certain river, and its very water, have a peculiar smell; the fourth, that asphodel grows in great abundance and when in flower . . . because of the smell.

[10.38.3] Another story says that the first dwellers here were aboriginals, but as yet not knowing how to weave garments they used to make themselves a protection against the cold out of the untanned skins of beasts, turning outwards the shaggy side of the skins for the sake of a good appearance. So their own skins were sure to smell as badly as did the hides.

AMPHISSA

[10.38.4] One hundred and twenty stades away from Delphi is Amphissa, the largest and most renowned city of Locris. The people hold that they are Aetolians, being ashamed of the name of Ozolians. Support is given to this view by the fact that, when the Roman emperor drove the Aetolians from their homes in order to found the new city of Nicopolis, the greater part of the

people went away to Amphissa. Originally, however, they came of Locrian race. It is said that the name of the city is derived from Amphissa, daughter of Macar, son of Aeolus, and that Apollo was her lover.

[10.38.5] The city is beautifully constructed, and its most notable objects are the tomb of Amphissa and the tomb of Andraemon. With him was buried, they say, his wife Gorge, daughter of Oeneus. On the citadel of Amphissa is a temple of Athena, with a standing image of bronze, brought, they say, from Troy by Thoas, being part of the spoils of that city. But I cannot accept the story.

[10.38.6] For I have stated in an earlier part of my work that two Samians, Rhoecus, son of Philaeus, and Theodorus, son of Telecles, discovered how to found bronze most perfectly, and were the first casters of that metal. I have found extant no work of Theodorus, at least no work of bronze. But in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis, as you enter the building containing the pictures, there is a stone wall above the altar of Artemis called Goddess of the First Seat. Among the images that stand upon the wall is a statue of a woman at the end, a work of Rhoecus, called by the Ephesians Night.

[10.38.7] A mere glance shows that this image is older, and of rougher workmanship, than the Athena in Amphissa. The Amphissians also celebrate mysteries in honor of the Boy Kings, as they are called. Their accounts as to who of the gods the Boy Kings are do not agree; some say they are the Dioscuri, others the Curetes, and others, who pretend to have fuller knowledge, hold them to be the Cabeiri.

MYONIA

[10.38.8] These Locrians also possess the following cities. Farther inland from Amphissa, and above it, is Myonia, thirty stades distant from it. Its people are those who dedicated the shield to Zeus at Olympia. The town lies upon a height, and it has a grove and an altar of the Gracious Gods. The sacrifices to the Gracious Gods are offered at night, and their rule is to consume the meat on the spot before sunrise. Beyond the city is a precinct of Poseidon, called Poseidonium, and a temple of Poseidon is in it. But the image had disappeared before my time.

OEANTHEIA

[10.38.9] These, then, live above Amphissa. On the coast is Oeantheia, neighbor to which is Naupactus. The others, but not Amphissa, are under the government of the Achaeans of Patrae, the emperor Augustus having granted them this privilege. In Oeantheia is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and a little beyond the city there is a grove of cypress-trees mixed with pines; in the grove is a temple of Artemis with an image. The paintings on the walls I found had lost their color with time, and nothing of them was still left worth seeing.

[10.38.10] I gather that the city got its name from a woman or a nymph, while as for Naupactus, I have heard it said that the Dorians under the sons of Aristomachus built here the vessels in which they crossed to the Peloponnesus, thus, it is said, giving to the place its name. My account of Naupactus, how the Athenians took it from the Locrians and gave it as a home to those who seceded to Ithome at the time of the earthquake at Lacedaemon, and how, after the Athenian disaster at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians expelled the Messenians from Naupactus, all this I have fully related in my history of Messenia. When the Messenians were forced to leave, the Locrians gathered again at Naupactus.

[10.38.11] The epic poem called the *Naupactia* by the Greeks is by most people assigned to a poet of Miletus, while Charon, the son of Pythes, says that it is a composition of Carcinus of Naupactus. I am one of those who agree with the Lampsacenic writer. For what reason could there be in giving the name of Naupactia to a poem about women composed by an author of Miletus?

[10.38.12] Here there is on the coast a temple of Poseidon with a standing image made of bronze; there is also a sanctuary of Artemis with an image of white marble. She is in the attitude of one hurling a javelin, and is surnamed Aetolian. In a cave Aphrodite is worshipped, to whom prayers are offered for various reasons, and especially by widows who ask the goddess to grant them marriage.

[10.38.13] The sanctuary of Asclepius I found in ruins, but it was originally built by a private person called Phalysius. For he had a complaint of the eyes, and when he was almost blind the god at Epidaurus sent to him the poetess Anyte, who brought with her a sealed tablet. The woman thought that the god's appearance was a dream, but it proved at once to be a waking vision. For she found in her own hands a sealed tablet; so sailing to Naupactus she bade Phalysius take away the seal and read what was written. He did not think it possible to read the writing with his eyes in such a condition, but hoping to get some benefit from Asclepius he took away the seal. When he had looked at the wax he recovered his sight, and gave to Anyte what was written on the tablet, two thousand staters of gold.

The Greek Text



The Gizah Pyramids — one of the many wonders recounted by Pausanias in his work

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In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek text of Pausanias' 'Description of Greece'. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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BOOK I.

Ἀττικά

1. τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νήσους τὰς Κυκλάδας καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Ἀττικῆς: καὶ λιμὴν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας. πλέοντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαυριόν τέ ἐστιν, ἔνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναῖοις ἦν ἀργύρου μέταλλα, καὶ νῆσος ἔρημος οὐ μεγάλη Πατρόκλου καλουμένη: τεῖχος γὰρ ὤκοδομήσατο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο Πάτροκλος, ὃς τριήρεσιν ὑπέπλει ναύαρχος Αἰγυπτίαις, ὃς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τιμωρεῖν ἔστειλεν Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε σφίσιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου στρατιᾷ τε αὐτὸς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης κατεῖργεν.

[2] ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίους ἤρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν: Φαληρὸν δέ — ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα —, τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν, καὶ Μενεσθέα φασὶν αὐτόθεν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τροίαν ἀναχθῆναι καὶ τούτου πρότερον Θησέα δώσοντα Μίνῳ δίκας τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἤρξε — τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετό οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ — τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο: καὶ νεῶς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἴκοι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. φασὶ γὰρ μεταμελῆσαι τῶν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες τὰ ὁστᾶ κομίσαιεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες: φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ κατελθόντες καὶ γραφὴν ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναθέντες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος.

[3] θέας δὲ ἄξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶ καὶ Διὸς τέμενος: χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ Νίκην, ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ δόρυ. ἐνταῦθα Λεωσθένην, ὃς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἡγούμενος Μακεδόνας ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ αὖθις ἔξω Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ βιασάμενος ἐς Λάμιαν κατέκλεισε τὴν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Οἴτης, τοῦτον τὸν Λεωσθένην καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔγραψεν Ἀρκεσίλαος. ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς μακρᾶς, ἔνθα καθέστηκεν ἀγορὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης — καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπωτέρω τοῦ λιμένος ἐστὶν ἐτέρα —, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στοᾶς ὀπισθεν ἐστᾶσι Ζεὺς καὶ Δῆμος, Λεωχάρους ἔργον. πρὸς δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ Κόνων ὤκοδόμησεν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, τριήρεις Λακεδαιμονίων κατεργασάμενος περὶ Κνίδον τὴν ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ χερρονήσῳ. Κνίδιοι γὰρ τιμῶσιν Ἀφροδίτην μάλιστα, καὶ σφισιν ἐστὶν ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον Δωρίτιδος, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀκράϊας, νεώτατον δὲ ἦν Κνιδίαν οἱ πολλοί, Κνίδιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν Εὐπλοίαν. [4] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίους ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμὴν καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Δήμητρος ἱερόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἐστὶ

καὶ Διὸς ἀπωτέρω, βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων Ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησέως καὶ Φαληροῦ· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Φαληρὸν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεῦσαι μετὰ Ἰάσονός φασιν ἐς Κόλχους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἥρωος· Ἀνδρόγεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασιν οἷς ἐστὶν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ ἐγγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι.

[5] ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἄκρα Κωλιάς· ἐς ταύτην φθαρέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ Μήδων κατήνεγκεν ὁ κλύδων τὰ ναυάγια. Κωλιάδος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί· δοκῶ δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θεάς, ἃς καλοῦσι Γενναΐδας, εἶναι ταῖς ἐπὶ Κωλιάδι τὰς αὐτάς. — ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἥρας οὔτε θύρας ἔχων οὔτε ὄροφον· Μαρδόνιον φασιν αὐτὸν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν Γωβρύου. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν δὴ, καθὰ λέγουσιν, Ἀλκαμένους ἐστὶν ἔργον· οὐκ ἂν τοῦτό γε ὁ Μῆδος εἶη λελωβημένος.

2. ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνῆμα Ἀμαζόνος. ταύτην τὴν Ἀντιόπην Πίνδαρος μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἀρπασθῆναι, Τροϊζηνίῳ δὲ Ἠγία τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν πεποίηται· Ἡρακλέα Θεμίσκυραν πολιορκοῦντα τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ἐλεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι, Θησέως δὲ ἐρασθεῖσαν Ἀντιόπην — στρατεῦσαι γὰρ ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Θησέᾳ — παραδοῦναι τε τὸ χωρίον. τάδε μὲν Ἠγίας πεποίηκεν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ φασιν, ἐπεὶ τε ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες, Ἀντιόπην μὲν ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας τοξευθῆναι, Μολπαδίαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως. καὶ μνῆμά ἐστι καὶ Μολπαδίας Ἀθηναίσις. [2] ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστὶν, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδω ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε· τὰ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οἰκοδομηθέντα τὴν Μήδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθηρέθη τῶν τριάκοντα ὀνομαζομένων. εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι Μενάνδρου τοῦ Διοπείθους καὶ μνῆμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν· τέθαιπται δὲ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐλθὼν Ἀρχέλαον, ὁ δὲ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπος — πολλοῖς γὰρ ἐστὶν εἰρημένος — ἐχέτω καθὰ λέγουσιν.

[3] συνῆσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ποιηταὶ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι καὶ Πολυκράτει Σάμου τυραννοῦντι Ἀνακρέων παρῆν καὶ ἐς Συρακούσας πρὸς Ἱέρωνα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν· Διονυσίῳ δὲ, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Φιλόξενος παρῆν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι Ἀνταγόρας Ῥόδιος καὶ Σολεὺς Ἄρατος. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἢ συγγενέσθαι βασιλεῦσιν ἠτύχησαν ἢ καὶ ἐκόντες ὠλιγόωρησαν, ὁ μὲν ἀγροικία καὶ ὀκνῶ πλάνης, Ὅμηρος δὲ ἀποδημήσας ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἐς χρήματα παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑστέραν θέμενος τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὅμηρῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἀλκίῳ παρεῖναι Δημόδοκον καὶ ὡς Ἀγαμέμνων καταλείπει τινὰ παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ ποιητὴν. — ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπιθήμα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵπῳ παρεστηκότα· ὄντινα μὲν, οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν. [4] ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστὶ τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. καὶ πλησίον ναὸς ἐστὶ Δήμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δῶδα ἔχων Ἰακχος· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. τοῦ

ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶν ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἵππου, δόρυ ἀφιεῖς ἐπὶ γίγαντα Πολυβῶτην, ἐς ὃν Κῶϊος ὁ μῦθος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἔχει τῆς Χελώνης· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἄλλω δίδωσι καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶνι. στοαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαὶ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν ὧν τις λόγος ἐς δόξαν.

[5] ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἑρμοῦ καλούμενον· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλυτίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀνεῖτο Διονύσω. Διόνυσον δὲ τοῦτον καλοῦσι Μελλόμενον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ἐφ' ὁποῖω περ Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγέτην. ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς ἀγάλμα Παιωνίας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου, καὶ δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον Ἄκρατος· πρόσωπόν ἐστὶν οἱ μόνον ἐνφοδομημένον τοίχῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενός ἐστιν οἶκημα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ, βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύων ἄλλους τε θεοὺς ἐστῶν καὶ Διόνυσον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Πήγασός ἐστιν Ἑλευθερεὺς, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν θεὸν ἐσήγαγε· συνεπελάβετο δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον ἀναμνήσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰκαρίου ποτὲ ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. [6] τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀμφικτύων ἔσχεν οὕτως. Ἀκταῖον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀττικῇ βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου, καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν Ἔρση καὶ Ἀγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος, υἱὸς δὲ Ἑρυσίχθων· οὗτος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντος τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Κέκροπος Κραναὸς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προύχων. Κραναῷ δὲ θυγατέρας καὶ ἄλλας καὶ Ἀτθίδα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀττικὴν τὴν χώραν, πρότερον καλουμένην Ἀκταίαν. Κραναῷ δὲ Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαναστάς, θυγατέρα ὅμως ἔχων αὐτοῦ, παύει τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων ἐκπίπτει· πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν.

3. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου· πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς, ἀφιεῖς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρουσα Ἥμερα Κέφαλον, ὃν κάλλιστον γενόμενόν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἐρασθεῖσης ἀρπασθῆναι· καὶ οἱ παῖδα γενέσθαι Φαέθοντα, ὃν ὕστερον ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἦρπασε * * * καὶ φύλακα ἐποίησε τοῦ ναοῦ. ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἴρηκεν ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας. [2] πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας, ὃς καὶ τὰς τριῆρεις τὰς Φοινίσσας ἔπραξε παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου δοθῆναι Κόνωνι· ἔπραξε δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γενεαλογῶν ἐς προγόνους ἀνέβαινε Τεύκρον καὶ Κινύρου θυγατέρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἑλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὧν ἦρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων. [3] στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ

τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησεύς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ ἄῤῃμος. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ γραφή Θησεά εἶναι τὸν καταστήσαντα Ἀθηναίους ἐξ ἴσου πολυτεύεσθαι: κεχώρηκε δὲ φήμη καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡς Θησεὺς παραδοίῃ τὰ πράγματα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου δημοκρατούμενοι διαμείναιεν, πρὶν ἢ Πεισίστρατος ἐτυράννησεν ἐπαναστάς. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνηκόοις οὖσι καὶ ὁπόσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγωδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Θησεά, ὃς αὐτὸς τε ἐβασίλευσε καὶ ὕστερον Μενεσθέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ ἐς τετάρτην οἱ Θησεῖδαι γενεὰν διέμειναν ἄρχοντες. εἰ δέ μοι γενεαλογεῖν ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μελάνθου βασιλεύσαντας ἐς Κλείδικον τὸν Αἰσιμίδου καὶ τούτους ἂν ἀπηριθμησάμην. [4] ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οἱ βοηθήσαντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν. συνέγραψαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ξενοφῶν τὸν πάντα πόλεμον, κατάληψιν τε τῆς Καδμείας καὶ τὸ παῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὡς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐσέβαλον Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐλθοῦσαν: ἐν δὲ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐστὶ μάχη, ἐν ἣ γνωριμώτατοι Γρύλος τε ὁ Ξενοφῶντος ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἵππον τὴν Βοιωτίαν Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίους καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶν ἐπὶ κλησιν: πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίῳ πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

[5] ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον, οἱ βουλευουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖοις: Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ ἄῤῃμος ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος, Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον, ὃς Ἀθηναίους ἐς

Θερμοπύλας ἤγαγε φυλάζοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολήν.

4. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται οὗτοι νέμονται τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ θαλάσση πολλῇ καὶ ἐς τὰ πέρατα οὐ πλωίμῳ, παρέχεται δὲ ἄμπωτιν καὶ ῥαχίαν καὶ θηρία οὐδὲν εἰκότα τοῖς ἐν θαλάσση τῇ λοιπῇ: καὶ σφίσι διὰ τῆς χώρας ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Ἡριδανός, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Ἥλιου ὀδύρεσθαι νομίζουσι τὸ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πάθος. ὁπρὲ δὲ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησεν: Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο. συλλεγείσα δὲ σφίσι στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, καὶ τό τε Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ὥκει καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε Θεσσαλίαν τε ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς Θερμοπυλῶν ἐγίνοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἡσυχάζον τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅτε ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλως καὶ Φιλίππου κακωθέντες πρότερον: καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὕστερον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥστε ἕκαστοι δι' ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζον ἀπεῖναι τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς τῆς βοηθείας.

[2] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπειρήκεσαν μήκει τοῦ

Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου καὶ προσπταίνοντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐξιέναι δὲ ὁμῶς ὥρμηντο ἐς τὰς Θερμοπύλας σὺν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Κάλλιππον τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι. καταλαβόντες δὲ ἡ στενωτάτον ἦν, τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶργον τοὺς βαρβάρους: ἀνευρόντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, ἦν καὶ Μήδοις ποτὲ Ἐφιάλτης ἡγήσατο ὁ Τραχίνιος, καὶ βιασάμενοι Φωκέων τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐπ’ αὐτῇ λανθάνουσι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπερβαλόντες τὴν Οἶτην. [3] ἔνθα δὴ πλείστου παρέσχοντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀξίους, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὥς ἐκυκλώθησαν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους: οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν ἅτε τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ τέλματος πρὸς ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ὄντος: αἴτιον δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ταύτῃ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκρέον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. μείζονα οὖν εἶχον οὗτοι πόνον: ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα τοὺς Ἑλληνας ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τε ὅπλων βαρεῖαις καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐβιάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ πλεῖν. [4] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον ἔσωζον, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται Πυλῶν τε ἐντὸς ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολίσματα ἐλεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι Δελφούς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ θεοῦ διαρπάσαι μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδὴν. καὶ σφισιν αὐτοὶ τε Δελφοὶ καὶ Φωκέων ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ τὰς πόλεις περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκοῦντες, ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ δύναμις Αἰτωλῶν: τὸ γὰρ Αἰτωλικὸν προεῖχεν ἀκμῇ νεότητος τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα κεραυνοὶ τε ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ ἀπορραγεῖσαι πέτραι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, δειματὰ τε ἄνδρες ἐφίσταντο ὀπλίται τοῖς βαρβάροις: τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, Ὑπέροχον καὶ Ἀμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πύρρον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέως: ἐναγίζουσι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοὶ τῆς συμμαχίας Πύρρω, πρότερον ἔχοντες ἅτε ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου καὶ τὸ μνημα ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ. [5] Γαλατῶν δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάντες τὰ παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς ἐλεηλάτουν: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Πέργαμον ἔχοντες, πάλαι δὲ Τευθρανίαν καλουμένην, ἐς ταύτην Γαλάτας ἐλαύνουσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐκτὸς Σαγγαρίου χώραν ἔσχον Ἀγκυραν πόλιν ἐλόντες Φρυγῶν, ἦν Μίδας ὁ Γορδίου πρότερον ᾤκισεν — ἄγκυρα δέ, ἦν ὁ Μίδας ἀνεῦρεν, ἦν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς καὶ κρήνῃ Μίδου καλουμένη: ταύτην οἶνω κεράσαι Μίδαν φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Σιληνοῦ —, ταύτην τε δὴ τὴν Ἀγκυραν εἶλον καὶ Πεσσινοῦντα τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἀγδιστιν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἄττην τεθάφθαι λέγουσι. [6] Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ἔστι μὲν σκῦλα ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν, ἔστι δὲ γραφὴ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἔχουσα. ἦν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί, Καβεῖρων ἱεράν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον: αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι τῶν ὁμοῦ Τηλέφῳ διαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πολέμων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων, εἰ δὴ τινες ἐπολέμησαν, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας κεχώρηκεν ἡ φήμη: τρία δὲ γνωριμώτατα ἐξείργασταί σφισι, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ τῆς κάτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἀναχώρησις καὶ τὸ ἐς τοὺς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφου τόλμημα, ὅτε Ἑλληνες ἀμαρτόντες Ἰλίου τὸ πεδῖον ἐλεηλάτουν τὸ Μήιον ὥς γῆν τὴν Τρωάδα. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐξέβην τοῦ λόγου.

5. τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσί τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ’ ὧν

Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί: ὅστις δὲ κατεστήσατο δέκα ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλᾶς εἶναι καὶ μετέθετό σφισι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων, Ἡροδότῳ καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν εἰρημένα. [2] τῶν δὲ ἐπωνύμων — καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω σφᾶς — ἔστι μὲν Ἴπποθόων Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλόπης θυγατρὸς Κερκυόνης, ἔστι δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους, γενόμενος ἐκ Μήδας Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς Φύλαντος, καὶ τρίτος Αἴας ὁ Τελαμῶνος, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων Λεώς: δοῦναι δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ λέγεται κοινῇ τὰς θυγατέρας τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. Ἐρεχθεὺς τέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις, ὃς ἐνίκησεν Ἐλευσινίους μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἴμμάραδον τὸν Εὐμόλπου: Αἰγεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Οἰνεὺς Πανδίωνος υἱὸς νόθος καὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων Ἀκάμας. [3] Κέκροπα δὲ καὶ Πανδίωνα — εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις εἰκόνας — οὐκ οἶδα οὓς ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ: πρότερός τε γὰρ ἦρξε Κέκροψ, ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα ἔσχε, καὶ ὕστερος, ὃς δὴ καὶ μετόφησεν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, Ἐρεχθέως υἱὸς τοῦ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου. καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὃ τε Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου: τοῦτον Μητιονίδαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρα — θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πύλα τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Μεγάρῳ — συνεκπίπτουσιν οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Πανδίωνα μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οἱ πρὸς θαλάσῃ μνημᾶ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς Αἰθυῖας καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ: [4] οἱ δὲ παῖδες κατίαςί τε ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων ἐκβαλόντες Μητιονίδας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Αἰγεὺς πρεσβύτατος ὦν ἔσχε. θυγατέρας δὲ οὐ σὺν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι ἔθρεψεν ὁ Πανδίων, οὐδέ οἱ τιμωροὶ παῖδες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλείφθησαν: καίτοι δυνάμεώς γε ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸν Θρᾶκα τὸ κῆδος ἐποίησατο. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ παραβῆναι τὸ καθῆκον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ: λέγουσιν ὡς Τηρεὺς συνοικῶν Πρόκνη Φιλομήλαν ἥσυχνεν, οὐ κατὰ νόμον δράσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔτι λωβησάμενος τῇ παιδί ἡγαγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναῖκας. Πανδίονι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει θέας ἄξιος. [5] οἶδε μὲν εἰσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρχαίων: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε φυλᾶς ἔχουσιν, Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἤδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ τῆς τε ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθόντος καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκάστοις παρασχομένου. καὶ ἐς μὲν πόλεμον οὐδένα ἐκούσιος κατέστη, Ἑβραίους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρων ἐχειρώσατο ἀποστάντας: ὅποσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ μὲν ὠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἢ δωρεὰς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν Ἑλληνίσι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς δεηθεῖσιν, ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ.

6. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀτταλον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡλικία τε ἦν ἀρχαιότερα, ὥς μὴ μένειν ἔτι τὴν φήμην αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ συγγενόμενοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ συγγραφῇ τῶν ἔργων καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἡμελήθησαν: τούτων ἔνεκά μοι καὶ τὰ τῶνδε ἐπὶ ἡλθε δηλῶσαι ἔργα τε ὅποια ἔπραξαν καὶ ὡς ἐς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν περιεχώρησεν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἡ Μυσῶν καὶ τῶν προσοίκων ἀρχή.

[2] Πτολεμαῖον Μακεδόνες Φιλίππου παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀμύντου, λόγῳ δὲ Λάγου νομίζουσι: τὴν γὰρ οἱ μητέρα ἔχουσιν ἐν γαστρὶ δοθῆναι γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Λάγῳ. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ λέγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ λαμπρὰ

ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινδύνου ξυμβάντος ἐν Ὁξυδράκαις μάλιστα οἱ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀμῦναι. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς ἐς Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν πᾶσαν ἄγουσιν ἀρχὴν ἀντιστὰς αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἐς τὰς βασιλείας αἴτιος τὰ ἔθνη νεμηθῆναι.

[3] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον διαβὰς Κλεομένην τε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὃν σατραπεύειν Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος, Περδίκκα νομίζων εὖνουν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πιστὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς ταχθέντας τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἐς Αἰγὰς κομίζειν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν νόμῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει, οἷα δὲ ἐπιστάμενος πολεμήσοντα Περδίκκαν Αἰγυπτον εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ. Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς στρατείας ἐπήγετο Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ Ῥωξάνης τῆς Ὁξυάρτου γεγονότα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεβούλευεν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλείαν· ἐξωσθεὶς δὲ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔτι οὐχ ὁμοίως θαυμαζόμενος, διαβεβλημένος δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. [4] Πτολεμαῖον δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς τὰ πράγματα ὁ Περδίκκου θάνατος ἐπέστησε· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Σύρους καὶ Φοινίκην εἶλε, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φεύγοντα ὑπεδέξατο Σέλευκον τὸν Ἀντιόχου, καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο ὥς ἀμυνόμενος Ἀντίγονον. καὶ Κάσσανδρον τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσίμαχον βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θράκῃ μετασχεῖν ἔπεισε τοῦ πολέμου, φυγὴν λέγων τὴν Σελεύκου καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον φοβερόν σφισιν εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐξηθέντα. [5] Ἀντίγονος δὲ τέως μὲν ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ πολέμου καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ παντάπασιν ἐθάρρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπύθετο στρατεῦειν Πτολεμαῖον ἀφεστηκότων Κυρηναίων, αὐτίκα Σύρους καὶ Φοινίκας εἶλεν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, παραδοὺς δὲ Δημητρίῳ τῷ παιδί, ἡλικίαν μὲν νέφ φρονεῖν δὲ ἤδη δοκοῦντι, καταβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι πάλιν ἦγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Δημήτριον ἀκούων ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου μάχῃ κεκρατῆσθαι· Δημήτριος δὲ οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐξειστήκει Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς χώρας καὶ τινας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λοχήσας διέφθειρεν οὐ πολλούς. τότε δὲ ἦκοντα Ἀντίγονον οὐχ ὑπομείνας Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. [6] διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος Δημήτριος πλεύσας ἐς Κύπρον Μενέλαον σατράπην Πτολεμαίου ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιδιαβάντα ἐνίκησε· φεύγοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἀντίγονός τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐπολιόρκει καὶ Δημήτριος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐς πᾶν ἀφικόμενος κινδύνου διέσωσεν ὅμως τὴν ἀρχὴν στρατιᾷ τε

ἀντικαθήμενος ἐπὶ Πηλουσίῳ καὶ τριήρεσιν ἀμυνόμενος ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ἀντίγονος δὲ Αἴγυπτον μὲν αἰρήσειν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὐδεμίαν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐλπίδα, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥόδιους στρατιᾷ πολλῇ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔστειλεν, ὥς εἴ οἱ προσγένοιτο ἢ νῆσος ὀρμητηρίῳ χρήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐλπίζων· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Ῥόδιοι τολμήματα καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεις παρέσχοντο ἐς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας καὶ Πτολεμαῖός σφισιν ἐς ὅσον δυνάμεως ἦκε συνήρατο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. [7] Ἀντίγονος δὲ Ῥόδου τε ἀμαρτῶν καὶ Αἰγύπτου πρότερον, οὐ πολλῷ τούτων ὕστερον ἀντιτάξασθαι Λυσιμάχῳ τολμήσας καὶ Κασσάνδρῳ τε καὶ τῇ Σελεύκου στρατιᾷ, τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπώλεσε τὸ πολὺ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανε ταλαιπωρήσας μάλιστα τῷ μήκει τοῦ πρὸς Εὐμένην πολέμου. τῶν δὲ

βασιλέων τῶν καθελόντων Ἀντίγονον ἀνοσιώτατον κρίνω γενέσθαι Κάσσανδρον, ὃς δι' Ἀντιγόνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀνασώσάμενος πολεμήσων ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην. [8] ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου Πτολεμαῖος Σύρους τε αὖθις καὶ Κύπρον εἴλε, κατήγαγε δὲ καὶ Πύρρον ἐς τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα ἡπειρον· Κυρήνης δὲ ἀποστάσης Μάγας Βερενίκης υἱὸς Πτολεμαῖφ τότε συνοικοῦσης ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν εἴλε Κυρήνην. — εἰ δὲ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἀληθεῖ λόγφ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου παῖς ἦν, ἴστω τὸ ἐπιμανὲς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κεκτημένος, ὃς Εὐρυδίκη τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου συνοικῶν ὄντων οἱ παῖδων Βερενίκης ἐς ἔρωτα ἦλθεν, ἦν Ἀντίπατρος Εὐρυδίκη συνέπεμψεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐρασθεῖς παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὥς ἦν οἱ πλησίον ἡ τελευταίη, Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέλιπεν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἡ φυλὴ, γεγονότα ἐκ Βερενίκης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου θυγατρὸς.

7. οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεῖς ἔγνηεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὧν ἦρχε. δεύτερα δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀργαῖον ἐπιβουλευόντα, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μέμφιδος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν γεγονότα ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης, Κυπρίου ἀφιστάντα αἰσθόμενος. Μάγας δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτριος Πτολεμαίου παρὰ Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς ἀξιώθεις ἐπιτροπεύειν Κυρήνην — ἐγγένοι δὲ ἐκ Φιλίππου τῇ Βερενίκῃ Μακεδόνας μὲν, ἄλλως δὲ ἀγνώστου καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ δήμου —, τότε δὴ οὗτος ὁ Μάγας ἀποστήσας Πτολεμαίου Κυρηναίους ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. [2] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν τὴν ἐσβολὴν φραζάμενος ὑπέμενεν ἐπιόντας Κυρηναίους, Μάγα δὲ ἀπαγγέλλεται καθ' ὁδὸν ἀφεστηκέναι Μαρμαρίδας· εἰσι δὲ Λιβύων οἱ Μαρμαρίδαι τῶν νομάδων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀπηλλάσσετο· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὠρμημένον διώκειν αἰτία τοιάδε ἐπέσχε·ν. ἡνίκα παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιόντα ἀμύνεσθαι Μάγαν, ξένους ἐπηγάγετο καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισχίλους· τούτους λαβὼν ἐπιβουλευόντας κατασχεῖν Αἴγυπτον, ἀνήγαγε σφᾶς ἐς νῆσον ἔρημον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ· [3] Μάγας δὲ ἤδη γυναῖκα ἔχων Ἀπάμην Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σελεύκου θυγατέρα, ἔπεισεν Ἀντίοχον παραβάντα ἃς ὁ πατήρ οἱ Σέλευκος ἐποίησατο συνθήκας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, ἐλαύνειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὠρμημένου δὲ Ἀντιόχου στρατεύειν, Πτολεμαῖος διέπεμψεν ἐς ἅπαντας ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενεστέροις ληστὰς κατατρέχειν τὴν γῆν, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν δυνατότεροι στρατιᾷ κατεῖργεν, ὥστε Ἀντιόχφ μήποτε ἐγγενέσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πρότερον εἰρηταῖ μοι ὡς ναυτικὸν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδόνας· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐγένετο ἐς σωτηρίαν Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης, οὐ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Λυσιμάχου δὲ θυγατρὸς· τὴν δὲ οἱ συνοικήσασαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, καὶ νομός ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόϊτης Αἰγυπτίσις.

8. ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἄτταλον ἔχοντα, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίσις. ἀνὴρ Μακεδὼν Δόκιμος ὄνομα, στρατηγὸς

Ἀντιγόνη, Λυσισμάχῳ παραδοὺς ὕστερον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, Φιλεταίρῳ Παφλαγὸνα εἶχεν εὐνοῦχον. ὅσα μὲν δὴ Φιλεταίρῳ πεπραγμένα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐστὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Λυσισμάχου καὶ ὡς Σέλευκον ἐπηγάγετο, ἔσται μοι τῶν ἐς Λυσισμάχον παρενθήκη: ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος Ἀττάλου μὲν παῖς ὢν, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ Φιλεταίρου, τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐμένους παραδόντος ἔσχεν ἀνεψιοῦ. μέγιστον δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ τῶν ἔργων: Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀναφυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσα Πλοῦτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα Λυκοῦργός τε κεῖται χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας, ὃς πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔπραξε τὴν εἰρήνην: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης, ὃν ἐς Καλαυρείαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πρὸ Τροιζῆνος νῆσον ἠνάγκασαν ἀποχωρῆσαι, δεξάμενοι δὲ ὕστερον διώκουσιν αὐτὴς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λαμῖα πληγὴν.

[3] Δημοσθένης δὲ ὡς τὸ δεύτερον ἔφυγε, περαιοῦται καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Καλαυρείαν, ἔνθα δὴ πῶν φάρμακον ἐτελεύτησεν: φυγάδα τε Ἑλλήνα μόνον τοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν Ἀρχίας. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίας οὗτος Θούριος ὢν ἔργον ἤρατο ἀνόσιον: ὅσοι Μακεδόσιν ἔπραξαν ἐναντία πρὶν ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸ παῖσμα τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γενέσθαι, τούτους ἦγεν Ἀρχίας Ἀντιπάτρῳ δώσοντας δίκην. Δημοσθένει μὲν ἢ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἄγαν εὖνοια ἐς τοῦτο ἐχώρησεν: εὖ δὲ μοι λελέχθαι δοκεῖ ἄνδρα ἀφειδῶς ἐκπεσόντα ἐς πολιτείαν καὶ πιστὰ ἠγησάμενον τὰ τοῦ δήμου μήποτε καλῶς τελευτήσαι. [4] τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνης πλησίον Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐνυοῦς ἀγαλμά ἐστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους: περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην, ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίοις ὡς λέγεται νόμους γράψας καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὐρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπήνεσεν ἄσμα ποιήσας.

[5] οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἱππαρχον: αἰτία δὲ ἣτις ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὄντινα τρόπον ἔπραξαν, ἐτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ: Ξέρξου δέ, ὡς εἶλεν Ἀθήνας ἐκλιπόντων τὸ ἄστυ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαγαγομένου καὶ τούτους ἄτε λάφυρα, κατέπεμψεν ὕστερον Ἀθηναίοις Ἀντίοχος. [6] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων. ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοί σφισιν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπὶ κλησις ἄλλῃ: καὶ γὰρ Φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Λάγου Σωτήρα παραδόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ μὲν Φιλάδελφός ἐστιν οὗ καὶ πρότερον μνήμην ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις ἐποίησάμην, πλησίον δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν.

9. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ καλούμενος ὄγδοος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπόγονος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ. οὐ γάρ τινα τῶν βασιλέων μισηθέντα ἴσμεν ἐς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ μητρός, ὃν πρεσβύτατον ὄντα τῶν παιδῶν ἢ μήτηρ οὐκ εἶα καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Κύπρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς

πεμφθῆναι πράξασα: τῆς δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δυσνοίας λέγουσιν ἄλλας τε αἰτίας καὶ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν νεώτερον τῶν παίδων κατήκοον ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἤλπιζε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπειθεν Αἰγυπτίους:

[2] ἐναντιούμενου δὲ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους, δεύτερα ἐς τὴν Κύπρον ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, στρατηγὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δι' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίῳ θέλουσα εἶναι φοβερωτέρα, τέλος δὲ κατατρώσασα οὓς μάλιστα τῶν εὐνούχων ἐνόμιζεν εὖνους, ἐπήγετο σφᾶς ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αὐτὴ τε ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους τοιαῦτα ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθόντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς δὲ σφᾶς ἔφθασεν ἐπιβάς νεῶς, Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκοντα ἐκ Κύπρου ποιοῦνται βασιλέα. [3] Κλεοπάτραν δὲ περιῆλθεν ἡ δίκη τῆς Πτολεμαίου φυγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃν αὐτὴ βασιλεύειν ἔπραξεν Αἰγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ ἔργου φωραθέντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβῳ τῶν πολιτῶν φεύγοντος, οὕτω Πτολεμαῖος κατήλθε καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔσχεν Αἴγυπτον: καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπολέμησεν ἀποσταῖσι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐκάκωσεν, ὡς μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα λειφθῆναι Θηβαίοις τῆς ποτε εὐδαιμονίας προελθούσης ἐς τοσοῦτον ὡς ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων πολυχρημάτους, τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀρχομενίους. Πτολεμαῖον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τούτων ὕστερον ἐπέλαβε μοῖρα ἢ καθήκουσα: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόντες εὖ πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἐξηγήσεως χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Βερενίκην ἀνέθηκαν, ἡ μόνη γνησία οἱ τῶν παίδων ἦν. [4] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φιλίππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κεῖνται: τούτοις μείζονα ὑπῆρχε πως ἢ ἄλλου πάρεργα εἶναι λόγου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τιμῇ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ εὐεργέταις οὔσι γεγόνασιν αἱ δωρεαί, Φιλίπῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κολακεία μᾶλλον ἐς αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχος οὐκ εὐνοία τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.

[5] ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος οὗτος γένος τε ἦν Μακεδὼν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρος, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρός ποτε ὑπ' ὀργῆς λέοντι ὁμοῦ καθεῖρξας ἐς οἶκημα κεκρατηκότα εὔρε τοῦ θηρίου: τά τε οὖν ἄλλα ἤδη διετέλει θαυμάζων καὶ Μακεδόνων ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Θρακῶν ἐβασίλευεν ὁ Λυσίμαχος τῶν προσοίκων Μακεδόσιν, ὅσων ἦρχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Φίλιππος: εἶεν δ' ἂν οὗτοι τοῦ Θρακίου μοῖρα οὐ μεγάλη. Θρακῶν δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδένες πλείους εἰσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ Κελτοὶ πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐν ἀντεξετάζοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς πω πρότερος Θράκας Ῥωμαίων κατεστρέψατο ἀθρόους: Ῥωμαίοις δὲ Θράκη τε πᾶσά ἐστιν ὑποχείριος, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσον μὲν ἀχρεῖον νομίζουσι διὰ τε ὑπερβάλλον ψῦχος καὶ γῆς φανλότητα, ἐκουσίως παρῶπταί σφισι, τὰ δὲ ἀξιώκτητα ἔχουσι καὶ τούτων.

[6] τότε δὲ ὁ Λυσίμαχος πρώτοις τῶν περιοίκων ἐπολέμησεν Ὀδρύσαις, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην καὶ Γέτας ἐστράτευσεν: οἷα δὲ ἀνδράσι συμβαλὼν οὐκ ἀπείροις πολέμων, ἀριθμῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὑπερβεβληκόσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου διέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ οἱ παῖς Ἀγαθοκλῆς συστρατευόμενος τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἐάλω. Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ

ὑστερον προσπταίσας μάχαις καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ ποιούμενος συνέθετο πρὸς Δρομιχαίτην εἰρήνην, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ πέραν Ἰστρου παρεῖς τῷ Γέτῃ καὶ θυγατέρα συνοικίσας ἀνάγκη τὸ πλεόν: οἱ δὲ οὐκ Ἀγαθοκλέα, Λυσίμαχον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι λέγουσιν, ἀνασωθῆναι δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γέτην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος. ὥς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Λυσάνδραν γυναικα ἡγάγετο, Πτολεμαίου τε τοῦ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδίκης οὖσαν. [7] διέβη δὲ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντιγόνου συγκαθεῖλε. συνώκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν, ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίους τε οἰκίτορας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν πόλεις, ὥς Φοίνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἄλωσιν. Ἑρμησιάνῃ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεία γράψας οὐκέτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περιῆν: πάντως γάρ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ ἀλούσῃ Κολοφῶνι ὠδύρατο. Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Πύρρον κατέστη τὸν Αἰακίδου: φυλάξας δὲ ἐξ Ἡπείρου ἀπionτα, οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκείνος ἐπλανᾶτο, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐληλάτησεν Ἡπειρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας ἦλθε τῶν βασιλέων. [8] τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν οὐ πιστά, Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ἔγραψε Καρδιανὸς Λυσίμαχον τὰς θήκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελόντα τὰ ὅσα ἐκρίψαι. ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος οὗτος ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράψαι τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεσθαι: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν παντάπασιν ἐστὶ φανερὸς ἐπηρεῖα

συνθεῖς, ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα θήκας νεκρῶν ἀνελεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ ἡπίστατο δὴ που καὶ Λυσίμαχος οὐ Πύρρου σφᾶς προγόνους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὄντας: καὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρος Ἡπειρώτης τε ἦν καὶ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἥ τε ὑστερον Πύρρου πρὸς Λυσίμαχον συμμαχία δηλοῖ καὶ πολεμήσασιν ἀδιάλλακτόν γε οὐδὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι σφίσι. τῷ δὲ Ἱερωνύμῳ τάχα μὲν που καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλήματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανὴν πόλιν ἀνελὼν Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ὤκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θρακίας χερρονήσου.

10. Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀριδαίου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὑστερον Κασσάνδρου καὶ τῶν παιδῶν φιλία διέμεινε πρὸς Μακεδόνας: περιελθούσης δὲ ἐς Δημητρίον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη Λυσίμαχος πολεμήσεσθαι ἤλπιζεν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἡξίου πολέμου, πατρῶον ἐπιστάμενος ὃν Δημητρίῳ προσπεριβάλλεσθαι τι ἐθέλειν καὶ ἅμα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετὰπεμπτον ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Κασσάνδρου, ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο, αὐτόν τε Ἀλεξάνδρον φονεύσαντα καὶ ἔχοντα ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. [2] τούτων ἔνεκα Δημητρίῳ συμβαλὼν πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκπεσεῖν Θράκης, ἀμύναντος δὲ οἱ Πύρρου τὴν τε Θράκην κατέσχε καὶ ὑστερον ἐπῆρξε Νεστίων καὶ Μακεδόνων: τὸ δὲ πολὺ Μακεδονίας αὐτὸς Πύρρος κατεῖχε, δυνάμει τε ἥκων ἐξ Ἡπείρου καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔχων ἐπιτηδεῖως. Δημητρίου δὲ διαβάντος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Σελεύκῳ πολεμοῦντος, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἀντεῖχε τὰ Δημητρίου, διέμεινεν ἡ Πύρρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου συμμαχία: γενομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Σελεύκῳ Δημητρίου Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Πύρρῳ διελύθη ἡ φιλία, καὶ καταστάντων ἐς πόλεμον Λυσίμαχος Ἀντιγόνῳ τε τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ Πύρρῳ πολεμήσας

ἐκράτησε παρὰ πολὺ καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἔσχεν, ἀναχωρῆσαι Πύρρον βιασάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἥπειρον. [3] εἰώθασι δὲ ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα πολλαὶ συμφοραί. Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ἡλικία τε ἤδη προήκων καὶ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτός τε νομιζόμενος εὐδαίμων καὶ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ παῖδων ὄντων ἐκ Λυσάνδρας Ἀρσινόην ἔγχευεν ἀδελφὴν Λυσάνδρας. ταύτην τὴν Ἀρσινόην φοβουμένην ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ, μὴ Λυσιμάχου τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ γένωνται, τούτων ἔνεκα Ἀγαθοκλεῖ ἐπιβουλευσαι λέγεται. ἥδη δὲ ἔγραψαν καὶ ὡς Ἀγαθοκλέους ἀφίκοιτο ἐς ἔρωτα ἡ Ἀρσινόη, ἀποτυγχάνουσα δὲ ἔτι τῷ βουλευσάμην λέγουσιν Ἀγαθοκλεῖ θάνατον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Λυσίμαχος αἰσθοίτο ὕστερον τὰ τολμηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, εἶναι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι οἱ πλέον ἡρημωμένῳ φίλων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. [4] ὡς γὰρ δὴ τότε ὁ Λυσίμαχος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἀρσινόη παρήκε, Λυσάνδρα παρὰ Σέλευκον ἐκδιδράσκει τούς τε παῖδας ἅμα ἀγομένη καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοὺς αὐτῆς, τοῖς περιελθὼν τοῦτο ἐς Πτολεμαῖον καταφεύγουσι. τούτοις ἐκδιδράσκουσι παρὰ Σέλευκον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠκολούθησεν, υἱὸς μὲν Λυσιμάχου, γεγονώς δὲ ἐξ Ὀδρυσιάδος γυναικός. οὗτοι τε οὖν ἐς

Βαβυλῶνα ἀναβεβηκότες ἰκέτεον Σέλευκον ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Λυσίμαχον καταστῆναι: καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἅμα, ὃ τὰ χρήματα ἐπετέτραπτο Λυσιμάχου, τῇ τε Ἀγαθοκλέους τελευτῇ χαλεπῶς φέρων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρσινόης ὑποπτα ἡγούμενος καταλαμβάνει Πέργαμον τὴν ὑπὲρ Καΐκου, πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίδου Σελεύκῳ. [5] Λυσίμαχος δὲ ταῦτα πάντα πυνθανόμενος ἔφθη διαβάς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄρξας αὐτὸς πολέμου συμβαλὼν τε Σελεύκῳ παρὰ πολὺ τε ἐκράτηθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὃς ἐκ τῆς γυναικός Ὀδρυσίδος ἐγενόνη οἱ, πολλὰ Λυσάνδραν παραιτησάμενος ἀναιρεῖται τε καὶ ὕστερον τούτων ἐς Χερρόνησον κομίσας ἔθαπεν, ἔνθα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν οἱ φανερός ὁ τάφος Καρδίας τε μεταξὺ κώμης καὶ Πακτύης.

11. τὰ μὲν οὖν Λυσιμάχου τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο: Ἀθηναίοις δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ καὶ Πύρρου. οὗτος ὁ Πύρρος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆκεν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα κατὰ γένος: Αἰακίδου γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρύββου Πύρρος ἦν, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς Νεοπτολέμου, Νεοπτολέμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρύββῳ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀλκέτας ὁ Θαρύπου. ἀπὸ δὲ Θαρύπου ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως πέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ γενεαί: πρῶτος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἀλούσης Ἰλίου τὴν μὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ὑπερεῖδεν ἀναχώρησιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἥπειρον κατάρας ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλένου χρησμῶν ὥκησε. καὶ οἱ παῖς ἐκ μὲν Ἑρμιόνης ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς, ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης δὲ Μολοσσὸς καὶ Πίελος καὶ νεώτατος ὁ Πέργαμος. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλένῳ Κεστρίνος: τούτῳ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχῃ συνώκησεν ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρου. [2] Ἑλένου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα Μολοσσῶ τῷ Πύρρου παραδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Κεστρίνος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν Ἑπειρωτῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ Θύαμιν ποταμὸν χώραν ἔσχε, Πέργαμος δὲ διαβάς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἄρειον δυναστεύοντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μονομαχήσαντά οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἔδωκε τὸ νῦν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ: καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης — ἠκολούθει γὰρ οἱ — καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡρῶον ἐν τῇ πόλει. Πίελος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἠπειρῷ, καὶ ἐς πρόγονον τοῦτον ἀνέβαινε Πύρρος τε ὁ Αἰακίδου καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Μολοσσόν. [3] ἦν δὲ ἄχρι μὲν Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Θαρύπου ἐφ'

ἐνὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ Ἑπειρωτῶν: οἱ δὲ Ἀλκέτου παῖδες, ὥς σφισι στασιάσασσι μετέδοξεν ἐπ' ἴσης ἄρχειν, αὐτοὶ τε πιστῶς ἔχοντες διέμειναν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φόβον ἐπανελθούσης ἐς Ἑπειρον, Αἰακίδης ὁ Ἀρύββου τὰ τε ἄλλα διετέλει κατήκοος ὢν Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ συνεστράτευσεν πολεμῶν Ἀριδαίῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν, οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἐπεσθαι τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν. [4] Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ὡς ἐπεκράτησεν ἀνόσια μὲν ἐργασαμένης καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀριδαίου θάνατον, πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι ἀνοσιώτερα ἐς ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάξια ὕστερον ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παθεῖν νομισθείσης, Αἰακίδην οὖν κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔχθος ἐδέχοντο Ἑπειρῶται, εὐρομένου δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον παρὰ τούτων συγγνώμην δεύτερα ἡναντιοῦτο Κάσσανδρος μὴ κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἑπειρον. γενομένης δὲ Φιλίππου τε ἀδελφοῦ Κασσάνδρου καὶ Αἰακίδου μάχης πρὸς Οἰνιάδαις, Αἰακίδην μὲν τρωθέντα κατέλαβε μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ χρεών: [5] Ἑπειρῶται δὲ Ἀλκέταν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατεδέξαντο, Ἀρύββου μὲν παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὸν Αἰακίδου πρεσβύτερον, ἀκρατὴ δὲ ἄλλως θυμοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐξελασθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ τότε ἦκων ἐξεμαίνετο εὐθὺς ἐς τοὺς Ἑπειρώτας, ἐς ὃ νύκτωρ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπαναστάντες ἔκτειναν. ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοῦτον Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου κατάγουσιν: ἦκοντι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπεστράτευσεν Κάσσανδρος, νέφ τε ἡλικία ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ κατεσκευασμένῳ βεβαίως. Πύρρος δὲ ἐπιόντων Μακεδόνων ἐς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἀναβαίνει τὸν Λάγον: καὶ οἱ Πτολεμαῖος γυναικὰ τ' ἔδωκεν ἀδελφὴν ὁμομητρίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων καὶ στόλῳ κατήγαγεν Αἰγυπτίῳ. [6] Πύρρος δὲ βασιλεύσας πρώτοις ἐπέθετο Ἑλλήνων Κορκυραίοις, κειμένην τε ὁρῶν τὴν νῆσον πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας καὶ ἄλλοις ὁρμητήριον ἐφ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ἀλοῦσαν Κόρκυραν ὅσα μὲν Λυσιμάχῳ πολεμῆσας ἔπαθε καὶ ὡς Δημήτριον ἐκβαλὼν Μακεδονίας ἤρξεν ἐς ὃ αὐθις ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου, τάδε μὲν τοῦ Πύρρου μέγιστα ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν δεδήλωκεν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἐς Λυσιμάχον ἔχοντα:

[7] Ῥωμαῖοις δὲ οὐδένα Πύρρου πρότερον πολεμήσαντα ἴσμεν Ἕλληνα. Διομήδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργείων τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι γενέσθαι πρὸς Αἰνεῖαν λέγεται μάχην: Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐλπίσασσι καὶ Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέφασθαι τὸ ἐν Συρακούσαις πταῖσμα ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο μὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖον λαβεῖν πείραν: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, γένους τε ὢν Πύρρῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡλικία πρεσβύτερος, ἀποθανὼν ἐν Λευκανοῖς ἔφθη πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν Ῥωμαίοις.

12. οὕτω Πύρρος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς πέραν Ἰονίου διαβὰς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους: διέβη δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐπαγαγομένων Ταραντίνων. τούτοις γὰρ πρότερον ἔτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνειστήκει πόλεμος: ἀδύνατοι δὲ κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν, προὑπαρχούσης μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας, ὅτι οἱ πολεμοῦντι τὸν πρὸς Κόρκυραν πόλεμον ναυσὶ συνήραντο, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀνέπεισαν τὸν Πύρρον, τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν διδάσκοντες ὡς εὐδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀντὶ πάσης εἴῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον αὐτῷ παραπέμψαι σφᾶς φίλους τε καὶ ἱκέτας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἦκοντας. ταῦτα

λεγόντων τῶν πρέσβων μνήμη τὸν Πύρρον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐσηλθε τῆς Ἰλίου, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα ἡλπιζε χωρήσειν πολεμοῦντι: στρατεῦειν γὰρ ἐπὶ Τρώων ἀποίκους Ἀχιλλέως ὧν ἀπόγονος. [2] ὥς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἤρεσκε — διέμελλε γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ὧν ἔλοιτο — , αὐτίκα ναῦς τε ἐπλήρου μακρὰς καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα εὐτρέπιζεν ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας ὀπλίτας ἄγειν. ἔστι δὲ ἀνδράσι βιβλία οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα ἔργων ὑπομνήματα εἶναι. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ μοι μάλιστα ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι Πύρρου τόλμαν τε, ἦν μαχόμενος αὐτὸς τε παρείχeto, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ μέλλουσιν ἀγῶσι πρόνοιαν: ὃς καὶ τότε περαιούμενος ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίους ἐλελήθει καὶ ἥκων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἦν σφισι φανερός, γινομένης δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Ταραντίνους συμβολῆς τότε δὴ πρῶτον ἐπιφαίνεται σὺν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα σφίσι προσπεσών, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐτάραξεν. [3] ἅτε δὲ ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος ὥς οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος εἶη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, παρεσκευάζeto ὥς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαφήσων σφίσιν. ἐλέφαντας δὲ πρῶτος μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκτίησato Πῶρον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καθελὼν τὴν Ἰνδῶν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πλείστους ἔσχεν Ἀντίγονος, Πύρρῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐγεγόνει τῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον τὰ θηρία αἰχμάλωτα: τότε δὲ ἐπιφανέντων αὐτῶν δεῖμα ἔλαβε Ῥωμαίους ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐ ζῶα εἶναι νομίσαντας. [4] ἐλέφαντα γάρ, ὅσος μὲν ἐς ἔργα καὶ ἀνδρῶν χεῖρας, εἰσὶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ δηλοὶ πάντες εἰδότες: αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ θηρία, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐδὲ ἐωράκεσαν ἀρχὴν πλὴν Ἰνδῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ὅσοι πλησιόχωροι τούτοις. δηλοῖ δὲ Ὅμηρος, ὃς βασιλεῦσι κλίνας μὲν καὶ οἰκίας τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστεροῖς αὐτῶν ἐλέφαντι ἐποίησε κεκοσμημένας, θηρίου δὲ ἐλέφαντος μνήμην οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησato: θεασάμενος δὲ ἢ πετυσμένος ἐμνημόνευσεν ἂν πολὺ γε πρότερον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ Πυγμαίων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεράνων μάχης. [5] Πύρρον δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπήγαγε πρεσβεία Συρακουσίων: Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ διαβάντες τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τῶν πόλεων ἐποιοῦν ἀναστάτους, ἡ δὲ ἦν λοιπὴ, Συρακούσαις πολιορκοῦντες προσεκάθηντο. ἃ τῶν πρέσβων Πύρρος ἀκούων Τάραντα μὲν εἶα καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχοντας Ἰταλιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν διαβὰς Καρχηδονίους ἠνάγκασεν ἀπαναστῆναι Συρακουσῶν. φρονήσας δὲ ἐφ' αὐτῷ Καρχηδονίων, οἱ θαλάσσης τῶν τότε βαρβάρων μάλιστα εἶχον ἐμπείρως Τύριοι Φοίνικες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες, τούτων ἐναντία ἐπῆρθη ναυμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις χρώμενος, οἱ μὴδὲ ἀλούσης Ἰλίου θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ μὴδὲ ἄλσιν ἠπίσταντό πω χρῆσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὀμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα:”οἱ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν

ἀνέρες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.

“Hom. Od.

11.122

13. τότε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος, ὥς ἡττήθη, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τάραντα ἀνήγετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς: ἐνταῦθα προσέπταισε μεγάλως καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν — οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχεῖ Ῥωμαίους ἠπίστατο ἀφήσοντας — πορίζεται τρόπον τοῦτον. ὥς ἐπανάγκων ἐκ Σικελίας ἡττήθη, πρῶτον διέπεμπε γράμματα ἕς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τοὺς μὲν στρατιὰν τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς δὲ χρήματα, Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα αἰτῶν: ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὥς οἱ γράμματα ἀπεδόθη,

συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν τε ἐξ Ἑπείρου καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων, ὧν μὲν εἶχε τὰ βιβλία ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ ἤξειν συμμαχίαν ἔλεγε. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἦλθε φήμη Μακεδόνας καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη περαιοῦσθαι τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ἐς τὴν Πύρρου βοήθειαν: Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἡσύχαζον, Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν περαιοῦται νύκτα πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων, ἃ Κεραῦνια ὀνομάζουσι. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πληγὴν ἀναπαύσας τὴν δύναμιν προεῖπεν Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε ποιοῦμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐς Ἰταλίαν βοηθείας διαμαρτίαν. κρατήσας δὲ τὴν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρου νίκην, ὥς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὅπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς τε τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰωνίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς:”τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθᾶνα

“

[3] “Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,
πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν. οὐ μέγα θαῦμα:
αἰχματὰ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδα.

“τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα, τῷ δὲ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ ταύταις:”αἶδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαῖαν ἐπόρθησαν πολύχρυσον,

αἶδε καὶ Ἑλλασιν δουλοσύναν ἔπορον.
νῦν δὲ Διὸς ναῶ ποτὶ κίονας ὀρφανὰ κεῖται
τὰς μεγαλανυχίτω σκῦλα Μακεδονίας.

“

Πύρρῳ δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐς ἅπαν μὴ καταστρέψασθαι παρ' ὀλίγον ὁμῶς ἥκοντι ἐγένετο Κλεώνυμος αἴτιος, [4] ἐτοιμοτέρῳ καὶ ἄλλῳς ὄντι ἐλέσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν. Κλεώνυμος δὲ οὗτος, ὁ τὸν Πύρρον ἀπολιπόντα τὰ Μακεδόνων πείσας ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθεῖν, Λακεδαιμόνιος ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις στρατόν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολέμιον ἐπῆγε δι' αἰτίαν, ἣν ἐγὼ τοῦ γένους ὕστερον τοῦ Κλεωνύμου δηλώσω. Πausανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν τοῖς Ἑλλῃσιν ἡγησαμένου Πλειστοάναξ υἱὸς ἐγένετο, τοῦ δὲ Πausανίας, τοῦ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ὃς ἐναντία Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ καὶ Θηβαίοις μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Λέκτροις: Κλεομβρότου δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης, Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος Κλεομένης τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε. [5] Κλεομένει δὲ παῖδες γίνονται πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀκρότατος, νεώτερος δὲ Κλεώνυμος. Ἀκρότατον μὲν οὖν πρότερον κατέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή: Κλεομένους δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὕστερον ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν κατέστη περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου, καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ μετελθὼν ἐπάγει Πύρρον ἐς τὴν χώραν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐδὲν ἐγεγόνει πταῖσμα, ὥστε οὐδὲ συνεχώρουν ἀγωνίᾳ πω κεκρατῆσθαι πεζῶ: Λεωνίδα μὲν γὰρ νικῶντι οὐκ ἔφασαν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐς τελέαν ἐξαρκέσαι φθορὰν τῶν Μήδων, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους ἔργον πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ Σφακτηρίᾳ κλοπὴν εἶναι πολέμου καὶ οὐ νίκην. [6] πρώτης δὲ γενομένης σφίσι συμφορὰς

ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, ὕστερον Ἀντιπάρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγάλως προσέπταισαν: τρίτος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου πόλεμος κακὸν ἀνέλπιστον ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. Πύρρῳ δὲ ἐσβαλόντος τέταρτον δὴ τότε στρατὸν ὁρῶντες πολέμιον αὐτοῖ τε παρετάσσοντο καὶ Ἀργείων ἦκοντες καὶ Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι: Πύρρος δὲ ὡς

ἐπεκράτησεν, ὀλίγου μὲν ἦλθεν ἐλεῖν αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν πόλιν, δηώσας δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ λείαν ἐλάσας μικρὸν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπίζοντο, πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον τάφροις τε βαθείαις καὶ σταυροῖς τετειχισμένης ἰσχυροῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμαχώτατα καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν. [7] ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ τριβὴν Ἀντίγονος τὰς πόλεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνασώσάμενος ἠπειγέτο ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἷα ἐπιστάμενος Πύρρον, ἣν Λακεδαίμονα καταστρέψῃται καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἐς Ἡπειρον ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τε Μακεδονίαν αὖθις καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἤξοντα: μέλλοντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἐληλύθει Πύρρος. κρατῶν δὲ καὶ τότε συνεσπίπτει τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οἱ διαλύεται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἢ τάξις: [8] μαχομένων δὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἤδη καὶ οἰκίαις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πύρρος ἐμονώθη καὶ τιτρώσκειται τὴν κεφαλὴν. κεράμῳ δὲ βληθέντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τεθνάναι φασὶ Πύρρον: Ἀργεῖοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀποκτείνασαν, Δήμητρα δὲ φασιν εἶναι γυναικὶ εἰκασμένην. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πύρρου τελευτὴν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητῆς Λυκέας ἐν ἔπεσιν εἴρηκε: καὶ σφισιν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος, ἔνθα ὁ Πύρρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος: [9] ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Πύρρος τέθαιπται. θαῦμα δὴ ποιοῦμαι τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακιδῶν τρισὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν, εἴ γε Ἀχιλλέα μὲν Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησὶ τοῦ Πριάμου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολέσθαι, Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἢ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι Δελφοῖς, τῷ δὲ Αἰακίδου συνέβη τὰ ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν οἷα Ἀργεῖοί τε λέγουσι καὶ Λυκέας ἐποίησε. διάφορα δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα ὧν Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Καρδιανὸς ἔγραψεν: ἀνδρὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ συνόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐς χάριν συγγράφειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος αἰτίαν δικαίαν εἵληφεν, ἐπελπίζων τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις κάθοδον, ἀποκρύψασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα, ἣ που πολλὴ γε Ἰερωνύμῳ συγγνώμη τὰ ἐς ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόνου γράφειν.

14. ἡ μὲν Ἡπειρωτῶν ἀκμὴ κατέστρεψεν ἐς τοῦτο: ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θέας ἄξιος. πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου: φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη. ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια λέγεται γράψω, παρεῖς ὁπόσον ἐς Δηϊόπην ἔχει τοῦ λόγου. [2] Ἑλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα, ἃ παρὰ θεῶν φασὶν ἔχειν, εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ βαρβάρων Φρυγῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. λέγεται οὖν ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξαίτο οἶκῳ καὶ ὡς Χρυσανθὶς τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγῆσαιτο: ὕστερον δὲ Τροχίλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγήνορος ἐλθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ

γυναῖκά τε ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος γῆμαι καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ
 Τριπτόλεμον. ὁδε μὲν Ἀργεῖων ἐστὶ λόγος Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ τούτοις
 * * ἴσασι Τριπτόλεμον τὸν Κελεοῦ πρῶτον σπεῖραι καρπὸν ἡμερον. [3] ἔπη δὲ
 ἄδεται Μουσαίου μὲν, εἰ δὴ Μουσαίου καὶ ταῦτα, Τριπτόλεμον παῖδα
 Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι, Ὅρφέως δέ, οὐδὲ ταῦτα Ὅρφέως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα,
 Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Τριπτολέμῳ Δυσαύλῃν πατέρα εἶναι, μηνύσασι δέ σφισι περὶ
 τῆς παιδὸς δοθῆναι παρὰ Δήμητρος σπεῖραι τοὺς καρπούς: Χοιρίλῳ δὲ
 Ἀθηναίῳ δρᾶμα ποιήσαντι Ἀλόπῃν ἔστιν εἰρημένα Κερκυόνα εἶναι καὶ
 Τριπτόλεμον ἀδελφούς, τεκεῖν δὲ σφᾶς θυγατέρας Ἀμφικτύονος, εἶναι δὲ
 πατέρα Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν Ῥᾶρον, Κερκυόνι δὲ Ποσειδῶνα. πρόσω δὲ ἰέναι με
 ὥρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ῥόποσα ἐξήγησιν ῥέχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερὸν,
 καλούμενον δὲ Ἑλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχεν ὅσιν ὀνειράτος: ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὅσιον
 γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέψομαι. [4] πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ
 Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος,
 πεποῖηται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος, ὃν ἐλθόντα ἐς ἀγρὸν
 κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἐσελθόντα ἐς σπήλαιον: ὁ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν
 αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι, καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε
 ἐποίει καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Θάλης δὲ ὁ
 Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν νόσον παύσας οὔτε ἄλλως προσήκων οὔτε πόλεως ἦν
 Ἐπιμενίδῃ τῆς αὐτῆς: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος, Θάλητα δὲ εἶναί φησι Γορτύνιον
 Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος ἔπη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας. [5] — ἔτι δὲ
 ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἱ τῆς χώρας
 Μαραθῶν ἔσχον. φρονήσας δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα εἰκάζω:
 καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὥς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσεδοκάτο ἡ τελευταῖα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
 ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸ
 Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας: ὁ δὲ τό τε ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶν ἄλσος καὶ
 Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας. [6] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν
 καλουμένην Βασιλείον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ
 παρέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιοῦμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος
 λόγον: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὀρῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκοῦς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὗρισκον: τούτοις γάρ ἐστιν εἰρημένον Ποσειδῶνος
 καὶ λίμνης Τριτωνίδος θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλαυκοῦς εἶναι ὥσπερ
 καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς.

[7] πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων
 Ἀσσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυπρίων
 Παφίοις καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, παρὰ δὲ
 Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν: Ἀθηναίους δὲ κατεστήσατο Αἰγεύς,
 αὐτῷ τε οὐκ εἶναι παῖδας νομίζων — οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἦσαν — καὶ ταῖς
 ἀδελφαῖς γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκ μηνίματος τῆς Οὐρανίας. τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν
 ἔτι ἄγαλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου: δῆμος δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖος
 Ἀθμονέων, οἱ Πορφυρίωνα ἔτι πρότερον Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς
 Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ ἀνὰ τοὺς δήμους
 καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες.

15. ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλῃν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον: ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἱππομαχία κρατησάντων Πλείσταρχον, ὃς τῆς ἵππου Κασσάνδρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὢν ἐπετέτραπτο. αὕτη δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνῇ τῆς Ἀργείας; ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων: γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες. [2] ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται. μόναις δὲ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐκ ἀφήρει τὰ πταίσματα τὸ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδές, εἴ γε Θεμισκύρας τε ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ὕστερον φθαρείσης σφίσι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔστειλαν, ὅμως ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναίους τε αὐτοῖς μαχομένους καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν Ἑλληνές εἰσιν ἡρηκότες Ἴλιον καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἠθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα: καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γραφὴ τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχει καὶ γυναικας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄλλας τε καὶ Κασσάνδραν. [3] τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι: Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἐστὶν ἴσα τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον: τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆές τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἑλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἥρως, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδῖον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς: Μαραθωνίους γάρ, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρώτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλίμαχος τε, ὃς Ἀθηναῖος πολεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων, ἥρως τε Ἐχετλος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην. [4] ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες κεῖνται χαλκαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἀπὸ Σκιωναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ἐπαληθιμμένας πίσση, μὴ σφᾶς ὅ τε χρόνος λυμῆνεται καὶ ὁ ἰός, Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι λέγεται τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.

16. ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοὶ κεῖνται πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοᾶς Σόλων ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίους γράψας, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος, ὃ καὶ πρότερον ἐγένετο ἐς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν μέλλουσαν σημεῖα οὐκ ἀφανῆ. Σελεύκῳ γάρ, ὥς ὥρματο ἐκ Μακεδονίας σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θύοντι ἐν Πέλλῃ τῷ Διὶ τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κείμενα προύβη τε αὐτόματα πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἄνευ πυρὸς ἦφθη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Σέλευκος Ἀντίγονον ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφικόμενον δείσας καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον φυγὼν τὸν Λάγου κατήλθεν αὐθὺς ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐκράτησε μὲν τῆς Ἀντιγόνου στρατιᾶς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀντίγονον, εἶλε δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ὕστερον Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου. [2] ὥς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα προκεχωρήκει καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ Λυσιμάχου κατείργαστο, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδί, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγετο. στρατιὰ μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἦν παρὰ Σελεύκῳ: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λυσάνδρας καὶ παρὰ Λυσιμάχου παρ' αὐτὸν πεφευγώς, ἄλλως δὲ τολμῆσαι πρόχειρος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Κεραυνὸς καλούμενος, οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὥς προσιών ὁ Σελεύκου στρατὸς ἐγένετο

κατὰ Λυσιμάχειαν, λαθὼν Σέλευκον κτείνει, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ χρήματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδονίας, ἐς ὃ Γαλάταις πρῶτος ὢν ἴσμεν βασιλέων ἀντιτάξασθαι τολμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων: τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Ἀντίγονος ἀνεσώσατο ὁ Δημητρίου. [3] Σέλευκον δὲ βασιλέων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πείθονται καὶ ἄλλως γενέσθαι δίκαιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβῆ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Σέλευκός ἐστιν ὁ Μιλησίοις τὸν χαλκοῦν καταπέμψας Ἀπόλλωνα ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἀνακομισθέντα ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ὑπὸ Ξέρξου: τοῦτο δὲ Σελεύκειαν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν συνοίκους ὑπελείπετο μὲν τὸ τεῖχος Βαβυλῶνος, ὑπελείπετο δὲ τοῦ Βῆλ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς Χαλδαίους οἰκεῖν.

17. Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέου βωμός, ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὄντι ὠφελίμῳ μόνοι τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων νέμουνσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον, καὶ γὰρ Αἰδοῦς σφίσι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὁρμῆς: δῆλὰ τε ἐναργῶς, ὅσοις πλέον τι ἐτέρων εὐσεβείας μέτεστιν, ἴσον σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηστῆς. [2] ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θεάς ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῇ: καὶ ὃ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ ὁ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς.

πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν: γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόννας Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι. πεποιήται δὲ σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ ἡ Λαπιθῶν μάχη: Θησεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονῶς ἐστὶν ἤδη Κένταυρον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη. [3] τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένοις ἂ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφὴς ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν που διὰ τὸν χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λόγον. Μίνως ἠνίκα Θησέα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον τῶν παίδων ἦγεν ἐς Κρήτην, ἐρασθεῖς Περιβοίας, ὥς οἱ Θησεὺς μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀπέρριπεν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδα οὐκ ἔφη Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν σφραγίδα, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνασῶσαί οἱ. Μίνως μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀφεῖναι τὴν σφραγίδα: Θησέα δὲ σφραγιδά τε ἐκείνην ἔχοντα καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, Ἀμφιτρίτης δῶρον, ἀνελθεῖν λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. [4] ἐς δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τὴν Θησέως πολλὰ ἤδη καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα εἴρηται: δεδέσθαι τε γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐς τότε ἕως ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀναρθεῖν, πιθανώτατα δὲ ὦν ἦκουσα: Θησεὺς ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐμβαλὼν, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν γυναῖκα ἀρπάσων, τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ Πειρίθους — Πειρίθους γὰρ καὶ τὸν γάμον σπεύδων ἐστράτευεν — ἤλωσαν, καὶ σφᾶς ὁ Θεσπρωτὸς δῆσας εἶχεν ἐν Κιχύρῳ. [5] γῆς δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἔστι μὲν που καὶ ἄλλα θεάς ἄξια, ἱερὸν τε Διὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φηγός: πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνῃ τέ ἐστὶν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὅμηρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἐωρακῶς ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν ἀποτολμήσαι τῶν ἐν Αἰδοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς

ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι θέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐχομένου Θησέως στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἄφιδναν οἱ Τυνδάρω παῖδες καὶ τὴν τε Ἄφιδναν αἰροῦσι καὶ Μενεσθέα ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατήγαγον· [6] Μενεσθεὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν παιδῶν τῶν Θησέως παρ’

Ἐλεφήνορα ὑπεξεληθόντων ἐς Εὐβοίαν εἶχεν οὐδένα λόγον, Θησέα δέ, εἴ ποτε παρὰ Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνακομισθῆσεται, δυσανταγώνιστον ἡγούμενος διὰ θεραπείας τὰ τοῦ δήμου καθίστατο, ὥς Θησέα ἀνασωθέντα ὕστερον ἀπωσθῆναι. στέλλεται δὴ Θησεὺς παρὰ Δευκαλίωνα ἐς Κρήτην, ἐξενεχθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐς Σκυῖρον τὴν νῆσον λαμπρῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Σκύριοι κατὰ γένους δόξαν καὶ ἀξίωμα ὧν ἦν αὐτὸς εἰργασμένος· καὶ οἱ θάνατον Λυκομήδης διὰ ταῦτα ἐβούλευσεν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Θησέως σηκὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο ὕστερον ἢ Μῆδοι Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου Σκυρίου ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους — δίκην δὴ τοῦ Θησέως θανάτου — καὶ τὰ ὁστὰ κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας:

18. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοῖ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοί σφισιν ἐφ’ ἵππων. ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἡ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐς Ἄκαστον καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου. [2] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἔρση καὶ Πανδρόσῳ δοῦναί φασιν Ἀθηναῖν Ἐριχθόνιον καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· Πάνδρῳ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δύο — ἀνοίξαι γὰρ σφᾶς τὴν κιβωτόν — μαίνεσθαι τε, ὥς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὐτὰς ῥῖψαι. κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαναβάντες Μῆδοι κατεφόνευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλέον τι ἐς τὸν χρησμὸν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰδέναι νομίζοντας καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ξύλοις καὶ σταυροῖς ἀποτείχισαντας. [3] πλησίον δὲ πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας, ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αὐτόλυκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής· τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνας ἐς Ῥωμαῖόν τε ἄνδρα καὶ Θραῖκα μετέγραψαν. [4] ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος ἐπιφανέστατον μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει· ἐς τοῦτο ἐσελθεῖν οὔτε ξένοις ἐστὶν οὔτε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, πρὶν ἂν τὸν Ἄπιν θάπτωσι. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σαράπιδος οὐ πόρρω χωρίον ἐστίν, ἔνθα Πειρίθουν καὶ Θησέα συνθεμένους ἐς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς σταλῆναι λέγουσι. [5] πλησίον δὲ ᾠκοδόμητο ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐς Δῆλον γενέσθαι βοηθὸν ταῖς Λητοῦς ὠδίσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ’ αὐτῶν φασὶ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ θύουσὶ τε Εἰλειθυίᾳ Δήλιοι καὶ ὕμνον ᾄδουσιν Ὠλήνος. Κρηῖτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῷ γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλειθυίαν καὶ παῖδα Ἥρας εἶναι· μόνους δὲ Ἀθηναίους τῆς Εἰλειθυίας κεκάλυπται τὰ ξόανα ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας. τὰ μὲν δὴ δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖκες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσίχθονα ἐκ Δήλου κομίσει. [6] πρὶν

δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου — Ἀδριανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θέας ἄξιον, οὗ μεγέθει μὲν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀπολείπεται, πεποίηται δὲ ἕκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὁρῶσιν — , ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο μὲν εἰσι Θεασίου λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου: χαλκαὶ δὲ ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κίωνων ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις. ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσάρων ἐστίν, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης: ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκὼν Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὀπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θέας ἄξιον.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς τὴν ἐπὶ κλήσιν Ὀλυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἔδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑπορρυῆναι ταύτῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄλφита πυρῶν μέλιτι μίζαντες. [8] κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ κίονος Ἰσοκράτους ἀνδριάς, ὃς ἐς μνήμην τρία ὑπελίπετο, ἐπιπονώτατον μὲν ὅτι οἱ βίωσαντι ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑκατὸν οὐποτε κατελύθη μαθητὰς ἔχειν, σωφρονέστατον δὲ ὅτι πολιτείας ἀπεχόμενος διέμεινε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πολυπραγμονῶν, ἐλευθερώτατον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀλγῆσας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐθελοντής. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι χαλκοῦν τρίποδα ἀνέχοντες, θέας ἄξιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ τρίπους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομήσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερὸν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκαλίων Ἀθήνησιν ὤκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκότα. [9] Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκεύασατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίους, ναὸν Ἦρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου: πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶν ὁρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρῦσθ' καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς: κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία. καὶ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἐπ' ὠνυμον Ἀδριανοῦ: κίονες δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύων.

19. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλήσιν Δελφινίου. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐξεργασμένου τοῦ ναοῦ πλην τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀγνῶς ἔτι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφίκοιτο Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν: οἷα δὲ χιτῶνα ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ποδήρη καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρεπές οἱ τῆς κόμης, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Δελφινίου ναόν, οἱ τὴν στέγην οἰκοδομοῦντες ἤροντο σὺν χλευασίᾳ, ὅτι δὴ παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου πλανᾶται μόνη: Θησεὺς δὲ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσεν οὐδέν, ἀπολύσας δὲ ὡς λέγεται τῆς ἀμάξης τοὺς βοῦς, ἢ σφισι παρῆν, τὸν ὀροφον ἀνέρριπεν ἐς ὑψηλότερον ἢ τῷ ναῷ τὴν στέγην ἐποιοῦντο. [2] — ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν οὐδεὶς λεγόμενός σφισὶν ἐστὶ λόγος: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἣ τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον ἔστηκε. ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Κήποις ἔργον ἐστίν

Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ὀλίγοις θέας ἄξιον. [3] ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα εἰδέναι τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἔστι τὸν χρησμόν, βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσιν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἥβης, ἣν Διὸς παῖδα οὕσαν συνοικεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ νομίζουσιν· Ἀλκμήνης τε βωμὸς καὶ Ἰολάου πεποιῆται, ὃς τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συνεπόνησε τῶν ἔργων. Λύκειον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εὐθύς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνομιζέτο, Λύκειός τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον· λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ Τερμίλαις, ἐς οὓς ἦλθεν ὁ Λύκος φεύγων Αἰγέα, καὶ τούτοις αἰτιὸς ἔστι Λυκίους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι. [4] ἔστι δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Λυκείου Νίσου μνῆμα, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Μίνω βασιλεύοντα Μεγάρων κομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτῃ θάπτουσιν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Νῖσον ἔχει λόγος τρίχας ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ οἱ πορφυρᾶς εἶναι, χρῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀποκαρεΐσαις· ὥς δὲ οἱ Κρήτες ἦλθον ἐς τὴν γῆν, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἦρουν τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι πόλεις, ἐς δὲ τὴν Νίσαιαν καταφεύγοντα τὸν Νῖσον ἐπολιόρκουν· ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Νίσου λέγεται θυγατέρα ἐρασθῆναι Μίνω καὶ ὥς ἀπέκειρε τὰς τρίχας τοῦ πατρός. [5] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι· ποταμοὶ δὲ

Ἀθηναίοις ρέουσιν Ἰλισὸς τε καὶ Ἡριδανῶ τῷ Κελτικῷ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄνομα ἔχων, ἐκδιδοὺς ἐς τὸν Ἰλισόν. ὁ δὲ Ἰλισὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ἔνθα παίζουσιν Ὠρεῖθυιαν ὑπὸ ἀνέμου Βορέου φασὶν ἀρπασθῆναι· καὶ συνοικεῖν Ὠρεῖθυία Βορέαν καὶ σφισὶ διὰ τὸ κῆδος ἀμύναντα τῶν τριήρων τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀπολέσαι τὰς πολλὰς. ἐθέλουσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰλισόν, καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστὶν Ἰλισιάδων· δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι.

[6] διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Ἰλισὸν χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἐνταῦθα Ἄρτεμιν πρῶτον θηρεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκ Δήλου, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τόξον. τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λίθου. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆδε ἂν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροιτο· ἄνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηνοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν. τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρώδης ὠκοδόμησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντελῆσιν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη.

20. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναοὶ ὅσον ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι, καὶ σφισιν ἐφροσθήκασιν τρίποδες χαλκοὶ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. σάτυρος γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Πραξιτέλῃν λέγεται φρονῆσαι μέγα· καὶ ποτε Φρύνης αἰτούσης, ὅτι οἱ κάλλιστον εἴη τῶν ἔργων, ὁμολογεῖν μὲν φασιν οἷα ἐραστὴν

διδόναι μὲν, κατεπειθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὅτι κάλλιστον αὐτῷ οἱ φαίνοιτο. ἐσδραμὼν οὖν οἰκέτης Φρύνης ἔφασκεν οἴχεσθαι Πραξιτέλει τὸ πολὺ τῶν ἔργων πυρὸς ἐσπεσόντος ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, οὐ μὲν οὖν πάντα γε ἀφανισθῆναι· [2] Πραξιτέλης δὲ αὐτίκα ἔθει διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω καὶ οἱ καμόντι οὐδὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πλέον, εἰ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σάτυρον ἢ φλόξ καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπέλαβε· Φρύνη δὲ μένειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευε· παθεῖν γὰρ ἀνιαρὸν οὐδέν, τέχνη δὲ ἄλόντα ὁμολογεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα ὧν ἐποίησε. Φρύνη μὲν οὕτω τὸν Ἔρωτα αἰρεῖται·

Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σάτυρός ἐστι παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα: Ἐρωτα δ' ἐστηκότα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον Θυμῖλος ἐποίησεν. [3] τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερὸν: δύο δὲ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι, ὃ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ. γραφαὶ δὲ αὐτόθι Διόνυσός ἐστιν ἀνάγων Ἥφαιστον ἐς οὐρανόν: λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὥς Ἥρα ρίψαι γενόμενον Ἥφαιστον, ὃ δὲ οἱ μνησικακῶν πέμψαι δῶρον χρυσοῦν θρόνον ἀφανεῖς δεσμοὺς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπεὶ τε ἐκαθέζετο δεδέσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, Διόνυσος δὲ — μάλιστα γὰρ ἐς τοῦτον πιστὰ ἦν Ἥφαιστῳ — μεθύσας αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε: ταῦτά τε δὴ γεγραμμένα εἰσὶ καὶ Πενθεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὧν ἐς Διόνυσον ὕβρισαν διδόντες δίκας, Ἀριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἦκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν.

[4] ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα, ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτὸ ἐς μίμησιν τῆς Ξέρξου λέγεται: ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐνέπρησε Σύλλας Ἀθήνας ἐλὼν. αἰτία δὲ ἦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Μιθριδάτης ἐβασίλευε βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον. πρόφασις μὲν δὴ δι' ἥντινα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησε καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ ὅσας ἡ πολέμῳ βιασάμενος πόλεις ἔσχεν ἢ φίλας ἐποίησατο, τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἐπίστασθαι τὰ Μιθριδάτου θέλουσι μελέτω: ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἔχει δηλώσω.

[5] ἦν Ἀριστίων Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Μιθριδάτης πρεσβεύειν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἐχρήτο: οὗτος ἀνέπεισεν Ἀθηναίους Μιθριδάτην θέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἐπίπροσθεν. ἀνέπεισε δὲ οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ὅσον δῆμος ἦν καὶ δήμου τὸ παραχῶδες: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὧν τις λόγος, παρὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐθελονταί. γενομένης δὲ μάχης πολλῷ περιῆσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ φεύγοντας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς τὸ ἄστυ καταδιώκουσιν, Ἀρχέλαον δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ: Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν πρότερον τούτων Μάγνητες οἱ τὸν Σίτυλον οἰκοῦντες σφᾶς ἐπεκδραμόντα αὐτόν τε τιτρώσκουσι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλούς. [6] Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ πολιορκία καθειστήκει, Ταξίλος δὲ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐτύγγανε μὲν περικαθήμενος Ἐλάτειαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι, ἀφικομένων δὲ ἀγγέλων ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦγεν. ᾧ

πυθνανόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀθήνας μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρει πολιορκεῖν ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ταξίλῳ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχων ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἀπαντᾷ. τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τὰ στρατόπεδα ἄγγελοι, Σύλλα μὲν ὥς Ἀθηναίοις εἶη τὸ τεῖχος ἐαλωκός, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθήνας πολιορκήσασι Ταξίλον κεκρατῆσθαι μάχῃ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν. Σύλλας δὲ ὥς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπανῆλθε, τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας Ἀθηναίων καθεῖρξας ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν τὸν λαχόντα σφῶν ἐκ δεκάδος ἐκάστης ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. [7] Σύλλου δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέντος ἐς Ἀθηναίους τοῦ θυμοῦ λαθόντες ἐκδιδράσκουσιν ἄνδρες ἐς Δελφοὺς: ἐρομένοις δὲ σφισιν, εἰ καταλαμβάνοι τὸ χρεὼν ἤδη καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐρημωθῆναι, τούτοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ ἐς τὸν

ἀσκὸν ἔχοντα. Σύλλα δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐνέπεσεν ἡ νόσος, ἥ καὶ τὸν Σύριον Φερεκύδην ἀλῶναι πυνθάνομαι. Σύλλα δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀγριώτερα ἢ ὡς ἄνδρα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαῖον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα δὴ αἰτίαν γενέσθαι οἱ δοκῶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, Ἰκεσίου δὲ μήνιμα, ὅτι καταφυγόντα ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀποσπάσας Ἀριστίωνα.

Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακωθεῖσαι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἦνθησαν:

21. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοις εἰκόνες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ κωμωδίας ποιητῶν, αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων· ὅτι μὴ γὰρ Μένανδρος, οὐδεὶς ἦν ποιητῆς κωμωδίας τῶν ἐς δόξαν ἡκόντων. τραγωδίας δὲ κείνται τῶν φανερῶν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, τὴν Σειρήνα τὴν νέαν τιμᾶν· καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄναρ ἐς Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποιήσιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν, εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιημάτων καὶ λόγων τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν Σειρήνι εἰκάζειν. [2] τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῶν τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἡ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι. ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μειράκιον ὦν καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσων σταφυλὰς, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα κελεῦσαι τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα — πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν — ῥᾶστα ἤδη πειρώμενος ποιεῖν. [3] οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὃ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἔστι τετραμμένον, ἐπὶ τούτου Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνης ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκειται κεφαλὴ, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν αἰγὶς πεποιήται. ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδας εἰσὶν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης. ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸν Σίτυλον τὸ ὄρος· ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνὸς ἐστιν οὐδὲν παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης· εἰ δέ γε πορρωτέρω γένοιτο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὀρᾶν καὶ κατηφῇ γυναῖκα. [4] ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθῆνησιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τέθαιπται Κάλως· τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ὄντα καὶ τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐς Σικελίαν ἐκδιδράσκει παρὰ Κώκαλον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὅποσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποιήται καὶ τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θεᾶς ἄξιον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη, παρ' ἧς λέγουσι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ἀλκρόθιον θυγατέρα Ἄρεως Ἀλκίππην αἰσχύναντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἄρεως, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φόνῳ γενέσθαι πρῶτον.

[5] ἐνταῦθα ἄλλα τε καὶ Σαυροματικὸς ἀνάκειται θώραξ· ἐς τοῦτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς βαρβάρους φήσει σοφοὺς ἐς τὰς τέχνας εἶναι. Σαυρομάταις γὰρ οὔτε αὐτοῖς σίδηρός ἐστιν ὀρυσσόμενος οὔτε σφίσιν ἐσάγουσιν· ἄμικτοι γὰρ μάλιστα τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων εἰσὶ. πρὸς οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν ταύτην ἐξεύρηται σφίσιν· ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς δόρασιν αἰχμὰς ὀστεῖνας ἀντὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσι, τόξα τε κράνινα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ ὀστεῖνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀιστοῖς· καὶ σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὀπόσους καὶ τύχοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέψαντες ἀνατρέπουσι τοὺς ἐνσχεθέντας ταῖς σειραῖς. [6] τοὺς δὲ

θώρακας ποιοῦνται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἵππους πολλὰς ἕκαστος τρέφει, ὥς ἂν οὔτε ἐς ἰδιωτῶν κλήρους τῆς γῆς μεμερισμένης οὔτε τι φερούσης πλὴν ὕλης ἀγρίας ἅτε ὄντων νομάδων· ταύταις οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον χρῶνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖς θύουσιν ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ ἄλλως σιτοῦνται. συλλεξάμενοι δὲ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἐκκαθήραντές τε καὶ διελόντες ποιοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμπερῇ δρακόντων φολίσιν· ὅστις δὲ οὐκ εἶδὲ πῶ δράκοντα, πίτυός γε εἶδε καρπὸν χλωρὸν ἔτι· ταῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς πίτυος φαινομέναις ἐντομαῖς εἰκάζων τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὀπλῆς οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι. ταῦτα διατρήσαντες καὶ νεύροις ἵππων καὶ βοῶν συρράψαντες χρῶνται θώραξιν οὔτε εὐπρεπεῖα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδέουσιν οὔτε ἀσθενεστέροις· καὶ γὰρ συστάδην τυπτόμενοι καὶ βληθέντες ἀνέχονται. [7] οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοὶ μαχομένοις μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, διᾶσι γὰρ καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὸν σίδηρον· θηρεύοντας δὲ ὠφελοῦσιν, ἐναποκλῶνται γὰρ σφισι καὶ λεόντων ὀδόντες καὶ παρδάλεων. θώρακας δὲ λινούς ἰδεῖν ἔν τε ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς ἔστιν ἀνακειμένους καὶ ἐν Γρυνεῖω, ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρπων ὁσμῆς παρέχεται τινα ἢ θέας ἡδονήν.

22. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσι Θέμιδος ναὸς ἔστι. κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνημα Ἰππολύτῳ· τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ καταρῶν. δῆλα δέ, καὶ ὅστις βαρβάρων γλῶσσαν ἔμαθεν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τε ἔρως τῆς Φαίδρας καὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τὸ ἐς τὴν διακονίαν τόλμημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίοις Ἰππολύτου τάφος· ἔχει δὲ σφισιν ὧδε ὁ λόγος. [2] Θησεὺς ὥς ἐμελλεν ἄξεσθαι Φαίδραν, οὐκ ἐθέλων εἰ οἱ γένοιτο παῖδες οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι τὸν Ἰππόλυτον οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀντ' αὐτῶν, πέμπει παρὰ Πιτθέα τραφησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλεύσοντα Τροιζήνους. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Πάλλας καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐπανάστησαν Θησεῖ· τούτους κτείνας ἐς Τροιζήνα ἔρχεται καθαρσίῳν ἔνεκα, καὶ Φαίδρα πρώτη ἐνταῦθα εἶδεν Ἰππόλυτον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον ἐρασθεῖσα ἐβούλευσε. μυρσίνη δὲ ἔστι Τροιζηνίοις τὰ φύλλα διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα· φῦναι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὴν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα ἄσης καὶ τῆς περόνης ἦν ἐπὶ ταῖς θριξίν εἶχεν ἡ Φαίδρα. [3] Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεὶ τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτὴν τε σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθῷ κατέστησε· τὰ μὲν δὴ παλαιὰ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀφανεστάτων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθόντα ἐς λόγους. [4] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστιν ἔσοδος μία· ἐτέραν δὲ οὐ παρέχεται, πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὖσα καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἐχυρόν. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφῶντος εἴτε ἄλλως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημένοι· τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἔστιν Ἀπτέρου ναός. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος, καὶ ταύτῃ ρίψας Αἰγεὺς ἑαυτὸν ὡς λέγουσιν ἐτελεύτησεν.

[5] ἀνήγετο μὲν γὰρ ἡ ναὺς μέλασιν ιστίοις ἢ τοὺς παῖδας φέρουσα ἐς Κρήτην, Θησεὺς δὲ — ἔπλει γὰρ τόλμης τι ἔχων ἐς τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον

ταῦρον — πρὸς τὸν πατέρα

προεῖπε χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ἰστίοις λευκοῖς, ἣν ὀπίσω πλὴν τοῦ ταύρου κρατήσας· τούτων λήθην ἔσχεν Ἀριάδην ἀφηρημένους· ἐνταῦθα Αἰγεὺς ὡς εἶδεν ἰστίοις μέλασι τὴν ναῦν κομιζομένην, οἷα τὸν παῖδα τεθνάναι δοκῶν, ἀφείς αὐτὸν διαφθείρεται· καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἐστὶ καλούμενον ἡρῶν Αἰγέως. [6] — ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν προπυλαίων οἴκημα ἔχον γραφάς· ὁπόσας δὲ μὴ καθέστηκεν ὁ χρόνος αἴτιος ἀφανέσιν εἶναι, Διομήδης ἦν, ὁ μὲν ἐν Λήμνῳ τὸ Φιλοκτῆτου τόξον, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐξ Ἰλίου. ἐνταῦθα ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς Ὀρέστης ἐστὶν Αἰγισθον φονεύων καὶ Πυλάδης τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ναυπλίου βοηθοὺς ἐλθόντας Αἰγίσθῳ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τάφου πλησίον μέλλουσά ἐστι σφάζεσθαι Πολυξένη. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ εὖ μὲν παρείθη τόδε τὸ ὦμὸν οὕτως ἔργον· εὖ δέ μοι φαίνεται ποιῆσαι Σκύρον ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀλοῦσαν, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσοι λέγουσιν ὁμοῦ ταῖς παρθένους Ἀχιλλέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ δίαταν, ἃ δὴ καὶ Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ταῖς ὁμοῦ Ναυσικᾶ πλυνούσαις ἐφιστάμενον Ὀδυσσεά κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε. γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, [7] ἵππων δὲ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν Νεμέᾳ ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ· καὶ Περσεύς ἐστιν ἐς Σέριφον κομιζόμενος, Πολυδέκτη φέρων τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Μεδούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς Μέδουσαν οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς σημῆναι· ἔτι δὲ τῶν γραφῶν παρέντι τὸν παῖδα τὸν τὰς ὑδρίας φέροντα καὶ τὸν παλαιστήν ὃν Τιμαίνετος ἔγραψεν, ἐστὶ Μουσαῖος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπη μὲν ἐπελεξάμην, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ πέτεσθαι Μουσαῖον ὑπὸ Βορέου δῶρον, δοκεῖν δέ μοι πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δήμητρα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις. [8] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν, ᾧ σοφῷ γενέσθαι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ Πυθία μάρτυς, ὁ μὴδὲ Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐθέλοντα ὅμως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενον προσεῖπεν.

23. Ἕλληνες δὲ ἄλλα τε λέγουσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἐπτά γενέσθαι σοφοὺς. τούτων καὶ τὸν Λέσβιον τύραννον καὶ Περίανδρον εἶναί φασι τὸν Κυψέλου· καίτοι Περίανδρου Πεισίστρατος καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰππίας φιλόανθρωποι μᾶλλον καὶ σοφώτεροι τὰ τε πολεμικὰ ἦσαν καὶ ὅσα ἦκεν ἐς κόσμον τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐς ὃ διὰ τὸν Ἰπάρχου θάνατον Ἰππίας ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσατο θυμῷ καὶ ἐς γυναῖκα ὄνομα Λέαιναν.

[2] ταύτην γάρ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀπέθανεν Ἰππαρχος, — λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἦκοντα, πιστὰ δὲ ἄλλως Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πολλοῖς — Ἰππίας εἶχεν ἐν αἰκίᾳ ἐς ὃ διέφθειρεν, οἷα ἐταίραν Ἀριστογείτονος ἐπιστάμενος οὖσαν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδαμῶς ἀγνοῆσαι δοξάζων· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων, ἐπεὶ τυραννίδος ἐπαύθησαν οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, χαλκῇ λέαινα Ἀθηναίους ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, ὃ Καλλίου τέ φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος. [3] πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ Διτρέφους χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς οἰστοῖς βεβλημένος. οὗτος ὁ Διτρέφης ἄλλα τε ἔπραξεν ὁπόσα λέγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θορᾶκας μισθωτοὺς ἀφικομένους ὕστερον ἢ Δημοσθένους ἐς Συρακούσας ἐξέπλευσε, τούτους ὡς ὑστέρησαν ὁ Διτρέφης ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν ἔσχεν Εὐριπον, ἔνθα Βοιωτῶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλις

Μυκαλησσός ἦν· ταύτην ἐπαναβάς ἐκ θαλάσσης ὁ Λιτρέφης εἶλε. Μυκαλησίων δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μάχιμον οἱ Θρᾶκες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐφόνευσαν καὶ παῖδας, μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι· Βοιωτῶν γὰρ ὅσους ἀνέστησαν Θηβαῖοι, ὤκοῦντο αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, διαφυγόντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ καὶ Μυκαλησίοις οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ πᾶσιν ἀποκτείναντες ἐπεξηλήθον, ὕστερον ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέλαβον οἱ λειφθέντες.

[4] τοσοῦτον μὲν παρέστη μοι θαῦμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Λιτρέφους, ὅτι οἰστοῖς ἐβέβλητο, Ἑλλησιν ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ὄν τοξεύειν· Λοκροὺς γὰρ τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ὀπλιτεύοντας ἤδη κατὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἴσμεν, οὓς Ὀμηρος ἐποίησεν ὡς φερόμενοι τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας ἐς Ἴλιον ἔλθοιεν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Μαλιεῦσι παρέμεινε μελέτη τῶν τόξων, δοκῶ δὲ οὔτε πρότερον ἐπίστασθαι σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ Φιλοκτῆτην, παύσασθαι τε οὐ διὰ μακροῦ· τοῦ δὲ Λιτρέφους πλησίον — τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας τὰς ἀφανεστέρας γράφειν οὐκ ἐθέλω — θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν Ὑγείας τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγείας. [5] ἐστὶ δὲ λίθος οὐ μέγας, ἀλλ' ὅσον καθίξεσθαι μικρὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν, ἡνίκα Διόνυσος ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἀναπαύσασθαι τὸν Σιληνόν. τοὺς γὰρ ἡλικία τῶν Σατύρων προήκοντας ὀνομάζουσι Σιληνοὺς· περὶ δὲ Σατύρων, οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἐτέρου πλέον ἐθέλων ἐπίστασθαι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν τούτων ἔνεκα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. ἔφη δὲ Εὐφημος Κᾶρ ἀνὴρ πλέων ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀμαρτεῖν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἕξω θάλασσαν, ἐς ἣν οὐκέτι πλέουσιν, ἐξενεχθῆναι. νήσους δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἔλεγεν ἐρήμους πολλάς, ἐν δὲ ἄλλαις οἰκεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγρίους· [6] ταύταις δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλειν νήσοις προσίσχειν τοὺς ναύτας οἷα πρότερόν τε προσσχόντας καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχοντας, βιασθῆναι δ' οὖν καὶ τότε. ταύτας καλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν Σατυρίδας, εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας καὶ καπυροὺς καὶ ἵππων οὐ πολὺ μείους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχύις οὐράς. τούτους, ὡς ἦσθοντο, καταδραμόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν φωνὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἰέναι, ταῖς δὲ γυναῖξιν ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς ἐν τῇ νηί· τέλος δὲ δείσαντας τοὺς ναύτας βάρβαρον γυναῖκα ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν νῆσον· ἐς ταύτην οὖν ὑβρίζειν τοὺς Σατύρους οὐ μόνον ἢ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα. [7] καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει θεασάμενος οἶδα, Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος χαλκοῦν παῖδα, ὃς τὸ περιρραντήριον ἔχει, καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἰργασμένον. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶ Βραυρωνίας, Πραξιτέλους μὲν τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα, τῇ θεῷ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Βραυρῶνος δήμου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξοάνον ἐστὶν ἐν Βραυρῶνι, Ἄρτεμις ὡς

λέγουσιν ἡ Ταυρική.

[8] ἵππος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Δούριος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς, καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὸ ποίημα τὸ Ἐπειοῦ μηχανήμα ἦν ἐς διάλυσιν τοῦ τείχους, οἶδεν ὅστις μὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς Φρυξὶν εὐήθειαν· λέγεται δὲ ἕξ τε ἐκείνον τὸν ἵππον ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔνδον ἔχοι τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα· καὶ Μενεσθεὺς καὶ Τεῦκρος ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θησέως. [9] ἀνδριάντων δὲ ὅσοι μετὰ τὸν ἵππον ἐστίκασιν Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὀπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας, Οἰνοβίῳ δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐς Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου χρηστόν· ψήφισμα γὰρ

ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἀθήνας Θουκυδίδην, καὶ οἱ δολοφονηθέντι ὡς κατῆι μνημᾶ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτίδων. [10] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρμόλυκον τὸν παγκρατιαστήν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου γραψάντων ἐτέρων παρήμι: ἐς δὲ Φορμίωνα τοσόνδε ἔχω πλέον γράψαι. Φορμίῳ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν Ἀθηναίων ὄντι ὁμοίῳ καὶ ἐς προγόνων δόξαν οὐκ ἀφανεῖ συνέβαινεν ὀφείλειν χρέα: ἀναχωρήσας οὖν ἐς τὸν Παιανιέα δῆμον ἐνταῦθα εἶχε δαίταν, ἐς ὃ ναύαρχον αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων αἰρουμένων ἐκπλεύσεσθαι οὐκ ἔφασκεν: ὀφείλειν τε γὰρ καὶ οἱ, πρὶν ἂν ἐκτίσῃ, πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ εἶναι παρέχεσθαι φρόνημα. οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι — πάντως γὰρ ἐβούλοντο ἄρχειν Φορμίωνα — τὰ χρέα ὁπόσοις ὤφειλε διαλύουσιν.

24. ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηναῖα πεποιήται τὸν Σιληνὸν Μαρσύαν παίουσα, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο, ἐρρίφθαι σφᾶς τῆς θεοῦ βουλομένης. — τούτων πέραν, ὧν εἴρηκα, ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη Θησεὺς μάχη πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε θηρίον ἦν ὅποιον κεκράτηκεν ὁ λόγος: τέρατα γὰρ πολλῶ καὶ τοῦδε θαυμασιώτερα καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτικτον γυναῖκες. [2] κεῖται δὲ καὶ Φρίξος ὁ Ἀθάμαντος ἐξενηνεγμένος ἐς Κόλχους ὑπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ: θύσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὄτῳ δὴ θεῶ, ὡς δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ Λαφυστίῳ καλουμένῳ παρὰ Ὀρχομενίοις, τοὺς μηροὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐκτεμὼν τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐς αὐτοὺς καιομένους ὀρεῖ. κεῖνται δὲ ἐξῆς ἄλλαι τε εἰκόνες καὶ Ἡρακλέους: ἄγχι δέ, ὡς λόγος ἔχει, τοὺς δράκοντας. Ἀθηναῖα τέ ἐστὶν ἀνιούσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦρος ἀνάθημα τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρεΐῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ βουλή: [3] πολλὰ δ' ἂν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάζοι. λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσώτερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖα ἐστὶ σπουδῆς: πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖαν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκόλους Ἑρμᾶς ἀνέθεσαν, ὁμοῦ δὲ σφισιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱσπουδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν. ὅστις δὲ τὰ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα ἐπίπροσθε τίθεται τῶν ἐς ἀρχαιότητα ἡκόντων, καὶ τάδε ἔστιν οἱ θεάσασθαι. κράνος ἐστὶν ἐπικείμενος ἀνὴρ Κλεοῖτου, καὶ οἱ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἀργυροῦς ἐνεποίησεν ὁ Κλεοίτας: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὕσαι οἱ τὸν Δία, εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῆσαν Ἀθηναίοις εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι συμβᾶς αὐχμός. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ αὐτὸς κεῖται Κόνων: Πρόκνην δὲ τὰ ἐς τὸν παῖδα βεβουλεμένην αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀλκαμένης. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηναῖα καὶ κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν: [4] καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἄγαλμα τό τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεὺς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γράφων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ γράφω. τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθᾶς καταθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μειγμένας πυροῖς σὺδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακὴν: ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἅπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. καλοῦσι δὲ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον, ὃς κτείνας τὸν βόυν καὶ ταύτη τὸν πέλεκυν ρίψας — οὕτω γάρ ἐστίν οἱ νόμος — οἷχεται φεύγων: οἱ δὲ ἅτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν.

ταῦτα μὲν τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον δρῶσιν: ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν [5] ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναῖς ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηναῖαν

ἐστὶν ἕρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς· αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρησιμοῦ πεποιήται. μέσῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπικείται οἱ τῷ κράνει Σφιγγὸς εἰκὼν — ἃ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σφίγγα λέγεται, γράψω προελθόντος ἐς τὰ Βοιωτία μοι τοῦ λόγου — , καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῦ κράνου γρυπὲς εἰσὶν ἐπειργασμένοι. [6] τούτους τοὺς γρυπας ἐν τοῖς ἔπαισιν Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκοννήσιος μάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ φησιν Ἀριμασποῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰσσηδόνων· τὸν δὲ χρυσόν, ὃν φυλάσσουσιν οἱ γρυπες, ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν· εἶναι δὲ Ἀριμασποὺς μὲν ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους πάντας ἐκ γενετῆς, γρυπας δὲ θηρία λέουσιν

εἰκασμένα, πτερὰ δὲ ἔχειν καὶ στόμα ἀετοῦ. καὶ γρυπῶν μὲν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· [7] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀρθόν ἐστὶν ἐν χιτῶνι ποδῆρει καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον ἢ κεφαλὴ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη· καὶ Νίκην τε ὅσον τεσσάρων πηχῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχει, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἄσπῃς τε κεῖται καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἴη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων. ἔστι δὲ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπειργασμένη Πανδώρας γενέσις. πεποιήται δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ὥς ἡ Πανδώρα γένοιτο αὕτη γυνὴ πρώτη· πρὶν δὲ ἢ γενέσθαι Πανδώραν οὐκ ἦν πῶ γυναικῶν γένος. ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον Ἰφικράτους ἀποδειξαμένου πολλά τε καὶ θαυμαστά ἔργα. [8] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶ πέραν Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγουσι Φειδίαν ποιῆσαι· Παρνόπιον δὲ καλοῦσιν, ὅτι σφίσι παρνόπων βλαπτόντων τὴν γῆν ἀποτρέψειν ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀπέτρεψεν ἴσασι, τρόπῳ δὲ οὐ λέγουσι ποίῳ. τρεῖς δὲ αὐτὸς ἤδη πάρνοπας ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα οἶδα φθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε βίαιος ἐμπεσὼν ἄνεμος, τοὺς δὲ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ καῦμα ἰσχυρὸν καθεῖλεν ἐπιλαβόν, οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ ῥίγῃ καταληφθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

25. τοιαῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνοντα εἶδον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει καὶ Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ αὐτὸς Ξάνθιππος, ὃς ἐναυμάχησεν ἐπὶ Μυκάλη Μήδοις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλέους ἀνδριὰς ἐτέρωθι ἀνάκειται, τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἔστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφῶ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικά ποιήσας· καὶ οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἶον ἄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου. γυναῖκας δὲ πλησίον Δεινομένης Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου καὶ Καλλιστῶ τὴν Λυκάονος πεποίηκεν, αἷς ἀμφοτέραις ἐστὶν ἐς ἅπαν ὅμοια διηγήματα ἔρως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ὀργὴ καὶ ἀλλαγὴ τῇ μὲν ἐς βοῦν, Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἐς ἄρκτον.

[2] πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ Νοτίῳ γιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θράκην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ὤκησαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσία φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀτταλος, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, μεγέθει τε ὧν ἔπραξε λαβὼν δόξαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ καιρῷ, φρόνημα ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρασχόμενος συνεχῶς ἐπτακόσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ ἐν χρηστὸν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίζουσι.

[3] τὸ γὰρ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπασι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦρξε κακοῦ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Μακεδόνων ἐτάχθησαν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολλὰς Φίλιππος τῶν πόλεων εἶλεν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ

λόγῳ συνθέμενος ἔργῳ σφᾶς μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε, νήσους τε ἀφελόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ναυτικά παύσας ἀρχῆς. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡσύχασαν Ἀθηναῖοι Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου: τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνες μὲν βασιλεύειν εἵλοντο Ἀριδαῖον, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ

ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχή, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἰ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔσται ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε πολεμεῖν ὥρμηντο καὶ ἄλλους ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἡγειρον. [4] ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις Πελοποννησίων μὲν Ἄργος Ἐπίδauρος Σικυὼν Τροιζὴν Ἥλειοι Φλιάσιοι Μεσσήνη, οἱ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ Λοκροὶ Φωκεῖς Θεσσαλοὶ Κάρυστος Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν συντελοῦντες: Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖον ἡρῃωμένην τὴν γῆν τὴν Θηβαΐδα νεμόμενοι δέει μὴ Θήβας αὐθις Ἀθηναῖοι σφισιν ἐποικίζωσιν οὔτε ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἦκον δυνάμεως τὰ Μακεδόνων ἠῴζον. [5] τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντας κατὰ πόλεις τε ἐκάστους ἦγον στρατηγοὶ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχειν ἦρητο Ἀθηναῖος Λεωσθένης πόλεώς τε ἀξιώματι καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι δοκῶν πολέμων ἔμπειρος. ὑπῆρχε δὲ οἱ καὶ πρὸς πάντας εὐεργεσία τοὺς Ἕλληνας: ὅποσοι γὰρ μισθοῦ παρὰ Δαρείῳ καὶ σατράπαις ἐστρατεύοντο Ἕλληνες, ἀνοικίσαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν Περίδα θελήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Λεωσθένης ἔφθη κομίσας ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν ἤλπισαν τὰ ἔργα λαμπρότερα ἐπιδειξάμενος παρέσχεν ἀποθανῶν ἀθυμῆσαι πᾶσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐχ ἥκιστα σφαλῆναι: φρουρά τε Μακεδόνων ἐστῆλθεν Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ Μουνυχίαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Πειραιᾶ καὶ τείχη μακρὰ ἔσχον. [6] Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ὀλυμπιάς διαβάσα ἐξ Ἡπείρου χρόνον μὲν τινα ἥρξεν ἀποκτείνασα Ἀριδαῖον, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκπολιορκηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παρεδόθη τῷ πλήθει.

Κάσσανδρος δὲ βασιλεύσας — τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐπέξεισί μοι μόνον ὁ λόγος — Πάνακτον τείχος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Σαλαμῖνα εἶλε τύραννόν τε Ἀθηναίοις ἔπραξε γενέσθαι Δημήτριον τὸν Φανοστράτου, τὰ πρὸς δόξαν εἰληφότα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τυραννίδος ἔπαυσε Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου, νέος τε ὧν καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν διακείμενος: [7] Κάσσανδρος δὲ — δεινὸν γάρ τι ὑπῆν οἱ μῖσος ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους —, ὁ δὲ αὐθις Λαχάρην προεσθηκότα ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ δήμου, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα οἰκειωσάμενος τυραννίδα ἔπεισε βουλευσai, τυράννων ὧν ἴσμεν τὰ τε ἐς ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα ἀνήμερον καὶ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀφειδέστατον. Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιγόνου διαφορά μὲν ἦν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἥδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθεῖλε δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ τὴν Λαχάρους τυραννίδα: ἀλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Λαχάρης ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἅτε δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον ὑπωπτεύετο εὐπορεῖν μεγάλως χρημάτων. [8] Λαχάρην μὲν οὖν τούτων ἔνεκα κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες Κορωναῖοι: Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιγόνου τυράννων ἐλευθερώσας Ἀθηναίους τό τε παραντῖκα μετὰ τὴν Λαχάρους φυγὴν οὐκ ἀπέδωκέ σφισι τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ὕστερον πολέμῳ κρατήσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν τὸ ἄστυ, τὸ Μουσεῖον καλούμενον τειχίσας. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος, ἔνθα Μουσαῖον ἄδειν καὶ

ἀποθανόντα γῆρα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ μνήμη αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ὀκοδομήθη Σύρω. τότε δὲ Δημήτριος τειχίσας εἶχε:

26. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἄνδρας ἐσήλθεν οὐ πολλοὺς καὶ μνήμη τε προγόνων καὶ ἐς οἷαν μεταβολὴν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἦκοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίκα τε ὡς εἶχον αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον. ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἦγε καὶ γέροντας καὶ μειράκια ὁμοίως, προθυμίᾳ πλεόν ἢ ῥώμῃ κατορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐλπίζων: ἐπεξελθόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ φυγόντων ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον τὸ χωρίον εἶλεν. [2] Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἡλευθερώθησαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πάντων ἀγωνισαμένων ἀξίως λόγου Λεώκριτος μάλιστα ὁ Πρωτάρχου λέγεται τόλμῃ χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον: πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη, πρῶτος δὲ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐσήλατο, καὶ οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλαι γεγόνασιν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Λεωκρίτου καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα ἐπιγράψαντες. [3] Ὀλυμπιόδωρ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον μέγιστον χωρὶς τούτων ὧν ἔπραξε Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν ἀνασωσάμενος: ποιουμένων δὲ Μακεδόνων καταδρομῇ ἐς Ἐλευσίνα Ἐλευσινίους συντάξας ἐνίκα τοὺς Μακεδόνας. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Κασσάνδρου πλεύσας Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ἐς Αἰτωλίαν βοηθεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς ἔπεισε, καὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις αἴτιον μάλιστα διαφυγεῖν τὸν Κασσάνδρου πόλεμον. Ὀλυμπιόδωρ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Ἀθήναις εἰσὶν ἐν τε ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἐν πρυτανείῳ τιμαί, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γραφή: καὶ Φωκέων οἱ Ἐλάτειαν ἔχοντες χαλκοῦν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέθεσαν, ὅτι καὶ τούτοις ἤμυνεν ἀποστᾶσι Κασσάνδρου. [4] τῆς δὲ εἰκόνης πλησίον τῆς Ὀλυμπιόδωρου χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λευκοφρύνης, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους: Μάγνητες γάρ, ὧν ἦρχε Θεμιστοκλῆς λαβὼν παρὰ βασιλέως, Λευκοφρύνην Ἄρτεμιν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ.

δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Ἐνδοῖος ἦν γένος μὲν Ἀθηναῖος, Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητής, ὃς καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλῳ διὰ τὸν Κάλῳ θάνατον ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐς Κρήτην: τούτου καθήμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλλίας μὲν ἀναθεῖη, ποιήσῃ δὲ Ἐνδοῖος.

[5] — ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον: πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Διὸς ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα ἔμπνυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδέν ἐτι οἶνῳ χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὶ θύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἥφαιστου: γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βαυταδῶν καὶ — διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα — καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι. τοῦτο μὲν θαῦμα οὐ μέγα: καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι μεσόγαϊαν οἰκοῦσιν, ἄλλοις τε ἔστι καὶ Καρσὶν Ἀφροδισιεῦσιν: ἀλλὰ τότε τὸ φρέαρ ἐς συγγραφὴν παρέχεται κυμάτων ἦχον ἐπὶ νότῳ πνεύσαντι. καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα: ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι. [6] ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἢ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῇ — καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ — , τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς

πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνήλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δῆμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς ἀγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει: φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξειμι εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει, λύχνον δὲ τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦν Καλλιμάχος ἐποίησεν:

[7] ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου τὸν λύχνον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν, ἔλαιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνοντι. καὶ οἱ λίνου Καρπασίου θρυαλλὶς ἔνεστιν, ὃ δὴ πυρὶ λίνων μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλώσιμον: φοῖνιξ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοῦς ἀνήκων ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνασπᾷ τὴν ἀτμίδα. ὁ δὲ Καλλιμάχος ὁ τὸν λύχνον ποιήσας, ἀποδέων τῶν πρώτων ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην, οὕτω σοφία πάντων ἐστὶν ἄριστος ὥστε καὶ λίθους πρῶτος ἐτρύπησε καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετο κατατηξίτεχνον, ἢ θεμένων ἄλλων κατέστησεν ἐφ' αὐτῷ.

27. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι. Μασίστιον μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα ἱππέων: Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχεσαμένου Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐναντία καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου πεσόντος οὐδ' ἂν ὑπεδέξαντο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἴσως Ἀθηναίοις παρῆκαν φέρεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν ἀκινάκην. [2] περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεῷ μαρτύριον γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, κατακαυθῆναι μὲν τὴν ἐλαίαν, ἥνικα ὁ Μῆδος τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀθηναίους, κατακαυθεῖσαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο βλαστήσαι πῆχεις.

τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχῆς ἐστὶ: καὶ ἔστι Πάνδροσος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀναίτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνη. [3] ἃ δέ μοι θαυμάσαι μάλιστα παρέσχεν, ἔστι μὲν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας γνώριμα, γράψω δὲ οἷα συμβαίνει. παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους: αὗται χρόνον μὲν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιάδε. ἀναθεῖσαι σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ ἢ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἢ διδοῦσα ὅποιόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις — ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγειος αὐτομάτη —, ταύτῃ κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον: καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀφιάσιν ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. [4] πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστι μὲν φειήρις πρεσβῦτις ὅσον τε πῆχεος μάλιστα, φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσιμάχης, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ διεστῶτες ἄνδρες ἐς μάχην: καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἑρεχθέα καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Εὐμόλπον: καίτοι λέληθέ γε οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασιν, Ἰμμάραδον εἶναι παῖδα Εὐμόλπου τοῦτον τὸν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Ἑρεχθέως. [5] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βήθρου καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶ Θεαίνετος ὃς ἐμαντεύετο Τολμίδη καὶ αὐτὸς Τολμίδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἡγούμενος ἄλλους τε ἐκάκωσε καὶ Πελοποννησιῶν τὴν χώραν ὅσοι νέμονται τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ

Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Γυθίῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐνέπρησε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Βοιάς εἶλε καὶ τὴν Κυθηρίων νῆσον· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν ποιησάμενος ἀπόβασιν, ὥς οἱ δοῦντι τὴν γῆν ἐς μάχην κατέστησαν, τρεψάμενος σφᾶς κατεδίωξε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ὕστερον δὲ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἐσήγαγε μὲν ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Νάξον Ἀθηναίων κληρούχους, ἐσέβαλε δὲ ἐς Βοιωτοὺς στρατῷ· πορθήσας δὲ τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ παραστησάμενος πολιορκία Χαιρώνειαν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀλιαρτίαν προῆλθεν, αὐτός τε μαχόμενος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἤδη στράτευμα ἡττᾶτο. τὰ μὲν ἐς Τολμίδην τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην ὄντα, ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἀγάλματα [6] ἀρχαῖα· καὶ σφισιν ἀπετάκη μὲν οὐδέν, μελάντερα δὲ καὶ πληγὴν ἐνεγκεῖν ἔστιν ἀσθενέστερα· ἐπέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἡ φλόξ, ὅτε ἐσβεβηκότων ἐς τὰς ναῦς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς εἶλεν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ συός τε θήρα, περὶ οὗ σαφές οὐδέν οἶδα εἰ τοῦ Καλυδωνίου, καὶ Κύκνος Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος· τοῦτον τὸν Κύκνον φασὶν ἄλλους τε φονεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θρᾶκα προτεθέντων σφίσι μονομαχίας ἄθλων, περὶ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πηνειὸν ἀπέθανεν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους. [7] τῶν δὲ ἐν Τροίῳ λόγων, οὓς ἐς Θησέα λέγουσιν, ἐστὶν ὡς Ἡρακλεῖς ἐς Τροίηναν ἔλθων παρὰ Πιτθέα καταθεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦ λέοντος τὸ δέρμα, ἐσέλθοιεν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε Τροίηνάων παῖδες καὶ Θησεὺς ἔβδομον μάλιστα γεγονώς ἔτος· τοὺς μὲν δὴ λοιποὺς παῖδας, ὡς τὸ δέρμα εἶδον, φεύγοντάς φασιν οἴχεσθαι, Θησέα δὲ ὑπεξελθόντα οὐκ ἄγαν σὺν φόβῳ παρὰ τῶν διακόνων ἀρπάσαι πέλεκυν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπίνειαι σπουδῇ, λέοντα εἶναι τὸ δέρμα ἡγούμενον.

[8] ὅδε μὲν τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐς αὐτόν ἐστι Τροίηναις· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, κρηπίδας Αἰγέα ὑπὸ πέτρα καὶ ξίφος θεῖναι γνωρίσματα εἶναι τῷ. παῖδι καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποπλεῖν, Θησέα δέ, ὡς ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐγεγόνει, τὴν πέτραν ἀνώσαντα οἴχεσθαι καὶ τὴν παρακαταθήκην τὴν Αἰγέως φέροντα. τούτου δὲ εἰκὼν ἐν ἀκροπόλει πεποιήται τοῦ λόγου, χαλκοῦ πάντα ὁμοίως πλὴν τῆς πέτρας· [9] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Θησεῶς ἔργον, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει. Κρησὶ τὴν τε ἄλλην γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι ταῦρος ἐλυμαίνετο. πάλαι δὲ ἄρα τὰ θηρία φοβερώτερα ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ὁ τ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέων καὶ ὁ Παρνάσιος καὶ δράκοντες τῆς Ἑλλάδος πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὅς περὶ τε Καλυδῶνα καὶ Ἐρύμανθον καὶ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐν Κρομμυῶνι, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέγετο τὰ μὲν ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἱερὰ εἶη θεῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώπων ἀφείσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Κρήτες τὸν ταῦρον ἐς τὴν γῆν πέμψαι σφίσι Ποσειδῶνά φασιν, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἄρχων Μίνως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς οὐδενὸς Ποσειδῶνα ἦγεν ἄλλου θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἐν τιμῇ. [10] κομισθῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτόν φασιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἓνα καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὸν ἄθλον· ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφείθη τὸ Ἀργεῖον, φεύγει διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίου ἰσθμοῦ, φεύγει δὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς δῆμον τὸν Μαραθωνίων, καὶ ἄλλους τε ὁπόσοις ἐπέτυχε καὶ Μίνω παῖδα Ἀνδρόγεων ἀπέκτεινε. Μίνως δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας πλεύσας — οὐ γὰρ ἐπέιθετο ἀναιτίους εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευταῖης — ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκάκωσεν, ἐς ὃ συνεχωρήθη οἱ παρθένους ἐς Κρήτην ἐπτά καὶ παῖδας ἵσους ἄγειν τῷ λεγομένῳ Μίνω ταύρῳ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ Λαβύρινθον οἰκῆσαι· τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ταῦρον ὕστερον Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλάσαι καὶ θῆσαι

λέγεται τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημά ἐστι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Μαραθωνίων.

28. Κύλωνα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἐφ' ὅτῳ χαλκοῦν ἀνέθεσαν τυραννίδα ὅμως βουλευσάντα: τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῶνδε ἔνεκα, ὅτι εἶδος κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀφανὲς ἀνελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρα ὑπῆρξε γῆμαι Θεαγένους, ὃς Μεγάρων ἐτυράννησε. [2] χωρὶς δὲ ἡ ὅσα κατέλεξα δύο μὲν Ἀθηναίοις εἰσι δεκάται πολεμήσασιν, ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μήδων τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα

ἀποβάντων τέχνη Φειδίου — καὶ οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος μάχην Λαπιθῶν πρὸς Κενταύρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐπειρασμένα λέγουσι τορεῦσαι Μῦν, τῷ δὲ Μυῖ ταυτά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων Παρράσιον καταγράψαι τὸν Εὐήνορος: ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσιν ἐστὶν ἤδη σύνοπτα —, καὶ ἄρμα κεῖται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτη καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. δύο δὲ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα, Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν Φειδίου θεὰς μάλιστα ἄξιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων καλουμένης Λημνίας. [3] τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγοὺς οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν: φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον τοὺς οἰκοδομήσαντας εἶναι. πυνθανόμενος δὲ οἵτινες ἦσαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελοὺς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν μετοικῆσαι. [4] καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια πηγὴ τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ: Κρεοῦση δὲ θυγατρί Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι νομίζουσι. * * * ὡς πεμφθεὶς Φιλιππίδης ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μήδων ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἐπανάγκων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη τὴν ἔξοδον, εἶναι γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχουμένους ἐξιέναι πρὶν ἢ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γενέσθαι: τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε περὶ τὸ ὅρος ἐντυχόντα οἱ τὸ

Παρθένιον φάναι τε ὡς εὖνους Ἀθηναίοις εἶη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἦξει συμμαχήσων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται:

[5] καθὼ καὶ ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος. ἔστι δὲ Ἄρειος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἄρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη, καὶ μοι καὶ ταῦτα δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ὡς Ἀλιπρόθιον ἀνέλοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ κτείνειε. κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός: καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην. τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐστᾶσιν ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν Ὑβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναιδείας αὐτῶν ὀνομάζουσι. [6] πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Ἡσίοδος δὲ Ἐρινὺς ἐν Θεογονίᾳ. πρῶτος δὲ σφισιν Αἰσχύλος δράκοντας ἐποίησεν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θριξίν εἶναι: τοῖς δὲ ἀγάλμασιν οὔτε τούτοις ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερὸν οὔτε ὅσα ἄλλα κεῖται θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων. κεῖται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα: ἐνταῦθα θύουσι μὲν ὅσοις ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξεγένετο ἀπολύσασθαι, θύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ξένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἄστοι.

[7] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνῆμα Οἰδίποδος, πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ εὗρισκον τὰ ὅσα ἐκ Θηβῶν κοιμισθέντα: τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ

πεποιημένα τὸν Οἰδίποδος Ὅμηρος οὐκ εἶα μοι δόξαι πιστά, ὃς ἔφη Μηκιστέα τελευτήσαντος Οἰδίποδος ἐπιτάφιον ἐλθόντα ἐς Θήβας ἀγωνίσασθαι. [8] ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἄλλα δικαστήρια οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτο δόξης ἦκοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν καλούμενον

παράβυστον καὶ τρίγωνον, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως ὄν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων ἐς αὐτό, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα: βατραχιοῦν δὲ καὶ φοινικιοῦν ἀπὸ χρωμάτων τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε διαμεμένηκεν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ἐς ὃ πλεῖστοι συνίασιν, ἡλιαίαν καλοῦσιν. ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσιν, ἔστιν ἄλλα: καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Δημοφῶν πρῶτος ἐνταῦθα ὑπέσχεε δίκας, ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οὐδένες:

[9] ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ, διάφορα ἐς τοῦτο εἴρηται. Διομήδην φασὶν ἀλούσης Ἰλίου ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀπίσω κομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἤδη τε νύκτα ἐπέχειν ὡς κατὰ Φάληρον πλέοντες γίνονται καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὡς ἐς πολεμίαν ἀποβῆναι τὴν γῆν, ἄλλην που δόξαντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ οὐ τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα Δημοφῶντα λέγουσιν ἐκβοηθήσαντα, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον οὐδὲ τοῦτον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὡς εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τὸ Παλλάδιον ἀρπάσαντα οἴχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖον τε ἄνδρα οὐ προῖδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος ἀνατραπῆναι καὶ συμπατηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν: ἐπὶ τούτῳ Δημοφῶντα ὑποσχεῖν δίκας οἱ μὲν τοῦ συμπατηθέντος τοῖς προσήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργείων φασὶ τῷ κοινῷ. [10] ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δὲ κρίσις καθέστηκεν ἐργάσασθαι φόνον σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ φαμένοις, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ Θησεὺς παρεχόμενος ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτε Πάλλαντα ἐπαναστάντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκτεινε: πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφεῖθῃ, καθειστήκει πᾶσι φεύγειν κτείναντα ἢ κατὰ ταῦτα θνήσκειν μένοντα. τὸ δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καλούμενον, ἐνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀψύχοις δικάζουσιν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύοντος Ἑρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βούν ἔκτεινεν ὁ βουφόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βομοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὴ τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων, ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραντίκα ἀφεῖθῃ κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται. [11] λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀψύχων αὐτόματα ἐπιθεῖναι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώποις: ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ δόξη φανερώτατον ὁ Καμβύσου παρέσχετο ἀκινάκης. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς πρὸς θαλάσσην Φρεαττύς: ἐνταῦθα οἱ πεφευγότες, ἦν ἀπελθόντας ἕτερον ἐπιλάβῃ σφᾶς ἔγκλημα, πρὸς ἀκροωμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ νεῶς ἀπολογοῦνται: Τεῦκρον πρῶτον λόγος ἔχει Τελαμῶνι οὕτως ἀπολογήσασθαι μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Αἴαντος θάνατον εἰργάσθαι. τάδε μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι τῶνδε ἔνεκα, γινῶναι ὁπόσοις μέτεστι σπουδῆς τὰ ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια:

29. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δείκνυται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν. καὶ αὐτήν μὲν ἤδη πού τις ὑπερεβάλετο: τὸ δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθῆκον ἐς ἐννέα ἐρέτας ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων. [2] Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἔστιν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι: ἐγγυτάτω δὲ Ἀκαδημία, χωρίον ποτὲ ἀνδρὸς ιδιώτου, γυμνάσιον δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. κατιοῦσι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτεμίδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης: ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ

δοκῶ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Πάμφω, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὐταί, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδὼς ὑπερβήσομαι. καὶ ναὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστίν, ἐς ὃν τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζουσιν ἐν τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις.

[3] ἱερὰ μὲν σφισι ταύτῃ τοσαῦτά ἐστι, τάφοι δὲ Θρασυβούλου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Λύκου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν τε ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν Ἀθηναῖοις λόγιμοι τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου — παρέντι δέ μοι τὰ πλείω τοσάδε ἐς πίστιν ἀρκέσει τοῦ λόγου: τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔπαυσε τῶν τριάκοντα καλουμένων σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἐξήκοντα τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὀρμηθεῖς ἐκ Θηβῶν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους στασιάζοντας διαλλαγῆναι καὶ συνθεμένους ἔπεισε μείναι — , πρῶτος μὲν ἐστὶν οὗτος τάφος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου καὶ Φορμίωνος. [4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνήμα Ἀθηναίοις ὁπόσοις ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἐν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς πλὴν ὅσοι Μαραθῶνι αὐτῶν ἠγωνίσαντο: τούτοις γὰρ κατὰ χώραν εἰσὶν οἱ τάφοι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκάστου λέγουσαι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν οὓς ἐν Θράκῃ ποτὲ ἐπικρατοῦντας μέχρι Δραβησκοῦ τῆς χώρας Ἡδωνοὶ φονεύουσιν ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιθέμενοι: [5] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς κεραυνοὶ πέσοιεν ἐς αὐτούς. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Λέαγρος, ὃ μάλιστα ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ δύναμις, καὶ Δεκελεὺς Σωφάνης, ὃς τὸν Ἀργεῖόν ποτε πένταθλον Νεμείων ἀνηρημένον νίκην ἀπέκτεινεν Εὐρυβάτην βοηθοῦντα Αἰγινήταις.

στρατὸν δὲ ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἀθηναῖοι τρίτον τοῦτον ἔστειλαν: Πριάμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τρωσὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου κατέστησαν ἐς πόλεμον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἰδίᾳ μετ' Ἰολάου τε ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ δευτέραν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ τρίτον δὴ τότε ἐς τὴν Θράκην. [6] ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μνήματος στήλη μαχομένους ἔχουσα ἱππεῖς: Μελάνωπός σφισὶν ἐστὶ καὶ Μακάρτατος ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἔνθα τῆς Ἑλεωνίας εἰσὶ χώρας πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὄροι. καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τάφος ἐστὶν ἱππέων κατὰ παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἐλθόντων, ὅτε σὺν Ἀρχιδάμῳ Πελοποννήσιοι πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατιᾷ, καὶ πλησίον τοξόταις Κρησίν: αὐθις δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίων μνήματα Κλεισθένους, ὃ τὰ ἐς τὰς φυλὰς αἱ νῦν καθεστᾶσιν εὐρέθη, καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἠνίκα συνεπελάβοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ τοῦ κινδύνου. [7] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κεῖνται, μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες: ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ, γράψω τοῦ λόγου μοι κατελθόντος ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. καὶ Ἀθηναίων δ' ἔστι τάφος, οἱ πρὶν ἢ στρατεῦσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ δήμου δίκαιον βούλευμα, εἰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μετέδωκαν δούλοις δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγγραφῆναι στήλῃ: δηλοῖ δὲ ἀγαθοὺς σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὀνόματα ἄλλων, διάφορα δὲ σφισι τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγώνων: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπ' Ὀλυνθον ἐλθόντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ Μελήσανδρος ἐς τὴν ἄνω Καρίαν ναυσὶν ἀναπλεύσας διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου, ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντες [8] πολεμοῦντος Κασσάνδρου καὶ οἱ συμμαχήσαντές ποτε Ἀργείων. πραχθῆναι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὴν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους λέγουσι συμμαχίαν: Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ

σεΐσαντος οἱ εἰλωτες ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν, ἀφεστηκότων δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βοηθοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων μετεπέμποντο: οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἐπιλέκτους ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ στρατηγὸν Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου. τούτους ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς ὑποψίαν: [9] Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο περιωβρίσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω συμμαχίαν ἐποίησαντο Ἀργεῖοις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροῖς τὸν ἅπαντα οὔσι χρόνον. ὕστερον δὲ μελλούσης Ἀθηναίων ἐν Τανάγρα γίνεσθαι πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἀφίκοντο Ἀθηναίοις Ἀργεῖοι βοηθοῦντες: καὶ παραντίκα μὲν ἔχοντας πλέον τοὺς Ἀργεῖους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἀφείλετο τὸ σαφές τῆς νίκης, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπῆρξε κρατήσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις Θεσσαλῶν προδόντων Ἀθηναίους. [10] καταλέξαι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦσδε ἐπῆλθεν, Ἀπολλόδωρον ξένων ἡγεμόνα, ὃς Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἦν, ἐκπεμφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρσίτου σατράπου τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας διεφύλαξε Περινθίους τὴν πόλιν ἐσβεβληκότος ἐς τὴν Περινθίαν Φιλίππου στρατῷ: οὗτός τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα τέθαιπται καὶ Εὐβουλος ὁ Σπινθάρου καὶ ἄνδρες οἷς ἀγαθοῖς οὔσιν οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησε τύχῃ χρηστή, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιθεμένοις τυραννοῦντι Λαχάρει, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατάληψιν ἐβούλευσαν Μακεδόνων φρουροῦντων, πρὶν δὲ εἰργάσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδότων μηνυθέντες ἀπώλονται. [11] κεῖνται δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Κόρινθον πεσόντες: ἐδήλωσε δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὖθις ἐν Λεύκτροις τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνδρείους τὸ μῆδεν ἄνευ Τύχης εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορινθίων τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν κρατήσαντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν μόνων ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκακώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κορίνθῳ στήλην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐστάναι τὴν αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεία, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ τελευτήσασι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ. [12] γεγραμμένοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ πλὴν Νικίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀστοῖς Πλαταιεῖς: Νικίας δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε παρείθη, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν διάφορα ἢ Φίλιστος, ὃς ἔφη Δημοσθένην μὲν σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις πλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὥς ἡλίσκετο αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτείνειν, Νικία δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν ἐθελοντῇ γενέσθαι: τούτων ἕνεκα οὐκ ἐνεγράφη Νικίας τῇ στήλῃ, καταγνωσθεῖς αἰχμάλωτος ἐθελοντῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ πολέμῳ πρέπων. [13] εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ στήλῃ καὶ οἱ μαχεσάμενοι περὶ Θράκην καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ ἠνίκα Ἀρκάδας τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ καὶ Ἥλειους ἔπεισεν Ἀλκιβιάδης Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστῆναι καὶ οἱ πρὶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφικέσθαι Δημοσθένην Συρακουσίων κρατήσαντες. ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ναυμαχῆσαντες καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἠγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεύσαντες, οἱ τε ἐν Δηλίῳ τῷ

Ταναγραίων τελευτήσαντες καὶ ὅσους ἐς Θεσσαλίαν Λεωσθένης ἤγαγε καὶ οἱ πλεῦσαντες ἐς Κύπρον ὁμοῦ Κίμωνι, τῶν τε σὺν Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἄνδρες οὐ πλείους. [14] φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμορόν τινα πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν πέμψαι, καὶ ὕστερον ναυμαχίας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους γινομένης τριήρεις πέντε Ἀττικάι παρεγένοντο: ἔστιν οὖν καὶ τούτοις ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ

τάφος. Τολμίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ δεδῆλωται μὲν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησαν: ἴστω δὲ ὅτῳ φίλον κειμένους σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον ἐπὶ τῇ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶν αὐθημερὸν κρατήσαντες: [15] τέθαιπται δὲ καὶ Κόνων καὶ Τιμόθεος, δεῦτεροι μετὰ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Κίμωνα οὗτοι πατήρ καὶ παῖς ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρά. κεῖται δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μνασέου καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεὺς, Νικίας τε ὁ Νικομήδους ζῶα ἄριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ τὸν Πεισιστράτου παῖδα Ἰππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, ῥήτορές τε Ἐφιάλτης, ὃς τὰ νόμιμα τὰ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ Λυκόφρονος. [16] Λυκοῦργῳ δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν τάλαντα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πεντακοσίοις πλείονα καὶ ἑξακισχιλίοις ἢ ὅσα Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου συνήγαγε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ πομπεῖα τῇ θεῷ καὶ Νίκας χρυσᾶς καὶ παρθένους κόσμον ἑκατόν, ἐς δὲ πόλεμον ὅπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ τετρακοσίας ναυμαχοῦσιν εἶναι τριήρεις:

οἰκοδομήματα δὲ ἐπετέλεσε μὲν τὸ θέατρον ἐτέρων ὑπαρξαμένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἃ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν Πειραιεὶ νεῶς εἰσιν οἴκοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Λυκεῖῳ καλουμένῳ γυμνάσιον. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἦν καὶ χρυσοῦ, Λαχάρης καὶ ταῦτα ἐσύλησε τυραννήσας: τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἦν.

30. πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἐρωτος ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἐρωτι ἀναθεῖν. τὸν δὲ ἐν πόλει βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος ἀνάθημα εἶναι λέγουσι μετοίκων, ὅτι Μέλης Ἀθηναῖος μέτοικον ἄνδρα Τιμαγόραν ἐρασθέντα ἀτιμάζων ἀφεῖναι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ ὑψηλότετον αὐτῆς ἀνελθόντα: Τιμαγόρας δὲ ἄρα καὶ ψυχῆς εἶχεν ἀφειδῶς καὶ πάντα ὁμοίως κελεύοντι ἤθελε χαρίζεσθαι τῷ μεираκίῳ καὶ διὴ καὶ φέρων ἑαυτὸν ἀφήκε: Μέλῃτα δέ, ὡς ἀποθανόντα εἶδε Τιμαγόραν, ἐς τοσοῦτο μετανοίας ἐλθεῖν ὡς πεσεῖν τε ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ οὕτως ἀφείς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν daίμονα Ἀντέρωτα τὸν ἀλάστορα τὸν Τιμαγόρου κατέστη τοῖς μετοίκους νομίζειν. [2] ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ Προμηθέως βωμὸς, καὶ θεοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας: τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ φυλάξαι τὴν δᾶδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν, ἀποσβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν: εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τούτῳ καίοιτο, ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ κρατῶν: εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀποσβεσθείη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅτῳ καταλείπεται ἡ νίκη. ἔστι δὲ Μουσῶν τε βωμὸς καὶ ἕτερος Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἔνδον Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησαν: καὶ φυτὸν ἐστὶν ἐλαίας, δεῦτερον τοῦτο λεγόμενον φανῆναι. [3] Ἀκαδημίας δὲ οὐ πόρρω Πλάτωνος μνημῆα ἐστίν, ᾧ προσεήμεινεν ὁ θεὸς ἄριστον τὰ ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ἔσεσθαι: προσεήμεινε δὲ οὕτω. Σωκράτης τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἢ Πλάτων ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι οἱ μαθητῆς ἐσπτῆναί οἱ κύκνον ἐς τὸν κόλπον εἶδεν ὄνειρον: ἔστι δὲ κύκνῳ τῷ ὄρνιθι μουσικῆς δόξα, ὅτι Λιγύων τῶν Ἡριδανοῦ πέραν ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς Κύκνον ἄνδρα μουσικὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα φασί, τελευτήσαντα δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος γνώμη μεταβαλεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ὄρνιθα. ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦσαι μὲν πείθομαι Λίγυσιν ἄνδρα μουσικόν, γενέσθαι δὲ μοι ἄπιστον ὄρνιθα ἀπ' ἀνδρός.

[4] κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας φαίνεται πύργος Τίμωνος, ὃς μόνος εἶδε μηδένα τρόπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι γενέσθαι πλὴν τοὺς ἄλλους φεύγοντα ἀνθρώπους. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ χάρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς ἵππιος, ἔνθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα — διάφορα μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει, λέγουσι δ' οὖν —, καὶ βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας, ἠρῶν δὲ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως Οἰδίποδός τε καὶ Ἀδράστου. τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀντίγονος ἐσβαλὼν, καὶ ἄλλοτε στρατιᾷ κακώσας Ἀθηναίους τὴν γῆν.

31. δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος οἰκισθεὶς, τάδε ἐς μνήμην παρείχοντο: Ἀλιμουσίους μὲν Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ζωστήρι δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν Λητῷ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οὐ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστήρα ὡς τεξομένην, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Προσπαλτίους δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν, Ἀναγυρασίους δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν: Κεφαλῇσι δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι νομίζονται μάλιστα, Μεγάλους γὰρ σφᾶς οἱ ταύτῃ θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν. [2] ἐν δὲ Πρασιεῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι ναὸς: ἐνταῦθα τὰς Ὑπερβορέων ἀπαρχὰς ἰέναι λέγεται, παραδιδόναι δὲ αὐτὰς Ὑπερβορέους μὲν Ἀριμασποῖς, Ἀριμασποὺς δ' Ἰοσηδόσι, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθας ἐς Σινώπην κομίζουσιν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φέρεσθαι διὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐς Πρασιάς, Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐς Δῆλον ἄγοντας: τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρύφθαι μὲν ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, γινώσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδένων. ἐστὶ δὲ μνῆμα ἐπὶ Πρασιᾷς Ἑρυσίχθονος, ὡς ἐκομίζετο ὀπίσω μετὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐκ Δήλου, γενομένης οἱ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τῆς τελευτῆς. [3] Κραναὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα Ἀθηναίων ὅτι μὲν ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφικτύων κηδεστήν ὄντα, ἔτι πρότερον εἴρηται μοι: φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Λαμπρέα ἀποθανεῖν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφῆναί φασι, καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Λαμπρεῦσι Κραναοῦ μνῆμα. Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου — καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὥκησε παρὰ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλευσινίους ἐπολεμάρχησε — τάφος ἐν Ποταμοῖς ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας. [4] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται, Φλυεῦσι δὲ εἰσι καὶ Μυρρινουσίους τοῖς μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Διονυσοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ Διονύσου τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι: ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας καὶ Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν: τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυρρινοῦντι ξοάνον ἐστὶ Κολαινίδος. Ἀθμονεῖς δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν Ἄρτεμιν: [5] πυνθανόμενος δὲ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένους τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς εἶρον, αὐτὸς δὲ συμβάλλομαι τῇδε. ἔστιν Ἀμάρυνθος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτῃ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν, ἑορτὴν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Ἀμαρυσίας ἄγουσιν οὐδὲν τι Εὐβοέων ἀφανέστερον: ταύτῃ μὲν γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ Ἀθμονεῦσιν ἡγοῦμαι, τὴν δὲ ἐν Μυρρινοῦντι Κολαινίδα ἀπὸ Κολαίνου καλεῖσθαι. γέγραπται δ' ἤδη μοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευον τῆς Κέκροπος: ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ Κόλαινός ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα πρότερον ἢ Κέκρον ἐβασίλευσεν — ὡς οἱ Μυρρινούσιοι λέγουσιν — ἄρξαντος. [6] ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος: οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγυῖα

καὶ Ἡρακλέα. καὶ Ἀθηναῖς βωμός ἐστιν Ὑγείας· τὴν δ' Ἰππίαν Ἀθηναῖν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Διόνυσον Μελπόμενον καὶ Κισσὸν τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν, τὸν κισσὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον φανῆναι λέγοντες.

32. ὄρη δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶ Πεντελικὸν ἔνθα λιθοτομιαί, καὶ Πάρνης παρεχομένη θήραν συὼν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων, καὶ Ὑμηττὸς ὃς φύει νομάς μελίσσαις

ἐπιτηδαιοτάτας πλὴν τῆς Ἀλαζώνων. Ἀλαζῶσι γὰρ συνήθεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς νομάς ἰοῦσιν εἰσὶν ἄφεται καὶ μέλισσαι, οὐδὲ σφᾶς ἐς σίμβλους καθιέρξαντες ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐργάζονται τε ὥς ἔτυχον τῆς χώρας καὶ συμφυῆς τὸ ἔργον αὐταῖς ἐστίν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὔτε κηρὸν οὔτε μέλι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὰ ὄρη καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἔχει· [2] Πεντελῆσι μὲν Ἀθηναῖς, ἐν Ὑμηττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ὑμηττίου Διὸς, βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προονίου. καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ βωμὸς Σημαλέου Διὸς· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὀμβριον τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία. καὶ Ἀγχεσμός ὅρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου. [3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῶν νήσων ἐς ἀφίγησιν τραπέσθαι, τὰ ἐς τοὺς δήμους ἔχοντα αὐθις ἐπέξειμι. δημός ἐστι Μαραθῶν ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· ταύτῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τινες ὥς ἀνήγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν. τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δούλοι τότε πρῶτον.

[4] καὶ ἀνδρός ἐστίν ἰδίᾳ μνήμα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὑστερόν οἱ τῆς τελευτῆς Πάρου τε ἁμαρτόντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς κρίσιν Ἀθηναίους καταστάντι. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθέσθαι· καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς ἐναργὴ θεῶν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ συνήνεγκεν, ἀνηκόῳ δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβὰν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ὀργή. σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες καὶ Μαραθῶνα ἀφ' οὗ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡρακλέα, φάμενοι πρώτοις Ἑλλήνων σφίσιν Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομισθῆναι. [5] συνέβη δὲ ὥς λέγουσιν ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἀγροίκον· οὗτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρω μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής· ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχέτλαιον ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωα. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν ὥς πάντως ὅσιον ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῇ κρύψαι, τάφον δὲ οὐδένα εὐρεῖν ἐδυνάμην· οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὥς τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον. [6] ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι πηγὴ καλουμένη Μακαρία, καὶ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν λέγουσιν. Ἡρακλῆς ὥς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ἔφευγεν Εὐρυσθέα, παρὰ Κήρυκα φίλον ὄντα μετοικίζεται βασιλεύοντα Τραχίνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπελθόντος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλέους ἐξήτει τοὺς παῖδας Εὐρυσθεύς, ἐς Ἀθήνας πέμπει σφᾶς ὁ Τραχίνιος ἀσθένειάν τε λέγων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θησέα οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τιμωρεῖν· ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἰκέται πρῶτον τότε Πελοποννησίους

ποιοῦσι πόλεμον πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Θησέως σφᾶς οὐκ ἐκδόντος αἰτοῦντι Εὐρυσθεῖ. λέγουσι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι χρησμὸν τῶν παίδων ἀποθανεῖν χρῆναι τῶν Ἡρακλέους τινα ἐθελοντήν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ εἶναι νίκην σφίσιν: ἐνταῦθα Μακαρία Δηιανείρας καὶ Ἡρακλέους θυγάτηρ ἀποσφάξασα ἑαυτὴν ἔδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τε κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἄφ' αὐτῆς. [7] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι λίμνη τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης: ἐς ταύτην ἀπειρία τῶν ὁδῶν φεύγοντες ἐσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ σφισι τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσιν: ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν λίμνην φάτναι εἰσὶ λίθου τῶν ἵππων τῶν Ἀρταφέρνης καὶ σημεῖα ἐν πέτραις σκηνῆς. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ βοσκήμασιν ὕδωρ ἐπιτῆδειον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἄλμυρὸς ἤδη γίνεται καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν θαλασσίων πλήρης. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανὸς ἐστὶν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θέας ἄξιον: ἔσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενὴ, παρελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσὶν οἴκοι καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ καλούμενον Πανὸς αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰζὶν εἰκασμένοι.

33. Μαραθῶνος δὲ ἀπέχει τῇ μὲν Βραυρῶν, ἔνθα Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐκ Ταύρων φεύγουσαν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην τὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀποβῆναι λέγουσι, καταλιποῦσαν δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ταύτῃ καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι: ξόανον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἀρχαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵτινες κατὰ γνώμην ἔχουσι τὴν ἐμήν, ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ δηλώσω: [2] Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰοῦσιν ἐς

Ἵρωπόν. καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκῆσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεώς ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἣ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὕβρισταῖς ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβάσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μῆνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ μηδὲν σφισιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλεῖν, λίθον Πάριον ὃν ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ἐς τροπαίου ποίησιν. [3] τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεστι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα· ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει τῇ μὲν κλάδον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, Αἰθίοπες δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ πεποιήνται. συμβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχον οὔτε ἀπεδεχόμεν τῶν συνιέναι πειθομένων, οἱ πεποιῆσθαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ φασὶ διὰ ποταμὸν Ὠκεανόν· οἰκεῖν γὰρ Αἰθίοπας ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Νεμέσει δὲ εἶναι πατέρα Ὠκεανόν. [4] Ὠκεανῷ γὰρ οὐ ποταμῷ, θαλάσῃ δὲ ἐσχάτῃ τῆς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πλεομένης προσοικοῦσιν Ἰβηρες καὶ Κελτοί, καὶ νῆσον Ὠκεανὸς ἔχει τὴν Βρεττανῶν· Αἰθίοπων δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Συήνης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐσχατοὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγοι, καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὃν περιοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγων ὀνομάζεται. οἱ δὲ δικαιοτάτοι Μερόην πόλιν καὶ πεδῖον Αἰθιοπικὸν καλούμενον οἰκοῦσιν· οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰσιν οἱ δεικνύντες, οὐδὲ σφισιν ἔστιν οὔτε θάλασσα οὔτε ποταμὸς ἄλλος γε ἢ Νεῖλος. [5] εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πρόσοικοι Μαύροις

Αἰθίοπες ἄχρι Νασαμώνων παρήκοντες. Νασαμώνες γάρ, οὓς Ἄτλαντας Ἡρόδοτος, οἱ δὲ μέτρα φάμενοι γῆς εἰδέναι Λιξίτας καλοῦσι, Λιβύων οἱ ἐσχατοὶ πρὸς Ἄτλαντι οἰκοῦσι σπεῖροντες μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀμπέλων ζῶντες ἀγρίων. ποταμὸς δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν οὐδὲ τοῖς Νασαμῶσιν ἐστὶν οὐδεῖς· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ Ἄτλαντι ὕδωρ, τρισὶ παρεχόμενον ἀρχὰς ρέυμασιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ρευμάτων ποιεῖ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως αὐτίκα ἔχει συλλαβοῦσα ἢ ψάμμος. οὕτως Αἰθίοπες ποταμῷ γε οὐδενὶ προσοικοῦσιν ἢ Ὠκεανῷ. [6] τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄτλαντος θολερὸν τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ κροκόδειλοι διπτήχων ἦσαν οὐκ ἐλάσσους, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεδύνοντο ἐς τὴν πηγὴν. παρίστατο δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ἀναφαινόμενον αὐθις ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου ποιεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγυπτίοις. ὁ δὲ Ἄτλας ὁρος ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἐστὶν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψαύειν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἄβατον δὲ ὑπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δένδρων ἃ διὰ παντὸς πέφυκε· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Νασαμῶνας αὐτοῦ γινώσκεται, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδένα πω παραπλεύσαντα ἴσμεν. [7] τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· πτερὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποιῆται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Συμυρναῖοις τὰ ἀγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχει πτερὰ· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον — ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρᾷ ἐθέλουσιν — ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει πτερὰ ὥσπερ Ἔρωτι ποιοῦσι. νῦν δὲ ἥδη δίδειμι ὅποσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματός ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τοσόνδε ἐς τὸ σαφὲς προδηλώσας. Ἑλένη Νέμεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἕλληνας, Λήδαν δὲ μαστὸν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι· πατέρα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ πάντες κατὰ ταῦτα Ἑλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνδάρεων εἶναι νομίζουσι. [8] ταῦτα ἀκηκοὼς Φειδίας πεποίηκεν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ Λήδας ἀγομένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν, πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνδάρεων τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρα σὺν

ἵπῳ παρεστηκότα Ἰππέα ὄνομα: ἔστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως, πρῶτος οὗτος Ἑρμιόνην τὴν Ἑλένης γυναῖκα λαβών: Ὀρέστης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα τόλμημα παρείθη, παραμεινάσης τε ἐς ἅπαν Ἑρμιόνης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ Ἐποχος καλούμενος καὶ νεανίας ἐστὶν ἕτερος: ἐς τούτους ἄλλο μὲν ἤκουσα οὐδέν, ἀδελφοὺς δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς Οἰνόςης, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ.

34. τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Ὠρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ταναγρικῆς, Βοιωτίας τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔσαν, ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, πολεμήσαντες μὲν τὸν πάντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς χρόνον, κτησάμενοι δὲ οὐ πρότερον βεβαίως πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος Θήβας ἐλὼν ἐδωκέ σφισιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγα οὐδέν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη: ἀπέχει δὲ δώδεκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίου μάλιστα ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου. [2] λέγεται δὲ Ἀμφιαράῳ φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστήναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ὥς αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑπεδέξατο: πλὴν οὐ ταύτη συμβῆναί φασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα Ἄρμα καλούμενον. θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάραιον πρῶτοις Ὠρωπίοις κατέστη νομίζειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἤγνυνται. καταλέξει δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἔχω γενομένους τότε ἀνθρώπους, οἱ θεῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι τιμὰς ἔχουσι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνάκεινται πόλεις, Ἐλεοῦς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Πρωτεσιλάῳ, Λεβιάδεια Βοιωτῶν Τροφωνίῳ: καὶ Ὠρωπίοις ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου. [3] παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη: τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διὸς καὶ Απόλλωνός ἐστι Παιῶνος, τὸ δὲ ἦρωσι καὶ ἠρώων ἀνείται γυναιξί, τρίτον δὲ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου: Ἀλκμαίων δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς Ἐριφύλην ἔργον οὔτε ἐν Ἀμφιαράου τινά, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τιμὴν ἔχει. τετάρτη δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ μοῖρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανακείας, ἔτι δὲ Ἰασοῦς καὶ Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Παιωνίας: πέμπτη δὲ πεποιήται νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἀχελῷῳ καὶ Κηφισῷ. τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς καὶ Κιλικίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. [4] ἐστὶ δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν οὔτ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες: νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγὴν, ταύτη γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάραιον λέγουσιν ἤδη θεόν. Ἰοφῶν δὲ Κνώσσιος τῶν ἐξηγητῶν χρησμούς ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ παρείχετο, Ἀμφιάραιον χρῆσαι φάμενος τοῖς ἐς Θήβας σταλεῖσιν Ἀργείοις. ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη τὸ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαγωγὸν ἀκρατῶς εἶχε: χωρὶς δὲ πλὴν ὅσους ἐξ Απόλλωνος μανῆναι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μάντεών γ' οὐδεὶς χρησμολόγος ἦν, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὀνειράτα ἐξηγήσασθαι καὶ διαγνῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων καὶ σπλάγχνα ἱερείων. [5] δοκῶ δὲ Ἀμφιάραιον ὀνειράτων διακρίσει μάλιστα προσκεῖσθαι: δῆλος δέ, ἡνίκά ἐνομίσθη θεός, δι' ὀνειράτων μαντικὴν καταστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι νομίζουσιν ὅστις ἦλθεν Ἀμφιαράῳ χρῆσόμενος: ἐστὶ δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ θύειν, θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ὀνόματα: προεξεργασμένων δὲ τούτων κριὸν θύσαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἀναμένοντες δῆλωσιν ὀνειράτος.

35. νῆσοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἰσίν, ἡ μὲν Πατρόκλου

καλουμένη — τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤδη μοι δεδῆλωται — , ἄλλη δὲ ὑπὲρ Σουνίου τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παραπλέουσιν: ἐς ταύτην ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν Ἑλένην μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἰλίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομά ἐστιν Ἑλένη τῇ νήσῳ. [2] Σαλαμῖς δὲ κατὰ Ἑλευσίνα κειμένη παρήκει καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν. πρῶτον δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα θέσθαι τοῦτον Κυχρέα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀσωποῦ, καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήτας τοὺς σὺν Τελαμῶνι ἐποικῆσαι: Φύλαιον δὲ τὸν Εὐρυσάκους τοῦ Αἴαντος παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν νήσον, γενόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων. Σαλαμίνιους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τούτων ὕστερον πολλοῖς

ἔτεσιν ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν, καταγνόντες ἐθελοκακῆσαι σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Κάσσανδρον καὶ τὴν πόλιν γνώμῃ τὸ πλέον Μακεδόσιν ἐνδοῦναι: καὶ Αἰσχητάδου τε κατέγνωσαν θάνατον, ὃς τότε ἦρητο ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα στρατηγός, καὶ ἐς τὸν πάντα ἐπώμοσαν χρόνον Σαλαμινίοις ἀπομνημονεύσειν προδοσίαν. [3] ἔστι δὲ ἀγορᾶς τε ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Αἴαντος, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἐβένου ξύλου: διαμένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τότε τῷ Αἴαντι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμαὶ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εὐρυσάκει, καὶ γὰρ Εὐρυσάκους βωμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις. δέικνυται δὲ λίθος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος: ἐπὶ τούτου καθήμενον Τελαμῶνα ὄραν λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἀποπλεόντων οἱ τῶν παίδων ἐς Αὐλίδα ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων στόλον. [4] λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἰκοῦντες ἀποθανόντος Αἴαντος τὸ ἄνθος σφίσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ τότε φανῆναι πρῶτον: λευκὸν ἐστίν, ὑπέρυθρον, κρίνου καὶ αὐτὸ ἔλασσον καὶ τὰ φύλλα: γράμματα δὲ ἔπεστιν οἷα τοῖς ὑακίνθοις καὶ τούτῳ. λόγον δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολέων τῶν ὕστερον οἰκησάντων Ἴλιον ἐς τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἤκουσα, οἱ τῆς ναυαγίας Ὀδυσσεὶ συμβάσης ἐξενεχθῆναι κατὰ τὸν τάφον τὸν Αἴαντος τὰ ὅπλα λέγουσι: τὸ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ Μυσὸς ἔλεγεν ἀνὴρ. [5] τοῦ γὰρ τάφου τὰ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ μνημα οὐ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, καὶ με τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ μέγεθος τεκμαίρεσθαι τῇδε ἐκέλευε: πεντάθλου γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναί οἱ κατὰ δίσκον μάλιστα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ὅσῃ, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν μύλας. ἐγὼ δέ, ὅποσοι μὲν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι Κελτῶν ἔχοντες ὅμορον τῇ διὰ κρυμὸν ἐρήμῳ, οὓς Καβαρεῖς ὀνομάζουσι, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα τὸ μῆκος, οἱ νεκρῶν οὐδέν τι διαφόρως ἔχουσιν Αἰγυπτίων: ὅποσα δὲ ἄξια ἐφαίνετο εἶναί μοι θεάς, διηγῆσομαι. [6] Μάγνησι τοῖς ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνείλετο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας ἡμέρα μιᾷ παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης: τούτου λησταὶ κερδανεῖν πού τι δοκοῦντες ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸν τάφον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς λησταῖς ἐσῆεσαν ἤδη θεασόμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχοντα διεστώσας, ἀλλὰ οἱ συμφυεῖς ἦν ὅσον ἀπ' ὤμων ἐς τὰς ἐλαχίστας πλευράς, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν νόθας. ἔστι δὲ Μιλησίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λάδῃ νῆσος, ἀπερρώγασι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νησίδες: Ἀστερίου τὴν ἐτέραν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἀστέριον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστέριον μὲν Ἄνακτος, Ἄνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῖδα: ἔχει δ' οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδέν τι μεῖον πηγῶν δέκα. [7] τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχόν, Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι: ἐνταῦθα παραραγέντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὅσῃ ἐφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὥς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἔδοξεν.

αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνου τοῦ Χρυσάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρόν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον· καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἐνεργασμένος ὅρους λιθῶδει προβολῇ· καὶ χεῖμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν ἤδη κέρασιν ἔφασάν τινας ἐντυχεῖν ἀροῦντας, διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῦς ἀρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυόνην. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν Γαδεῖροις εἶναι Γηρυόνην, οὗ μνημα μὲν οὐ, δένδρον δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγῆται τὸν ὄντα ἐδείκνυν λόγον, ὡς εἴη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ὑλλου, παῖς δὲ Ὑλλος εἴη Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ὠνομάσθη· Ἡρακλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ ποτὲ ἔφασαν δίαitan Ὑλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσαι τὸν παῖδα.

36. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ — ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐς τὸν προκείμενον λόγον — τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι· καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι· τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἀθηναίοις Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα. [2] νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμῖνός ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυττάλεια· ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακοσίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι φασὶν ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, Πανὸς δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ξόανα πεποιημένα. [3] ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἦν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱεράν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποιήται μνημα. ἐς τοῦτον Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἀνοσιώτατον ἔργον, οἱ κήρυκα ἐλθόντα, ὡς μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπεργάζοιντο, κτείνουσιν Ἀνθεμόκριτον· καὶ σφισι ταῦτα δράσασι παραμένει καὶ ἐς τὸδε μήνιμα ἐκ τοῖν θεοῖν, οἷς οὐδὲ Ἀδριανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε καὶ ἐπαυξηθῆναι

μόνοις ἐπήρκεσεν Ἑλλήνων.

[4] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθεμοκρίτου τὴν στήλην Μολοττοῦ τε τάφος ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέντος Ἀθηναίων καὶ τούτου στρατηγεῖν, ὅτε Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθοῦντες διέβησαν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, καὶ χωρίον Σκῖρον ἐπὶ τοιῷδε καλούμενον. Ἐλευσινίοις πολέμοισι πρὸς Ἐρεχθεά ἀνὴρ μάντις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης ὄνομα Σκῖρος, ὃς καὶ τῆς Σκιράδος ἰδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν· πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ θάπτουσιν Ἐλευσῖνιοι πλησίον ποταμοῦ χεῖμαρρου, καὶ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥρωός ἐστι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ. [5] πλησίον δὲ πεποιήται Κηφισοδώρου μνημα δήμου προστάντος καὶ Φιλίπῳ τῷ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντος· συμμάχους δὲ ἐπήγετο Κηφισόδωρος Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι βασιλεῖς μὲν Ἄτταλον τὸν Μυσὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ἔθνη δὲ αὐτόνομα Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ νησιωτῶν Ῥοδίους καὶ Κρήτας. [6] ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Μυσίας καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κρητῶν τὰ πολλὰ ὑστέριζον αἱ βοήθειαι, Ῥόδιοι δὲ μόναις ναυσὶν ἰσχύοντες πρὸς ὀπλίτας τοὺς Μακεδόνας οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέλουν, ἐνταῦθα Κηφισόδωρος ἐς Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων πλεύσας ἰκέτευεν ἀμύναι Ῥωμαίους· οἱ δὲ σφισι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσιν, οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλον ὡς ὕστερον Περσέα τὸν Φιλίππου τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀχθῆναι. Φίλιππος δὲ ἦν

οὗτος ὁ Δημητρίου: πρῶτος γὰρ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἔσχε Δημήτριος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀποκτείνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασσάνδρου παῖδα, ὥς τὰ πρότερον ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου.

37. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου τὸ μνημα τέθαιπται μὲν Ἡλίοδωρος Ἄλις: τούτου γραφὴν ἰδεῖν ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς: τέθαιπται δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ξέρξη καὶ Μήδοις ἐναντία ναυμαχῆσαντος. τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τοῦ γένους πλὴν Ἀκεστίου παρήσω τοὺς ἄλλους: Ἀκεστίῳ δὲ τῇ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Λέοντος τούτους τε ἐς τὸν τέταρτον πρόγονον Λέοντα δαδούχους πάντας ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σοφοκλέα εἶδε δαδουχοῦντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὸν ἄνδρα Θεμιστοκλέα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου Θεόφραστον τὸν παῖδα. [2] ταύτη μὲν τύχην τοιαύτην συμβῆναι λέγουσι: προελθοῦσι δὲ ὀλίγον Λακίου τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος καὶ δῆμος ὃν Λακιάδας ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ Νικοκλέους Ταραντίνου ἐστὶ μνημα, ὃς ἐπὶ μέγιστον δόξης κιθαρωδῶν ἀπάντων ἦλθεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμός καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός: σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμὰς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φυτάλον φασιν οἰκῶ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναί οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς: μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ: “ἐνθάδ’ ἄναξ ἥρως Φυτάλος ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν

Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,

ἣν ἱερὰν συκὴν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει:

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγῆρως.

“ [3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισὸν Θεοδώρου μνημὰ ἐστι τραγωδίαν ὑποκριναμένου τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν ἄριστα. ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Μνησιμάχης, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀνάθημα κειρομένου οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδός ἐστι τῷ Κηφισῷ: καθεστάναι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τοῦτο Ἑλλήσι τῇ Ὀμήρῳ τις ἂν τεκμαίροιο ποιήσει, ὃς τὸν Πηλέα εὐζασθαι φησι τῷ Σπερχειῷ κερεῖν ἀνασωθέντος ἐκ Τροίας Ἀχιλλέως τὴν κόμην.

[4] διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος Μειλιχίου Διός: ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θησεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Φυτάλου καθαρσίων ἔτυχε, ληστὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκτείνας καὶ Σίνιν τὰ πρὸς Πιθέως συγγενή. τάφος δὲ ἔστι μὲν αὐτόθι Θεοδέκτου τοῦ Φασηλίτου, ἔστι δὲ Μνησιθέου: τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἱατρὸν τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἀγάλματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος πεποιήται. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κυαμίτου: σαφές δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν εἴτε πρῶτος κυάμους ἔσπειρεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κυάμων ἀνενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἔστι σφίσι ἐς Δήμητρα τὴν εὐρεσιν. ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετὴν Ἑλευσίνι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικὰ ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω.

[5] μνημάτων δὲ ἃ μάλιστα ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κόσμον ἤκει, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρός ἐστι Ῥοδίου μετοικῆσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸ δὲ Ἀρπαλος Μακεδὼν ἐποίησεν, ὃς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας διέβη ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀφικόμενος δὲ παρ’ Ἀθηναίους ὑπ’ αὐτῶν συνελήφθη, διαφθείρας δὲ χρήμασιν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς

Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους ἀπέδρα, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Πυθιονίκην ἔχημε, γένος μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόθεν, ἑταιροῦσαν δὲ ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ: ταύτης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος προήλθεν ὥς καὶ μνήμα ἀποθανούσης ποιῆσαι πάντων ὅποσα Ἑλλήσιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα θέας μάλιστα ἄξιον. [6] ἐστὶ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος: Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Κέφαλον γὰρ τὸν Διόνειος συνεξελόντα λέγουσιν Ἀμφιτρύωνι Τηλεβόας τὴν νῆσον οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον, ἣ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κεφαλληνία καλεῖται: μετοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τέως ἐν Θήβαις φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν διὰ τὸν Πρόκριδος τῆς γυναικὸς φόνον. δεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ Χαλκῖνος καὶ Δαῖτος ἀπόγονοι Κεφάλου πλεύσαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἤτουν τὸν θεὸν κάθοδον ἐς Ἀθήνας:

[7] ὁ δὲ σφισι κελεύει θῦσαι πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τριήρη θέουσαν. γενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ποικίλον καλούμενον ὅρος δράκων ἐφάνη σπουδῇ κατὰ τὸν φωλεὸν ἰών: καὶ Ἀπόλλωνί τε θύουσιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὕστερον σφᾶς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀστοὺς ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι. — μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θέας ἄξιον.

38. οἱ δὲ Ῥεῖτοι καλούμενοι ῥεῦμα μόνον παρέχονται ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τό γε ὕδωρ θάλασσά ἐστί σφισι: πείθοιτο δὲ ἂν τις καὶ ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκιδέων Εὐρίπου ῥέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς θάλασσαν κοιλοτέραν

ἐμπίπτοντες. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥεῖτοι Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἰρεῖν μόνοις. οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους ὅροι τῆς γῆς Ἑλευσινίοις ἦσαν, καὶ διαβάσι τοὺς Ῥεῖτους πρῶτος ᾤκει [2] Κρόκων, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι βασιλεία καλεῖται Κρόκωνος. τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Κρόκωνα Κελεοῦ θυγατρί συνοικῆσαι Σαισάρα λέγουσι: λέγουσι δὲ οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σκαμβωνιδῶν εἰσιν: ἐγὼ δὲ Κρόκωνος μὲν ἀνευρεῖν τάφον οὐχ οἶός τε ἐγενόμην, τὸ δὲ Εὐμόλπου μνήμα κατὰ ταῦτα Ἑλευσινίοις ἀπέφαινον καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. τοῦτον τὸν Εὐμόλπον ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ Χιόνης: τὴν δὲ Χιόνην Βορέου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ Ὠρειθυίας φασὶν εἶναι. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν Εὐμόλπον. [3] γενομένης δὲ Ἑλευσινίοις μάχης πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς, ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰμμάραδος Εὐμόλπου: καταλύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς Ἑλευσινίους ἐς τὰ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίων κατηκούς ὄντας ἰδίᾳ τελεῖν τὴν τελετὴν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θεοῖν Εὐμόλπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ, καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ὅμηρος Διογένειαν καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρίτην Σαισάραν: τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὐμόλπου Κήρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παιδῶν, ὃν αὐτοὶ Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου. [4] ἐστὶ δὲ Ἰπποθόωντος ἡρώον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν φυλὴν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ πλησίον Ζάρηκος. τοῦτον μαθεῖν παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνι μουσικὴν φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ξένον μὲν ἀφικόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν Λακεδαιμόνιον τε εἶναι δοκῶ καὶ Ζάρακα ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλιν ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσση καλεῖσθαι: εἰ δὲ τις Ζάρηξ

ἐπιχώριος Ἀθηναίοις ἦρως, οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχω λέγειν.

[5] — ῥεῖ δὲ Κηφισὸς πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνι βιαίτερον παρεχόμενος τοῦ προτέρου ῥέυμα· καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καλοῦσιν Ἑρινεόν, λέγοντες τὸν Πλούτωνα ὅτε ἤρπασε τὴν Κόρην καταβῆναι ταύτῃ. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ Κηφισῷ ληστήν Πολυπήμονα ὄνομα, Προκρούστην δὲ ἐπὶ κλῆσιν, Θησεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. [6] Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Τριπτολέμου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Προπυλαίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Πατρός, φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον, ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν. τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλως καλουμένη Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸς δείκνυται· [7] τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπέιπε γράφειν, καὶ τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν, ὁπόσων θεάς εἵργονται, δηλαδὴ δῆπου μὴδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναι σφισιν. Ἐλευσῖνα δὲ ἦρῳα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Δαείρας Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς λέγουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἔστι πεποιημένα Ὠγυγον εἶναι πατέρα Ἐλευσῖνι· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν λόγων ἅτε οὐ προσόντων σφίσιν ἐπ' ὧν ἄλλα τε πλάσασθαι δεδώκασι καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὰ γένη τῶν ἡρώων. [8] ἐκ δὲ Ἐλευσῖνος τραπομένοις ἐπὶ Βοιωτῶν, ἐστὶν ὁμορος Ἀθηναίοις ἡ Πλαταιΐς. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ Ἐλευθερεῦσιν ὅροι πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦσαν· προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τούτων, οὕτως ἤδη Βοιωτίας ὁ Κιθαιρῶν ἐστὶν ὅρος. προσεχώρησαν δὲ Ἐλευθερεῖς οὐ πολέμῳ βιασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολιτείας τε ἐπιθυμήσαντες παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατ' ἔχθος τὸ Θηβαίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ ναός ἐστι Διονύσου, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἐντεῦθεν Ἀθηναίοις ἐκομίσθη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς μίμησιν ἐκείνου πεποιῖται.

[9] ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον σπήλαιόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ὕδατος πηγὴ ψυχροῦ· λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ σπήλαιον ὡς Ἀντιόπη τεκοῦσα κατάθοιτο ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας, περὶ δὲ τῆς πηγῆς τὸν ποιμένα εὐρόντα τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα σφᾶς λούσαι πρῶτον ἀπολύσαντα τῶν σπαργάνων. Ἐλευθερῶν δὲ ἦν μὲν ἔτι τοῦ τείχους, ἦν δὲ καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐρείπια· δῆλ' ὅτι τούτοις ἔστι πόλις ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι οἰκισθεῖσα.

39. ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος πρὸς Μέγαρα ἄγει· ταύτην ἐρχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν φρέαρ ἐστὶν Ἄνθιον καλούμενον. ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γραῖ εἰκασμένην· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐτὴν ἅτε γυναῖκα Ἀργεῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Κελεοῦ κομισθῆναι παρὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ οἱ τὴν Μετάνειραν οὕτω πιστεῦσαι τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἀνατροφὴν. [2] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ φρέατος ἱερὸν Μετανείρας ἔστι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τάφοι τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Κρέων γάρ, ὃς ἐδυνάστευε τότε ἐν Θήβαις Λαοδάμαντα ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν Ἑτεοκλέους, οὐ παρῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀνελομένοις θάψαι· ἰκετεύσαντος δὲ Ἀδράστου Θησεά καὶ μάχης Ἀθηναίων γενομένης πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς, Θησεὺς ὡς ἐκράτησε τῇ μάχῃ κομίσας ἐς τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔθαψε. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν λέγουσιν ἐθελονταὶ δοῦναι καὶ συνάσαι μάχην οὐ φασι. [3] — μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς τάφους ἐστὶν Ἀλόπης μνῆμα, ἣν

τεκοῦσαν Ἴπποθόωντα ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἀποθανεῖν ἐνταῦθά φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Κερκυόνοϋ. εἶναι δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄδικος ἐς τοὺς ξένους καὶ παλαίειν οὐ βουλομένοις: καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος παλαίστρα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Κερκυόνοϋ, ὀλίγον τοῦ τάφου τῆς Ἀλόπης ἀπέχων. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν τοὺς καταστάντας ἐς πάλιν διαφθεῖραι πλὴν Θησεῶς, Θησεὺς δὲ κατεπάλαισεν αὐτὸν σοφία τὸ πλεόν: παλαιστικὴν γὰρ τέχνην εὗρε Θησεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πάλης κατέστη ὕστερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδασκαλία: πρότερον δὲ ἐχρῶντο μεγέθει μόνον καὶ ῥώμῃ πρὸς τὰς πάλας.

τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα. [4] Ἐλευσῖνι δὲ ἤδη πλησιόχωρος ἡ καλουμένη Μεγαρίς: τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἦν καὶ αὕτη τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Πύλα τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπόντος Πανδίωνι. μαρτύρια δέ μοι τάφος τε Πανδίωνος ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ Νῖσος Αἰγεῖ μὲν πρεσβυτάτῳ τοῦ παντὸς γένους παραχωρήσας Ἀθηναίων ἄρχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Κορίνθου βασιλεύειν ἀζιωθεῖς: Νίσαιά τε ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπίνειον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται. Κόδρου δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι: καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἀποδείξάμενοι λαμπρὸν ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω, Μέγαρά Ἀθηναίων ἐλόντες Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔδωκαν οἰκῆσαι.

[5] Μεγαρεῖς μὲν οὕτως ἔθῃ καὶ φωνὴν μεταβαλόντες Δωριεῖς γεγόνασι, κληθῆναι δὲ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν φασὶν ἐπὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ βασιλεύοντος: τότε πρῶτον λέγουσιν ἱερὰ γενέσθαι Δήμητρος αὐτοῖς, τότε ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσαι Μέγαρά. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσι: Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκοῦντα ἀφικέσθαι στρατιᾷ Βοιωτῶν φασὶ Νίσῳ τὸν πρὸς Μίνῳ πόλεμον συνδιοίσοντα, πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταφῆναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ πόλει Μέγαρά ὄνομα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθαι, πρότερον Νίσῳ καλουμένη. [6] δωδεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φορωνέως γενεᾷ λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγα ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθῆναι Λέλεγας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ: Κλήσωνος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος γενέσθαι Πύλαν, τοῦ Πύλα δὲ Σκίρωνα: τοῦτον συνοικῆσαι Πανδίωνος θυγατρί, καὶ ὕστερον Νίσῳ τῷ Πανδίωνος ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἐλθεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Σκίρωνα καὶ σφισιν Αἰακὸν δικάσαι, βασιλείαν μὲν δίδόντα Νίσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις, Σκίρωνι δὲ ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι πολέμου. Μεγαρέα δὲ τὸν Ποσειδῶνος θυγατρὶ Νίσου συνοικήσαντα Ἴφινόῃ διαδέξασθαι τὴν τοῦ Νίσου φασὶν ἀρχήν: τὸν δὲ Κρητικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νίσου βασιλεύοντος ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰδέναι.

40. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη, ἣν σφισιν ὠκοδόμησε Θεαγένης, οὗ καὶ πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην θυγατέρα αὐτὸν συνοικίσαι Κύλῳνι Ἀθηναίῳ. οὗτος ὁ Θεαγένης τυραννήσας ὠκοδόμησε τὴν κρήνην μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ κόσμου καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κιόνων θέας ἀξίαν: καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ῥεῖ καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν. τὰς δὲ Σιθνίδας νύμφας λέγουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μὲν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν θυγατρὶ συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μεγαρόν τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ποτε ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω τοῦ

ὄρους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ — νήχεσθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοὴν τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτόν — διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι. [2] τῆς δὲ κρήνης οὐ πόρρω ταύτης ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν, εἰκόνες δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἄγαλμα τε κεῖται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτείρας. φασὶ δὲ ἄνδρας τοῦ Μαρδονίου στρατοῦ καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἀποχωρεῖν ἐς Θήβας ὀπίσω παρὰ Μαρδόνιον ἐθέλειν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος νύκτα τε ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ σφᾶς ἀμαρτύνοντας ἐς τὴν ὀρεινὴν τραπέσθαι τῆς χώρας· πειρωμένους δὲ εἰ στρατεύμα ἐγγὺς εἶη πολέμιον ἀφίεναι τῶν βελῶν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον πέτραν στένειν βαλλομένην, τοὺς δὲ αὐθις τοξεύειν προθυμίᾳ πλέονι. [3] τέλος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλωθῆναι τοὺς οἰστοὺς ἐς ἄνδρας πολεμίους τοξεύειν προθυμίᾳ πλέονι νομίζουσιν· ἡμέρα τε ὑπεφαίνετο καὶ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἐπήεσαν, μαχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται πρὸς ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐδὲ βελῶν εὐποροῦντας ἔτι φονεύουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέλους· τὴν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε. [4] μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς, ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναυσὶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ στρατῷ φθείροντες Μεγαρεῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν τά τε κοινὰ ἐκάκωσαν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοὺς οἴκους ἥγαγον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀσθενείας. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδῖαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσὶν Ὠραὶ καὶ Μοῖραι· δηλὰ δὲ πᾶσι τὴν πεπρωμένην μόνῳ οἱ πείθεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς τὸ δέον. ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν τοῦ Διὸς.

[5] ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον· ταύτην τὴν ναῦν λαβεῖν φασὶ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχῆσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους· ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι χρόνον τινὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀποστήναι τῆς νήσου, Σόλωνα δὲ ὕστερόν φασιν ἐλεγείᾳ ποιήσαντα προτρέψαι σφᾶς, καταστήναι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀθηναῖοι, κρατήσαντες δὲ πολέμῳ Σαλαμῖνα αὐθις ἔχειν. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ παρὰ σφῶν λέγουσιν ἄνδρας φυγάδας, οὓς Δορυκλείους ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀφικομένους παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κληρούχους προδοῦναι Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναίοις. [6] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν, ἐστὶ μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον καὶ Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξιν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑγείαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον μέγαρον· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Κᾶρα ἔλεγον.

41. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιοῦσιν, ἥ πρὸς ἄρκτον τέτραπται τὸ χωρίον, μνημᾶ ἐστὶν Ἀλκμήνης πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπιεῖου. βαδίζουσιν γὰρ ἐς Θήβας ἐξ Ἄργους τελευτῆσαι καθ' ὁδὸν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις, καὶ τοὺς

Ἡρακλείδας ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἔλθειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἄργος ἐθέλοντας ὀπίσω κομίσει τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης, τοὺς δ' αὐτῶν ἐς Θήβας: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς Ἡρακλέους παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ Μεγάρας τάφον εἶναι καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν Θήβαις. ὁ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς ἔχρησε θάψαι Ἀλκμήνην ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἄμεινον εἶναι σφισιν.

[2] ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῖν ἐξηγητὴς ἡγεῖτο ἐς χωρίον Ῥοῦν ὡς ἔφασκεν ὀνομαζόμενον, ταύτῃ γὰρ ὕδωρ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ῥυῆναι: Θεαγένης δέ, ὃς τότε ἐτυράννει, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐτέρωσε τρέψας βωμὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀχελῷῳ ἐποίησε. καὶ Ὑλλου πλησίον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μνήμā ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ Ἀρκάδι Ἐχέμῳ τῷ Ἀερόπου μονομαχήσαντος: καὶ ὅστις μὲν Ἐχεμος ὦν ἀπέκτεινεν Ὑλλον, ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω, τέθαιπται δὲ καὶ Ὑλλος ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις. αὕτη καλοῖτο ἂν ὀρθῶς στρατεία τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος. [3] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ὑλλου μνήματος Ἴσιδος ναὸς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος: Ἀλκάθουν δέ φασι ποιῆσαι ἀποκτείναντα λέοντα τὸν καλούμενον Κιθαιρώνιον. ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ λέοντος διαφθαρῆναι καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Μεγαρέως φασὶ τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως παῖδα Εὐῖππον, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ Τίμαλκον ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως, στρατεύοντα ἐς Ἀφιδναν σὺν τοῖς Διοσκοούροις: Μεγαρέα δὲ γάμον τε ὑποσχέσθαι θυγατρὸς καὶ ὡς διάδοχον ἔξει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅστις τὸν Κιθαιρώνιον λέοντα ἀποκτείνει: διὰ ταῦτα Ἀλκάθουν τὸν Πέλοπος ἐπιχειρήσαντα τῷ θηρίῳ κρατῆσαι τε καὶ ὡς ἐβασίλευσε τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, Ἀγροτέραν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀγραῖον ἐπονομάσαντα. [4] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν: ἐγὼ δὲ γράφειν μὲν ἐθέλω Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁμολογοῦντα, οὐκ ἔχω δὲ ὅπως εὖρωμαι πάντα σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν λέοντα ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ὑπὸ Ἀλκάθου πείθομαι, Μεγαρέως δὲ Τίμαλκον παῖδα τίς μὲν ἐς Ἀφιδναν ἔλθειν μετὰ τῶν Διοσκοούρων ἔγραψε; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀφικόμενος ἀναιρεθῆναι νομίζοιτο ὑπὸ Θησέως, ὅπου καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ποιήσας ἄσμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκοούρους, ὡς Ἀθήνας ἔλοιεν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγάγοιεν μητέρα αἰχμάλωτον, ὅμως Θησέα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεῖναι; [5] Πίνδαρος δὲ τούτοις τε κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησε καὶ γαμβρὸν τοῖς Διοσκοούροις Θησέα εἶναι βουλόμενον ἀρπασθεῖσαν τὴν Ἑλένην διαφυλάξαι, ἐς ὃ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν Πειρίθῳ τὸν λεγόμενον γάμον συμπράξοντα. ὅστις δὲ ἐγενεαλόγησε, δῆλον ὡς πολλὴν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι σύνοιδεν εὐήθειαν, εἴ γε Θησεὺς ἦν ἀπόγονος Πέλοπος: ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν ὄντα λόγον οἱ Μεγαρεῖς εἰδότες ἐπικρύπτουσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἁλῶναί σφισιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Νίσου τὴν πόλιν, διαδέξασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν γαμβρὸν Νίσου τε Μεγαρέα καὶ αὐθις Ἀλκάθουν Μεγαρέως. [6] φαίνεται δὲ τελευτήσαντος Νίσου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τούτου Ἀλκάθους ἀφικόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἐξ Ἡλίδος: μαρτύριον δέ μοι: τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος ὥκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅτε τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου καθαιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν.

Ἀλκάθουν μὲν καὶ τοῦ λέοντος, εἴτε ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι αὐτὸν εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἀποκτείνας ναὸν Ἀγροτέρας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐποίησεν Ἀγραῖου, ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη: ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδιόνος ἐστὶν

ἡρῶον. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἐτάφη Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθιῆς Ἀθηναῖς καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ, δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι: τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγαρέων ἔχει. [7] πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἡρώου μνήμα Ἰππολύτης: γράψω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν. ὅτε Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους στρατεύσασαι δι' Ἀντιόπην ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Θησέως, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς συνέβη μαχομένας αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Ἰππολύτην δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ἀντιόπης καὶ τότε ἡγουμένην τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν σὺν ὀλίγαις ἐς Μέγαρα, ἅτε δὲ κακῶς οὕτω πράξασαν τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀθύμως ἔχουσιν καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκαδὲ ἐς τὴν Θεμίσκυραν σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀποροῦσαν ὑπὸ λύπης τελευτήσαι: καὶ θάψαι αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν, καὶ οἱ τοῦ μνήματος σχῆμά ἐστιν Ἀμαζονικὴ ἀσπίδι ἐμπερές.

[8] τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρῳ τάφος Τηρέως τοῦ Πρόκνην γήμαντος τὴν Πανδίωνος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεὺς, ὥς μὲν λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, περὶ τὰς Παγὰς τὰς καλουμένας τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ τε δοκῶ καὶ τεκμήρια ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Δαυλίδος ἦρχε τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας: πάλαι γάρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ὤκησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καὶ Τηρεὶ τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐλεῖν σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο: [9] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις αὐτοχειρία, καὶ οἱ τάφον αὐτίκα ἔχουσιν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ψηφίσιν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἔποπα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἐνταῦθα φανῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσιν: αἱ δὲ

γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο, θρηνοῦσαι δὲ οἷα ἔπαθον καὶ οἷα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ δακρῶν διαφθείρονται, καὶ σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδὸνα καὶ χελιδόνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ αὗται αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνῳ ὅμοιον ἄδουσιν.

42. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀκρόπολις ἀπὸ Ἀλκάθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα: ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιοῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Μεγαρέως μνήμα, ὃς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τῶν Κρητῶν ζύμμαχος σφισιν ἦλθεν ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ. δαίκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐστία θεῶν Προδομέων καλουμένων: θῆσαι δὲ σφισιν Ἀλκάθουν λέγουσι πρῶτον, ὅτε τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ τείχους ἔμελλεν ἄρχεσθαι. [2] τῆς δὲ ἐστίας ἐγγὺς ταύτης ἐστὶ λίθος, ἐφ' οὗ καταθεῖναι λέγουσιν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν κιθάραν Ἀλκάθῳ τὸ τεῖχος συνεργαζόμενον. δηλοῖ τέ μοι καὶ τόδε ὥς συνετέλουν ἐς Ἀθηναίους Μεγαρεῖς: φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκάθους Περίβοιαν ἅμα Θησεὶ πέμψαι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἐς Κρήτην. τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὥς φασιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, συνεργάζεται τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον: ἦν δὲ τύχη βαλὼν τις ψηφίδι, κατὰ ταῦτα οὗτός τε ἤχησε καὶ κιθάρα κρουσθεῖσα. [3] ἐμοὶ δὲ παρέσχε μὲν καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι, παρέσχε δὲ πολλῷ μάλιστα Αἰγυπτίων ὁ κολοσσός. ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, διαβάσι τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὰς Σύριγγας καλουμένας, εἶδον ἔτι καθήμενον ἄγαλμα ἡχοῦν — Μέμνονα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τοῦτον γάρ φασιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ὀρμηθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἄχρι Σούσων: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἥκουσα δὲ ἤδη καὶ Σέσωστριν φαμένων εἶναι τοῦτο ἄγαλμα — , ὃ Καμβύσης διέκοψε: καὶ νῦν ὁπόσον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς μέσον σῶμά ἐστιν

ἀπερριμμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κάθηται τε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου βοᾷ, καὶ τὸν ἥχον μάλιστα εἰκάζει τις κιθάρας ἢ λύρας ῥαγείσης χορδῆς. [4] Μεγαρεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν βουλευτήριον, Τιμάλκου δὲ ἦν ποτε ὡς λέγουσι τάφος, ὃν πρότερον ὀλίγον τούτων οὐκ ἔφην ὑπὸ Θησεῶς ἀποθανεῖν. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ραθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἔστιν ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν: ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ ἕτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιήται καλουμένης Νίκης καὶ ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Μεγαρέων μὲν παρεῖται τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια νομίζω γενέσθαι γράψω. Τελαμὼν ὁ Αἰακοῦ θυγατρὶ Ἀλκάθου Περιβοῖα συνώκησεν: Αἴαντα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀλκάθου διαδεξάμενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἡγοῦμαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

[5] τοῦ δὲ Απόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός: ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα εἰκόασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγινητικοῖς ἔργοις ἔστιν ὁμοιος: ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποιήται. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Κυπρίου διακρῖναι πόας ἐς ἀνθρώπων ἴασιν εἰδότος, ὃς τὴν ἔβενον φύλλα οὐκ ἔφη φύειν οὐδὲ εἶναι καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ὀρᾶσθαι τὸ παράπαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ἡλίου, ρίζας δὲ ὑπογαίους εἶναι, ταύτας δὲ ὀρύσσειν τοὺς Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἀνδρας εἶναι σφισιν οἱ τὴν ἔβενον ἴασιν εὐρίσκειν.

[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θεσμοφόρου. κατιοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Καλλιπόλιδος μνημᾶ ἔστιν Ἀλκάθου παιδός. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλκάθω πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἰσχεπόλις, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατὴρ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Αἰτωλῷα θηρίον συνεξαίρησοντα. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτος τεθνεῶτα ἐπύθετο ὁ Καλλίπολις, ἀναδραμὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν — τηνικαῦτα δὲ ὁ πατήρ οἱ τῷ Απόλλωνι ἐνέκαεν — ἀπορρίπτει τὰ ξύλα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: Ἀλκάθους δὲ ἀνήκοος ὢν ἔτι τῆς Ἰσχεπόλιδος τελευτῆς κατεδίκαζεν οὐ ποιεῖν ὅσια τὸν Καλλίπολιν καὶ εὐθέως ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς ἀπέκτεινε παῖσας ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ἀπορριφέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ξύλῳ. [7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἴνους ἔστιν ἡρῶν, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων: πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλαῖαι. μόνοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῖς οἱ λέγοντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἴνους ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια σφισιν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς χώρας, Κλησὼ δὲ καὶ Ταυρόπολιν εὐρεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι — θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Λέλεγος — , καὶ Λευκοθέαν τε ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι πρῶτοις φασὶν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἄγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

43. λέγουσι δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἡρῶν: ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ καὶ ταύτην ἐν Μεγάρῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἐς Ἰφιγένειαν λόγον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λεγόμενον, οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι: τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁμολογοῦντα ἔγραψε Ταύρους τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Σκυθικῇ θύειν παρθένω τοὺς ναυαγούς, φάναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν παρθένον Ἰφιγένειαν εἶναι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος. ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἀδραστος τιμᾶς: φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν παρὰ σφίσι καὶ τοῦτον, ὅτε ἐλὼν Θήβας ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸν στρατὸν, αἷτια δὲ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου γῆρας καὶ τὴν Αἰγιαλέως γενέσθαι τελευτήν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὁ

Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν, ἥνικα ἦλθε Κάλχαντα οἰκοῦντα ἐν Μεγάροις ἐς Ἴλιον ἔπεσθαι πείσων.

[2] ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ τεθάφθαι μὲν Εὐύππον Μεγαρέως παῖδα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀλκάθου λέγουσιν Ἰσχύπολιν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ πρυτανεῖου πέτρα πλησίον: Ἀνακληθρίδα τὴν πέτραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς Δημήτηρ, εἴ τῳ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανάτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. εἰκότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες. [3] εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει: καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατεῖαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνημα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων. Ὑπερίονος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος — οὗτος γάρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασίλευσεν ὕστατος — τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Σανδρίονος διὰ

πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν, βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσιν, εἶναι δὲ ἄρχοντας αἰρετοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Αἴσυμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δευτέρος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαιμονήσουσι: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν, ἣν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλευσώνται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ὠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσιν ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται.

[4] ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλκάθου βαδίζουσιν ἡρῶν, ὧς Μεγαρεῖς ἐς γραμμάτων φυλακὴν ἐχρῶντο ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, μνημα ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν Πυργοῦς εἶναι γυναικὸς Ἀλκάθου πρὶν ἢ τὴν Μεγαρέως αὐτὸν λαβεῖν Εὐαίχμην, τὸ δὲ Ἰφινόης Ἀλκάθου θυγατρὸς: ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν φασιν ἔτι παρθένον. καθέστηκε δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοὰς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰφινόης μνημα προσφέρειν πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν, καθὰ καὶ τῇ Ἑκαέργῃ καὶ Ὠπιδί αἱ θυγατέρες ποτὲ ἀπεκείροντο αἱ Δηλίων.

[5] παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀστυκρατείας καὶ Μαντούς: θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Πολυίδου τοῦ Κοιράνου τοῦ Ἄβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος ἐς Μέγαρα δ' ἐλθόντος Ἀλκάθου ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῷ Καλλιπόλιδος καθῆραι τοῦ παιδός. ὠκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερόν Πολυίδος καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου: τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ φανερόν. Σάτυρος δὲ παρέστηκεν αὐτῷ Πραξιτέλους ἔργον Παρίου λίθου. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ Πατρώον καλοῦσιν: ἕτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐχήνορα τὸν Κοιράνου τοῦ Πολυίδου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι λέγουσι. [6] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερόν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ναός, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐλέφαντος Ἀφροδίτῃ πεποιημένον Πράξις ἐπὶ κλησιν. τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον ἐν τῷ ναῷ: Πειθὼ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρα θεός, ἣν Παρήγορον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἔργα Πραξιτέλους: Σκόπα δὲ Ἔρως καὶ Ἥμερος καὶ Πόθος, εἰ δὴ διάφορά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτο τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἔργα σφίσι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ναοῦ Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὕτῃ τέχνη: καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος. [7] ἔστι δὲ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Κοροΐβου τάφος: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπη κοινὰ ὅμως ὄντα τοῖς Ἀργείων ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω. ἐπὶ Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν Ἀργεὶ βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν Κροτώπου τεκεῖν παῖδα ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος,

ἐχομένην δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ πατρὸς δείματι τὸν παῖδα ἐκθεῖναι: καὶ τὸν μὲν διαφθεῖρουσιν ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκ τῆς ποίμνης κύνες τῆς Κροτάωπου, Ἀπόλλων δὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν πέμπει Ποινὴν. ταύτην τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων φασὶν ἀρπάζειν, ἐς ὃ Κόροιβος ἐς χάριν Ἀργείοις φονεύει τὴν Ποινὴν. φονεύσας δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει σφᾶς δεύτερα ἐπιπεσοῦσα νόσος λοιμώδης — Κόροιβος ἐκὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὑφέξων δίκας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ φόνου τῆς Ποινῆς.

[8] ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ Ἄργος ἀναστρέφειν οὐκ εἶα Κόροιβον ἢ Πυθίᾳ, τρίποδα δὲ ἀράμενον φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἔνθα ἂν ἐκπέσῃ οἱ φέροντι ὁ τρίπους, ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνος οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ὁ τρίπους κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Γερανίαν ἀπολισθὼν ἔλαθεν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεσὼν: καὶ Τριποδίσκους κώμην ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι. Κοροίβῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τάφος ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἀγορᾷ: γέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγείᾳ τὰ ἐς Ψαμάθην καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα Κόροιβον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπιθήμᾳ ἐστὶ τῷ τάφῳ Κόροιβος φονεύων τὴν Ποινὴν. ταῦτα ἀγάλματα παλαιότατα, ὅποσα λίθου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἑλληνισιν, ἰδὼν οἶδα.

44. Κοροίβου δὲ τέθαιπται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος, ὃς περιεζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμῶν γυμνός, φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων: δοκῶ δέ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ περίζωμα ἐκόντι περιρρυῆναι, γνόντι ὡς ἀνδρὸς περιεζωσμένου δραμεῖν ῥᾶων ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ γυμνός. [2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιοῦσι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου: τοῦτο ὀλίγον ἐκτραπέντα ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνευρεῖν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται θέας ἄξιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητώ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγάλματά ἐστι Πραξιτέλους ποιήσαντος Λητώ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης: τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν.

τοσαῦτά σφισιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παρείχετο ἡ πόλις: [3] ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον, καλούμενον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Νίσαιαν, ἐς τοῦτο κατελθοῦσιν ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστι Μαλοφόρου: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλῆσιν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους πρόβατα ἐν τῇ γῇ θρέψαντας Δήμητρα ὀνομάσαι Μαλοφόρον, καταρρυῆναι δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν ὄροφον τεκμαίροιτο ἂν τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ ἀκρόπολις ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ὀνομαζομένη καὶ αὕτη Νίσαια: καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως μνημᾶ ἐστὶ πρὸς θαλάσση Λέλεγος, ὃν ἀφικόμενον βασιλεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς Ἐπάφου. παρήκει δὲ παρὰ τὴν Νίσαιαν νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη Μινώα: ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Νῆσον παρῶρμει τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Κρητῶν. [4] ἡ δὲ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐστὶν ὄμορος, ἐν ἣ Μεγαρεῦσι Παγαῖ πόλις, ἐτέρα δὲ Αἰγόσθενα ὥκισται. ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὰς Παγὰς ἐκτραπομένοις ὀλίγον τῆς λεωφόρου πέτρα δέικνυται διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα ἐμπεπηγότας οἰστούς, ἐς ἣν οἱ Μῆδοι ποτε ἐτόξευον ἐν τῇ νυκτί. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Παγαῖς θέας ὑπελείπετο ἄξιον Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἐπὶ κλῆσιν χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, μεγέθει τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἴσον καὶ σχῆμα οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον. καὶ Αἰγιαλέως ἐνταῦθα

ἔστιν ἡρῶν τοῦ Ἀδράστου: τοῦτον γάρ, ὅτε Ἀργεῖοι τὸ δεῦτερον ἐς Θήβας ἐστράτευσαν, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην μάχην πρὸς Γλισάντι ἀποθανόντα οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Παγὰς τῆς Μεγαρίδος κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ Αἰγιάλειον ἔτι καλεῖται τὸ ἡρῶν. [5] ἐν Αἰγιοσθένεσι δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος ἔστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειρασμένος ἐν στήλῃ: καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι. μαντεύεσθαι δὲ οὔτε δι' ὄνειράτων αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄλλως λέγουσι. καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἦκουσα ἐν Ἐρενεΐᾳ τῇ Μεγαρέων κώμῃ, Αὐτονόην τὴν Κάδμου τῷ τε Ἀκταίωνος θανάτῳ, συμβάντι ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός τυχῇ περισσότερον ἀλγοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα ἐκ Θηβῶν μετοικῆσαι: καὶ Αὐτονόης μνημὰ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ. [6] ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐς Κόρινθον ἄλλοι τέ εἰσι τάφοι καὶ αὐλῆτοῦ Σαμίου Τηλεφάνους: ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν τάφον Κλεοπάτρην τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου λέγουσι. καὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως μνημὰ ἔστι, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος ἐκοσμήθη λίθῳ κογχίτῃ. μόνους δὲ Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁ κογχίτης οὗτός ἐστι, καὶ σφισι καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πεποιῆται πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ ἄγαν λευκὸς καὶ ἄλλου λίθου μαλακώτερος: κόγχαι δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι διὰ παντὸς ἐνεῖσιν οἱ. αὐτὸς μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος: τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τότε Σκιρωνίδα Σκίρων, ἡνίκα Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπολεμάρχει, πρῶτος ὡς λέγουσιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδράσιν ὁδεύειν εὐζώνους: Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἄρματα ἐναντία ἐλαύνεσθαι κατέστησεν εὐρυχωρὴν τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεΐαν εἶναι.

[7] λόγοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐς τὰς πέτρας, αἱ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ μάλιστα ἀνέχουσιν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Μολουρίδα, ὡς ἀπὸ ταύτης αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν Ἰνὼ ῥίψαι Μελικέρτην ἔχουσα τῶν παιδῶν τὸν νεώτερον: τὸν γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Λέαρχον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ πατήρ. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ μανέντα δρᾶσαι ταῦτα Ἀθάμαντα, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἰνὼ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας χρήσαιτο ἀκρατεῖ τῷ θυμῷ τὸν συμβάντα Ὀρχομενίοις λιμὸν καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα Φρίξου θάνατον αἰσθόμενος, οὗ τὸ θεῖον αἷτιον οὐ γενέσθαι, βουλεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν Ἰνὼ μητρὶαν οὔσαν:

[8] τότε δὲ φεύγουσα ἐς θάλασσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς Μολουρίδος ἀφίησιν, ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ὑπὸ δελφίνος ὡς λέγεται τοῦ παιδός, τιμαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι τῷ Μελικέρτῃ δίδονται μετονομασθέντι Παλαίμονι καὶ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μολουρίδα πέτρην Λευκοθέας καὶ Παλαίμονος ἱερὰν ἤγηντο: τὰς δὲ μετὰ ταύτην νομίζουσιν ἐναγεῖς, ὅτι παροικῶν σφισιν ὁ Σκίρων, ὁπόσοις τῶν ξένων ἐπετύγχανεν, ἡφίει σφᾶς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. χελώνη δὲ ὑπενήχετο ταῖς πέτραις τοὺς ἐσβληθέντας ἀρπάζειν: εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι πλὴν μεγέθους καὶ ποδῶν ὅμοιαι ταῖς χερσαίαις, πόδας δὲ εὐκότας ἔχουσι ταῖς φώκαις. τούτων περιήλθεν ἡ δίκη Σκίρωνα ἀφεθέντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Θησέως. [9] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ Διὸς ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτου καλουμένου ναός: φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατὰ τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἔκομίσαντα δὲ ἀφεῖναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτην καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔστι καὶ Πανός. [10] προελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω μνημὰ ἔστιν Εὐρυσθέως:

φεύγοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλείδας μάχην ἐνταῦθα ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἰολάου λέγουσιν. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καταβᾶσιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι Λατῶου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Μεγαρεῦσιν ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Κορινθίαν, ἔνθα Ὑλλὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέους μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρκάδα Ἐχεμον λέγουσιν.

BOOK II.

Κορινθιακά

1. ἡ δὲ Κορινθία χώρα μοῖρα οὐσα τῆς Ἀργείας ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε. Διὸς δὲ εἶναι Κόρινθον οὐδένα οἶδα εἰπόντα πω σπουδῇ πλὴν Κορινθίων τῶν πολλῶν: Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ — εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφή — Ἐφύραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, Μαραθῶνα δὲ ὕστερον τὸν Ἐπωπέως τοῦ Ἀλωέως τοῦ Ἥλιου φεύγοντα ἀνομίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια μετοικῆσαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐπωπέως ἀφικόμενον ἐς

Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διανείμαντα τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐθις ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σικυῶνος τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τὴν Ἐφυραίαν μετονομασθῆναι. [2] Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν: συντελοῦντες γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετέσχον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὃν Κριτόλαος στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαιῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς παρεσκεύασε γενέσθαι τοὺς τε Ἀχαιοὺς ἀναπείσας ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου τοὺς πολλοὺς. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ, παρείλοντο μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τείχη περιεῖλον ὅσαι τετειχισμένοι πόλεις ἦσαν: Κόρινθον δὲ ἀνάστατον Μομμίου ποιήσαντος τοῦ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ Ῥωμαίων, ὕστερον λέγουσιν ἀνοικίσαι Καίσαρα, ὃς πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρῶτος τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατεστήσατο: ἀνοικίσαι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδὸνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ.

[3] τῆς δὲ Κορινθίας ἐστὶ γῆς καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Κρομῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρόμου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. ἐνταῦθα τραφῆναί φασι Φαῖαν, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Θησέως καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἔργον. προῖοσι δὲ ἡ πίτυς ἄχρι γε ἐμοῦ περὶ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ Μελικέρτου βωμὸς ἦν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον

ἐκκομισθῆναι τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ δελφῖνος λέγουσι: κειμένῳ δὲ ἐπιτυχόντα Σίσυφον θάψαι τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τῶν Ἰσθμίων.

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔνθα ὁ ληστής Σίνις λαμβανόμενος πιτύων ἦγεν ἐς τὸ κάτω σφᾶς: ὀπόσων δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσκειν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δῆσας ἀφῆκεν ἂν τὰ δένδρα ἄνω φέρεσθαι: ἐνταῦθα ἑκάτερα τῶν πιτύων τὸν δεθέντα ἐφ' αὐτὴν εἴλκε, καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ μηδετέρωσε εἰκοντος ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπ' ἴσης βιαζομένου διεσπᾶτο ὁ δεδεμένος. τοιοῦτῳ διεφθάρῃ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Θησέως ὁ Σίνις: ἐκάθηρε γὰρ Θησεὺς τῶν κακούργων τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Τροιζῆνος, οὓς τε πρότερον κατηρίθμησα ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τῇ ἱερᾷ Περιφήτην Ἥφαιστου νομιζόμενον, κορύνῃ χαλκῇ χρώμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας. [5] καθήκει δὲ ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸς τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρέαις, τῇ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίῳ θάλασσαν: τοῦτο γὰρ ἡπειρον ποιεῖ τὴν ἐντὸς χώραν. ὃς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε Πελοπόννησον ἐργάσασθαι νῆσον, προαπέλιπε διορύσσων ἰσθμόν: καὶ ὅθεν μὲν διορύσσειν ἤρξαντο δηλόν ἐστιν,

ἐς δὲ τὸ πετρῶδες οὐ προεχώρησαν ἀρχήν: μένει δὲ ὡς πεφύκει καὶ νῦν ἡπειρος ὦν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε τῷ Φιλίππου διασκάψαι Μίμαντα ἐθελήσαντι μόνον τοῦτο οὐ προεχώρησε τὸ ἔργον: Κνιδίους δὲ ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἰσθμὸν ὀρύσσοντας ἔπαυσεν. οὕτω χαλεπὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ θεῖα βιάσασθαι. [6] τὸ δὲ οὐ Κορινθίους μόνον περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶν εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν

Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐσεμνολόγησαν: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορινθιοὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἐλθεῖν Ἥλιῳ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν, Βριάρεων δὲ διαλλακτὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἰσθμὸν μὲν καὶ ὅσα ταύτῃ δικάσαντα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δὲ ἄκραν Ἥλιῳ δόντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.

ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἰσθμὸν Ποσειδῶνος: [7] θεὰς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄζια ἔστι μὲν θέατρον, ἔστι δὲ στάδιον λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάντων: τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τοῦτο δὲ πιτύων δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχῳ, τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασιν Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ. καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης, καὶ Θάλασσα καὶ αὕτη χαλκῇ. τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρύσους πλην τῶν ὀπλῶν: ὀπλαὶ δὲ σφισὶν εἰσιν ἐλέφαντος. [8] καὶ Τρίτωνες δύο παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους εἰσὶ χρυσοῖ, τὰ μετ' ἱζὺν ἐλέφαντος καὶ οὗτοι: τῷ δὲ ἄρματι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐφεστήκασιν, καὶ παῖς ὀρθὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ δελφίνος ὁ Παλαίμων: ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ οὗτοι πεποίηνται. τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἄρμα μέση μὲν ἐπείργασται Θάλασσα ἀνέχουσα Ἀφροδίτην παῖδα, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ εἰσιν αἱ Νηρηίδες καλούμεναι. ταύταις καὶ ἐτέρωθι τῆς Ἑλλάδος βωμοὺς οἶδα ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τεμένη σφίσιν ἀναθέντας ἱπομαίνουσιν, ἔνθα καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ τιμαί: Δωτοῦς δὲ ἐν Γαβάλοις ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἅγιον, ἔνθα πέπλος ἔτι ἐλείπετο, ὃν Ἕλληνες Ἐριφύλην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ λαβεῖν Ἀλκμαίωνι. [9] τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος δὲ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες, ὅτι δὴ σωτῆρες καὶ οὗτοι νεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ ναυτιλλομένων. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κῆτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον, Ἴνῳ τε καὶ Βελλεροφόντῃ καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὁ Πήγασος.

2. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Παλαίμωνος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναός, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαίμων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Ἄδυτον καλούμενον, κάθοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ὑπόγειος, ἔνθα δὴ τὸν Παλαίμονα κεκρύφθαι φασίν: ὃς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ Κορινθίων ἢ ξένος ἐπίορκα ὁμόση, οὐδεμία ἐστὶν οἱ μηχανὴ διαφυγεῖν τοῦ ὅρκου. καὶ δὴ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον Κυκλώπων καλούμενος βωμός, καὶ θύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Κύκλωσι. [2] τάφους δὲ Σισύφου καὶ Νηλέως — καὶ γὰρ Νηλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐς Κόρινθον νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι φασὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ταφῆναι — οὐκ ἂν οἷδ' εἰ ζητοίῃ τις ἐπιλεξάμενος τὰ Εὐμήλου: Νηλέως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ Νέστορι ἐπιδειχθῆναι τὸ μνημα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σισύφου φησί, χρῆναι γὰρ ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως εἶναι, Σίσυφον δὲ ταφῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, τὸν δὲ οἱ τάφον καὶ τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ Κορινθίων ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς εἰδότας. ὁ δὲ Ἴσθμικὸς ἀγὼν οὐδὲ ἀναστάντων ὑπὸ Μομμίου Κορινθίων ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἡρήμωτο ἡ πόλις, Σικωνίοις ἄγειν ἐπετέτραπτο τὰ Ἴσθμια,

οἰκισθείσης δὲ αὖθις ἐς τοὺς νῦν οἰκήτορας περιῆλθεν ἡ τιμή. [3] Κορινθίους δὲ τοῖς ἐπινείους τὰ ὀνόματα Λέξης καὶ Κεγχρίας ἔδωσαν, Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ Πειρήνης τῆς Ἀχελφού λεγόμενοι: πεποιήται δὲ ἐν Ὁοίαις μεγάλας Οἰβάλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πειρήνην. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λεχαίῳ μὲν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, τὴν δὲ ἐς Κεγχρέας ἰόντων ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον. ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρας τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδος ἱερά. Κεγχρεῶν δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τὸ Ἑλένης ἐστὶ λουτρόν: ὕδωρ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκ πέτρας ρεῖ πολὺ καὶ ἄλμυρὸν ὕδατι ὅμοιον ἀρχομένῳ θερμαίνεσθαι.

[4] ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν μνήματα καὶ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Διογένης τέθαιπται ὁ Σινωπεύς, ὃν κύνα ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνες. πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελαίνιδος καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν.

[5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Λαΐδος φάμενον μνήμα εἶναι: παρεγένετο γὰρ καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐρασθεῖσα Ἴπποστράτου. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐξ Ὑκάρων αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ λέγεται παῖδα οὔσαν ὑπὸ Νικίου καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀλῶναι, πραθεῖσαν δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον ὑπερβαλέσθαι κάλλει τὰς τότε ἐταίρας, θαυμασθῆναι τε: οὕτω παρὰ Κορινθίοις ὡς ἀμφισβητεῖν σφᾶς καὶ νῦν ἔτι Λαΐδος. [6] λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον. ἔστιν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς — ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πλεῖστά ἐστι τῶν ἱερῶν — Ἄρτεμις τε ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἑφεσία καὶ Διονύσου ξόανα ἐπὶ χρυσα πλὴν τῶν προσώπων: τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφισιν ἐρυθρᾷ κεκόσμηται: Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι.

[7] τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα ἐς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἐγὼ γράφω. Πενθέα ὑβρίζοντα ἐς Διόνυσον καὶ ἄλλα τολμᾶν λέγουσι καὶ τέλος ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀναβάντα δὲ ἐς δένδρον θεάσασθαι τὰ ποιούμενα: τὰς δέ, ὡς ἐφώρασαν, καθελκύσαι τε αὐτίκα Πενθέα καὶ ζῶντος ἀποσπᾶν ἄλλο ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος. ὕστερον δέ, ὡς Κορίνθιοι λέγουσιν, ἡ Πυθία χρᾶ σφισιν ἀνευρόντας τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνο ἴσα τῷ θεῷ σέβειν: καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τότε τὰς εἰκόνας πεποιήνται ταύτας. [8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναός: ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν Παρίου λίθου: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν. πλησίον δὲ ᾠκοδόμηται κρήνη, καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς καὶ δελφίς ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφιεῖς ὕδωρ. καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κλάριος χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος. Ἑρμοῦ τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμφοτέρα, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πεποιήται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διός, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ κλησὶν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὑψιστον.

3. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖα χαλκῇ: τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Μουσῶν ἀγάλματα ἐπειργασμένα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν ἐστὶν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων μετὰ Καίσαρα τὸν οἰκιστὴν Κορίνθου τῆς νῦν. [2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου προπύλαια

ἔστι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα ἐπίχρυσα, τὸ μὲν Φαέθοντα Ἥλιου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἥλιον αὐτὸν φέρον. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τῶν προπυλαίων ἐσιοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔστιν Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔσδοδος ἔστι τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ λέγουσιν ὡς ἡ Πειρήνη γένοιτο ὑπὸ δακρῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου πηγῇ, τὸν παῖδα ὁδυρομένη Κεγχρίαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀκούσης ἀποθανόντα.

[3] κεκόσμηται δὲ ἡ πηγὴ λίθω λευκῷ, καὶ πεποιημένα ἔστιν οἰκήματα σπηλαίοις κατὰ ταυτά, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς κρήνην ὕπαιθρον ῥεῖ πιεῖν τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸν Κορίνθιον χαλκὸν διάπυρον καὶ θερμὸν ὄντα ὑπὸ ὕδατος τούτου βάπτεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐπεὶ χαλκός * * γε οὐκ ἔστι Κορινθίους. ἔτι γε δὴ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα πρὸς τῇ Πειρήνῃ καὶ περίβολός ἔστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γραφὴ τὸ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐς τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἔχουσα τόλμημα. [4] αὖθις δ' ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου τὴν εὐθεῖαν χαλκοῦς καθήμενός ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς, παρέστηκεν δὲ οἱ κριός, ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν καὶ αὔξειν ποίμνας, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν “υἱὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα

Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὅπασσε:

“Hom. II.

14.490 τὸν δὲ ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον καὶ τῷ κριῷ λόγον ἐπιστάμενος οὐ λέγω. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἔστιν ὁ Παλαίμων.

[5] λουτρὰ δὲ ἔστι μὲν πολλαχοῦ Κορινθίους καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινού, τὸ δὲ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ κατασκευάσαντος: τὸ δὲ ὀνομασιτότατον αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. τοῦτο δὲ Εὐρυκλῆς ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης λίθοις κοσμήσας καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ὃν ἐν Κροκεᾷς χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὀρύσσουν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Ποσειδῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἄρτεμις θηρεύουσα ἔστηκε. κρῆναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποίηνται πᾶσαν ἄτε ἀφθόνου ῥεόντός σφισιν ὕδατος καὶ ὃ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐσήγαγεν ἐκ Στυμφήλου, θέας δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος: καὶ οἱ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ δι' ὀπλῆς ἵππου ῥεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου. [6] ἐτέραν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἐρχομένοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω κρήνη καλουμένη Γλαύκης: ἐς γὰρ ταύτην ἔρριπεν αὐτήν, ὡς λέγουσι, τῶν Μηδείας ἔσεσθαι φαρμάκων τὸ ὕδωρ νομίζουσα ἴαμα. ὑπὲρ ταύτην πεποίηται τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰνιδεῖον, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸ μνημᾶ ἔστι τοῖς Μηδαίαις παισίν: ὧν ὀνόματα μὲν σφισι Μέρμερος καὶ Φέρης, καταλιθωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων λέγονται τῶν δώρων ἔνεκα ὧν τῇ Γλαύκῃ κομίσει φασὶν αὐτούς:

[7] ἅτε δὲ τοῦ θανάτου βιαίου καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ γενομένου, τὰ τέκνα Κορινθίων τὰ νήπια ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφθειρέτο, πρὶν ἢ χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ θυσίαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτειοι κατέστησαν καὶ Δεῖμα ἐπεστάθη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι λείπεται, γυναικὸς ἐς τὸ φοβερώτερον εἰκὼν πεποιημένη: Κορίνθου δὲ ἀναστάτου γενομένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορινθίων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπολομένων, οὐκέτι ἐκεῖνα καθεστήκασιν αὐτοῖς αἱ θυσίαι παρὰ τῶν ἐποίκων οὐδὲ ἀποκεῖρονται σφισιν οἱ παῖδες οὐδὲ μέλαιναν φοροῦσιν ἐσθῆτα.

[8] Μήδεια δὲ τότε μὲν ἐλθοῦσα ἐς Ἀθήνας συνήκυσεν Αἰγεί, χρόνῳ δὲ

ὕστερον φωραθεῖσα ἐπιβουλεύειν Θησεῖ καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηῶν ἔφυγε, παραγενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν λεγομένην τότε Ἀρίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκε τὸ ὄνομα καλεῖσθαι Μήδους ἀπ' αὐτῆς· τὸν δὲ παῖδα, ὃν ἐπήγετο φεύγουσα ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους, γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγέως, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Μήδον εἶναι· Ἑλλάνικος δὲ αὐτὸν Πολύξενον καλεῖ καὶ πατρὸς Ἰάσονός φησιν εἶναι. [9] ἔφη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλήσι Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα· πεποίηται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσωνα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν μετοικῆσαι καὶ οἱ Μέρμερον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ λεαίνης διαφθαρῆναι θηρεύοντα ἐν τῇ πέραν ἡπεῖρω· Φέρητι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐς μνήμην προσκείμενον. Κιναιῶν δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος — ἐγενεαλόγησε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἔπεσι — Μήδειον καὶ θυγατέρα Ἐριῶπιν Ἰάσονι εἶπεν ἐκ Μηδείας γενέσθαι· πέρα δὲ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ τούτῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν. [10] Εὐμηλος δὲ Ἥλιον ἔφη δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἀλωεῖ· μὲν τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, Αἰήτη δὲ τὴν Ἐφυραῖαν· καὶ Αἰήτην ἀπιόντα ἐς Κόλχους παρακαταθέσθαι Βοῦνῳ τὴν γῆν, Βοῦνον δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀλκιδαμείας εἶναι, καὶ ἐπεὶ Βοῦνος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὕτως Ἐπωπέα τὸν Ἀλωέως καὶ τὴν Ἐφυραίων σχεῖν ἀρχήν· Κορίνθου δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Μαραθῶνος οὐδένα ὑπολειπομένου παῖδα, τοὺς Κορινθίους Μήδειαν μεταπεμψαμένους ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ παραδοῦναι οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν. [11] βασιλεύειν μὲν δὴ δι' αὐτὴν Ἰάσωνα ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Μηδεία δὲ παῖδας μὲν γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ αἰετκτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν φέρουσιν τῆς Ἥρας, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθανάτους ἔσεσθαι νομίζουσιν· τέλος δὲ αὐτὴν τε μαθεῖν ὡς ἡμαρτήκοι τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰάσονος φωραθεῖσαν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεομένη συγγνώμην, ἀποπλέοντα δὲ ἐς Ἰωλκὸν οἴχεσθαι — , τούτων δὲ ἔνεκα ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Μήδειαν παραδοῦσαν Σισύφῳ τὴν ἀρχήν.

4. τάδε μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐπελεξάμην, τοῦ μνήματος δὲ ἔστιν οὐ πόρρω Χαλινίτιδος Αθηνᾶς ἱερὸν· Αθηνᾶν γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα συγκατεργάσασθαι τά τε ἄλλα Βελλεροφόντη φασὶ καὶ ὡς τὸν Πήγασόν οἱ παραδοίῃ χειρωσαμένη τε καὶ ἐνθεῖσα αὐτὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλινόν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο ξοανόν ἐστι, πρόσωπον δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ ἀκρόποδες εἰσὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. [2] Βελλεροφόντην δὲ οὐκ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα βασιλεύειν, εἶναι δὲ ἐπὶ Προίτῳ καὶ Ἀργείοις ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅστις τὰ Ὀμήρου μὴ πάρεργον ἐπελέξατο. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ

Βελλεροφόντου μετοικῆσαντος ἐς Λυκίαν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν ἐν Ἀργεὶ δυναστῶν ἢ Μυκῆναις ὑπακούοντες· ἰδίᾳ τε οὐδένα παρέσχοντο ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατιᾶς, συντεταγμένοι δὲ Μυκηναίοις καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων Ἀγαμέμνων ἡγεῖτο μετέσχον τοῦ στόλου. [3] Σισύφῳ δὲ οὕτῃ Γλαῦκος μόνον ὁ Βελλεροφόντου πατήρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερος υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ὀρνυτίων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Θέρσανδρός τε καὶ Ἄλμος. Ὀρνυτίωνος δὲ ἦν Φῶκος, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπώκησεν ἐς Τιθορέαν τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Φωκίδος, Θόας δὲ Ὀρνυτίωνος υἱὸς νεώτερος κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ. Θόαντος δὲ Δαμοφῶν, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἦν Προπόδας, Προπόδα δὲ Δωρίδας καὶ Ὑανθίδας. τούτων βασιλευόντων Δωριεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀλήτης Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Δωρίδας μὲν οὖν καὶ Ὑανθίδας παραδόντες τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλήτη καταμένουσιν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Δωριέων κρατηθεὶς μάχῃ. [4] Ἀλήτης δὲ

αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι βασιλεύουσιν ἐς μὲν Βάκχιν τὸν Προϋμνίδος ἐπὶ γενεᾷς πέντε, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οἱ Βακχίδαι καλούμενοι πέντε ἄλλας γενεᾷς ἐς Τελέστην τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου. καὶ Τελέστην μὲν κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀριεὺς καὶ Περάντας κτείνουσι, βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐγένετο, πρυτάνεις δὲ ἐκ Βακχιδῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες, ἐς ὃ Κύψελος τυραννήσας ὁ Ἡετίωνος ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Βακχίδας· ἀπόγονος δὲ ἦν ὁ Κύψελος Μέλανος τοῦ Ἀντάσου. Μέλανα δὲ ἐκ Γονούσσης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος στρατεύοντα σὺν Δωριεῦσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον Ἀλήτης τὸ μὲν παραντίκα ἀπειπόντος τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ δέχεται σὺνοικον.

τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς Κορινθίων βασιλέας συμβάντα εὑρίσκον· [5] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Χαλινίτιδος πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ σφίσιν ἐστὶν καὶ πλησίον ξόανον γυμνὸν Ἡρακλέους, Δαιδάλου δὲ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι τέχνην. Δαίδαλος δὲ ὅποσα εἰργάσατο, ἀτοπώτερα μὲν ἐστὶν ἐς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὅμως τι καὶ ἔνθεον τούτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θεάτρον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κορυφαῖος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦδε οὐ πόρρω γυμνάσιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ πηγὴ καλουμένη Λέρνα· κίονες δὲ ἐστήκασι περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ καθέδραι πεποιήνται τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἀναψύχειν ὥρα θέρου. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ ναοὶ θεῶν εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Διός, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀσκληπιὸς μὲν καὶ Ὑγεία λευκοῦ λίθου, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν. [6] ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον — ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κορυφὴ, Βριάρεω μὲν Ἠλίῳ δόντος αὐτὴν ὅτε ἐδίκασεν, Ἠλίου δὲ ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοί φασιν Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέντος — ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἐστὶν Ἴσιδος τεμένη, ὧν τὴν μὲν Πελαγίαν, τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῶν ἐπονομάζουσιν, καὶ δύο Σαράπιδος, ἐν Κανώβῳ καλουμένου τὸ ἕτερον. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰ Ἠλίῳ πεποιήνται βωμοί, καὶ Ἀνάγκης καὶ Βίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· ἐσιέναι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν.

[7] ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ στήλη καὶ θρόνος· λίθων καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ ὁ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τῆς Βουναίας ἐστὶν Ἥρας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσαμένου Βούνου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἡ θεὸς καλεῖται Βουναία.

5. ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης· ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτὴ τε ὠπλισμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν, ἥ ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ, δῶρον μὲν Ἀσωποῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι, δοθῆναι δὲ Σισύφῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ εἰδότα, ὡς εἶη Ζεὺς ἡρπακὼς Αἰγιναν θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ, μὴ πρότερον φάναι ζητοῦντι μηνύσειν πρὶν ἢ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ἀκροκορίνθῳ γένοιτο ὕδωρ· δόντος δὲ Ἀσωποῦ μηνύει τε οὕτως καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μηνύματος δίκην — ὅτῳ πιστὰ — ἐν Αἰδου δίδωσιν. ἤκουσα δὲ ἤδη τὴν Πειρήνην φαμένων εἶναι ταύτην καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ὑπορρεῖν τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει. [2] ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς οὗτος ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φλιασίας, ρεῖ δὲ διὰ τῆς Σικυωνίας καὶ ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν. θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι Φλιάσιοι φασὶ Κόρκυραν καὶ Αἰγιναν καὶ Θήβην· ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Κορκύρας καὶ Αἰγίνης τὰς νήσους Σχερίαν καὶ Οἰνώνην καλουμένας μετονομασθῆναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Θήβης τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ κληθῆναι. Θηβαῖοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι, φάμενοι τοῦ Βοιωτίου τὴν Θήβην

Ἀσωποῦ καὶ οὐ τοῦ παρὰ Φλιασίου εἶναι. [3] τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν Φλιάσιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι λέγουσι, τὸ ὕδωρ ἔπηλυ καὶ οὐκ ἐγγώριον εἶναι οἱ: Μαίανδρον γὰρ κατιόντα ἐκ Κελαινῶν διὰ Φρυγίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὴν πρὸς Μιλήτῳ θάλασσαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀσωπὸν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Δηλίων τοιοῦτο ἀκούσας ἕτερον, ὕδωρ ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἰνωπὸν εἶναι σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου: καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει τὸν Νεῖλον λόγος Εὐφράτην ὄντα ἐς ἔλος ἀφανίζεσθαι καὶ αὐθις ἀνιόντα ὑπὲρ Αἰθιοπίας Νεῖλον γίνεσθαι. Ἀσωποῦ μὲν περὶ τοιαῦτα ἤκουσα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου [4] τραπεῖσι τὴν ὀρεινὴν πύλη τέ ἐστιν ἡ Τενεατικὴ καὶ Εἰληθυίας ἱερὸν: ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἀπέχει μάλιστα στάδια ἢ καλουμένη Τενέα. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι φασιν οἱ ταύτῃ Τρῶες εἶναι, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐκ Τενέδου γενόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ἀγαμέμνονος δόντος οἰκῆσαι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῶν μάλιστα Απόλλωνα τιμῶσιν. [5] ἐκ Κορίνθου δὲ οὐκ ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἰοῦσι ναὸς ἐμπεπρησμένοι ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ. γεγόνاسι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεμοι περὶ τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ πῦρ ἐπέλαβεν ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ ἔξω τείχους: ἀλλὰ τοῦτόν γε τὸν ναὸν Απόλλωνος εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ὅτι Πύρρος κατακαύσειεν ὁ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτόν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἤκουσα καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, ὥς οἱ Κορίνθιοι Διὶ ποιήσαιτο Ὀλυμπίῳ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ὥς ἐξαίφνης πῦρ ποθὲν ἐμπεσὼν διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν.

[6] Σικυώνιοι δὲ — οὗτοι γὰρ ταύτῃ Κορινθίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοροι — περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρας λέγουσιν ὥς Αἰγιαλεὺς αὐτόχθων πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ γένοιτο, καὶ Πελοποννήσου δὲ ὅσον ἔτι καλεῖται καὶ νῦν Αἰγιαλὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύοντος ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ Αἰγιάλειαν αὐτὸν οἰκίσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν: οὗ δέ ἐστι νῦν σφίσι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀκρόπολιν τοῦτο εἶναι. Αἰγιαλέως δὲ Εὐρώπα γενέσθαι φασίν, Εὐρώπος δὲ Τελχίνα, Τελχίνος δὲ Ἄπιν.

[7] οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις ἐς τοσόνδε ηὔξήθη δυνάμεως, πρὶν ἢ Πέλοπα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικέσθαι, ὥς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ χώραν Ἀπίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι. Ἄπιδος δὲ ἦν Θελξίων, Θελξίωνος δὲ Αἰγυρος, τοῦ δὲ Θουρίμαχος, Θουριμάχου δὲ Λευκίππος: Λευκίπῳ δὲ ἄρρενες παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, θυγάτηρ δὲ Καλχινία. ταύτῃ τῇ Καλχινίᾳ Ποσειδῶνα συγγενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ τὸν τεχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἔθρεψεν ὁ Λευκίππος καὶ τελευτῶν παρέδωκέν οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν: [8] ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Πέρατος τῷ παιδί. τὰ δὲ ἐς Πλημναῖον τὸν Περάτου μάλιστα ἐφαίνεται μοι θαύματος ἄξια: τὰ γὰρ οἱ τικτόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτίκα ὁπότε πρῶτον κλαύσειεν ἠφίει τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐς ὃ Δημήτηρ ἔλεον ἴσχει Πλημναῖου, παραγενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ὥς δὴ γυνὴ ξένη Πλημναίῳ παῖδα ἀνέθρεψεν Ὀρθόπολιν. Ὀρθοπόλιδι δὲ θυγάτηρ γίνεται Χρυσόρθη: ταύτην τεκεῖν νομίζουσιν ἐξ Απόλλωνος καὶ ὁ παῖς ὠνομάσθη Κόρωνος, Κορώνου δὲ γίνονται Κόραξ καὶ νεώτερος Λαμέδων.

6. Κόρακος δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἄπαιδος ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἐπωπεὺς ἀφικόμενος ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος στρατὸν σφισι πολέμιον λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν χώραν τότε ἔλθειν πρῶτον, τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατελέσασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. αἰτία δὲ ἦδε: Ἀντιόπης ἐν Ἑλληνιστῇ τῆς

Νυκτέως ὄνομα ἦν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καὶ οἱ καὶ φήμη προσῆν Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρα, ὃς τὴν Θηβαΐδα καὶ Πλαταιίδα ὀρίζει, καὶ οὐ Νυκτέως εἶναι. [2] ταύτην οὐκ οἶδα εἶτε γυναῖκα αἰτήσας εἶτε θρασύτερα ἐξ ἀρχῆς βουλευσάμενος Ἐπωπεὺς ἀρπάζει: ὥς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἦλθον, ἐνταῦθα τιτρώσκεται μὲν Νυκτεὺς, ἐτρώθη δὲ κρατῶν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἐπωπεύς. Νυκτέα μὲν δὴ κάμνοντα ὀπίσω κομίζουσιν ἐς Θήβας, καὶ ὥς ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν, Λύκον ἀδελφὸν ὄντα παραδίδωσι Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἄρχειν: Λάβδακον γὰρ τὸν Πολυδῶρου τοῦ Κάδμου παῖδα ἔτι αὐτός τε ἐπετρόπευεν ὁ Νυκτεὺς καὶ τότε ἀπέλιπεν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκεῖνῳ. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Λύκον ἰκέτευσε στρατῷ μείζονι ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ἐλάσαντα τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἐπωπέα, κακοῦν δὲ εἰ λάβοι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην. [3] Ἐπωπεὺς δὲ τὸ μὲν παραντίκα ἐπινίκια ἔθυε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ὠκοδόμει ναόν, ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ δὲ εὗξато ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν θεὸν εἰ οἱ τετελεσμένος ἐστὶν ὁ ναὸς κατὰ γνώμην: μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔλαιον λέγουσι ῥῦσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ἐπωπέα κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ἀμεληθέντος κατ' ἀρχάς, ὥς μὴδὲν ἔτι Λύκῳ δεῖσαι πολέμου: Λαμέδων γὰρ ὁ Κορώνου βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐπωπέα ἐξέδωκεν Ἀντιόπην. ἡ δὲ ὥς ἐς Θήβας ἦγετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευθερῶν, ἐνταῦθα καθ' ὁδὸν τίκτει. [4] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεποίηκεν Ἄσιος ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου: “Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε Ζῆθον καὶ Ἀμφίονα δῖον

Ἀσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,

Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπέι ποιμένι λαῶν.

“Asius, unknown work” Ὅμηρος δὲ σφᾶς ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον τοῦ γένους καὶ Θήβας φησὶν οἰκίσαι πρώτους, ἀποκρίνων τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας. [5] Λαμέδων δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔγημεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν γυναῖκα Φηνῶ Κλυτίου: καὶ ὕστερον γενομένου οἱ πολέμου πρὸς Ἀρχανδρὸν καὶ Ἀρχιτέλῃν τοὺς Ἀχαιοῦ συμμαχήσοντα ἐπηγάγετο Σικυῶνα ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ θυγατέρα τε συνώκισεν αὐτῷ Ζευξίππην καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου βασιλεύσαντος ἡ γῆ Σικυωνία καὶ Σικυῶν ἀντὶ Αἰγιάλης ἡ πόλις ὠνομάσθη. Σικυῶνα δὲ οὐ Μαραθῶνος τοῦ Ἐπωπέως, Μητίονος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως φασίν. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἄσιος, ἐπεὶ Ἡσιόδος γε καὶ Ἴβυκος, ὁ μὲν ἐποίησεν ὥς Ἐρεχθέως εἶη Σικυῶν, Ἴβυκος δὲ εἶναι Πέλοπος φησὶν αὐτόν. [6] Σικυῶνος δὲ γίνεται Χθονοφύλη, Χθονοφύλης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Πόλυβον γενέσθαι λέγουσιν: ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὴν Φλίας ὁ Διονύσου γαμεῖ, καὶ οἱ παῖς Ἀνδροδάμας γίνεται. Πόλυβος δὲ Ταλαῷ τῷ Βίαντος βασιλεύοντι Ἀργείων Λυσιάνασσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἔδωκε: καὶ ὅτε Ἄδραστος ἔφευγεν ἐξ Ἀργούς, παρὰ Πόλυβον ἦλθεν ἐς Σικυῶνα καὶ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος Πολύβου τὴν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. Ἀδράστου δὲ ἐς Ἀργὸς κατελθόντος Ἰανίσκος ἀπόγονος Κλυτίου τοῦ Λαμέδοντι

κηδεύσαντος ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰανίσκου Φαῖστος τῶν Ἡρακλέους λεγόμενος παίδων καὶ οὗτος εἶναι. [7] Φαίστου δὲ κατὰ μαντείαν μετοικήσαντος ἐς Κρήτην βασιλεῦσαι λέγεται Ζευξίππος Ἀπόλλωνος υἱὸς καὶ νύμφης Συλλίδος. μετὰ δὲ Ζευξίππον τελευτήσαντα Ἀγαμέμνων στρατὸν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἰππόλυτον Ῥοπάλου παῖδα τοῦ Φαίστου: δεῖσας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπίοντα

Ἰππόλυτος συνεχώρησεν Ἀγαμέμνωνος κατήκοος καὶ Μυκηναίων εἶναι. Ἰππολύτου δὲ ἦν τούτου Λακεστιάδης. Φάλκης ταμφάλκης δὲ ὁ Τημέων καταλαβὼν νύκτωρ Σικυῶνα σὺν Δωριεῦσι κακὸν μὲν ἅτε Ἡρακλείδην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδέν, κοινωνὸν δὲ ἔσχε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

7. καὶ Δωριεῖς μὲν Σικυῶνιοι γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ μοῖρα τῆς Ἀργείας: τὴν δὲ τοῦ Αἰγιάλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν Δημήτριος καθελὼν ὁ Ἀντιγόνη τῇ πάλαι ποτὲ ἀκροπόλει προσέφικσε τὴν νῦν πόλιν. ἐχόντων δὲ ἀσθενῶς ἤδη τῶν Σικυωνίων — αἰτίαν δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιοῖ τις ἂν ζητῶν, ἀποχρῶτο δὲ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ λεγομένῳ περὶ Διός, “ὃς δὴ πολλὰν πολίαν κατέλυσε κάρηνα — ,

“Ὁμηροδιακειμένους οὖν ἀδυνάτως ἐπιγενόμενος σεισμὸς ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, πολλὰ δὲ σφᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἀφείλετο. ἐκάκωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν τὰς πόλεις καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐσείσθη μάλιστα ἡ νῆσος, ὥστε καὶ τὸ λόγιον τετελέσθαι Σιβύλλῃ τὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον ἔδοξεν. [2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν Λύκου Μεσσηνίου μνημὰ ἐστίν, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Λύκος: οὐ γάρ τινα Λύκον εὐρίσκω Μεσσηνίων ἀσκήσαντα πένταθλον οὐδὲ Ὀλυμπικὴν ἀνηρημένον νίκην. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ χῶμά ἐστι γῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυῶνιοι τὰ πολλὰ εὐκότῃ τρόπῳ θάπτουσι. τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπίδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν.

[3] μετὰ δὲ τὸ μνημα τοῦ Λύκου διαβεβηκόσιν ἤδη τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον, ὀλίγον δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Εὐπόλιδι Ἀθηναίῳ ποιήσαντι κωμωδίαν. προελθοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστρέψασιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ξενοδίκης μνημὰ ἐστίν ἀποθανούσης ἐν ὠδίσι: πεποιήται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν τῇ γραφῇ μάλιστα ἀρμόζοι: γραφὴ δὲ εἶπερ ἄλλῃ τις καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ θεὰς ἀξία.

[4] προελθοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τάφος Σικυωνίοις ἐστίν, ὅσοι περὶ Πελλήνην καὶ Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐτελεύτησαν: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς δηλώσω. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ πηγὴ ἐστὶ σφισιν ἐν σπηλαίῳ, ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἄνεισιν ἐκ γῆς, ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῦ σπηλαίου: καὶ καλεῖται δι’ αὐτὸ Στάζουσα ἡ πηγὴ. [5] ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκούρων: ξόανα δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἐστί. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὠκοδομημένου τὸν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ πεποιημένον ἄνδρα ἀσπίδα ἔχοντα Ἄρατόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν Κλεινίου. μετὰ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστί: χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὁ θεός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχαι λίθου λευκοῦ. ταύτας τὰς γυναῖκας ἱεράς εἶναι καὶ Διονύσῳ μαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν. ἄλλα δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Σικυωνίοις ἐστί: ταῦτα μῖα καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου κοσμητηρίου κομίζουσι, κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ δάδων τε ἡμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων.

[6] ἡγεῖται μὲν οὖν ὃν Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσιν — Ἀνδροδάμας σφίσις ὁ Φλάντος τοῦτον ἰδρύσατο — , ἔπεται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύσιος, ὃν Θηβαῖος Φάνης εἰπούσης τῆς Πυθίας ἐκόμισεν ἐκ Θηβῶν. ἐς δὲ Σικυῶνα ἦλθεν ὁ

Φάνης, ὅτε Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεοδαίου τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἀμαρτῶν δι' αὐτὸ καὶ καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἤμαρτεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου βαδίζουσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔστι ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν δεξιᾷ Λιμναίας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν κατερρῦηκεν ὁ ὄροφος, δηλὰ ἐστὶν ἰδόντι· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος οὔτε ὡς κομισθέντος ἐτέρωσε οὔτε ὄντινα αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη τρόπον εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν. [7] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσελθοῦσι Πειθοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἔχον. Πειθῶ δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε αὐτοῖς κατέστη σέβεσθαι. Απόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρσίῳ ἕνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφισι δείματος, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν Φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν ἐς

Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ Αἰγιάλειᾳ νόσος ἐπέλαβε· καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντιες Απόλλωνα ἰλάσασθαι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν.

[8] οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἐπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας· ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς φασιν ἐς τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν ἔλθειν, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἔνθα πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο Πειθοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν. τούτοις δὲ εὐκότα καὶ νῦν ἐτι ποιεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ἴασιν οἱ παῖδες τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Απόλλωνος, καὶ ἀγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὸ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν αὐθις ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ναόν φασι τοῦ Απόλλωνος. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Προΐτου ποιηθῆναι· τὰς γὰρ οἱ θυγατέρας ἐνταῦθα τῆς μανίας παύσασθαι. [9] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς Μελέαγρος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ἀνέθηκε τὴν λόγχην ἣ τὸν ὕν κατειργάσατο. καὶ αὐλοὺς ἀνατεθῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μαρσίου· γενομένης γὰρ τῷ Σιληνῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαρσύαν κατενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μαϊάνδρον, ἀναφανέντας δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀσωπῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ ποιμένος τοῦ εὐρόντος δοθῆναι τῷ Απόλλωνι. τούτων τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν ἐτι ἐλείπετο, συγκατεκαύθη γὰρ ἐμπιπραμένῳ τῷ ναῷ· τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πυθοκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν.

8. τῷ δὲ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερῷ τὸ ἐγγὺς τέμενος ἀνειμένον βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων οἰκία ποτὲ ἦν Κλέωνος τυράννου· Κλεισθένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος ἐχόντων ἐτι τὴν κάτω πόλιν Σικυωνίων ἐτυράννησε, Κλέων δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν πόλει. πρὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἡρῶν ἐστὶν Ἀράτου μέγιστα Ἑλλήνων ἐργασαμένου τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ· ἔχει δὲ ὧδε τὰ ἐς αὐτόν. [2] μετὰ Κλέωνα μοναρχήσαντα ἐνέπεσε τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλοῖς ἐπιθυμία τυραννίδος οὕτω δὴ τι ἀκάθεκτος ὡς καὶ ἄνδρας δύο Εὐθύδημον καὶ Τιμοκλείδαν ὁμοῦ τυραννήσαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξέβαλεν ὁ δῆμος, Κλεινίαν τὸν πατέρα Ἀράτου προστησάμενος· ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἐτυράννησεν Ἀβαντίδας. Κλεινία μὲν οὖν συνεβεβήκει πρότερον ἐτι ἢ τελευτή· Ἄρατον δὲ Ἀβαντίδας φυγάδα ἐποίησεν, ἣ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν Ἄρατος ἐθελοντής. Ἀβαντίδαν μὲν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τύραννος δὲ αὐτίκα ἐγεγόνει ὁ Ἀβαντίδου πατὴρ Πασέας· [3] Νικοκλῆς δὲ ἐκείνον ἀνελὼν ἐτυράννησεν αὐτός. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Νικοκλέα Ἄρατος ἀφικόμενος Σικυωνίων φυγάσι καὶ Ἀργείοις μισθωτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἔλαθεν ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ — νύκτωρ γὰρ δὴ τὴν

ἐπιχείρησιν ἐποιεῖτο — , τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιασάμενος τῶν φυλασσόντων ἐγένετο ἐντὸς τείχους· καὶ — ὑπέβαινε γὰρ ἕως ἥδη — προσλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν σπουδῇ τὴν τυραννικὴν τρέπεται. καὶ ταύτην μὲν εἵλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς, ὁ δὲ Νικοκλῆς αὐτὸς ἔλαθεν ἀποδράς. Σικυωνίοις δὲ ἀπέδωκεν Ἄρατος ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι διαλλάξας τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οἰκίας μὲν φυγάσι καὶ ὅσα τῶν κτημάτων ἄλλα ἃ ἐπέπρατο ἀποδοῦς, τιμὴν δὲ τοῖς πριαμένοις διέλυσεν αὐτός. [4] καὶ — ἦν γὰρ δέος τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππον ἐπιτροπεύοντος τὸν Δημητρίου — , τοῦδε ἔνεκα τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν συνέδριον ἐσήγαγε Δωριεῖς ὄντας. αὐτίκα δὲ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦρητο, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ Λοκροῦς τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλῶν πολέμιων ὄντων τὴν γῆν ἐπόρθησε· Κόρινθον δὲ ἔχοντος Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φρουρᾶς Μακεδόνων ἐνούσης τοὺς Μακεδόνας τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως κατέπληξε καὶ ἄλλους τε κρατήσας μάχῃ διέφθειρε καὶ Περσαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τεταγμένον, ὃς παρὰ Ζήνωνα τὸν Μνασέου κατὰ μάθησιν σοφίας ἐφοίτησεν. [5] ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ Ἀράτου Κόρινθον προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Ἀκτὴν οἰκοῦντες καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ Μεγαρεῖς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἐποίησατο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγις ὁ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεὺς ἔφθησαν μὲν Πελλήνην ἐλόντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, ἦκοντι δὲ Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ συμβαλόντες ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τὴν Πελλήνην ἐκλιπόντες ἀναχωροῦσιν οἴκαδε ὑπόσπονδοι. [6] Ἄρατος δέ, ὥς οἱ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ προεκεχωρήκει, δεινὸν ἠγείτο Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν, ἔτι δὲ Σαλαμίνα καὶ Σούνιον ἐχόμενα ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων περιοφθῆναι, καὶ — οὐ γὰρ ἠλπίζε δύνασθαι πρὸς βίαν αὐτὰ ἐξελεῖν — Διογένην πείθει τὸν ἐν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἄρχοντα ἀφεῖναι τὰ χωρία ἐπὶ ταλάντοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων συνετέλεσεν αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἕκτον μέρος. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόμαχον τυραννοῦντα ἐν Ἀργεὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀποδόντα Ἀργείοις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν συντελεῖν,

Μαντίνειάν τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχόντων εἵλεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἀνθρώπῳ τελεῖται κατὰ γνώμην, εἰ δὴ καὶ Ἄρατον κατέλαβεν ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου σύμμαχον· ἐγένετο δὲ οὕτως.

9. Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν Σπάρτῃ Πausανίαν ἐμμεῖτο τυραννίδος τε ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ νόμοις τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος. ἅτε δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ Πausανίου θερμότερῳ καὶ οὐ φιλοψύχῳ ταχὺ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ φρονήματος καὶ τόλμης κατείργαστο, καὶ βασιλέα τε οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Εὐρυδαμίδαν παῖδα ἔτι ἀνελὼν φαρμάκῳ διὰ τῶν ἐφορευόντων ἐς Ἐπικλείδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετέστησε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γερουσίας καταλύσας πατρονόμους τῷ λόγῳ κατέστησεν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ πραγμάτων μειζόνων καὶ ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπέθετο Ἀχαιοῖς πρώτοις, συμμάχους ἐλπίζων ἕξιν ἣν κρατήσῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι οἱ τοῖς ὀρωμένοις. [2] συμβαλὼν δὲ περὶ Δύμην τὴν ὑπὲρ Πατρῶν, Ἀράτου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ. τοῦτο Ἄρατον ἠνάγκασεν ὑπὲρ τε Ἀχαιῶν καὶ αὐτῆς Σικυῶνος δεῖσαντα Ἀντίγονον ἐπάγεσθαι. Κλεομένους δὲ παραβάнтος ἦν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον συνέθετο εἰρήνην

καὶ παράσπονδα ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ ἄλλα δράσαντος καὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους, οὕτω διαβάντος ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀντιγόνου συμβάλλουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ Κλεομένει περὶ Σελλασίαν. νικησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Σελλασία τε ἠνδραποδίσθη καὶ αὐτὴ Λακεδαιμίων ἐάλω. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν οὖν ἀπέδωκεν Ἀντίγονος καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πολιτείαν τὴν πάτριον· [3] τῶν δὲ Λεωνίδου παίδων Ἐπικλείδας μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Κλεομένην δὲ φεύγοντα ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τιμῆς παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ πρῶτα ἔχοντα συνέβη δεθῆναι, καταγνοσθέντα Αἰγυπτίων ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα συνιστάναι. καὶ ἀπέδρα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἀρχὴν θορύβου παρέσχε· τέλος δέ, ὡς ἠλίσκετο, ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτόν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄσμενοι Κλεομένους ἀπαλλαγέντες βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ἠξίωσαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ἐς τότε διαμένει σφίσιν ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας. Ἀράτῳ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἅτε ἀνδρὶ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ συγκατειργασμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω διέμεινεν εὖνους. [4] Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἄρατος θυμῷ πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους χρώμενον ἐπῆνει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὠρμημένον ἐπέιχε μὴ ποιεῖν — , τούτων ἔνεκεν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἄρατον, οὐδὲν προῖδομένῳ δούς οἱ φάρμακον. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐξ Αἰγίου — ταύτῃ γὰρ τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέλαβεν αὐτόν — ἐς Σικυῶνα κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸ ἥρῳον Ἀράτειον ἔτι ὀνομάζεται· Φιλίπῳ δὲ καὶ ἐς Εὐρυκλείδην καὶ Μίκωνα Ἀθηναίους ὅμοια εἰργάσθη· καὶ γὰρ τοῖσδε ὄντας ῥήτορας καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνους τῷ δήμῳ φαρμάκοις ἔκτεινεν. [5] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ Φιλίπῳ τὸ ἀνδροφόνον φάρμακον ἔσσεσθαι συμφορὰ· τὸν γὰρ οἱ παῖδα Δημήτριον ὁ νεώτερος τῶν Φιλίππου παίδων Περσεὺς φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρε καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀθυμήσαντι παρέσχεν αἰτίαν ἀποθανεῖν. παρεδήλωσα δὲ τάδε ἀπιδὼν ἐς τὸ Ἡσιόδου σὺν θεῷ πεποιημένον, τὸν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ βουλευόντα ἄδικα ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτον τρέπειν. [6] μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀράτου ἥρῳον ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶνι Ἰσθμίῳ βωμός, ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρώα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾶ· πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἡ δὲ κίονι ἐστὶν εἰκασμένη. ἐνταῦθα καὶ βουλευτήριόν σφισι πεποιῖται καὶ στοὰ καλουμένη Κλεισθένης ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος· ὠκοδόμησε δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ὁ Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν τὸν πρὸς Κίρρα πόλεμον συμπολεμήσας Ἀμφικτύοσι. τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἄρτεμις ἐπίχρυσος.

[7] πλησίον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν Λυκίου, κατερρυηκός τε ἤδη καὶ ἥκιστα θέας ἄξιον. φοιτῶντων γὰρ λύκων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ποιμένας ὡς μηδὲνα εἶναι καρπὸν ἔτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ θεὸς τόπον τινὰ εἰπὼν ἐνθα ἔκειτο αὖτον ξύλον, τούτου φλοιὸν ἔχρησε τοῦ ξύλου καὶ κρέας ὁμοῦ προθεῖναι τοῖς θηρίοις· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ὡς ἐγεύσαντο διέφθειρεν ὁ φλοιός, τὸ ξύλον δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Λυκίου, ὃ τι δὲ ἦν δένδρον οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐξηγηταὶ συνίεσαν. [8] τούτου δὲ εἰσιν εἰκόνες ἐφεξῆς χαλκαῖ· τὰς Προΐτου θυγατέρας λέγουσιν εἶναι σφᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς γυναῖκας ἄλλας εἶχεν. ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ· Λύσιππος ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν Σικυώνιος, καὶ πλησίον Ἑρμῆς ἔστηκεν Ἀγοραῖος.

10. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὄντι οὐ μακρὰν Ἡρακλῆς ἀνάκειται λίθου, Σκόπα ποίημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους· τὸν μὲν πάντα

ἐνταῦθα περίβολον Παιδιζήν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν μέσῳ δέ ἐστι τῷ περιβόλῳ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον, τέχνη Φλιασίου Λαφάου. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοιάδε δρᾶν νομίζουσι. Φαῖστον ἐν Σικυωνίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐλθόντα καταλαβεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ σφᾶς ὡς ἦρωι ἐναγίζοντας· οὐκ οὐν ἡξίου δρᾶν οὐδὲν ὁ Φαῖστος τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς θεῷ θύειν. καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἄρνα οἱ Σικυῶνιοι σφάζαντες καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καύσαντες τὰ μὲν ἐσθίουσιν ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερείου, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἦρωι τῶν κρεῶν ἐναγίζουσι. τῆς ἐορτῆς δέ, ἣν ἄγουσι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, τὴν προτέραν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἑνόματα ὀνομάζοντες Ἡράκλεια δὴ καλοῦσι τὴν ὑστέραν. [2] ἐντευθέν ἐστιν ὁδὸς ἐς ἱερόν Ἀσκληπιοῦ. παρελθούσι δὲ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διπλοῦν ἐστιν οἴκημα· κεῖται δὲ Ὑπνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ, καὶ οἱ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔτι λείπεται. τὸ ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται Καρνεῖω, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔσοδος. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κήτους ὅστων θαλασσίῳ μεγέθει μέγα καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὀνείρου καὶ Ὑπνος κατακοιμίζων λέοντα, Ἐπιδώτης δὲ ἐπὶ κλῆσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσιοῦσι καθ' ἕτερον τῆς ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Πανὸς καθήμενον ἄγαλμά ἐστι, τῇ δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἔστηκεν.

[3] ἐσελθούσι δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐστιν οὐκ ἔχων γένεια, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον· ἔχει δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου. φασὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐξ Ἐπιδάουρου κομισθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων δράκοντι εἰκασμένον, τὴν δὲ ἀγαγοῦσαν Νικαγόραν εἶναι Σικυωνίαν Ἀγασικλέους μητέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἐχετίμου. ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματά ἐστιν οὐ μεγάλα ἀπηρητημένα τοῦ ὀρόφου· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δράκοντι Ἀριστοδάμαν Ἀράτου μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσιν. [4] οὗτος μὲν δὴ παρείχετο ὁ περίβολος τοσάδε ἐς μνήμην, πέραν δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἄλλος ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερός· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀντιόπης· εἶναι γάρ οἱ τοὺς παῖδας Σικυωνίους καὶ δι' ἐκείνους ἐθέλουσι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην προσήκειν σφίσι. μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἐσίασι μὲν δὴ ἐς αὐτὸ γυνὴ τε νεωκόρος, ἣ μηκέτι θέμις παρ' ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι, καὶ παρθένος ἱερωσύνην ἐπέτειον ἔχουσα· λουτροφόρον τὴν παρθένον ὀνομάζουσι· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τὴν θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεν προσεῦχεσθαι.

[5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Κάναχος Σικυῶνιος ἐποίησεν, ὃς καὶ τὸν ἐν Διδύμοις τοῖς Μιλησίων καὶ Θηβαίοις τὸν Ἰσμήνιον εἰργάσατο Ἀπόλλωνα· πεποιήται δὲ ἕκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόλον, τῶν χειρῶν δὲ ἔχει τῇ μὲν μήκωνα τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ μῆλον. τῶν δὲ ἱερείων τοὺς μηροὺς θύουσι πλὴν ὧν, τᾶλλα δὲ ἀρκεύθου ξύλοις καθαγίζουσι, καιομένοις δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς μηροῖς φύλλον τοῦ παιδέρωτος συγκαθαγίζουσιν. [6] ἔνεστι δὲ ὁ παιδέρως ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ περιβόλου πόα, φύεται δὲ ἀλλαχόθι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς, οὔτε ἄλλης οὔτε τῆς Σικυωνίας. τὰ δὲ οἱ φύλλα ἐλάσσονα ἢ φηγυῶ, μείζονα δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ πρίνου, σχῆμα δὲ σφισιν οἶον τοῖς τῆς δρυὸς· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπομελαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λευκόν ἐστι· φύλλοις δ' ἂν λευκῆς μάλιστα εἰκάzoις τὴν χροιάν. [7] ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀνιούσιν ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φεραίας ἱερόν Ἀρτέμιδος· κομισθῆναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον λέγουσιν ἐκ Φερῶν. τὸ δὲ σφισι γυμνάσιον τοῦτο Κλεινίας ὠκοδόμησε, καὶ παιδεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι τοὺς ἐφήβους. κεῖται δὲ

λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τὰ ἐς ἱζὺν μόνον εἰργασμένη καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰ κάτω τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς τοῖς τετραγώνοις εἰκασμένος.

11. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐπὶ πύλην καλουμένην Ἱεράν, οὐ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν Ἐπωπεὺς ποτε ἀνέθηκε μεγέθει καὶ κόσμῳ τοῦς τότε ὑπερβεβλημένον. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦδε ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν μνήμην: κεραυνοῖς θεὸς αὐτὸν κατέκαυσε, βωμὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος — οὐ γάρ τι ἐς αὐτὸν κατέσκηψε — μένει καὶ ἐς τὸδε οἶον Ἐπωπεὺς ἐποίησε. πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ μνῆμα Ἐπωπεῖ κέχωσται, καὶ τοῦ τάφου πλησίον εἰσὶν Ἀποτρόπαιοι θεοί: παρὰ τούτοις δρῶσιν ὅσα Ἕλληνες ἐς ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν νομίζουσιν. Ἐπωπέα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸ Ἦρας Ἄδραστος: ἀγάλματα δὲ ὑπελείπετο οὐδετέρῳ. βωμοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου τὸν μὲν Πανὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν, Ἠλίῳ δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ.

[2] καταβαίνουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον, ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος: ἰδρῦσαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ Πλημναῖον ἀποδιδόντα χάριν τῇ θεῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς τροφῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἦρας, ἣν ἰδρύσατο Ἄδραστος, ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω Καρνείου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος: κίονες δὲ ἐστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ μόνοι, τοίχους δὲ οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ὄροφον οὔτε ἐνταῦθα εὐρήσεις οὔτε ἐν τῷ τῆς Προδρομίας Ἦρας. τοῦτον γάρ δι' Φάλκης ἰδρύσατο ὁ Τημένου, τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ τῆς ἐς Σικυῶνα Ἦραν φάμενος ὁδηγὸν γενέσθαι. [3] ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ τὴν κατ' εὐθὺ ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐρχομένοις καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα ἐκτραπεῖσι στάδια, Πυραῖα καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄλσος, ἱερὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Προστασίας Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. ἐνταῦθα ἐφ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι, τὸν δὲ Νυμφῶνα καλούμενον ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐορτάζειν παρείκασι: καὶ ἀγάλματα Διονύσου καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τὰ πρόσωπα φαίνοντα ἐν τῷ Νυμφῶνι ἐστὶν. ἡ δὲ ἐς Τιτάνην ὁδὸς σταδίων μὲν ἐστὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ζεύγεσιν ἄβατος διὰ στενότητα:

[4] σταδίους δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, ἔστιν ἄλσος πρίνων καὶ ναὸς θεῶν ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικυῶνιοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ὀνομάζουσι: κατὰ δὲ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐορτὴν ἡμέρα μιᾷ σφισιν ἄγουσι θύοντες πρόβατα ἐγκύμονα, μελικράτῳ δὲ σπονδῇ καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀντὶ στεφάνων χρῆσθαι νομίζουσιν. εἰκότα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῶν Μοιρῶν δρῶσιν: ὁ δὲ σφισιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἄλσους ἐστίν. [5] ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν διαβᾶσι τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἤξασιν, ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Τιτᾶνα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον: εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἠλίου καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι Τιτάνην τὸ χωρίον. δοκεῖν δὲ ἐμοὶ δεινὸς ἐγένετο ὁ Τιτὰν τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους φυλάξας καὶ ὅποτε ἥλιος σπέρματα καὶ δένδρων αὔξει καὶ πεπαίνει καρπούς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀδελφὸς ἐνομήσθη τοῦ Ἠλίου. ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλεξάνωρ ὁ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παραγενόμενος ἐς Σικυωνίαν ἐν Τιτάνῃ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐποίησε. [6] περιοικοῦσι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ τὸ πολὺ οἰκέται τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου δένδρα ἀρχαῖα: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὔτε ὁποίου ξύλου γέγονεν ἢ μετάλλου μαθεῖν ἐστὶν οὔτε τὸν ποιήσαντα ἴσασι, πλὴν εἰ μή τις ἄρα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνωρα ἀναφέρει. φαίνεται δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πρόσωπον μόνον καὶ ἄκραι χεῖρες καὶ πόδες: χιτῶν γάρ οἱ λευκὸς ἐρεοῦς καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐπιβέβληται. καὶ Ὑγείας δ'

ἔστι κατὰ ταυτὸν ἀγάλμα: οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἴδοις ῥαδίως, οὕτω περιέχουσιν αὐτὸ κόμαι τε γυναικῶν αἱ κείρονται τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἐσθῆτος Βαβυλωνίας τελαμῶνες. ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τούτων ἰλάσασθαι θελήσῃ τις, ἀποδέδεικται οἱ τὸ αὐτὸ σέβεσθαι τοῦτο ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὑγείαν καλοῦσι. [7] τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνορι καὶ Εὐαμερίωνι — καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἀγάλματά ἐστι — τῷ μὲν ὡς ἥρωι μετὰ ἥλιον δύναντα ἐναγίζουσιν, Εὐαμερίωνι δὲ ὡς θεῷ θύουσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς εἰκάσω, τὸν Εὐαμερίωνα τοῦτον Περγαμηνοὶ Τελεσφόρον ἐκ μαντεύματος, Ἐπιδάυριοι δὲ Ἄκεσιν ὀνομάζουσι. τῆς δὲ Κορωνίδος ἔστι μὲν καὶ ταύτης ξόανον, καθίδρυνται δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τοῦ ναοῦ: θυομένων δὲ τῷ θεῷ ταύρου καὶ ἄρνος καὶ υἱὸς ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὴν Κορωνίδα μετενεγκόντες ἐνταῦθα τιμῶσιν. ὅποσα δὲ τῶν θυομένων καθαγίζουσιν, οὐδὲ ἀποχρᾶ σφισιν ἐκτέμνειν τοὺς μηρούς: χαμαὶ δὲ καίουσιν πλὴν τοὺς ὀρνιθας, τούτους δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ. [8] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Νίκαι πρὸς τοῖς πέρασίν εἰσιν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Διονύσου καὶ Ἐκάτης, Ἀφροδίτη τε καὶ Μήτηρ θεῶν καὶ Τύχη: ταῦτα μὲν ξόανα, λίθου δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπὶ κλῆσιν Γορτύνιος. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς δράκοντας ἐσιέναι τοὺς ἱερούς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπὸ δείματος: καταθέντες δὲ σφισι πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τροφὴν οὐκέτι πολυπραγμονοῦσι. κεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου Γρανιανὸς Σικυώνιος, ὃς νίκας ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπίαισι δύο μὲν πεντάθλου καὶ σταδίου τὴν τρίτην, διαύλου δὲ ἀμφοτέρα καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

12. ἐν δὲ Τιτάνῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἔστιν, ἐς ὃ τὴν Κορωνίδα ἀνάγουσιν: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστιν ἀρχαῖον, κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐλέγετο: ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόφου καταβάσιν — ὠκοδόμηται γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν — βωμός ἐστιν ἀνέμων, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὁ ἱερὸς μῆ νυκτὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θύει. δρᾶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπόρρητα ἐς βόθρους τέσσαρας, ἡμερούμενος τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ ἄγριον, καὶ δὴ καὶ Μηδείας ὡς λέγουσιν ἐπ' ὧδ' ἐπάδει. [2] ἐκ δὲ Τιτάνης ἐς Σικυῶνα ἀφικομένοις καὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς ἔστιν Ἥρας οὐκ ἔχων ἔτι οὔτε ἀγάλμα οὔτε ὄροφον: τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Προῖτον εἶναι τὸν Ἄβαντός φασι. καταβάσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Σικυωνίων καλούμενον λιμένα καὶ τραπέειν ἐπ' Ἀριστοναύτας τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Πελληνέων, ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν: προελθοῦσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον Ἐλισσῶν τε καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Σύθας ἔστιν, ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν.

[3] ἡ δὲ Φλιασία τῆς Σικυωνίων ἔστιν ὁμορος: καὶ Τιτάνης μὲν τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἢ πόλις, ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδός ἐστιν εὐθεῖα. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ἀρκάσι Φλιάσιοι προσήκουσιν οὐδέν, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀρκάδων κατάλογον τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν Ἀρκάσι καὶ οὗτοι συγκατελεγμένοι: ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοί τε ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖς γεγόνασιν Ἡρακλειδῶν κατελθόντων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, φανεῖται προϊόντι ὁμοῦ τῷ λόγῳ. διάφορα δὲ ἐς τοὺς Φλιασίους τὰ πολλὰ εἰδὼς εἰρημένα, τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὠμολογημένοις χρῆσθαι.

[4] ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον Ἄραντά φασιν ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα: καὶ πόλιν τε ᾧκισε περὶ τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον, ὃς Ἀραντῖνος ἔτι καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐ πολὺ ἐτέρου λόφου διεστηκώς, ἐφ' οὗ Φλιασίους ἢ τε ἀκρόπολις καὶ

τῆς Ἥβης ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν. ἐνταυθὰ τε δὴ πόλιν ὥκισε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ γῆ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ἀραντία ἐκλήθησαν. τούτῳ βασιλεύοντι Ἀσωπὸς Κηλοῦσης εἶναι λεγόμενος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἐξεῦρε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὄντινα οἱ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρόντος καλοῦσιν Ἀσωπὸν. τὸ δὲ μνῆμα τοῦ Ἀραντός ἐστὶν ἐν χωρίῳ Κελεαῖς, ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Δυσάβλην ἄνδρα Ἑλευσίνιον τεθάφθαι λέγουσιν. [5] Ἄραντος δὲ υἱὸς Ἄορις καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο Ἀραιθυρέα. τούτους φασὶ Φλιάσιοι θηρᾶσαι τε ἐμπεῖρους γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀνδρείους. προαποθανούσης δὲ Ἀραιθυρέας Ἄορις ἐς μνήμην τῆς ἀδελφῆς μετωνόμασεν Ἀραιθυρέαν τὴν χώραν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ὅμηρος τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑπηκόους καταλέγων τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν”Ὀρνεῖας τ’ ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ’ ἐρατεινὴν.

“Hom. II.

2.571 τὰ φους δὲ τῶν Ἄραντος παίδων οὐχ ἐτέρωθι ἡγοῦμαι τῆς χώρας, ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ δὲ εἶναι τῷ Ἀραντίνῳ· καὶ σφισιν ἐπίθημα στήλαι περιφανεῖς εἶσι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς ἦν τῇ Δήμητρι ἄγουσιν Ἄραντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς ταῦτα βλέποντες τὰ μνήματα. [6] Φλίαντα δέ, ὃς τρίτον τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὄνομα ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ τῇ γῇ, Κείσου μὲν παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Τημένου κατὰ δὴ τὸν Ἀργείων λόγον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἔγωγε προσίεμαι, Διονύσου δὲ οἶδα καλούμενον καὶ τῶν πλευσάντων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι λεγόμενον. ὁμολογεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδίου ποιητοῦ τὰ ἔπη: “Φλίας αὐτ’ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἀραιθυρέθην ἴκανε,

ἐνθ’ ἀφνειὸς ἔναιε Διωνύσιοιο ἔκητι

πατρὸς ἐοῦ, πηγῇσιν ἐφέστιος Ἀσωποῖο.

“Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica

1.115-117 τοῦ δὲ Φλίαντος Ἀραιθυρέαν εἶναι μητέρα, ἀλλ’ οὐ Χθονοφύλην· Χθονοφύλην δέ οἱ συνοικῆσαι καὶ Ἀνδροδάμαν γενέσθαι Φλίαντι ἐξ αὐτῆς.

13. Ἡρακλειδῶν δὲ κατελθόντων Πελοπόννησος ἐταράχθη πᾶσα πλὴν Ἀρκάδων, ὥς πολλὰς μὲν τῶν πόλεων συνοίκους ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ προσλαβεῖν, πλείονας δὲ ἔτι γενέσθαι τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς οἰκήτορσι. τὰ δὲ κατὰ Φλιοῦντα οὕτως ἔχει. Ῥηγνίδας ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ὁ Φάλκου τοῦ Τημένου Δωριεὺς ἐκ τε Ἄργους στρατεύει καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σικυωνίας. τῶν δὲ Φλιασίων τοῖς μὲν ἃ προεκαλεῖτο Ῥηγνίδας ἐφαίνετο ἀρεστά, μένοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν βασιλείᾳ Ῥηγνίδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Δωριεῖς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ γῆς δέχεσθαι. [2] Ἴππασος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διεκελεύοντο ἀμύνεσθαι μηδὲ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἀφίστασθαι. προσεμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτὴν γνώμην, οὕτως Ἴππασος σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐς Σάμον φεύγει. Ἰππάσου δὲ τούτου τέταρτος ἦν ἀπόγονος Πυθαγόρας ὁ λεγόμενος γενέσθαι σοφός· Μνησάρχου γὰρ Πυθαγόρας ἦν τοῦ Εὐφρονος τοῦ Ἰππάσου. ταῦτα μὲν Φλιάσιοι λέγουσι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ σφισι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ Σικυώνιοι. [3] προσέσται δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἡκόντων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Φλιασίῳ ἀκροπόλει κυπαρίσσω ἀλσος καὶ ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ· τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι Φλιασίων Γανυμήδαν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἥβην

ὀνομάζουσιν· ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρος μνήμην ἐποίησατο ἐν τῇ Μενελάου πρὸς

Ἀλέξανδρον μονομαχίᾳ φάμενος οἰνοχόον τῶν θεῶν εἶναι, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐς Ἄιδου καθόδῳ γυναικᾶ Ἡρακλέους εἶπεν εἶναι. Ὡλῆνι δὲ ἐν Ἡρας ἐστὶν ὕμνῳ πεποιημένα τραφῆναι τὴν Ἡραν ὑπὸ Ὠρῶν, εἶναι δὲ οἱ παῖδας Ἄρην τε καὶ Ἥβην.

[4] παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τῇ θεῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ καὶ μέγιστον τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐστί: δεδώκασι γὰρ δὴ ἄδειαν ἐνταῦθα ἱκετεύουσι, λυθέντες δὲ οἱ δεσμῶται τὰς πέδας πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει δένδρα ἀνατιθέασιν. ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴ σφισιν ἐπέτειος, ἣν καλοῦσι Κισσοτόμους. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὔτε ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσιν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐστὶν ἐν φανερῷ δεικνύμενον — ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, ἱερός ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς λόγος —, ἐπεὶ τῆς γε Ἡρας ἐστὶν ἐξιόντων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναὸς ἄγαλμα ἔχων Παρίου λίθου. [5] ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλος περίβολός ἐστιν ἱερὸς Δήμητρος, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός: τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος — ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα — ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαῖον εἶναι μοι. κατιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον πῶ γένεια. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν θέατρον πεποιήται: τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ καθήμενα ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα. [6] ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αἷξ χαλκῇ, τὰ πολλὰ ἐπίχρυσος: παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τιμὰς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἴληφε. τὸ ἄστρον ἦν ὀνομάζουσιν αἶγα ἀνατέλλουσα τὰς ἀμπέλους λυμαίνεται συνεχῶς: ἵνα δὲ ἄχαρι μὴδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς γένηται, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς χαλκὴν αἶγα ἄλλοις τε τιμῶσι καὶ χρυσῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπικοσμοῦντες. ἐνταῦθ' ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστίου μνήμα τοῦ Πρατίνου: τούτῳ τῷ Ἀριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνα τῷ πατρί εἰσι πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰχύλου δοκιμώτατοι.

[7] ὀπισθεν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν οἶκος ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπὸ Φλιασίων μαντικός. ἐς τοῦτον Ἀμφιάραος ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐγκατακοιμηθεὶς μαντεύεσθαι τότε πρῶτον, ὥς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν, ἤρξατο: τέως δὲ ἦν Ἀμφιάραος τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἰδιώτης τε καὶ οὐ μάντις. καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἀπὸ τούτου συγκέκλεισται τὸν πάντα ἤδη χρόνον. οὐ πόρρῳ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος Ὀμφαλός, Πελοποννήσου δὲ πάσης μέσον, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα εἰρήκασιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὀμφαλοῦ προελθοῦσι Διονύσου σφίσις ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλλο Ἰσίδος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου δῆλον πᾶσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰσίδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θεάσασθαι μόνον ἔστι. [8] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε ὑπὸ Φλιασίων λόγος: Ἡρακλέα, ὅτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀνεσώθη κομίζων τὰ μῆλα τὰ Ἑσπερίδων καλούμενα, ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐλθεῖν κατὰ δὴ τι ἴδιον, διαιτωμένου δὲ ἐνταῦθα Οἰνέα ἐξ Αἰτωλίας ἀφικέσθαι παρ' αὐτόν: ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πρότερον ἔτι κηδεστής, τότε δὲ ἀφιγμένος εἰστία τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἢ αὐτὸς εἰστιάτο ὑπὸ ἐκείνου. Κύαθον δ' οὖν παῖδα οἰνοχόον Οἰνέως οὐκ ἄρεσθεις τῷ δοθέντι πώματι παῖει τῶν δακτύλων ἐνὶ ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν: ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς

Φλιασίοις ἐστὶν οἶκημα ἐς μνήμην. τοῦτο ὠκοδόμηται μὲν παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀγάλματα δὲ λίθου πεποιημένα ἔχει, κύλικα ὀρέγοντα Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Κύαθον.

14. τῆς δὲ πόλεως αἱ Κελεαὶ πέντε πού σταδίους μάλιστα ἀπέχουσι, καὶ τῇ

Δήμητρι ἐνταῦθα δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ τετάρτου τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν. ἱεροφάντης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸν βίον πάντα ἀποδέδεικται, κατὰ δὲ ἐκάστην τελετὴν ἄλλοτε ἐστὶν ἄλλος σφίσιν αἰρετός, λαμβάνων ἢν ἐθέλῃ καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διάφορα τῶν Ἑλευσῖνι νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τελετὴν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἐς μίμησιν: ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μιμεῖσθαι Φλιάσιοι τὰ ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι δρώμενα. [2] Δυσαύλην δὲ φασιν ἀδελφὸν Κελεοῦ παραγενόμενόν σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν, ἐκβληθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος ὑπὸ Ἴωνος, ὅτε Ἴων Ἀθηναίους ὁ Ξούθου πολέμαρχος τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλευσινίους ἠρέθη πολέμου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Φλιασίοις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ὁμολογήσω, κρατηθέντα μάχῃ τινὰ Ἑλευσινίων φυγάδα ἀπελαθέντα οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ πολέμου τε ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καταλυθέντος πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμηθῆναι καὶ ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι αὐτοῦ καταμείναντος Εὐμόλπου. [3] δύναίτο δ' ἂν κατὰ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δυσαύλης ἀφικέσθαι πρόφασιν καὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Κελεῶ προσήκων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἢν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν Ἑλευσινίων: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε Ὀμηρος παρῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Δήμητραν: ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καταλέγων τοὺς διδαχθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν τελετὴν Δυσαύλην οὐδένα οἶδεν Ἑλευσίνιον. ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἔπη: “δεῖξεν Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίπῳ

Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῶ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν

δρῆμοσύνην ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσιν.

“ΗΗ Dem. 474-476 [4] οὗτος δ' οὖν, ὥς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν, ὁ Δυσαύλης κατεστήσατο ἐνταῦθα τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὁ τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα παραθέμενος Κελεάς: Δυσαύλου τέ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα, ὥς εἴρηταί μοι, μνῆμα. πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ἐπεποίητο ὁ Ἀράντειος τάφος: ὕστερον γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Φλιασίων λόγον καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰαπετοῦ βασιλείας ἀφίκετο ὁ Δυσαύλης. Φλιάσιοι γὰρ Προμηθεῖ γενέσθαι τῷ Ἰαπετοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον φασὶν Ἰαπετοῦ καὶ τρισὶν ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς Πελαγοῦ τε εἶναι πρεσβύτερον τοῦ Ἀρκάδος καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Ἀθήνησιν αὐτοχθόνων. — τοῦ δὲ Ἀνακτόρου καλουμένου πρὸς τῷ ὀρόφῳ Πέλοπος ἄρμα λέγουσιν ἀνακεῖσθαι.

15. Φλιασίοις μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα λόγου μάλιστα ἦν ἄξια: ἐκ Κορίνθου δ' ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένῳ Κλεωναὶ πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη. παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Πέλοπος Κλεώνην λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ παρὰ Σικυῶνα ῥέοντι Ἀσωπῷ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις Κλεώνην γενέσθαι: τὸ δ' οὖν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου τούτων ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει. ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Σκύλλιδος τέχνη καὶ Διποίνου: μαθητὰς δὲ εἶναι Δαιδάλου σφᾶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα ἐκ Γόρτυνος ἐθέλουσι λαβεῖν Δαίδαλον καὶ τὸν Δίποινον καὶ Σκύλλιν ἐκ τῆς γυναικός οἱ ταύτης γενέσθαι. ἐν Κλεωναῖς δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μνῆμα Εὐρύτου καὶ Κτεάτου: θεωροὺς γὰρ ἐξ Ἡλίδος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἰόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλῆς κατετόξευσεν, ἔγκλημα ποιούμενος ὅτι οἱ πρὸς Αὐγείαν πολεμοῦντι ἀντετάχθησαν. [2] ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δὲ εἰσιν ἐς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων ὁρῶν, ὀχήμασι δὲ ἐστὶν ὅμως ἐπιτηδειότερα. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὁρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἔτι δείκνυται τοῦ λέοντος, καὶ ἡ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον ἀπέχει σταδίους πέντε πού καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμείου τε Διὸς ναὸς

ἔστι θέας ἄξιος, πλὴν ὅσον κατερρυήκει τε ὁ ὄροφος καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο: κυπαρίσσων τε ἄλλος ἔστι περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς τροφοῦ τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθαρῆναι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος.

[3] θύουσι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Νεμείου Διὸς ἱερέα αἰροῦνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα ἀνδράσιν ὠπλισμένοις Νεμείων πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν θριγκὸς λίθων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου βωμοί: ἔστι δὲ χῶμα γῆς Λυκούργου μνῆμα τοῦ Ὀφέλτου πατρός. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν Ἀδράστειαν ὀνομάζουσιν εἴτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ εἴτε καὶ ἀνευρόντος αὐτὴν Ἀδράστου: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα λέγουσι τῇ χώρᾳ Νεμέαν δοῦναι θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ ὅρος Ἀπέσσας ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἔνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θῦσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπесαντίῳ. — [4] ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Τρητὸν καὶ αὐθις τὴν ἐς Ἄργος ἰοῦσιν ἔστι Μυκηνῶν ἐρείπια ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Περσεὺς ἐγένετο Μυκηνῶν οἰκιστῆς, ἴσασιν Ἕλληνες: ἐγὼ δὲ αἰτίαν τε γράψω τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ καὶ δι' ἣντινα πρόφασιν Ἀργεῖοι Μυκηναίους ὕστερον ἀνέστησαν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νῦν Ἀργολίδι ὀνομαζομένη τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα οὐ μνημονεύουσιν, Ἰναχὸν δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ὀνομάσαι καὶ θῦσαι τῇ Ἠρᾷ. [5] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε λόγος: Φορωνέα ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἰναχὸν δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πατέρα εἶναι Φορωνεῖ: τοῦτον δὲ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἠρᾷ δικάσαι περὶ τῆς χώρας, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Κηφισὸν τε καὶ Ἀστερίωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰναχὸν ποταμόν: κρινάντων δὲ Ἠρας εἶναι τὴν γῆν, οὕτω σφίσιν ἀφανίσαι τὸ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε Ἰναχος ὕδωρ οὔτε ἄλλος παρέχεται τῶν εἰρημένων ποταμῶν ὅτι μὴ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ: θέρους δὲ αὐτὰ σφισίν ἐστι τὰ ρεύματα πλὴν τῶν ἐν Λέρνη. Φορωνεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰνάχου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνήγαγε πρῶτον ἐς κοινόν, σποράδας τέως καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστοτε οἰκοῦντας: καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐς ὃ πρῶτον ἡθροίσθησαν ἄστρῳ ὠνομάσθη Φορωνικόν.

16. Ἄργος δὲ Φορωνέως θυγατρίδους βασιλεύσας μετὰ Φορωνέα ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν. Ἄργου δὲ Πείρασος γίνεται καὶ Φόρβας, Φόρβαντος δὲ Τριόπας, Τριόπα δὲ Ἰασος καὶ Ἀγῆνωρ. Ἰὼ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσου θυγάτηρ, εἴτε ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἔγραψεν εἴτε καθ' ὃ λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται Κρότωπος δὲ ὁ Ἀγῆνωρος ἔσχε μετὰ Ἰασον τὴν ἀρχήν, Κροτάπου δὲ Σθενέλας γίνεται, Δαναὸς δ' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλεύσας ἐπὶ Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺς Ἀγῆνωρος βασιλείας ἔπαυσεν. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁμοίως ἴσασι, θυγατέρων τῶν Δαναοῦ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνεπιούς τὸ λήμμα καὶ ὡς ἀποθανόντος Δαναοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Λυγκεὺς ἔσχε. [2] οἱ δὲ Ἄβαντος τοῦ Λυγκεὺς παῖδες τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνείμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει, Προῖτος δὲ τὸ Ἠραῖον καὶ Μιδεῖαν καὶ Τίρυνθα ἔσχε καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θαλάσση τῆς Ἀργείας: σημεῖα τε τῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκίσεως Προΐτου καὶ ἐς τὸδε λείπεται. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀκρίσιος Περσέα αὐτόν τε περιεῖναι πυνθανόμενος καὶ ἔργα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ἐς Λάρισαν ἀπεχώρησε τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Πηνειῷ. Περσεὺς δὲ — ἰδεῖν γὰρ πάντως ἤθελε τὸν γονέα τῆς μητρὸς καὶ λόγοις τε χρηστοῖς καὶ ἔργοις δεξιῶσασθαι — ἔρχεται

παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Λάρισσαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν οἶα ἡλικία τε ἀκμᾶζων καὶ τοῦ δίσκου χαίρων τῷ εὐρήματι ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐς ἅπαντας, Ἀκρίσιος δὲ λανθάνει κατὰ δαίμονα ὑποπεσὼν τοῦ δίσκου τῇ ὁρμῇ. [3] καὶ Ἀκρίσιω μὲν ἡ πρόρρησις τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲ ἀπέτρεψεν οἱ τὸ χρεὼν τὰ ἐς τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸν θυγατρίδου παρευρήματα· Περσεὺς δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς Ἄργος — ἡσχύνετο γὰρ τοῦ φόνου τῇ φήμῃ — , Μεγαπένθην τὸν Προίτου πείθει οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδοῦναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκείνου Μυκῆνας κτίζει. τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐξέπεσεν ὁ μύκης αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐνόμιζε συμβῆναι πόλεως. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διψῶντι ἐπῆλθεν ἀνελέσθαι οἱ μύκητα ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ῥυέντος δὲ ὕδατος πίων καὶ ἡσθεῖς Μυκῆνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ. [4] Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ γυναικὸς Μυκῆνης ἐν ἔπει τῷδε ἐμνήσθη· Τυρῶ τ' Ἀλκμήνῃ τε ἐυστέφανός τε Μυκῆνῃ.

“Hom. Od. unknown line ταύτην εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰνάχου γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀρέστορος τὰ ἔπη λέγει, ἃ δὴ Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν Ἡοίας μεγάλας· ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν γεγενέαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει φασίν. ὃν δὲ προσποιοῦσιν Ἀκουσιλάῳ λόγον, Μυκηναῖα υἱὸν εἶναι Σπάρτωνος, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε ἀποδεξαίμην, διότι μὴδὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ Σπάρτης μὲν γυναικὸς εἰκὼν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως παῖδα θαυμάζουσιν ἂν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀκούσαντες. [5] Μυκῆνας δὲ Ἀργεῖοι καθεῖλον ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας. ἡσυχάζοντων γὰρ τῶν Ἀργείων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μῆδου, Μυκηναῖοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοις μετέσχον τοῦ ἔργου· τοῦτο ἦνεγκεν ὀλεθρὸν σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα παροξύναν Ἀργεῖους.λείπεται δὲ ὅμως ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἡ πύλη, λέοντες δὲ ἐφεστήκασιν αὐτῇ· Κυκλώπων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ Προίτῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐποίησαν ἐν Τίρυνθι.

[6] Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις κρήνῃ τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Περσεΐα καὶ Ἀτρέως καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, ἔνθα οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν Ἀτρέως, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ὄσους σὺν

Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπανάγοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δειπνίσας κατεφόνευσεν Αἴγισθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ Κασσάνδρας μνήματος ἀμφισβητοῦσι Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ περὶ Ἀμύκλας οἰκοῦντες· ἕτερον δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀγαμέμνονος, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ ἡνιόχου, καὶ Τελεδάμου τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέλοπος — τούτους γὰρ τεκεῖν διδύμους Κασσάνδραν φασί, [7] νηπίους δὲ ἔτι ὄντας ἐπικατέσφαξε τοῖς γονεῦσιν Αἴγισθος — καὶ Ἠλέκτρας· Πυλάδῃ γὰρ συνώκησεν Ὀρέστου δόντος. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ καὶ τάδε ἔγραψε, Μέδοντα καὶ Στρόφιον γενέσθαι Πυλάδῃ παῖδας ἐξ Ἠλέκτρας. Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ ἐτάφη καὶ Αἴγισθος ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τεύχους· ἐντὸς δὲ ἀπηξιώθησαν, ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνων τε αὐτὸς ἔκειτο καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φονευθέντες.

17. Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα στάδια τὸ Ἡραῖον. ρεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὕδωρ Ἐλευθέριον καλούμενον· χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς καθάρσια αἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐς τὰς ἀπορρήτους. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὅρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσιν Εὐβοίαν, λέγοντες Ἀστερίωνι γενέσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ θυγατέρας Εὐβοίαν καὶ Πρόσυμναν καὶ Ἀκραίαν, εἶναι δὲ σφᾶς τροφούς τῆς Ἥρας· [2] καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν

Ἀκραιάς τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσι τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Ἡραίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας ὅσον περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, Πρόσυμναν δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡραῖον χώραν. ὁ δὲ Ἀστερίων οὗτος ῥέων ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐς φάραγγα ἐσπίπτων ἀφανίζεται. φύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ πόα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις· ἀστερίωνα ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὴν πόαν· ταύτην τῇ Ἡρᾷ καὶ αὐτὴν φέρουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων αὐτῆς στεφάνους πλέκουσιν. [3] ἀρχιτέκτονα μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ λέγουσιν Εὐπόλεμον Ἀργεῖον· ὅποσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονάς ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Διὸς γένεσιν καὶ θεῶν καὶ γιγάντων μάχην ἔχει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Τροίαν πόλεμον καὶ Ἰλίου τὴν ἄλωσιν. ἀνδριάντες τε ἐσθήκασιν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου καὶ γυναικῶν, αἱ γεγόνασιν ἰέρειαι τῆς Ἡρας, καὶ ἡρώων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ὀρέστου· τὸν γὰρ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχοντα, ὡς εἶη βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος, Ὀρέστην εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τῆς Ἡρας καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀσπίς ἦν Μενελάος ποτε ἀφείλετο Εὐφορβον ἐν Ἰλίῳ. [4] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἡρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ Ὠρας ἐπειργασμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ροιᾶς, τῇ δὲ σκήπτρον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ροιᾶν — ἀπορρητότερος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος — ἀφείσθω μοι· κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθήσθαι φασι λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἦρα παρθένου τῆς Ἡρας, ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἄτε παίγιον θηρᾶσαι. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅσα ἐοικότα εἴρηται περὶ θεῶν οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενος γράφω, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον. [5] λέγεται δὲ παρεστηκέναι τῇ Ἡρᾷ τέχνη Ναυκύδους ἄγαλμα Ἡβης, ἐλέφαντος καὶ τοῦτο καὶ χρυσοῦ· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κίονος ἄγαλμα Ἡρας ἀρχαῖον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον πεποιήται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐς

Τίρυνθα ὑπὸ Πειράσου τοῦ Ἀργου, Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες Ἀργεῖοι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον· ὁ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα. [6] ἀναθήματα δὲ τὰ ἄξια λόγου βωμὸς ἔχων ἐπειργασμένον τὸν λεγόμενον Ἡβης καὶ Ἡρακλέους γάμον· οὗτος μὲν ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθων λαμπόντων Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς ταῶν ἀνέθηκεν· ἀνέθηκε δέ, ὅτι τὴν ὄρνιθα ἱεράν τῆς Ἡρας νομίζουσι. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στέφανος χρυσοῦς καὶ πέπλος πορφύρας, Νέρωνος ταῦτα ἀναθήματα. [7] ἐστὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τοῦ προτέρου ναοῦ θεμέλιά τε καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ὑπελίπετο ἢ φλόξ, κατεκαύθη δὲ τὴν ἰέρειαν τῆς Ἡρας Χρυσήϊδα ὕπνου καταλαβόντος, ὅτε ὁ λύχνος πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων ἦπτετο. καὶ Χρυσῆϊς μὲν ἀπελθοῦσα ἐς Τεγέαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων τὴν Ἀλέαν ἰκέτευεν· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καίπερ κακοῦ τηλικούτου παρόντος σφίσι τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ καθεῖλον τῆς Χρυσῆϊδος, ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸδε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ κατακαυθέντος ἔμπροσθεν.

18. ἐκ Μυκηναίων δὲ ἐς Ἀργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἡρώον. ἔχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστας δὲ ἐν τε Σερίφῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, οἷς Περσέως τέμενος καὶ Δίκτυος καὶ Κλυμένης βωμὸς σωτήρων καλουμένων Περσέως. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀργεΐᾳ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώου τούτου Θυέστου τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ· λίθου δὲ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ κριός, ὅτι τὴν ἄρνα ὁ Θυέστης ἔσχε τὴν χρυσῆν, μοιχεύσας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. Ἀτρέα δὲ οὐκ ἐπέσχεν ὁ λογισμός

μετρήσαι τὴν ἴσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Θυέστου παίδων σφαγὰς καὶ τὰ ἄδόκιμα δεῖπνα ἐξεργάσατο. [2] ὕστερον δὲ οὐκ ἔχω σαφεῖς εἰπεῖν πότερον ἀδικίας ἤρξεν Αἴγισθος ἢ προὔπηρξεν Ἀγαμέμνονι φόνος Ταντάλου τοῦ Θυέστου: συνοικεῖν δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ παρθένῳ παρὰ Τυνδάρεω λαβόντα. ἐγὼ δὲ καταγνῶναι μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλω φύσει σφᾶς γενέσθαι κακοῦς: εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὸ μῖασμα τὸ Πέλοπος καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλου προστρόπαιος ἠκολούθησε, τούτοις ἦν ἄρα ὁμολογοῦντα, ἠνίκα ἡ Πυθία Γλαῦκῳ τῷ Ἐπικύδους Σπαρτιάτῃ, βουλευέσσαντι ἐπιόρκα ὁμόσαι, καὶ τοῦδε εἶπεν ἐς τοὺς ἀπογόνους κατιέναι τὴν δίκην. [3] ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κριῶν — οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ Θυέστου τὸ μνῆμα ὀνομάζουσι — προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίον Μυσία καὶ Δήμητρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυσίου τὸ ὄνομα, γενομένου καὶ τούτου, καθάπερ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, ξένου τῇ Δήμητρι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔπεστιν ὄροφος: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὀπτῆς πλίνθου, ξόανα δὲ Κόρης καὶ Πλούτωνος καὶ Δήμητρός ἐστι. προελθοῦσι δὲ ποταμός ἐστιν Ἴναχος, καὶ διαβάσιν Ἥλιου βωμός. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πύλην ἤξεις καλουμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἱεροῦ: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυῖας.

[4] μόνους δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἶδα Ἀργεῖους ἐς τρεῖς βασιλείας νεμηθέντας. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργεῖου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους μανία ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐνέπεσεν, ἐκφοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθάωνος ἔπαυσε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βίας Ἀναξαγόρᾳ τὸ ἴσον ἔξουσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Βίαντος βασιλεύουσι πέντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας ἐς Κυάνιππον τὸν Αἰγιαλέως, ὄντες Νηλεῖδαι τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμποδος γενεαὶ τε ἕξ καὶ ἄνδρες ἴσοι μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου:

[5] τὸ δὲ ἐγχώριον γένος οἱ Ἀναξαγορίδαι βασιλεύουσι πλέον. Ἴφρις μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέκτορος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου Σθενέλω τῷ Καπανέως ἀδελφοῦ παιδὶ ἀπέλιπε τὴν ἀρχήν: Ἀμφιλόχου δὲ μετὰ ἄλλωσιν Ἰλίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς τοὺς νῦν Ἀμφιλόχους, Κυανίππου δ' ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, οὕτω Κυλαράβης ὁ Σθενέλου μόνος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. οὐ μέντοι παῖδας κατέλιπεν οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλὰ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος τὸ Ἄργος κατέσχε παροικῶν τε ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς προσπεποιημένος μὲν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς πολλοὺς, παρεληφώς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείαν, συμμαχικοῦ δὲ ἐκ Φωκῶν αἰεὶ ποτε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐτόιμου παρόντος. [6] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀρέστης Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφέντων αὐτῷ: τοὺς γὰρ Τυνδάρεω θυγατρίδοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν οὐκ ἠξίουσαν πρὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους Μενελάω γεγενημένων ἐκ δούλης. Ὀρέστου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἑρμιόνης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς. τὸν δὲ Ὀρέστου νόθον Πενθίλον Κιναιθὼν ἔγραψεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἑριγόνην τὴν Αἰγίσθου τεκεῖν. [7] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τούτου κατίσιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλεῖδαι, Τήμενος μὲν καὶ Κρεσφόντης Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ τρίτου δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου προτεθνεῶτος εἶποντο οἱ παῖδες. Ἄργους μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀργεῖ βασιλείας ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἡμφισβήτουν, ὅτι ἦν Πελοπίδης ὁ Τισαμενός, οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὸ ἀνέκαθ' ἐν εἰσι Περσεῖδαι: Τυνδάρεω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα ἀπέφαινον ὑπὸ Ἴπποκόωντος, Ἡρακλέα δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποκτείναντα Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς

παῖδας παρακαταθέσθαι Τυνδάρει τὴν χώραν: τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἕτερα ἔλεγον, παρακαταθήκην Νέστορι δοθῆναι καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐλόντος Πύλον. [8] ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν ἐκ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Ἄργους Τισαμενόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους, Ἀλκμαίωνα Σίλλου τοῦ Θρασυμήδους καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τοὺς Παίονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπου τοῦ Βώρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. Τισαμενὸς μὲν οὖν ἦλθε σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἀχαΐαν: [9] οἱ δὲ Νηλεΐδαι πλὴν Πεισιστράτου — τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὔστινας ἀπεχώρησεν — ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠνομάσθησαν. Μέλανθος δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν ἀφελόμενος Θυμοίτην τὸν Ὀξύντου: Θυμοίτης γὰρ Θησειδῶν ἔσχατος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων.

19. τὰ μὲν οὖν Κρεσφόντου καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οὐκ ἤπειγεν ὁ λόγος με ἐνταῦθα δηλῶσαι: Τήμενος δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ Δηιφόντη τῷ

Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Θρασυάνορος τοῦ Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους στρατηγῷ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐχρήσατο ἀντὶ τῶν υἱῶν καὶ σύμβουλον ἐς πάντα εἶχεν, ἅτε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον πεπονημένος πρότερον ἔτι γαμβρὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ Ὑρνηθοῖ μάλιστα, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς ἐκείνην καὶ Δηιφόντην τρέπειν. ἐπεβουλεύθη δὲ τούτων ἔνεκα ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν: ἐκείνων δὲ αὐτῷ Κεῖσος πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. [2] Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ἅτε ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον, ὡς Μῆδωνι τῷ Κεῖσου καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειφθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας μόνον. Μέλταν δὲ τὸν Λακῆδου δέκατον ἀπόγονον Μῆδωνος τὸ παράπαν ἔπαυσεν ἀρχῆς καταγνοὺς ὁ δῆμος. [3] Ἀργεῖοις δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατόν ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀττάλου ποίημα ἦν Ἀθηναίου, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνάθημα ἦν: ξόανα γὰρ διὰ τότε εἶναι πείθομαι πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγύπτια. Δαναὸς δὲ ἰδρύσατο Λύκιον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη. παραγενόμενος ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἡμφισβήτη πρὸς Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ρηθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον δίκαια λέγειν τοῦ Γελάνορος δόξαντος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὑπερέθετο — φασὶν — ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν κρίνειν:

[4] ἀρχομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐς βοῶν ἀγέλην νεμομένην πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐσπίπτει λύκος, προσπεσὼν δὲ ἐμάχετο πρὸς ταῦρον ἡγεμόνα τῶν βοῶν. παρίσταται δὴ τοῖς Ἀργεῖοις τῷ μὲν Γελάνορα, Δαναὸν δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ λύκῳ, ὅτι οὔτε τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον οὔτε Δαναὸς σφισιν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ταῦρον κατειργάσατο ὁ λύκος, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαναὸς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὕτω δὲ νομίζων Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγέλην ἐπαγαγεῖν τῶν βοῶν τὸν λύκον, ἰδρύσατο Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου. [5] ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται μὲν θρόνος Δαναοῦ, κεῖται δὲ εἰκὼν Βίτωνος, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρων ταῦρον: ὡς δὲ Λυκέας ἐποίησεν, ἐς Νεμέαν Ἀργείων ἀγόντων θυσίαν τῷ Διὶ ὁ Βίτων ὑπὸ ρώμῃς τε καὶ ἰσχύος ταῦρον ἀράμενος ἤνεγκεν.

ἐξῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης ταύτης πῦρ καίουσιν ὀνομάζοντες Φορωνέως εἶναι: οὐ γάρ τι ὁμολογοῦσι δοῦναι πῦρ Προμηθεᾶ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐς Φορωνέα τοῦ πυρὸς μεταγεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὴν εὕρεσιν. [6] τὰ δὲ ξόανα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἐπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ Ὑπερμήστρας ἀνάθημα. ταύτην γὰρ τῶν θυγατέρων μόνην τὸ πρόσταγμα ὑπεριδοῦσαν ὑπήγαγεν ὁ Δαναὸς ἐς δικαστήριον, τοῦ τε Λυγκέως οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅτι τοῦ τολμήματος οὐ μετασχοῦσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τῷ βουλευσάντι τὸ ὄνειδος ἠῤῥησε. κριθεῖσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀποφεύγει τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀνέθηκε Νικηφόρον. [7] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Λάδας ποδῶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐς λύρας ποίησιν χελώνην ἥρηκώς. ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ βόθρος πεποιημένα ἐν τύπῳ ταύρου μάχην ἔχων καὶ λύκου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρθένον ἀφιεῖσαν πέτραν ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον: Ἄρτεμιν δὲ εἶναι νομίζουσι τὴν παρθένον. Δαναὸς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον. [8] τάφοι δὲ εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Λίνου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτώπου, τὸν δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λίνου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ ἔπη. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τοῦτον οἰκειότερα ὄντα ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ παρήμι τῷδε, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ψαμάθης ἡ Μεγαρική μοι συγγραφὴ προεδήλωσεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἀγνιεύς καὶ βωμὸς Ὑετίου Διός, ἔνθα οἱ συσπεύδοντες Πολυνείκει τὴν ἐς Θήβας κάθοδον ἀποθανεῖσθαι συνώμοσαν, ἢν μὴ τὰς Θήβας γένηταί σφισιν ἐλεῖν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ μνημα ἥσσόν μοι δοκοῦσιν Ὀπουντίων εἰκότα λέγειν, λέγουσι δὲ ὁμως.

20. παρέντι δὲ Κρεῦγα τε εἰκόνα ἀνδρὸς πύκτου καὶ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Κορινθίοις ἀνασταθέν, ἄγαλμα ἐστὶ καθήμενον Διὸς Μειλιχίου, λίθου λευκοῦ, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον. ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτὸ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη. Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἀρξαμένοις οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι ἀπαλλαγὴ, πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος σφᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Ἀμύντου μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅροις τῆς χώρας. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὴδὲν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου περιεργαζόμενοι τῆς Ἀργείας ἀεὶ τι ἀπετέμνοντο, ἢ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τετραμμένων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐκείνων ὑπερόριον ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐνέκειντο.

[2] προηγμένου δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἐς ἄκρον τοῦ μίσους ἔδοξεν Ἀργεῖοις λογάδας τρέφειν χιλίους: ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἐτέτακτο ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Βρύας Ἀργεῖος, ὃς ἄλλα τε ἐς ἄνδρας ὕβρισε τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρθένον κομιζομένην παρὰ τὸν νυμφίον ἥσυχνεν ἀφελόμενος τοὺς ἄγοντας. ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς τυφλοὶ τὸν Βρύαντα ἢ παῖς φυλάξασα ὑπνωμένον: φωραθεῖσα δὲ ὡς ἐπέσχεν ἡμέρα, κατέφυγεν ἰκέτις ἐς τὸν δῆμον. οὐ προεμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τιμωρήσασθαι τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου προαχθέντων ἐς μάχην ἀμφοτέρων, κρατοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, κρατήσαντες δὲ οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔλιπον. ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπηγάγοντο καθάρσια ὡς ἐπὶ αἵματι ἐμφυλῖφ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκαν Μειλιχίου Διός. [3] πλησίον δὲ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι λίθῳ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων αὐτοὶ τε ἔλκοντες τὴν ἄμαξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἄγοντες τὴν μητέρα ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον. τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διός ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ προελθοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φορωνέως τάφος ἐστίν: ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ Φορωνεῖ. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Νεμείου

Διὸς Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιστοτάτου ναὸς, εἰ δὴ Παλαμίδης κύβους εὐρὼν ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ναόν.

[4] τὸ δὲ μνημα τὸ πλησίον Χορείας μαινάδος ὀνομάζουσι, Διονύσῳ λέγοντες καὶ ἄλλας γυναῖκας καὶ ταύτην ἐς Ἄργος συστρατεύσασθαι, Περσέα δέ, ὡς ἐκράτει τῆς μάχης, φονεῦσαι τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς πολλὰς: τὰς μὲν οὖν λοιπὰς θάπτουσιν ἐν κοινῷ, ταύτῃ δὲ — ἀξιώματι γὰρ δὴ προεῖχεν — ἰδίᾳ τὸ μνημα ἐποίησαν. [5] ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ὠρῶν ἱερὸν ἐστίν. ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἐν τέλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος μαχόμενοι τὸ Θηβαίων ἐτελεύτησαν. τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μόνων ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν κατήγαγεν Αἰσχύλος, πλείονων ἔκ τε Ἄργους ἡγεμόνων καὶ Μεσσήνης καὶ τινων καὶ Ἀρκάδων στρατευσαμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ — ἐπηκολουθήκασιν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ Αἰσχύλου ποιήσει — πλησίον κεῖνται καὶ οἱ τὰς Θήβας ἐλόντες Αἰγιαλεὺς Ἀδράστου καὶ Πρόμαχος ὁ Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ καὶ Πολύδωρος Ἱππομέδοντος καὶ Θέρσανδρος καὶ οἱ Ἀμφιαράου παῖδες, Ἀλκμαίων τε καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος, Διομήδης τε καὶ Σθένελος: παρὴν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων Εὐρύαλος Μηκιστέως καὶ Πολυνείκους Ἄδραστος καὶ Τιμέας.

[6] τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οὐ πόρρω δέικνται Δαναοῦ μνημα καὶ Ἀργείων τάφος κενὸς ὁπόσους ἐν τε Ἰλίῳ καὶ ὀπίσω κομιζομένους ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή. καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτήρος καὶ παριοῦσιν ἐστὶν οἴκημα: ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἄδωνιν αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀργείων ὀδύρονται. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῷ Κηφισῷ πεποιήται τὸ ἱερὸν: τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ τούτῳ τὸ ὕδωρ φασὶν οὐ καθάπαξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφανισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστίν, συνιᾷσιν ὑπὸ γῆν ῥέοντος. [7] παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Κηφισοῦ Μεδούσης λίθου πεποιημένη κεφαλὴ: Κυκλώπων φασὶν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐς τόδε Κριτήριον ὀνομάζουσιν, Ὑπερμήστραν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ κριθῆναι λέγοντες. τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω θέατρον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλα θέας ἄξια καὶ ἀνὴρ φονεύων ἐστὶν ἄνδρα, Ὅθρυάδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην Περίλαος Ἀργεῖος ὁ Ἀλκίνορος: Περιλάῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπῆρχε Νεμείων ἀνηρῆσθαι νίκην παλαίοντι. [8] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ ἔδους Τελέσιλλα ἡ ποιήσασα τὰ ἄσματα ἐπείργασται στήλῃ: καὶ βιβλία μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἔρριπται οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς κρᾶνος ὀρᾷ κατέχουσα τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ μέλλουσα. ἦν δὲ ἡ Τελέσιλλα καὶ ἄλλως ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐδόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτιμᾶτο ἔτι ἐπὶ τῇ ποιήσει. συμβάντος δὲ Ἀργείοις ἀτυχῆσαι λόγου μειζόνως πρὸς Κλεομένην τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ πεπτωκότων τῇ μάχῃ, ὅσοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου κατέφευγον διαφθαρέντων καὶ τούτων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐξιόντων κατὰ ὁμολογίαν, ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἀπατάμενοι συγκατακαυθέντων τῷ ἄλσει τῶν λοιπῶν, οὕτω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους Κλεομένης ἤγεν ἐπὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ Ἄργος.

[9] Τελέσιλλα δὲ οἰκέτας μὲν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητα ἢ γῆρας ὄπλα ἀδύνατοι φέρειν ἦσαν, τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὴ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπελείπετο καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄπλα ἀθροίσασα τὰς ἀκμαζούσας

ἡλικία τῶν γυναικῶν ὥπλιζεν, ὀπλίσασα δὲ ἔτασσε κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἡπίστατο. ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε τῷ ἀλαλαγμῷ κατεπλάγησαν δεξάμεναί τε ἐμάχοντο ἔρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρονήσαντες ὥς καὶ διαφθειράσι σφισι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιφθόνως τὸ κατόρθωμα ἔξει καὶ σφαλεῖσι μετὰ ὄνειδῶν γενήσοιτο ἢ συμφορά, ὑπείκουσι ταῖς γυναίξιν. [10] πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον προεσήμηνεν ἡ Πυθία, καὶ τὸ λόγιον εἶτε ἄλλως εἶτε καὶ ὥς συνεῖς ἐδήλωσεν Ἡρόδοτος: “ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρρενα νικήσασα

ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται,
πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφείας τότε θήσῃ.
“Hdt.

6.77

τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον τῶν γυναικῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ χρησιμοῦ ταῦτα ἦν:

21. κατελθούσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τραπέουσιν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔστι μὲν Κερδοῦς Φορωνέως γυναικὸς μνήμα, ἔστι δὲ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πειθοῦς, Ὑπερμήστρα καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέθηκε νικήσασα τῇ δίκῃ τὸν πατέρα ἦν τοῦ Λυγκέως ἔνεκα ἔφυγε. καὶ Αἰνείου ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἐστι καὶ χωρίον καλούμενον Δέλτα: ἐφ’ ὅτῳ δέ — οὐ γάρ μοι τὰ λεγόμενα ἤρεσκεν —, ἐκὼν παρήμι. [2] πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς καὶ πλησίον Ὑπερμήστρας μνήμα Ἀμφιαράου μητρός, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ὑπερμήστρας τῆς Λαναοῦ: σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ Λυγκεὺς τέθαιπται. τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺς Ταλαοῦ τοῦ Βιάντος ἐστὶ τάφος: τὰ δὲ ἐς Βιάντα καὶ ἀπογόνους τοῦ Βιάντος ἦδη λέλεκταί μοι. [3] Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερὸν φασὶν Ἠγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἠγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Λυδῆς, Τυρσηνὸν δὲ σάλπιγγα εὐρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἠγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρσηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριέας τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸν ψόφον καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαι Σάλπιγγα. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐπιμενίδου λέγουσιν εἶναι τάφον: Λακεδαιμονίου γὰρ πολεμήσαντας πρὸς Κνωσσίους ἐλεῖν ζῶντα Ἐπιμενίδην, λαβόντας δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι, διότι σφίσιν οὐκ αἴσια ἐμαντεύετο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνελόμενοι θάψαι ταύτῃ φασί. [4] τὸ δὲ οἰκοδόμημα λευκοῦ λίθου κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Πύρρῳ τῷ Ἡπειρώτῃ, καθὰ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καυθέντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ νεκροῦ μνήμα καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εὔροι τις, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσοις ὁ Πύρρος ἐχρήτο ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πυρὰν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἐγένετο: αὐτὰ δὲ κεῖται τοῦ Πύρρου τὰ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δήμητρος, παρ’ ᾧ συμβῆναι οἱ καὶ τὴν τελευταίην ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ατθίδι συγγραφῇ. τοῦ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱεροῦ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον ἀσπίδα ἰδεῖν Πύρρου χαλκῇ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνακειμένην. [5] τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Ἀργείων οἰκοδομήματος οὐ μακρὰν χῶμα γῆς ἐστίν: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν Μεδούσης λέγουσι τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν. ἀπόντος δὲ τοῦ μύθου τάδε ἄλλα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα: Φόρκου μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλεύειν τῶν περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα οἰκούντων καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν τε ἐξέναι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς Λίβυσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀντικαθημένην στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν

Περσέως δύναμιν — ἐπεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τῷ Περσεῖ λογάδας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου — δολοφονηθῆναι νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τὸ κάλλος ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ θαυμάζοντα οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντα αὐτῆς ἄγειν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν.

[6] Καρχηδονίῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ Προκλεῖ τῷ Εὐκράτους ἕτερος λόγος ὁδε ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τοῦ προτέρου πιθανώτερος. Λιβύης ἡ ἔρημος καὶ ἄλλα παρέχεται θηρία ἀκούσασιν οὐ πιστὰ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐνταῦθα ἄγριοι καὶ ἄγριαί γίνονται γυναῖκες: ἔλεγε τε ὁ Προκλῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν κοιμισθέντα ἐς Ῥώμην. εἵκαζεν οὖν πλανηθεῖσαν γυναῖκα ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἀφικομένην ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς προσοίκους, ἐς ὃ Περσεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτήν: Ἀθηναῖαν δὲ οἱ συνεπιλαβέσθαι δοκεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα ἄνθρωποι ταύτης εἰσὶν ἱεροί. [7] ἐν δὲ Ἀργεὶ παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ μνῆμα τῆς Γοργόνης Γοργοφόνης τάφος ἐστὶ τῆς Περσέως. καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη, δῆλον εὐθὺς ἀκούσαντι: γυναικῶν δὲ πρώτην αὐτὴν φασὶ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Περιήρους τοῦ Αἰόλου — τούτῳ γὰρ παρθένος συνώκησε — , τὴν δὲ αὖθις Οἰβάλῳ γήμασθαι: πρότερον δὲ καθεστῆκει ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀποθανόντι χηρεῦν. [8] τοῦ τάφου δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τρόπαιον λίθου πεποιήται κατὰ ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου Λαφάου: τοῦτον γὰρ — γράφω δὲ ὅποσα λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Ἀργεῖοι — τυραννοῦντα ἐξέβαλεν ἐπαναστὰς ὁ δῆμος, φυγόντα δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατάγειν ἐπειρῶντο ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ μάχῃ Λαφάν τε καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Λητοῦς ἔστι μὲν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τροπαίου, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους. [9] τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα παρὰ τῇ θεῷ τῆς παρθένου Χλῶριν ὀνομάζουσι, Νιόβης μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι λέγοντες, Μελίβοιαν δὲ καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς: ἀπολλυμένων δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶν Ἀμφίωνος παίδων περιγενέσθαι μόνην τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταύτην καὶ Ἀμύκλαν, περιγενέσθαι δὲ εὐξαμένους τῇ Λητοῖ. Μελίβοιαν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι παραυτίκα τε χλωρὰν τὸ δεῖμα ἐποίησε καὶ ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου παρέμεινεν ὥς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἀντὶ Μελιβοίας αὐτῇ γενέσθαι Χλῶριν. [10] τούτους δὴ φασὶν Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκοδομῆσαι τῇ Λητοῖ τὸν ναόν: ἐγὼ δὲ — πρόσκειμαι γὰρ πλέον τι ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει — δοκῶ τῇ Νιόβῃ τῶν παίδων μηδένα ὑπόλοιπον γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τὸ ἔπος: τὸ δ' ἄρα καὶ δοιὼ περ ἐόντ' ἀπὸ πάντας ὄλεσαν.

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οὗτος μὲν δὴ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίωνος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατραπέντα οἶδε:

22. τῆς δὲ Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς τῆς Ἀνθείας ἐστὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Λητοῦς ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γυναικῶν τάφος. ἀπέθανον δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν μάχῃ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ Περσέα, ἀπὸ νήσων τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ Διονύσῳ συνεστρατευμέναι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀλίας αὐτὰς ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ μνήματος τῶν γυναικῶν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ τάφος Πελασγοῦ. [2] πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου χαλκεῖόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ

ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς. Λυκέας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανέως τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διός, καὶ Ἀργεῖων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμενεῖν πολεμοῦντας, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῇ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ· ἐτέροις δέ ἐστιν εἰρημένον ὅστ' ἐν τῷ χαλκεῖω κεῖσθαι Ταντάλου. [3] τὸν μὲν δὴ Θυέστου παῖδα ἢ Βροτέου — λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω — , ὃς Κλυταιμνήστρα πρότερον ἢ Ἀγαμέμνων συνώκησε, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν Τάνταλον οὐ διοίσομαι ταφῆναι ταύτῃ· τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Διὸς τε εἶναι καὶ Πλουτοῦς ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ τάφον θέας ἄξιον. πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη συνέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς Σιπύλου φυγεῖν αὐτόν, ὥς Πέλοπα ἐπέλαβεν ὕστερον ἐλαύνοντος Ἴλου τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεία.

τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόθρον τὸν πλησίον δρώμενα Νικόστρατον ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον καταστήσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἀφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐς τὸν βόθρον καιομένας λαμπάδας Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος. [4] ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Προσκλυστίου· τῆς γὰρ χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φασιν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι Ἦρας εἶναι καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν Ἰναχος καὶ οἱ συνδικάσαντες ἔγνωσαν. Ἦρα μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος εὔρετο ἀπελθεῖν ὀπίσω τὴν θάλασσαν· Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅθεν τὸ κῦμα ἀνεχώρησεν, ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνι ἐποίησαν Προσκλυστίῳ. [5] προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀργου Διὸς εἶναι δοκοῦντος καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως Νιόβης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός. ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν Ἀναξίς καὶ Μνασίνοιο, σὺν δὲ σφισιν αἱ μητέρες Ἰλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη, τέχνη μὲν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, ξύλου δὲ ἐβένου· τοῖς δ' ἵπποις τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐβένου καὶ τούτοις, ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποιήται. [6] πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ἀνάκτων Εἰληθυίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης, ὅτε σὺν Πειρίθῳ Θησέως ἀπελθόντος ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς Ἀφιδνὰ τε ὑπὸ Διοσκούρων ἐάλω καὶ ἤγετο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Ἑλένη. ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ἐν γαστρί, τεκοῦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀργεῖ καὶ τῆς Εἰληθυίας ἰδρυσαμένην τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν μὲν παῖδα ἦν ἔτεκε Κλυταιμνήστρα δοῦναι — συνοικεῖν γὰρ ἤδη Κλυταιμνήστραν Ἀγαμέμνονι — , αὐτὴν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Μενελάῳ γήμασθαι. [7] καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Εὐφορίων Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Πλευρώνιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπη ποιήσαντες, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος, κατὰ ταῦτά φασιν Ἀργεῖοις Θησέως εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰφιγένειαν. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Εἰληθυίας πέραν ἐστὶν Ἑκάτης ναός, Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον. τοῦτο μὲν λίθου· τὰ δ' ἅπαντικρὺ χαλκᾷ, Ἑκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυκλείτου Ναυκύδης† Μόθωνος. [8] ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ὁδὸν εὐθείαν ἐς γυμνάσιον Κυλάραβιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ὀνομαζόμενον τοῦ Σθενέλου, τέθαιπται δὴ Λικύμνιος ὁ Ἡλεκτρύωνος· ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Ὀμηρος ὑπὸ Τληπτολέμου φησὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ διὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦτον ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἀργους Τληπτόλεμος. ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Κυλάραβιν καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ πύλην ἀποτραπέεισι Σακάδα μνήμ' ἐστίν, ὃς τὸ αὐλῆμα τὸ Πυθικὸν πρῶτος ἠΐλησεν ἐν Δελφοῖς· [9] καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Ἀπόλλωνι διαμένον ἐς τοὺς αὐλητάς ἔτι ἀπὸ Μαρσίου καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης τοῦ Σιληνοῦ παυθῆναι διὰ τοῦτον δοκεῖ τὸν Σακάδαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ Κυλαράβου καὶ Πανία ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ καλουμένη καὶ τάφον Σθενέλου δεικνύουσι, τὸν δὲ

αὐτοῦ Κυλαράβου. πεποιήται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ γυμνασίου πολυάνδριον τοῖς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πλεύσασιν Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει Συρακουσῶν τε καὶ Σικελίας.

23. ἐντεῦθεν ἐρχομένοις ὁδὸν καλουμένην Κοίλην ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Διονύσου: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐξ Εὐβοίας. συμβάσης γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὥς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῆς πρὸς τῷ Καφηρεῖ ναυαγίας, τοὺς δυνηθέντας ἐς τὴν γῆν διαφυγεῖν τῶν Ἀργείων ῥίγος τε πιάζει καὶ λιμός. εὐξαμένοις δὲ θεῶν τινα ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπόροις γενέσθαι σωτῆρα, αὐτίκα ὥς προήεσαν ἐφάνη σφίσι Διονύσου σπῆλαιον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ: τότε δὲ αἶγες ἄγριαι φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἡθροισμένοι. ταύτας οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σφάζαντες τὰ τε κρέα ἐδεῖπνησαν καὶ δέρμασιν ἐχρήσαντο ἀντὶ ἐσθῆτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἐπισκευάσαντες τὰς ναῦς οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἐπάγονται τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου ξόανον: [2] καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἐς τὸδε τιμῶντες ἔτι. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐγγυτάτω οἰκίαν ὄφει τὴν Ἀδράστου καὶ ἀπωτέρω ταύτης ἱερὸν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέραν Ἐριφύλης μνήμα. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέμενος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἱερὸν Βάτωνος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάτων γένους Ἀμφιαράῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν καὶ ἐς μάχην ἐξιώντι ἡνιόχει τοὺς ἵππους: γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίων τείχους χάσμα γῆς Ἀμφιαράον καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑποδεξάμενον ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Βάτωνα. [3] ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης Ὑρνηθοῦς τάφον λέγουσιν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ κενὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός, εἰκότα λέγουσιν: εἰ δὲ τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς κεῖσθαι τὸν νεκρὸν νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, ἐγὼ μὲν σφισιν οὐ πείθομαι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὅστις τὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων οὐ πέπυσται.

[4] τὸ δ' ἐπιφανέστατον Ἀργείοις τῶν Ἀσκληπιείων ἄγαλμα ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει καθήμενον Ἀσκληπιὸν λίθου λευκοῦ, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔστηκεν Ὑγεία: κάθηνται δὲ καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες τὰ ἀγάλματα Ξενοφίλος καὶ Στράτων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἰδρύσατο Σφῦρος τὸ ἱερόν, Μαχάονος μὲν υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλεξάνορος τοῦ παρὰ Σικωνίοις ἐν Τιτάνῃ τιμᾶς ἔχοντος. [5] τῆς δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Φεραίας — σέβουσι γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Φεραίαν Ἀρτεμιν κατὰ ταῦτα Ἀθηναίους καὶ Σικωνίους — τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ οὗτοί φασιν ἐκ Φερῶν τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κομισθῆναι. τάδε δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁμολογῶ: λέγουσι γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι Δηιανείρας ἐν Ἀργεὶ μνήμα εἶναι τῆς Οἰνέως τό τε Ἑλένου τοῦ Πριάμου, καὶ ἄγαλμα κεῖσθαι παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἐκκομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ ἀλῶναι ποιήσαν Ἴλιον. τὸ μὲν δὴ Παλλάδιον — καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτω — δηλόν ἐστιν ἐξ Ἰταλίαν κομισθὲν ὑπὸ Αἰνείου: Δηιανείρα δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν περὶ Τραχίνα ἴσμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐν Ἀργεὶ γενομένην, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τάφος αὐτῇ πλησίον Ἡρακλείας τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Οἴτῃ. [6] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑλενον τὸν Πριάμου δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι, μετὰ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἥπειρον καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦσαι τε τοὺς Πύρρου παῖδας συνοικοῦντα Ἀνδρομάχῃ καὶ τὴν Κεστρίνην καλουμένην ἀπὸ Κεστρίνου τοῦ Ἑλένου λαβεῖν τὸ ὄνομα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν λέληθεν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ὅτι μὴ πάντα ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ λέγεται σφισι, λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως: οὐ γάρ τι ἔτοιμον μεταπεῖσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐναντία ὧν δοξάζουσιν. [7] ἄλλα δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀργείοις θέας ἄξια: κατάγαιον οἰκοδόμημα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἦν ὁ

χαλκοῦς θάλαμος, ὃν Ἀκρίσιός ποτε ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐποίησε: Περίλαος δὲ καθεῖλεν αὐτὸν τυραννήσας. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι καὶ Κροτώπου μνήμα καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς Κρησίου. Περσεὶ γὰρ πολεμήσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐθις ἐλθόντα ἐς λύσιν τοῦ ἔχθους τά τε ἄλλα τιμηθῆναι μεγάλως λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων καὶ τέμενός οἱ δοθῆναι τοῦτο ἐξαιρέτον: [8] Κρησίου δὲ ὕστερον ὠνομάσθη, διότι Ἀριάδην ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα. Λυκέας δὲ λέγει κατασκευαζομένου δεύτερον τοῦ ναοῦ κεραμέαν εὑρεθῆναι σορόν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀριάδνης αὐτήν: καὶ αὐτός τε καὶ ἄλλους Ἀργείων ἰδεῖν ἔφη τὴν σορόν. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶν Οὐρανίας.

24. τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν Λάρισαν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγοῦ θυγατρὸς: ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλεων, ἣ τε ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὸν Πηνειόν, ὠνομάσθησαν. ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκραιᾶς Ἥρας τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν Πυθαεὺς πρῶτος παραγενόμενος ἐκ Δελφῶν λέγεται ποιῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθόν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλων καλούμενος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται Δειράς. ἡ δὲ οἱ μαντικὴ — μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς — καθέστηκεν τρόπον τοῦτον. γυνὴ μὲν προφητεύουσα ἐστὶν, ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς εἰργομένη: θυομένης δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀρνὸς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, γευσαμένη δὴ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ γυνὴ κάτοχος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. [2] τοῦ Δειραδιώτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχεται μὲν ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀξυδερκοῦς καλουμένης, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα, ὅτι οἱ μαχομένῳ ποτὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφείλεν ἡ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν: ἔχεται δὲ τὸ στάδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Νεμείῳ Διὶ καὶ τὰ Ἡραῖα ἄγουσιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσίν ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων καὶ ταύτῃ μνήμα. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνταῦθα αἱ κεφαλαί, χωρὶς δὲ ἐν Λέρνῃ σώματα τὰ λοιπά: ἐν Λέρνῃ γὰρ καὶ ὁ φόνος ἐξειργάσθη τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἀποτέμνουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπόδειξιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὧν ἐτόλμησαν. [3] ἐπ’ ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκεν ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος: ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἡ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῷον ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἰλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πριάμος τὸν βωμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο, λαμβάνει Σθένελος ὁ Καπανεὼς αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνάκειται μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα: [4] τρεῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἂν τις τεκμαίροιο αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὗτος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃν δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὀμήρου Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον: “Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.

“Hom. II.

9.457 Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὀρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν. [5] ὁδοὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀργους καὶ κατ’ ἄλλα εἰσὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς Ἀρκαδίας ἐπὶ Τεγέαν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ

ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκῶνι, δένδρα κυπαρίσσου μάλιστα ἔχουσα. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας ἱερὸν, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποιήται λευκοῦ λίθου: Πολυκλείτου δὲ φασιν εἶναι ἔργα. καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους αὐθὶς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος.

[6] ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Χάον ἐστὶν ὄρος ὀνομαζόμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ δένδρα ἐφύκεν ἡμερα καὶ ἄνισι τοῦ Ἑρασίνου φανερόν ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ: τέως δὲ ἐκ Στυμφάλου ρεῖ τῆς Ἀρκάδων ὥσπερ ἐξ Εὐρίπου κατὰ Ἑλευσίνα καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν οἱ Ῥεῖτοί. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἑρασίνου ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐκβολαῖς Διονύσῳ καὶ Πανὶ θύουσι, τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι καλουμένην Τύρβην. [7] ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Τεγέας ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Τρόχου Κεγχρεαί. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν, οὐ λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸν Πειρήνης παῖδα Κεγχρίαν. καὶ πολυάνδρια ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Ὑσιᾶς. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὗρισκον Αθηναῖοις ἄρχοντος Πεισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εικοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν Εὐρύβοτος Αθηναῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. καταβάντος δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλότερον ἐρείπια Ὑσιῶν ἐστὶ πόλεώς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι, καὶ τὸ παῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.

25. ἡ δ' ἐς Μαντίνειαν ἄγουσα ἐξ Ἄργους ἐστὶν οὐχ ἥπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἱερὸν διπλοῦν πεποιήται, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἔσοδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐτέραν ἔχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται ξόανον, πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἄρεως: εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα: Πολυνείκους λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἀργείων, ὅσοι τιμωρήσοντες αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο. [2] προελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτόθεν διαβάντων ποταμὸν χεῖμαρρον Χάραδρον καλούμενον ἔστιν Οἰνὴ, τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα, ὡς Ἀργεῖοί φασιν, ἀπὸ Οἰνέως. Οἰνέα γὰρ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγρίου παίδων ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς παρὰ Διομήδην ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐτιμώρησεν αὐτῷ στρατεύσας ἐς τὴν Καλυδωνίαν, παραμένειν δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἱ δύνασθαι: συνακολουθεῖν δέ, εἰ βούλοιτο, ἐς Ἄργος ἐκείνον ἐκέλευεν. ἀφικόμενον δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐθεράπευεν, ὡς πατρὸς θεραπεύειν πατέρα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα. ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν Οἰνὴ χωρίον ἐστὶν Ἀργείοις: [3] ὑπὲρ δὲ Οἰνὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῷ ὄρει καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου: πηγαὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ ὄντι εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξικνεῖται τῆς γῆς. [4] ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ θέας οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν ἄξιον: ἐτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Λύρκειαν. ἐς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸ χωρίον Λυγκέα ἀποσωθῆναι τῶν πεντήκοντα ἀδελφῶν μόνον: καὶ ἡνίκα ἐσώθη, πυρσὸν ἀνέσχεν ἐντεῦθεν. συνέκειτο δὲ ἄρα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Ὑπερμήστραν ἀνασχεῖν τὸν πυρσόν, ἣν διαφυγὼν Δαναὸν ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ἀφίκεται ποι: τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνάψαι λέγουσιν ἕτερον ἀπὸ τῆς Λαρίσης, δηλαδὴ καὶ ταύτην ποιοῦσαν ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ καθέστηκεν ἔτι κινδύνῳ. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πυρσῶν ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι.

[5] τὸ δὲ χωρίον τότε μὲν Λυγκεία ἐκαλεῖτο, οἰκήσαντος δὲ ὕστερον ἐν

αὐτῷ Λύρκου — παῖς δὲ ἦν Ἀβαντος νόθος — τὸ ὄνομα δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε· καὶ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις καὶ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ στήλῃ τοῦ Λύρκου. ἐς μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἀργους ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα πού σταδία, ἐκ δὲ Λυρκείας ἕτερα τοσαῦτα ἐς Ὀρνεάς. Λυρκείας μὲν δὴ πόλεως, ἅτε ἡρημωμένης ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον, οὐκ ἐποιήσατο Ὅμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ μνήμην· Ὀρνεάς δέ — ἔτι γὰρ ᾠκοῦντο —, ὥσπερ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔκειντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι προτέρως ἢ Φλιοῦντά τε καὶ Σικυῶνα κατέλεξεν. [6] ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ ἀπὸ Ὀρνεῶς τοῦ Ἑρεχθέως· τοῦ δὲ Ὀρνεῶς ἦν τούτου Πετεῶς, τοῦ δὲ Μενεσθεύς, ὃς Ἀγαμέμνονι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων τὴν Πριάμου συγκαθεῖλεν ἀρχήν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Ὀρνεάτας ἀνέστησαν· ἀναστάντες δὲ σύνοικοι γεγόνασιν Ἀργεῖοις. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς Ἀρτέμιδός τε ἱερὸν καὶ ζῶανον ὀρθὸν καὶ ἕτερος ναὸς θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐς κοινὸν ἀνειμένος. τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Ὀρνεῶν ἢ τε Σικυωνία καὶ ἡ Φλιασία ἐστίν. [7] ἐρχομένοις δὲ ἐξ Ἀργους ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἐστὶν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν δεξιᾷ πυραμίδι μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, ἔχει δὲ ἀσπίδας σχῆμα Ἀργοδικὰς ἐπειργασμένας. ἐνταῦθα Προΐτω περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς Ἀκρίσιον μάχη γίνεται, καὶ τέλος μὲν ἴσον τῷ ἀγῶνι συμβῆναι φασὶ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διαλλαγὰς ὕστερον, ὡς οὐδέτεροι βεβαίως κρατεῖν ἐδύναντο· συμβάλλειν δὲ σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀσπίσι πρῶτον τότε καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὀπλισμένους. τοῖς δὲ πεσοῦσιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων — πολῖται γὰρ καὶ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν — ἐποιήθη ταύτῃ μνήμα ἐν κοινῷ.

[8] προΐουσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν Τίρυνθός ἐστιν ἐρείπια. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τίρυνθίους Ἀργεῖοι, συνόικους προσλαβεῖν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἐπαυξῆσαι θελήσαντες. Τίρυνθα δὲ ἥρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, παῖδα Ἄργου τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ μόνον τῶν ἐρειπίων λείπεται, Κυκλώπων μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, πεποιήται δὲ ἀργῶν λίθων, μέγεθος ἔχων ἕκαστος λίθος ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μῆδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν κινηθῆναι τὸν μικρότατον ὑπὸ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων· λιθία δὲ ἐνήρμοσται πάλοι, ὡς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλοις λίθοις εἶναι.

[9] καταβάντων δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ θάλαμοι τῶν Προΐτου θυγατέρων εἰσίν· ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον, ἐπὶ Μῆδειαν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἤξει. βασιλεῦσαι δέ φασιν Ἥλεκτρύωνα ἐν τῇ Μηδεῖᾳ τὸν πατέρα Ἀλκμήνης· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Μηδεῖας πλὴν τὸ ἔδαφος ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο. [10] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ἐπίδauρον εὐθεῖάν ἐστι κόμη Λήσση, ναὸς δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ζῶανον οὐδὲν τι διάφορον ἢ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ Λαρίσῃ. ἔστι δὲ ὅρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Λήσσης τὸ Ἀραχναῖον, πάλοι δὲ ἱσάπυς ἐλάτων ἐπὶ Ἰνάχου τὸ ὄνομα εἰλήφει. βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Διὸς τε καὶ Ἥρας· δεῖσαν ὄμβρου σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα θύουσι.

26. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λήσσαν ἔχεται τῆς Ἀργείας ἡ Ἐπιδαυρίων· πρὶν δὲ ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφίξῃ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ταύτην τὴν χώραν οὐκ οἶδα οἵτινες πρότερον ᾤκησαν πρὶν Ἐπίδauρον ἐλθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ἐπιδάουρου πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐδυνάμην. τελευταῖον δὲ πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι Δωριεῖας ἐς Πελοπόννησον

βασιλεῦσαι φασι Πιτυρέα Ἴωνος ἀπόγονον τοῦ Ξούθου. τοῦτον παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν ἀμαχεὶ τὴν γῆν Δηιφόντη καὶ Ἀργείοις· [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ὁμοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὤκησε, Δηιφόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἔσχον. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀργείων Τημένου τελευτήσαντος, Δηιφόντης μὲν καὶ Ὑρνηθῶ κατ' ἔχθος τῶν Τημένου παίδων, ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατὸς Δηιφόντη καὶ Ὑρνηθοῖ πλέον ἢ Κεῖσφ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς νέμοντες. Ἐπίδαυρος δέ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ γῇ ἐτέθη, ὥς μὲν φασιν Ἥλαιοι, Πέλοπος ἦν· κατὰ δὲ Ἀργείων δόξαν καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἠοίας ἦν Ἐπιδαύρφ πατὴρ Ἄργος ὁ Διός· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπίδαυρον παῖδα προσποιοῦσιν. [3] Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἱερὰν μάλιστα εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συμβέβηκε τοιῷδε. Φλεγύαν Ἐπιδαύριοί φασιν ἔλθειν ἐς Πελοπόννησον πρόφασιν μὲν ἐπὶ θέα τῆς χώρας, ἔργῳ δὲ κατάσκοπον πλήθους τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ εἰ τὸ πολὺ μάχιμον εἴη τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἦν γὰρ δὴ Φλεγύας πολεμικώτατος τῶν τότε καὶ ἐπιὼν ἐκάστοτε ἐφ' οὓς τύχοι τοὺς καρπούς ἔφερε καὶ ἤλαυνε τὴν λείαν. [4] ὅτε δὲ παρεγένετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον, εἵπετο ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ, λεληθυῖα ἔτι τὸν πατέρα ὅτι ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶχεν ἐν γαστρί. ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίῳν ἔτεκεν, ἐκτίθησι τὸν παῖδα ἐς τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὃ δὴ Τίτθιον ὀνομάζουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τήνικαυτα δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Μῦρτιον· ἐκκειμένῳ δὲ ἐδίδου μὲν οἱ γάλα μία τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος ποιμαινομένων αἰγῶν, ἐφύλασσε δὲ ὁ κύων ὁ τοῦ αἰπολίου φρουρός. [5] Ἀρεσθάνας δὲ — ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ ποιμένι τοῦτο ἦν — ὥς τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ εὗρισκεν ὁμολογοῦντα τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ ὁ κύων ἅμα ἀπεστάτει τῆς ποιμένης, οὕτω τὸν Ἀρεσθάναν ἐς πᾶν φασιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ζητήσεως, εὐρόντα δὲ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἀνελέσθαι· καὶ ὥς ἐγγὺς ἐγίνετο, ἀστραπὴν ἰδεῖν ἐκλάμπασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδός, νομίσαντα δὲ εἶναι θεῖόν τι, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἀποτραπέσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν πᾶσαν ἠγγέλλετο τά τε ἄλλα ὅποσα βούλοιο εὐρίσκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάμνουσι καὶ ὅτι ἀνίστησι τεθνεῶτας. [6] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, Κορωνίδα κύουσιν Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἰσχυι τῷ Ἐλάτου συγγενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀμυνομένης τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὕβρεως, ἐξημμένης δὲ ἡδὴ τῆς πυρᾶς ἀρπάσαι λέγεται τὸν παῖδα Ἑρμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός. [7] ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν λόγων ἥκιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀληθῆς ἐστίν, Ἀρσινόης ποιήσας εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου παῖδα Ἀσκληπιόν. Ἀπολλοφάνει γὰρ τῷ Ἀρκάδι ἐς Δελφοὺς

ἐλθόντι καὶ ἐρομένῳ τὸν θεὸν εἰ γένοιτο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολίτης εἴη, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία· ὃ μέγα χάριμα βροτοῖς βλαστῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖ πᾶσιν,

ὃν Φλεγυηὶς ἔτικτεν ἐμοὶ φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα
ἱμερόεσσα Κορωνίς ἐνὶ κραναῇ Ἐπιδαύρφ.

“Unknownoῦτος ὁ χρησμὸς δηλοῖ μάλιστα οὐκ ὄντα Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἀρσινόης, ἀλλὰ Ἠσιόδον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐμπεποιηκότων ἐς τὰ Ἠσιόδου τὰ ἔπη συνθέντα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων χάριν. [8] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τότε ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι· τὰ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιεῖα εὐρίσκω τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα γεγονότα ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τελετῆς λέγοντες Ἀσκληπιῷ μεταδοῦναι, τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην Ἐπιδαύρια ὀνομάζουσι καὶ θεὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου φασὶν Ἀσκληπιὸν σφισι νομισθῆναι· τοῦτο δὲ Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀρισταίχμου, τὸ

συμβάν σπᾶσμα θηρεῦντί οἱ περὶ τὸν Πίνδασον ἰαθεῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Πέργαμον. [9] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περγαμηνῶν Σμυρναίοις γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. τὸ δ' ἐν Βαλάγγραις ταῖς Κυρηναίων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιὸς καλούμενος Ἰατρός ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ οὗτος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ Κυρηναίοις τὸ ἐν Λεβήνῃ τῇ Κρητῶν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον. διάφορον δὲ Κυρηναίοις τοσόνδε ἐς Ἐπιδαυρίους ἐστίν, ὅτι αἶγας οἱ Κυρηναῖοι θύουσιν, Ἐπιδαυρίοις οὐ καθεστηκότος. [10] θεὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν νομισθέντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ χρόνον λαβόντα τὴν φήμην τεκμηρίοις καὶ ἄλλοις εὐρίσκω καὶ Ὅμηρου μαρτυρεῖ μοι τὰ περὶ Μαχάονος ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰρημένα”Ταλθύβι”, ὅτι τάχιστα Μαχάονα δεῦρο κάλεσσον

φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱόν,

“Hom. II.

4.193ὥς ἂν εἰ λέγοι θεοῦ παῖδα ἄνθρωπον.

27. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἅλσος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περιέχουσιν ὅροι πανταχόθεν: οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τίκτους αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, καθὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Δήλῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον. τὰ δὲ θυόμενα, ἢν τέ τις Ἐπιδαυρίων αὐτῶν ἦν τε ξένος ὁ θύων ἤ, καταναλίσκουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρων: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ γινόμενον οἶδα καὶ ἐν Τιτάνῃ. [2] τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα μεγέθει μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἥμισυ ἀποδεῖ, πεποιήται δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ: μηνύει δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸν εἰργασμένον εἶναι Θρασυμήδην Αριγνώτου Πάριον. κάθηται δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου βακτηρίαν κρατῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν τῶν χειρῶν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ οἱ καὶ κύων παρακατακείμενος πεποιήται. τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἡρώων ἐπειργασμένα Ἀργείων ἐστὶν ἔργα, Βελλεροφόντου τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίμαιραν καὶ Περσεὺς ἀφελὼν τὴν Μεδούσης κεφαλὴν. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶ πέραν ἔνθα οἱ ἰκέται τοῦ θεοῦ καθεύδουσιν. [3] οἶκημα δὲ περιφερὲς λίθου λευκοῦ καλούμενον Θόλος ὠκοδόμηται πλησίον, θεᾶς ἄξιον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Πausίου γράψαντος βέλη μὲν καὶ τόξον ἐστὶν ἀφεικῶς Ἔρω, λύραν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀράμενος φέρει. γέγραπται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μέθη, Πausίου καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον, ἐξ ὑαλίνης φιάλης πίνουσα: ἴδοις δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φιάλην τε ὑάλου καὶ δι' αὐτῆς γυναικὸς πρόσωπον. στήλαι δὲ εἰσθήκεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ πλέονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐξ λοιπαί: ταύταις ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ὀνόματα ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ νόσημα ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐνόσησε καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη: [4] γέγραπται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι. χωρὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἀρχαία στήλη: ἵππους δὲ Ἰππόλυτον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ φησιν εἴκοσι. ταύτης τῆς στήλης τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ὁμολογοῦντα λέγουσιν Ἀρικιεῖς, ὡς τεθνεῶτα Ἰππόλυτον ἐκ τῶν Θησεῶς ἀρῶν ἀνέστησεν Ἀσκληπιός: ὁ δὲ ὡς αἰθὶς ἐβίω, οὐκ ἤξιον νέμειν τῷ πατρὶ συγγνώμην, ἀλλὰ ὑπεριδὼν τὰς δεήσεις ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἔρχεται παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρικιεῖς, καὶ ἐβασίλευσέ τε αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τέμενος, ἔνθα ἄχρι ἐμοῦ μονομαχίας ἄθλα ἦν καὶ ἱερᾶσθαι τῇ θεῷ τὸν νικῶντα: ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐλευθέρων μὲν προέκειτο οὐδενί, οἰκέταις δὲ ἀποδρᾶσι τοὺς δεσπότας. [5] Ἐπιδαυρίοις δὲ ἐστὶ θέατρον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μάλιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θεᾶς ἄξιον: τὰ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων πολὺ δὴ τι καὶ ὑπερῆκε τῶν πανταχοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ, μεγέθει δὲ Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει:

ἁρμονίας δὲ ἢ κάλλους ἕνεκα ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος ἐς ἄμιλλαν Πολυκλείτω γένοιτο' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως; Πολύκλειτος γὰρ καὶ θέατρον τοῦτο καὶ οἴκημα τὸ περιφερὲς ὁ ποιήσας ἦν. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡπιόνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ στάδιον, οἷα Ἑλλησι τὰ πολλὰ γῆς χῶμα, καὶ κρήνη τῷ τε ὀρόφῳ καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ θέας ἀξία. [6] ὅποσα δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀνὴρ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρόν, ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν οὓς Ἐπιδῶτας ὀνομάζουσιν: ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Ὑγεία ναὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ κλησιν Αἰγυπτίοις. καὶ ἦν γὰρ στοὰ καλουμένη Κότους, καταρρύνεντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ ὀρόφου διέφθαρτο ἤδη πᾶσα ἄτε ὠμῆς τῆς πλίνθου ποιηθεῖσα: ἀνωκοδόμησε καὶ ταύτην. Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν, ὅτι μήτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν σκέπη σφίσις ἔτικτον καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τοῖς κάμνουσιν ὑπαίθριος ἐγένετο: ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπανορθούμενος κατεσκεύασατο οἴκησιν: ἐνταῦθα ἤδη καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τεκεῖν γυναικὶ ὅσιον. [7] ὄρη δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος τό τε Τίθιον καὶ ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Μαλεάτου καὶ ἔλυτρον κρήνης, ἐς ὃ τὸ ὕδωρ συλλέγεται σφισι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ταῦτα Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἐποίησεν.

28. δράκοντες δὲ — οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἕτερον γένος — ἐς τὸ ξανθότερον ῥέποντες χρόας ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ νομίζονται καὶ εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις ἡμεροὶ, τρέφει δὲ μόνῃ σφᾶς ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆ. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ εὗρισκω καὶ ἄλλαις χώραις συμβεβηκός: Λιβύῃ μὲν γε μόνῃ κροκοδειλοὺς τρέφει χερσαίους διπῆχεον οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, παρὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν μόνων ἄλλα τε κομίζεται καὶ ὄρνιθες οἱ ψιττακοί. τοὺς δὲ ὄφεις οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοὺς

μεγάλους ἐς πλέον πηχῶν καὶ τριάκοντα προήκοντας, οἷοι παρὰ τε Ἰνδοῖς τρέφονται καὶ ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἄλλο δὴ τι γένος φασὶν εἶναι καὶ οὐ δράκοντας.

[2] ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνιῶσιν τὸ Κόρυφον, ἔστι καθ' ὃδον Στρεπτῆς καλουμένης ἐλαίας φυτόν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναιοὶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἔθηκεν ὄρον τοῦτον, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε εἰδείην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐτέρωθι ἀναστάτου γενομένης χώρας τὸ σαφὲς ἔτι οἷόν τε τῶν ὄρων ἐξευρεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους Κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, οὗ καὶ Τελέσιλλα ἐποίησατο ἐν ἄσματι μνήμην. [3] κατιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων τὴν πόλιν χωρίον ἐστὶ πεφυκυίας ἀγριελαίους ἔχον: Ὑρνήθιον δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτό, ὡς Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τε λέγουσι καὶ εἰκὸς ἔχει, γράψω. Κεῖσος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τημένου παῖδες μάλιστα ἥδεσαν Δηιφόντην λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαλῦσαι πῶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ὑρνηθὴ δυνθεῖεν. ἀφίκοντο οὖν ἐς Ἐπίδανρον Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης: Ἀγραίῳ γὰρ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τὰ ποιούμενα οὐκ ἥρεσκεν. οὗτοι δὲ στήσαντες τὸ ἄρμα ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἐλθεῖν δῆθεν ἐς λόγους αὐτῇ βουλόμενοι.

[4] ὡς δὲ ὑπήκουσε καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ νεανίσκοι πολλὰ μὲν Δηιφόντου κατηγοροῦν, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἰκέτευον ἐκείνην ἐπανάκειν ἐς Ἄργος, ἄλλα τε ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δώσειν αὐτὴν Δηιφόντου τὰ πάντα ἀμείνوني καὶ ἀνθρώπων πλειόνων καὶ γῆς ἄρχοντι εὐδαιμονεστέρας. Ὑρνηθὴ δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀλγήσασα ἀπεδίδου σφίσι τὴν ἴσην, Δηιφόντην μὲν αὐτῇ τε ἄνδρα

ἀρεστὸν εἶναι φήσασα καὶ Τημένω γενέσθαι γαμβρὸν οὐ μεμπτόν, ἐκείνοις δὲ Τημένου προσήκειν σφαγεῦσιν ὀνομάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ παισίν. [5] καὶ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀποκρινάμενοι συλλαμβάνουσιν, ἀναθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄρμα ἀπήλαινον· Δηιφόντη δὲ ἀγγέλλει τις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ὡς Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης ἄγοντες οἴχονται ἄκουσαν Ὑρνηθῶ. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἤμυνε καὶ οἱ Ἐπιδαῦριοι πυνθανόμενοι προσεβοήθουν. Δηιφόντης δὲ Κερύνην μὲν ὡς κατελάμβανεν ἀναιρεῖ βαλὼν, Φάλκην δὲ ἐχόμενον Ὑρνηθοῦς βαλεῖν μὲν ἔδεισε, μὴ ἀμαρτῶν γένοιτο αὐτῆς ἐκείνης φονεύς, συμπλακεῖς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Φάλκης δὲ ἀντεχόμενος καὶ ἔλκων βιαίότερον ἀπέκτεινεν ἔχουσιν ἐν γαστρί. [6] καὶ ὁ μὲν συνείς, οἷα ἐς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐξειργασμένος ἔργα ἦν, ἤλαυνε τὸ ἄρμα ἀφειδέστερον, προλαβεῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ σπεύδων πρὶν ἢ πάντα ἐπ' αὐτὸν συλλαχθῆναι τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους· Δηιφόντης δὲ σὺν τοῖς παισίν — ἐγγόνεσαν γὰρ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ πρότερον ἔτι υἱοὶ μὲν Ἀντιμένης καὶ Ξάνθιππός τε καὶ Ἀργεῖος, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ὀρσοβία· ταύτην Πάμφυλον τὸν Αἰγυμίου λέγουσιν ὕστερον γῆμαι· — τότε δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς κομίζουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀνὰ χρόνον Ὑρνήθιον κληθέν. [7] καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες ἡρῶν τιμὰς καὶ ἄλλας δεδώκασιν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐλαίοις, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο δένδρον ἔσω, καθέστηκε νόμος τὰ θραυόμενα μηδένα ἐς οἶκον φέρεσθαι μηδὲ χρᾶσθαι σφισιν ἐς μηδέν, κατὰ χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ λείπουσιν ἱερὰ εἶναι τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς. [8] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς πόλεως Μελίσσης μνημῆα ἔστιν, ἣ Περιάνδρῳ συνώκησε τῷ Κυψέλου, καὶ ἕτερον Προκλέους πατρὸς τῆς Μελίσσης. ἐτυράννει δὲ καὶ οὗτος Ἐπιδαυρίων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ γαμβρός οἱ Περιάνδρος Κορίνθου.

29. αὕτη δὲ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡ πόλις παρείχετο ἐς μνήμην τάδε ἀξιολογώτατα· τέμενος δὴ ἔστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς καὶ Ἡπίονη, γυναῖκα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἡπίονην Ἀσκληπιοῦ φασί· ταῦτά ἔστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου Παρίου. ναοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδός ἔστιν ἄλσος· εἰκάσαις ἂν θηρευοῦση τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἀνεχούσης ἐς θάλασσαν λέγουσιν Ἥρας εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ξόανον θεᾶς ἄξιον, Κισσαίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν.

[2] Αἰγινῆται δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ἔχοντες τὴν νῆσον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. ἀνθρώπους δ' οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι· Διὸς δὲ ἐς ἔρημον κομίσαντος Αἰγιναν τὴν Ἀσωποῦ τῇ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη τοῦτο ἀντὶ Οἰνώνης, Αἰακοῦ δὲ αἰτήσαντος ὡς ηὐξήθη παρὰ Διὸς οἰκήτορας, οὕτω οἱ τὸν Δία ἀνείναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φασὶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ πλὴν Αἰακὸν οὐδένα εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τῶν Αἰακοῦ παίδων τινὰ ἴσμεν καταμεινάντα, Πηλεῖ μὲν συμβᾶν καὶ Τελαμῶνι ἐπὶ φόνῳ φεύγειν τῷ Φώκου, τῶν δὲ αὖ Φώκου παίδων περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκησάντων ἐν τῇ νῦν καλουμένῃ Φωκίδι.

[3] τὸ δὲ ὄνομα προὔπηρχεν ἤδη τῇ χώρᾳ, Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος γενεᾷ πρότερον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντος. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Φώκου τούτου ἡ περὶ Τιθορέαν τε καὶ Παρνασσὸν ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Φωκίς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξενίκησεν, ὅσοι Μινύαις τέ εἰσιν Ὀρχομενίοις ὁμοροὶ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν τὴν Λοκρῶν καθήκουσι. [4] γεγόνασι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Πηλέως οἱ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ βασιλεῖς,

Τελαμώνος δὲ τῶν παίδων Αἴαντος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερον γένος οἷα ἰδιωτεύσαντος ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον Μιλτιάδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίους ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἡγήσατο, καὶ Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου προῆλθον ἐς δόξαν· οἱ δὲ Τευκρίδαι βασιλεῖς διέμειναν Κυπρίων ἄρχοντες ἐς Εὐαγόραν. Φώκῳ δὲ Ἄσιος ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας γενέσθαι φησὶ Πανοπέα καὶ Κρίσον· καὶ Πανοπέως μὲν ἐγένετο Ἐπειὸς ὁ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν, ἐργασάμενος, Κρίσου δὲ ἦν ἀπόγονος τρίτος Πυλάδης, Στροφίου τε ὦν τοῦ Κρίσου καὶ Ἀναξιβίας ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος. γένη μὲν τσαυτὰ τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακιδῶν, ἐξεχώρησε δὲ ἐτέρωσε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. [5] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδauρον ὁμοῦ Δηιφόντῃ κατασχόντων, διαβάσα ἐς Αἴγιναν καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι, τὰ Δωριέων ἔθῃ καὶ φωνῇ κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. προελθοῦσι δὲ Αἰγινήταις ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως, ὡς Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατεστέρους καὶ ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ παρασχέσθαι πλοῖα μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους πλεῖστα, οὐ παρέμεινεν ἐς ἅπαν ἡ εὐδαιμονία, γενόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀνάστατοι Θυρέαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων ῥησαν. καὶ ἀπέλαβον μὲν τὴν νῆσον, ὅτε περὶ Ἑλλησποντον αἱ Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐλήφθησαν, πλούτου δὲ ἡ δυνάμεως οὐκέτι ἐξεγένετο ἐς ἴσον προελθεῖν σφισιν. [6] προσπλεῦσαι δὲ Αἰγινά ἐστι νήσων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπορωτάτη· πέτραι τε γὰρ ὕφαλοι περὶ πᾶσαν καὶ χοιράδες ἀνεστήκασι. μηχανήσασθαι δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ταῦτα Αἰακὸν φασὶ ληστείων τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης φόβῳ, καὶ πολεμίοις ἀνδράσι μὴ ἄνευ κινδύνου εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὀρμίζονται ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περιβόλος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου.

[7] ἐπειρασμένοι δὲ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακὸν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες· αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Αἰγινήταις καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λέγουσιν. αὐχμὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐπέιξε καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκτὸς ἰσθοῦ χώραν οὔτε Πελοποννησίους ὕεν ὁ θεός, ἐς ὃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέστειλαν ἐρησομένους τὸ αἴτιον ὃ τι εἴη καὶ αἰτήσοντας ἅμα λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ. τούτοις ἡ Πυθία εἶπε Δία ἰλάσκεσθαι, χρῆναι δέ, εἴπερ ὑπακούσει σφίσιν, Αἰακὸν τὸν ἰκετεύσαντα εἶναι. [8] οὕτως Αἰακοῦ δεησομένους ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως· καὶ ὁ μὲν τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ἐποίησεν ὕεσθαι, τῶν δὲ

ἐλθόντων ὡς αὐτὸν εἰκόνας ταύτας ἐποίησαντο οἱ Αἰγινῆται. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ἐλαΐαι πεφύκασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ βωμὸς ἐστὶν οὐ πολὺ ἀνέχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς· ὡς δὲ καὶ μνημα οὗτος ὁ βωμὸς εἴη Αἰακοῦ, λεγόμενόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. [9] παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον Φώκου τάφος χῶμά ἐστι περιεχόμενον κύκλῳ κρηπιδι, ἐπικείται δὲ οἱ λίθος τραχύς· καὶ ἡνίκα Φῶκον Τελαμῶν καὶ Πηλεὺς προηγάγοντο ἐς ἀγῶνα πεντάθλου καὶ περιῆλθεν ἐς Πηλέα ἀφεῖναι τὸν λίθον — οὗτος γὰρ ἀντὶ δίσκου σφίσιν ἦν — , ἐκὼν τυγχάνει τοῦ Φώκου. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχαρίζοντο τῇ μητρί· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ τῆς Σκίρωνος θυγατρὸς, Φῶκος δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδελφῆς Θέτιδος ἦν, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα λέγουσιν Ἑλληνες. Πυλάδης τέ μοι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται καὶ οὐκ Ὁρέστου φιλία μόνον βουλευσάι Νεοπτολέμῳ τὸν φόνον. [10]

τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ δίσκῳ πληγεῖς ἀπέθανεν ὁ Φῶκος, φεύγουσιν ἐπιβάντες νεῶς οἱ Ἑνδηίδος παῖδες· Τελαμὼν δὲ ὕστερα κήρυκα ἀποστέλλων ἠρνεῖτο μὴ βουλεῦσαι Φῶκῳ θάνατον. Αἰακὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἀποβαίνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶα, ἐστηκότα δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶς, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλοι, χῶμα ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ χῶσαντα ἐκέλευεν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπολογήσασθαι. οὕτως ἐς τὸν Κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας νύκτωρ ἐποίει χῶμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι μένει· καταγνωσθεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀναίτιος εἶναι Φῶκῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σαλαμῖνα ἀπέπλευσε. [11] τοῦ λιμένος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κρυπτοῦ θέατρον ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπὴν. τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται σταδίου πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέχουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη.

30. ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διονύσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνόν ἐστι τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτεμίδι ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ· καὶ γένεια Διόνυσος ἔχων πεποιήται. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ μὲν ἐτέρωθι καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ, λίθου δὲ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον. [2] θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἑκάτης, Ὅρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾶκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ναός ἐστι, ξόανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. Ἀλκαμένης δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργίδαν· ἔστηκε δὲ παρὰ τῆς Ἀπτέρου Νίκης τὸν ναόν. [3] ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν, ἐστὶν Ἀφαίας ἱερὸν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄσμα Αἰγινῆταις ἐποίησε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρήτες — τούτοις γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια — Καρμάνορος τοῦ καθήραντος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πύθωνος παῖδα Εὐβούλον εἶναι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου Βριτόμαρτιν γενέσθαι· χαίρειν δὲ αὐτὴν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ Ἀρτεμίδι μάλιστα φίλῃν εἶναι· Μίνῳ δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ' ἰχθύων θήρα. ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμις, σέβουσι δὲ οὐ Κρήτες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰγινῆται, λέγοντες φαίνεσθαι σφισιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν Βριτόμαρτιν. ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ οἱ παρὰ τε Αἰγινῆταις ἐστὶν Ἀφαία καὶ Δίκτυννα ἐν Κρήτῃ. [4] τὸ δὲ Πανελλήνιον, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν, ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος ἀξιόλογον εἶχεν οὐδέν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν Αἰακὸν ποιῆσαι τῷ Δίῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Αὐξησίαν καὶ Δαμίαν, ὡς οὐχ ὕεν ὁ θεὸς Ἐπιδαυρίοις, ὡς τὰ ξόανα ταῦτα ἐκ μαντείας ἐποίησαντο ἐλαίας παρ' Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες, ὡς Ἐπιδαυριοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέφερον ἔτι Ἀθηναίοις ἃ ἐτάξαντο οἷα Αἰγινητῶν ἐχόντων τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἀπώλοντο οἱ διαβάντες διὰ ταῦτα ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταῦτα εἰπόντος Ἡροδότου καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὐ μοι γράφειν κατὰ γνώμην ἦν εὖ προειρημένα, πλὴν τοσοῦτό γε ὅτι εἰδόν τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι θύειν νομίζουσιν. [5] Αἰγίνης μὲν δὴ Αἰακοῦ ἔνεκα καὶ ἔργων ὅποσα ἀπεδείξατο ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη· τῆς δὲ Ἐπιδαυρίας ἔχονται Τροιζήνιοι, σεμνύνοντες εἴπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὰ ἐγχώρια· φασὶ δὲ Ὠρον γενέσθαι σφίσι ἐν τῇ γῇ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιον φαίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς Ἑλληνικὸν ὄνομα

Ἦρος εἶναι: βασιλεῦσαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ὠραίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν, Ἀθηπων δὲ Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα καὶ Ληίδος τῆς Ὠρου, παραλαβόντα μετὰ Ἦρον τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀθηπῖαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν γῆν.

[6] ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀμφισβητῆσαι λέγουσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀμφισβητήσαντας δὲ ἔχειν ἐν κοινῷ: προστάξει γὰρ οὕτω Δία σφίσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα καὶ Σθενιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα Βασιλέα ἐπὶ κλησιν: καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαῖναν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς πρόσωπον. [7] μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηπων Σάρων ἐβασίλευσεν. ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι οὗτος τῇ Σαρωνίδι τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὤκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τελματώδει καὶ ἐπιπολῆς μᾶλλον, ὥστε καὶ Φοιβαία λίμνη διὰ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο. Σάρωνα δὲ — θηρεύειν γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἦρητο — κατέλαβεν ἔλαφον διώκοντα ἐς θάλασσαν συνεσπεσεῖν φευγούσῃ: καὶ ἥ τε ἔλαφος ἐνήχετο ἀπωτέρω τῆς γῆς καὶ ὁ Σάρων εἶχετο τῆς ἄγρας, ἐς ὃ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος: ἤδη δὲ κάμνοντα αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζόμενον ἐπέλαβε τὸ χρεῶν. ἐκπεσόντα δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν: Φοιβαίαν λίμνην ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιβόλου θάπτουσι, καὶ λίμνην ἀπὸ τούτου Σαρωνίδα τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Φοιβαίας. [8] τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύσαντας οὐκ ἴσασιν ἄχρι Ὑπέρητος καὶ Ἀνθα: τούτους δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλκυνόνης Ἀτλαντος θυγατρός, καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φασὶν Ὑπέρειάν τε καὶ Ἀνθειαν οἰκίσαι: Αἰτίον δὲ τὸν Ἀνθα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραλαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν πόλεων Ποσειδωνιάδα ὀνομάσαι. Τροίζηνος δὲ καὶ Πιτθέως παρὰ Αἰτίον ἐλθόντων βασιλεῖς μὲν τρεῖς ἀντὶ ἐνὸς ἐγένοντο, ἴσχυον δὲ οἱ παῖδες μᾶλλον οἱ Πέλοπος. [9] σημεῖον δέ: ἀποθανόντος γὰρ Τροίζηνος Πιτθεὺς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Τροίζηνα, συλλαβὼν Ὑπέρειάν τε καὶ Ἀνθειαν. πολλοῖς δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐς ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροίζηνος σταλέντες Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ καὶ Μύνδον ἀπώκισαν οἱ γεγονότες ἀπ' Αἰτίου τοῦ Ἀνθα. Τροίζηνος δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἀνάφλυστος καὶ Σφήττος μετοικοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ οἱ δῆμοι τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τούτων. τὰ δὲ ἐς Θησέα θυγατρίδου Πιτθέως εἰδόσι τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ γράφω, δεῖ δέ με τοσόνδε ἔτι δηλῶσαι. [10] Ἡρακλειδῶν γὰρ κατελθόντων ἐδέξαντο καὶ οἱ Τροίζηνιοι συνοίκους Δωριέων τῶν ἐξ Ἀργεῶν καὶ πρότερον ἔτι Ἀργεῶν ὄντες κατήκοοι: καὶ σφᾶς καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ φησὶν ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἄρχεσθαι. Διομήδης γὰρ καὶ Εὐρύαλος ὁ Μηκιστέως Κυάνιππον τὸν Αἰγιαλέως παῖδα ὄντα ἐπιτροπεύοντες Ἀργεῶν ἡγήσαντο ἐς Τροίαν. Σθένελος δέ, ὡς ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς πρότερον, οἰκίας τε ἦν ἐπιφανεστέρας, τῶν Ἀναξαγοριδῶν καλουμένων, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τούτῳ μάλιστα ἦν ἡ Ἀργεῶν προσήκουσα. τοσαῦτα Τροίζηνίοις ἐχόμενα ἱστορίας ἦν, παρὲς ἡ ὅσαι πόλεις παρ' αὐτῶν φασιν ἀποικισθῆναι: κατασκευὴν δὲ ἱερῶν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπέξειμι.

31. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Τροίζηνίων ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστι Σωτείρας: Θησέα δὲ ἐλέγετο ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι Σώτειραν, ἥνικα Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μῖνον καταγωνισάμενος ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης.

ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ εἶναι τοῦτο ἔδοξέν οἱ τῶν κατειργασμένων, οὐ τοσοῦτον

ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὅτι ἀνδρεία τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Θησέως ὑπερέβαλεν ὁ Ἀστερίων, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἐκ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου δυσέξοδον καὶ τὸ λαθόντα ἀποδρᾶναι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν εἰκότα τὸν λόγον ὡς προνοία θεία καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνασωθεῖη Θησεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. [2] ἐν τούτῳ δέ εἰσι τῷ ναῷ βωμοὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ γῆν ἄρχειν, καὶ φασιν ἐξ Ἰδίου Σεμέλην τε ὑπὸ Διονύσου κομισθῆναι ταύτη καὶ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἰδίου: ἐγὼ δὲ Σεμέλην μὲν οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἀρχὴν πείθομαι Διὸς γε οὖσαν γυναικα, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἰδίου κύνα ἐτέρωθι ἔσται μοι δηλα ὅποια εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ. [3] ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ Πιτθέως μνημῆα ἐστὶ, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ θρόνοι κεῖνται λίθου λευκοῦ: δικάζειν δὲ Πιτθέα καὶ ἄνδρας δύο σὺν αὐτῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἱερὸν Μουσῶν ἐστὶ, ποιῆσαι δὲ ἔλεγον αὐτὸ Ἀρδαλον παῖδα Ἡφαίστου: καὶ αὐλὸν τε εὐρεῖν νομίζουσι τὸν Ἀρδαλον τοῦτον καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἀρδαλίδας. ἐνταῦθα Πιτθέα διδάξαι λόγων τέχνην φασί, καὶ τι βιβλίον Πιτθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθὲν Ἐπιδαυρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην. τοῦ Μουσείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος, Ἀρδάλου καὶ τοῦτον ὧς φασιν ἀναθέντος: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Μούσαις καὶ Ὑπνῳ θύουσι, λέγοντες τὸν Ὑπνον θεὸν μάλιστα εἶναι φίλον ταῖς Μούσαις.

[4] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου Λυκείας ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐποίησεν Ἰππόλυτος: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐδὲν εἶχον πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, ἀλλὰ ἡ λύκους ἐφαίνετό μοι τὴν Τροιζηνίαν λυμαινομένους ἐξελεῖν ὁ Ἰππόλυτος ἢ Ἀμαζόσι, παρ' ὧν τὰ πρὸς μητρός ἦν, ἐπὶ κλησις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν αὕτη: εἴη δ' ἂν ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο οὐ γινωσκόμενον ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ λίθον, καλούμενον δὲ ἱερὸν, εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐφ' οὗ ποτε ἄνδρες Τροιζηνίων ἐννέα Ὀρέστην ἐκάθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός. [5] εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Λυκείας Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοὶ διεστηκότες οὐ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων: ὁ μὲν πρῶτός ἐστιν αὐτῶν Διονύσου κατὰ δὴ τι μάντευμα ἐπὶ κλησιν Σαώτου, δεύτερος δὲ Θεμίδων ὀνομαζόμενος: Πιτθεὺς τοῦτον ἀνέθηκεν, ὡς λέγουσιν. Ἡλίου δὲ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότι λόγῳ δοκοῦσί μοι ποιῆσαι βωμόν, ἐκφυγόντες δουλείαν ἀπὸ Ξέρξου τε καὶ Περσῶν. [6] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιτθέα ἔφασαν, ἐστὶ δὲ ὧν οἶδα παλαιότατον. ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν Ἀρπαγός ποτε ὁ Μῆδος ἐνέπρησεν, ἀρχαῖος δὲ καὶ ὁ Σαμίσις Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου: πλὴν πολὺ γε ὕστερον τοῦ παρὰ Τροιζηνίοις ἐποιεήσαν. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνάθημα Αὐλίσκου, τέχνη δὲ Ἑρμῶνος Τροιζηνίου: τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμῶνος τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν Διοσκοούρων ξοάνᾳ ἐστὶ. [7] κεῖνται δὲ ἐν στοᾷ τῆς ἀγορᾶς γυναῖκες λίθου καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. εἰσὶ δὲ ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι Τροιζηνίοις γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἔδωκαν σώζειν, ἐκλιπεῖν σφισιν ἀρέσαν τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ τὸν Μῆδον ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν — οὐ γὰρ δὴ πολλαὶ τινες ἐκεῖναι — , ὅποσαι δὲ ἀξιώματι προεῖχον, τούτων εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι μόνων. [8] τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστὶν οἰκοδόμημα ἔμπροσθεν, Ὀρέστου καλούμενον σκηνή. πρὶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι καθαρῆναι τῆς μητρός, Τροιζηνίων οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἤθελεν αὐτὸν οἴκῳ δέξασθαι: καθίσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκάθαιρον καὶ εἰστίων, ἐς ὃ

ἀφήγησαν. καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν καθηράντων ἐνταῦθα δειπνοῦσιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς. κατορυχθέντων δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν καθαρσίων φασὶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφῦναι δάφνην, ἥ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν, ἢ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ταύτης. [9] καθῆραι δὲ φασιν Ὀρέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ὕδατι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴππου κρήνης. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Τροϊζηνίους Ἴππου καλουμένη κρήνη, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐς αὐτὴν διαφόρως τῷ Βοιωτῶν ἔχει· Πηγάσῳ γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν θιγόντι τοῦ ἐδάφους τῇ ὀπλῇ, Βελλεροφόντην δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τροϊζῆνα γυναῖκα αἰτήσοντα Αἴθραν παρὰ Πιτθέως, πρὶν δὲ γῆμαι συμβῆναί οἱ φυγεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου. [10] καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐνταῦθά ἐστι Πολύγιοις καλούμενος. πρὸς τοῦτῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι τὸ ρόπαλον θεῖναι φασιν Ἡρακλέα· καὶ — ἦν γὰρ κοτίνου — τοῦτο μὲν ὅτῳ πιστὰ ἐνέφυ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν αὖθις καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κότινος πεφυκῶς ἔτι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντα τὸν πρὸς τῇ Σαρωνίδι κότινον ἀπὸ τούτου τεμεῖν ρόπαλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτήρος· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Ἀέτιον τὸν Ἄνθα λέγουσιν. ὕδωρ δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Χρυσορόαν· αὐχμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ ἔτη συμβάντος σφίσιν ἐννέα, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὕεν ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀναξηρανθῆναι φασιν ὕδατα, τὸν δὲ Χρυσορόαν τοῦτον καὶ τότε ὁμοίως διαμεῖναι ρέοντα.

32. Ἴππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ Θησέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεῖται καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. ταῦτα μὲν Διομήδην λέγουσι ποιῆσαι καὶ προσέτι θῦσαι τῷ Ἴππολύτῳ πρῶτον· Τροϊζηνίοις δὲ ἱερεὺς μὲν ἔστιν Ἴππολύτου τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα ἱερώμενος καὶ θυσίαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπέτειοι, δρῶσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τοιόνδε· ἐκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκείρεται οἱ πρὸ γάμου, κειραμένη δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φέρουσα. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συρέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὐδὲ τὸν τάφον ἀποφαίνουσιν εἰδότες· τὸν δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλούμενον ἡνίοχον, τοῦτον εἶναι νομίζουσιν ἐκεῖνον Ἴππόλυτον τιμὴν παρὰ θεῶν ταύτην ἔχοντα.

[2] τούτου δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιβατηρίου, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα ἐκφυγόντος τὸν χειμῶνα ὃς τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπεγένετο ἀπὸ Ἰλίου κομιζομένοις· καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων Διομήδην πρῶτον θεῖναι φασὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν — καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίους μέτεστιν αὐτῶν — οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὃν Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης· στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν σφισι Λιθοβόλια ὀνομάζοντες. [3] κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος στάδιόν ἐστιν Ἰπολύτου καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας· αὐτόθεν γάρ, ὅποτε γυμνάζοιτο ὁ Ἰπόλυτος, ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐρῶσα ἡ Φαῖδρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔτι πεφύκει ἡ μυρσίνη, τὰ φύλλα ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα· καὶ ἡνίκα ἡπορεῖτο ἡ Φαῖδρα καὶ ῥαστώνην τῷ ἔρωτι οὐδεμίαν εὗρισκεν, ἐς ταύτης τὰ φύλλα ἐσιναμῶρει τῆς μυρσίνης. [4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τάφος Φαίδρας, ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Ἰπολύτου μνήματος· τὸ δὲ οὐ πόρρω κέχωσται τῆς μυρσίνης. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησε μὲν Τιμόθεος, Τροιζῆνιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀλλὰ εἰκόνα Ἰπολύτου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ οἰκίαν ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἰπολύτου· πρὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν Ἡράκλειος καλουμένη κρήνη, τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς οἱ Τροιζῆνιοι λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντος Ἡρακλέους. [5] ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Σθηνιάδος καλουμένης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰργάσατο τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον Κάλλων Αἰγινήτης· μαθητῆς δὲ ὁ Κάλλων ἦν Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος, οἱ Δηλίοις ἐποίησαν τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ὁ δὲ Ἀγγελίων καὶ Τεκταῖος παρὰ Διποίνῳ καὶ Σκύλλιδι ἐδίδάχθησαν. [6] κατιόντων δὲ αὐτόθεν Λυτηρίου Πανὸς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· Τροιζηνίων γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἐδειξεν ὀνειράτα ἃ εἶχεν ἄκεσιν λοιμοῦ πιέσαντος τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάλιστα. διαβάς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ναὸν ἂν ἴδοις Ἰσιδος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραιάς· τὸν μὲν ἅτε ἐν μητροπόλει τῇ Τροιζῆνι Ἀλικαρνασσεῖς ἐποίησαν, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἰσιδος ἀνέθηκε Τροιζηνίων δήμος. [7] ἰοῦσι δὲ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὁρέων ἐς Ἐρμιόνην πηγὴ τέ ἐστι τοῦ Ὑλλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, Ταυρίου δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλούμενον, καὶ πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελομένου Θησέως ὑπ' αὐτῇ κρηπιδας τὰς Αἰγέως καὶ ξίφος· πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διός. τῆς δὲ πέτρας πλησίον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Νυμφίας, ποιήσαντος Θησέως ἡνίκα ἔσχε γυναῖκα Ἑλένην.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἔξω τείχους καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν Φυταλμίου· μηνίσαντα γὰρ σφισι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ποιεῖν φασὶν ἄκαρπον τὴν χώραν ἄλμης ἐς τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰς ρίζας καθικνουμένης, ἐς ὃ θυσίαις τε εἷξας καὶ εὐχαῖς οὐκέτι ἄλμην ἀνῆκεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸν ναόν ἐστι Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος, Ἀλθήπου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἰδρυσαμένου. [9] καταβαίνουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τῇ Κελενδέρει καλουμένη λιμένα χωρίον ἐστὶν ὁ Γενέθλιον ὀνομάζουσι, τεχθῆναι Θησέα ἐνταῦθα λέγοντες. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἄρεως, Θησέως καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἀμαζόνας μάχη κρατήσαντος· αὐταὶ δ' ἂν εἶψαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πρὸς Θησέα καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀγωνισαμένων. [10] ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ τὴν Ψιφαίαν πορευομένοις κότινος πέφυκεν ὀνομαζόμενος ῥάχως στρεπτός. ῥάχους μὲν δὴ καλοῦσι

Τροιζήνιοι πᾶν ὅσον ἄκαρπον ἐλαίας, κότινον καὶ φυλλίαν καὶ ἔλαιον: στρεπτὸν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσι τοῦτον, ὅτι ἐνσχεθεισὼν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡνίων ἀνεντράπη τοῦ Ἱππολύτου τὸ ἄρμα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαρωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφέστηκε τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐμήνυσεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι. τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι δηλώσω: Σαρῶνια γὰρ δὴ κατὰ ἔτος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι.

33. νῆσοι δὲ εἰσι Τροιζηνίους μία μὲν πλησίον τῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ διαβῆναι ποσὶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἔστιν: αὕτη Σφαιρία ὀνομαζομένη πρότερον Ἰερὰ δι' αἰτίαν ἐκλήθη τοιαύτην. ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ Σφαίρου μνήμα: Πέλοπος δὲ ἡνίοχον εἶναι λέγουσι τὸν Σφαῖρον. τούτῳ κατὰ δὴ τι ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶς ὄνειρον κομίζουσα Αἴθρα ἐς χοᾶς διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, διαβάσῃ δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ποσειδῶνα μιθῆναι. ιδρύσατο μὲν διὰ τοῦτο Αἴθρα ναὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀπατουρίας καὶ Ἰερὰν ἀντὶ Σφαιρίας ὠνόμασε τὴν νῆσον: κατεστήσατο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Τροιζηνίων παρθένοις ἀνατιθέναι πρὸ γάμου τὴν ζώνην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀπατουρίᾳ. [2] Καλαύρειαν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὰν τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὅτε περ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ Ποσειδῶνος: λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀντιδοῦναι τὰ χωρία σφᾶς ἀλλήλοις. φασὶ δὲ ἔτι καὶ λόγιον μνημονεύουσιν: ἴσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαυρείαν τε νέμεσθαι

Πυθῶ τ' ἡγαθέην καὶ Ταίναρον ἠνεμόεσσαν.

“Ἐκγνωῖεσσι δ' οὖν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἅγιον, ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν προέλθῃ γάμου. [3] τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνήμᾳ ἔστι. καὶ μοι τὸ δαιμόνιον δεῖξαι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτου δοκεῖ καὶ Ὀμήρου πρότερον ὥς εἴη βάσκανον, εἰ δὴ Ὀμηρον μὲν προδιεφθαρμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ κακῷ κακὸν δεύτερον πενία πιέζουσα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν πτωχεύοντα ἦγε, Δημοσθένει δὲ φυγῆς τε συνέπεσεν ἐν γῆρᾳ λαβεῖν πείραν καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἐγένετο οὕτῳ βίαιος. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ Δημοσθένει πλεῖστα, ἣ μὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἤγαγεν Ἄρπαλος μὴ μεταλαβεῖν αὐτόν: [4] τὸ δὲ ὕστερον λεχθὲν ἐπέξειμι ὁποῖον ἐγένετο. Ἄρπαλος μὲν ὥς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀπέδρα διαβὰς ναυσὶν ἐς Κρήτην, οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἀπέθανεν οἰκετῶν: οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης Πausανίου δολοφονηθῆναι φασιν αὐτόν. τὸν δὲ οἱ τῶν χρημάτων διοικητὴν φυγόντα ἐς Ῥόδον Φιλόξενος Μακεδὼν συνέλαβεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐξήτησεν Ἄρπαλον. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἔχων ἤλεγχεν ἐς ὃ πάντα ἐπίθετο, ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρπάλου τι ἔτυχον εἰληφότες: [5] μαθὼν δὲ ἐς Αθήνας γράμματα ἐπέστελλεν. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασι τοὺς λαβόντας παρὰ Ἀρπάλου καταριθμῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁπόσον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν ἕκαστος οὐδὲ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀρχὴν Δημοσθένους, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀπεχθανομένου καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ προσκρούσας.

Δημοσθένει μὲν οὖν τιμαὶ καὶ ἐτέρωθι τῆς

Ἑλλάδος καὶ παρὰ τῶν Καλαυρείας εἰσὶν οἰκητόρων:

34. τῆς δὲ Τροιζηνίας γῆς ἔστιν ἰσθμὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ διέχων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πόλισμα οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Μέθανα ὥκισται. Ἰσιδος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ δὲ πολισματος τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχει θερμὰ λουτρά: φασὶ δὲ

Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλευόντος τότε πρῶτον τὸ ὕδωρ φανῆναι, φανῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἀναζέσαι πολὺ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ μαρανθέντι ρυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄνεισι θερμόν τε καὶ δεινῶς ἀλμυρόν. λουσαμένῳ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς ψυχρὸν οὔτε ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκινδύνως νήχεσθαι: θηρία γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ κύνas παρέχεται πλείστους. [2] ὃ δὲ ἐθαύμασα ἐν τοῖς Μεθάνοις μάλιστα, γράψω καὶ τοῦτο. ἄνεμος ὁ Λῖψ βλαστανούσαις ταῖς ἀμπέλοις ἐμπίπτων ἐκ τοῦ Σαρωνικοῦ κόλπου τὴν βλάστην σφῶν ἀφαναίνει: κατιόντος οὖν ἔτι τοῦ πνεύματος ἀλεκτρυόνα τὰ πτερὰ ἔχοντα διὰ παντὸς λευκὰ διελόντες ἄνδρες δύο ἐναντίοι περιθέουσι τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἥμισυ ἑκάτερος τοῦ ἀλεκτρυόνος φέρων: ἀφικόμενοι δ' ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅθεν ὠρμήθησαν, κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα. [3] τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τὸν Λίβα σφίσιν ἐστὶν εὐρημένον: τὰς δὲ νησίδας αἱ πρόκεινται τῆς χώρας ἀριθμὸν ἐννέα οὕσας Πέλοπος μὲν καλοῦσι, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ ὕοντος μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὗ φασιν ὕεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδα, ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰ Μέθανα, ἐπεὶ χάλαζαν γε ἤδη θυσίαις εἶδον καὶ ἐπωδαῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτρέποντας. [4] τὰ μὲν δὴ Μέθανα ἰσθμός ἐστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου: ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Τροιζηνίων ὁμορός ἐστιν Ἑρμιόνη. οἰκιστὴν δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως Ἑρμιονεῖς γενέσθαι φασὶν Ἑρμίονα Εὐρώπος. τὸν δὲ Εὐρώπα — ἦν γὰρ δὴ Φορωνέως — Ἡροφάνης ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἔφασκεν εἶναι νόθον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποτε ἐς Ἄργον τὸν Νιόβης θυγατρίδουν ὄντα Φορωνέως τὴν ἐν Ἄργει περιελθεῖν ἂν ἀρχὴν παρόντος Φορωνεῖ γνησίῳ παιδός.

[5] ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ καὶ γνήσιον ὄντα Εὐρώπα πρότερον τὸ χρεὼν ἢ Φορωνέα ἐπέλαβεν, εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Νιόβης παιδὶ ἴσα οἶσεσθαι Διός γε εἶναι δοκοῦντι. ἐπώκησαν δὲ καὶ Ἑρμιόνα ὕστερον Δωριεῖς οἱ ἐξ Ἄργους: πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δοκῶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων. [6] ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἐκ Τροιζήνος κατὰ τὴν πέτραν ἢ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διὸς βωμός, μετὰ δὲ Θησέα ἀνελόμενον τὰ γνωρίσματα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ νῦν Θησεῶς αὐτήν. κατὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν πέτραν ἰοῦσιν ὀρεινὴν ὁδόν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πλατανιστίου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Εἰλεοὶ χωρίον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερά: τὰ δὲ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐν ὅροις τῆς Ἑρμιονίδος ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Θερμασίας.

[7] σταδίους δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἄκρα Σκυλλαῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Νίσου καλουμένης θυγατρὸς. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὴν Νίσαιαν ὁ Μίνως καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα εἶλεν ἐκείνης προδοῦσης, οὔτε γυναῖκα ἔξειν αὐτήν ἔτι ἔφασκε καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐκβάλλειν τῆς νεώς: ἀποθανοῦσαν δὲ ἀπέρριπεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ταύτην ὁ κλύδων. τάφον δὲ οὐκ ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ περιορθῆναι τὸν νεκρόν φασι διαφορηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ὀρνίθων. [8] ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυλλαίου πλέοντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄκρα τέ ἐστὶν ἑτέρα Βουκέφαλα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν νῆσοι, πρώτη μὲν Ἀλιοῦσσα — παρέχεται δὲ αὕτη λιμένα ἐνορμίσασθαι ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον — , μετὰ δὲ Πιτυοῦσσα, τρίτη δὲ ἦν Ἀριστεράν ὀνομάζουσι. ταύτας δὲ παραπλεύσαντί ἐστιν αὖθις ἄκρα Κωλυεργία ἀνέχουσα ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτήν νῆσος Τρίκρανα καλουμένη καὶ ὄρος ἐς

θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προβεβλημένον Βούπορθμον. ἐν Βουπόρθμῳ δὲ πεποιήται μὲν ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς: [9] ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ θεῷ Προμαχόρμα. πρόκειται δὲ Βουπόρθμου νῆσος Ἀπεροπία καλουμένη, τῆς δὲ Ἀπεροπίας ἀφέστηκεν οὐ πολὺ ἑτέρα νῆσος Ὑδρέα. μετὰ ταύτην αἰγιαλὸς τε παρῇκει τῆς ἡπείρου μνηοειδῆς καὶ ἄκτῃ μετὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδῖον, ἐκ θαλάσσης μὲν ἀρχομένη τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολάς, προήκουσα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν: ἔχει δὲ καὶ λιμένας ἐν αὐτῇ. μῆκος μὲν δὴ τῆς ἄκτῆς ἐστὶν ἐπτὰ πού σταδία, πλάτος δὲ ἡ πλατυτάτη σταδίων τριῶν οὐ πλέον. [10] ἐνταῦθα ἡ προτέρα πόλις τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἦν. ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ, προελθοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ σταδίου θεμέλια: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς Τυνδάρω παῖδας ἀγωνίσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον οὐ μέγα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν, ὃ δὲ ὄροφος κατερρύηκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἥλιῳ ναὸς καὶ ἄλλος Χάρισιν, ὃ δὲ Σαράπιδι ὠκοδόμηται καὶ Ἰσιδι: καὶ περίβολοι μεγάλων λίθων λογάδων εἰσὶν, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερὰ δρῶσιν ἀπόρρητα Δήμητρι. [11] τοσαῦτα μὲν Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα: ἡ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλις ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς ἄκρας, ἐφ' ἣ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἱερὸν, τέσσαρας μάλιστα σταδίους, κειμένη δὲ ἐν ὁμαλῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἡρέμα ἐς πρόσαντες ἄνεισι, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἤδη τοῦ Πρωνός: Πρῶνα γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσι. τεῖχος μὲν δὴ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑρμιόνα ἔστηκε: τὰ δὲ ἐς συγγραφὴν καὶ ἄλλα παρείχετο καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ποιήσασθαι μάλιστα ἠξίωσα μνήμην. Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ποντίας καὶ Λιμενίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἄγαλμα δὲ λευκοῦ λίθου μεγέθει τε μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θέας ἄξιον.

[12] καὶ ναὸς ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης: αὕτη καὶ ἄλλα ἔχει παρὰ Ἑρμιονέων τιμάς, καὶ ταῖς παρθένους καὶ ἦν γυνὴ χηρεύουσα παρὰ ἄνδρα μέλλῃ φοιτᾶν, ἀπάσαις πρὸ γάμου θύειν καθέστηκεν ἐνταῦθα. Δήμητρος δὲ ἱερὰ πεποιήται Θερμασίας, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ὄροις, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ἤδη μοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει.

35. πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ναὸς Μελαναίγιδος: τούτῳ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἄγουσι, καὶ ἀμίλλης κολύμβου καὶ πλοίων τιθέασιν ἄθλα: καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἰφιγενείας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἔχων ἐπὶ δελφίνος. παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, ἄγαλμα μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, βωμὸς δέ: [2] καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ θύουσιν Ἑστία. Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ εἰσι ναοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα τρία: καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶς, τὸν δὲ Πυθαεᾶ οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ὀριον τὸν τρίτον. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Πυθαέως ὄνομα μεμαθήκασιν παρὰ Ἀργείων: τούτοις γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοις ἀφικέσθαι Τελέσιλλά φησι τὸν Πυθαεᾶ ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα ὄντα: τὸν δὲ Ὀριον ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλοῦσιν, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν, τεκμαίρομαι δὲ περὶ γῆς ὄρων πολέμῳ σφᾶς ἡ δίκη νικήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷδε τιμάς Ἀπόλλωνι Ὀρίῳ νεῖμαι. [3] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης νεώτατον μὲν λέγουσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τῶν παρὰ σφισιν εἶναι, λίθου δὲ Παρίου κολοσσὸς ἔστηκεν. κρήνας δὲ τὴν μὲν σφόδρα ἔχουσιν ἀρχαίαν, ἐς δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ φανερώς τὸ ὕδωρ κάτεισιν, ἐπιλείπει δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες καταβάντες ὑδρεύοιντο ἐξ αὐτῆς: τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιήκασιν, ὄνομα δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ χωρίῳ Λειμών, ὅθεν ρεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς

αὐτήν. [4] τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρωόνος. τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν Ἑρμιονεῖς μὲν Κλύμενον Φορωνέως παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Κλυμένου Χθονίαν τοὺς ἰδρυσαμένους φασὶν εἶναι. Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅτε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἦλθε Δημήτηρ, τότε Αῤεραν μὲν λέγουσι καὶ Μύσιον ὡς ξενίαν παράσχοιεν τῇ θεῷ, Κολόνταν δὲ οὔτε οἰκῶ δέξασθαι τὴν θεὸν οὔτε ἀπονεῖμαί τι ἄλλο ἐς τιμὴν: ταῦτα δὲ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην Χθονία τῇ θυγατρὶ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Κολόνταν μὲν οὖν φασιν ἀντὶ τούτων συγκαταπρησθῆναι τῇ οἰκίᾳ,

Χθονίαν δὲ κομισθεῖσαν ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ὑπὸ Δήμητρος Ἑρμιονεῦσι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱερόν.

[5] Χθονία δ' οὖν ἡ θεὸς τε αὐτὴ καλεῖται καὶ Χθόνια ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν ὥρα θέρους, ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως. ἡγούνται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἱ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετεῖους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἔπονται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες, τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὗσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ: οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοί σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτῃ κοσμοσάνδαλον, ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χροᾷ: ἔπεστι δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα. [6] τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος. ἐλάσαντες δὲ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσω φέρεσθαι τὴν βοῦν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνῆκαν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναπεπταμένους ἔχοντες τέως τὰς θύρας, ἐπειδὰν τὴν βοῦν ἴδωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, προσέθεσαν τὰς θύρας. [7] τέσσαρες δὲ ἔνδον ὑπολειπόμεναι γρᾶες, αὗται τὴν βοῦν εἰσιν αἱ κατεργαζόμεναι: δρεπάνῳ γὰρ ἦτις ἂν τύχη τὴν φάρυγγα ὑπέτεμε τῆς βοῆς. μετὰ δὲ αἱ θύραι τε ἠνοίχθησαν καὶ προσελαύνουσιν οἷς ἐπιτέτακται βοῦν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλην τετάρτην. κατεργάζονται τε διὰ πάσας κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ γρᾶες καὶ τόδε ἄλλο πρόσκειται τῇ θυσίᾳ θαῦμα: ἐφ' ἣντινα γὰρ ἂν πέση τῶν πλευρῶν ἡ πρώτη βοῦς, ἀνάγκη πεσεῖν καὶ πάσας. [8] θυσία μὲν δρᾶται τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον: πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γυναικῶν ἱερασασμένων τῇ Δήμητρι εἰκόνες ἐστήκασιν οὐ πολλαί, καὶ παρελθόντι ἔσω θρόνοι τέ εἰσιν, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ γρᾶες ἀναμένουσιν ἐσελαθῆναι καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν βοῶν, καὶ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἄγαν ἀρχαῖα Ἀθηναῖα καὶ Δημήτηρ. αὐτὸ δὲ ὃ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τᾶλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν: μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τι ἐστὶν αἱ γρᾶες ἵστωσαν. [9] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ναός: εἰκόνες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκασιν αὐτόν. οὗτος ὁ ναός ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς Χθονίας, καλεῖται δὲ Κλυμένου, καὶ τῷ Κλυμένῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. Κλύμενον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον ἐλθεῖν ἔγωγε ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἡγοῦμαι, τοῦ θεοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ κλησις, ὄντινα ἔχει λόγος βασιλέα ὑπὸ γῆν εἶναι.

[10] παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτόν ἐστιν ἄλλος ναός καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἄρεως, τοῦ δὲ τῆς Χθονίας ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ στοὰ κατὰ τὴν δεξιάν, Ἥχους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλουμένη: φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ὀλίγιστα ἐς τρεῖς ἀντιβοῆσαι πέφυκεν. ὅπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας χωρία ἐστὶν ἃ καλοῦσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τὸ μὲν Κλυμένου, τὸ δὲ Πλούτωνος, τὸ τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν λίμνην Ἀχερουσίαν.

περιεργεται μεν δη παντα θριγκοις λιθων, εν δε τῷ τοῦ Κλυμένου και γῆς χάσμα: δια τούτου δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνῆγε τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑρμιονέων. [1] πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ, καθ' ἣν ὁδὸς εὐθεῖα ἐστὶν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Μάσητα, Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἱερὸν. ἄλλως μὲν δὲ κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θυμιάμασι μεγάλως τὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκονται καὶ ἀναθήματα δίδονται πλεῖστα τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν.

36. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Μάσητα εὐθεῖαν προελθοῦσιν ἐπτά πού σταδίου καὶ ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐκτραπεῖσιν, ἐς Ἀλίκην ἐστὶν ὁδός. ἡ δὲ Ἀλίκη τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἔρημος, ὧκεῖτο δὲ καὶ αὕτη ποτέ, καὶ Ἀλικῶν λόγος ἐν στήλαις ἐστὶ ταῖς Ἐπιδαυρίων αἱ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἰάματα ἐγγεγραμμένα ἔχουσιν: ἄλλο δὲ σύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οἶδα ἀξιόχρεων, ἔνθα ἡ πόλεως Ἀλικῆς ἡ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν Ἀλικῶν μνήμη. ἐστὶ δ' οὖν ὁδὸς καὶ ἐς ταύτην, τοῦ τε Πρωνὸς μέση καὶ ὄρους ἐτέρου Θόρνακος καλουμένου τὸ ἀρχαῖον: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διὸς ἐς κόκκυγα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆς λεγομένης ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι μετονομασθῆναι τὸ ὄρος φασίν. [2] ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κокκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωνί ἐστὶν Ἥρας: καὶ τοῦ γε Κокκυγίου πρὸς τοῖς πέρασιν ναός ἐστι, θύραι δὲ οὐκ ἐφεστήκασιν οὐδὲ ὄροφον εἶχεν οὐδέ οἱ τι ἐνῆν ἄγαλμα: εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγετο ὁ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁδός ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Μάσητα τοῖς ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς εὐθείας. Μάσητι δὲ οὕση πόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καθὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἀργείων καταλόγῳ πεποίηκεν, ἐπινεῖφ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο Ἑρμιονεῖς. [3] ἀπὸ Μάσητος δὲ ὁδὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἄκραν καλουμένην Στρουθοῦντα. στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ταύτης κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς κορυφὰς πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ διακόσιοι ἐς Φιλανόριόν τε καλούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ Βολεύς: οἱ δὲ Βολεοὶ οὗτοι λίθων εἰσὶ σωροὶ λογάδων. χωρίον δὲ ἕτερον, ὃ Διδύμους ὀνομάζουσι, στάδια εἴκοσιν αὐτόθεν ἀφέστηκεν: ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐστὶ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Δήμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ λίθου λευκοῦ. [4] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν Ἀργείων ἢ ποτε Ἀσιναία καλουμένη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλόντων στρατιᾷ συνεσέβαλόν σφισιν οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι, καὶ ἐδήλωσαν σὺν ἐκείνοις τῶν Ἀργείων τὴν γῆν. ὥς δὲ ὁ στόλος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίνην οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Ἑρατος.

[5] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἡμύναντο οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν ἄλλους τε καὶ Λυσίστρατον ἐν τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις ὄντα Ἀργείων: ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι μὲν γυναῖκας ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ἐνθέμενοι καὶ παῖδας ἐκλείπουσι τὴν αὐτῶν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος καταβαλόντες τὴν Ἀσίνην καὶ τὴν γῆν προσορισάμενοι τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πυθαέως τε Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπελίποντο τὸ ἱερὸν — καὶ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι — καὶ τὸν Λυσίστρατον πρὸς αὐτῷ θάπτουσιν. [6] ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀργείων τῆς πόλεως τεσσαράκοντα καὶ οὐ πλείω στάδια ἢ κατὰ Λέρναν θάλασσα. κατιόντων δὲ ἐς Λέρναν πρῶτον μὲν καθ' ὁδόν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑρασῖνος, ἐκδίδωσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Φρίζον, ὁ Φρίζος δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ Τημενίου καὶ Λέρνης. ἀπὸ δὲ

Ἐρασίνου τραπέσιν ἐς ἀριστερὰ σταδίου ὅσον ὀκτώ, Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀνάκτων· πεποιήται δὲ σφισι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ ξόανα.

[7] ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐθείαν τὸν τε Ἐρασῖνον διαβῆσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Χείμαρρον ποταμὸν ἀφίξῃ. πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ περίβολός ἐστι λίθων, καὶ τὸν Πλούτωνα ἀρπάσαντα ὡς λέγεται Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καταβῆναι ταύτῃ φασὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπόγειον νομιζομένην ἀρχήν. ἡ δὲ Λέρνα ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς θαλάσση, καὶ τελετὴν Λερναίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρι. [8] ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος ἱερὸν ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους ὃ καλοῦσι Ποντῖνον, τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ Ποντῖνος οὐκ ἔῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρεῖν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καταδέχεται· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ποντίνος. καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν τε Ἀθηνᾶς Σαῖτιδος, ἐρείπια ἔτι μόνα, καὶ θεμέλια οἰκίας ἐστὶν Ἰπομέδοντος, ὃς Πολυνείκει τῷ Οἰδίποδος τιμωρήσων ἦλθεν ἐς Θήβας.

37. ἀπὸ δὴ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου τὸ ἄλλος ἀρχόμενον πλατάνων τὸ πολὺ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καθήκει. ὄροι δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν ποταμὸς ὃ Ποντῖνος, τῇ δὲ ἑτερος ποταμός· Ἀμυμώνη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Δαναοῦ θυγατρὸς ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλλους ἀγάλματα ἔστι μὲν Δήμητρος Προσύμνης, ἔστι δὲ Διονύσου, καὶ Δήμητρος καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα·

[2] ταῦτα μὲν λίθου πεποιημένα, ἐτέρωθι δ' ἐν ναῷ Διόνυσος Σαώτης καθήμενον ξόανον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ θαλάσση λίθου· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ τὰς θυγατέρας λέγουσι τὰς Δαναοῦ, Δαναὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίνῳ ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. καταστήσασθαι δὲ τῶν Λερναίων τὴν τελετὴν Φιλάμμωνά φασι. τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις δηλὰ ἐστὶν οὐκ ὄντα ἀρχαῖα· [3] ἃ δὲ ἤκουσα ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ γεγράφθαι τῇ πεποιημένῃ τοῦ ὀρειχάλκου, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ὄντα Φιλάμμωνος Ἀρριφῶν εὔρε, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Τρικωνιεύς τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Λυκίων τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως δόκιμος, δεινὸς δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἃ μὴ τις πρότερον εἶδε, καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα φωράσας ἐπὶ τῷδε. τὰ ἔπη, καὶ ὅσα οὐ μετὰ μέτρου μεμιγμένα ἦν τοῖς ἔπεσι, τὰ πάντα Δωριστί ἐπεποιήτο· πρὶν δὲ Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἠφίεσαν Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φωνήν· ἐπὶ δὲ Φιλάμμωνος οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Δωριέων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐς ἅπαντας ἠκούετο Ἑλλήνας. [4] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπέφαιεν οὕτως ἔχοντα, τῆς δὲ Ἀμυμόνης πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ πλάτανος· ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τὴν ὕδραν τραφῆναι τῇ πλατάνῳ φασίν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ θηρίον πείθομαι τοῦτο καὶ μεγέθει διενεγκεῖν ὑδρῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὸν ἰὸν οὕτω δὴ τι ἔχειν ἀνίατον ὡς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπὸ τῆς χολῆς αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀκίδας φαρμακεῦσαι τῶν οἰστῶν· κεφαλὴν δὲ εἶχεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν μίαν καὶ οὐ πλείονας, Πείσανδρος δὲ ὁ Καμπεύς, ἵνα τὸ θηρίον τε δοκοίῃ φοβερώτερον καὶ αὐτῷ γίνηται ἢ ποιήσις ἀξιώχρεως μᾶλλον, ἀντὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐποίησε τῇ ὕδρᾳ τὰς πολλὰς.

[5] εἶδον δὲ καὶ πηγὴν Ἀμφιαράου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Ἀλκυονίαν λίμνην, δι' ἧς φασιν Ἀργεῖοι Διόνυσον ἐς τὸν Αἰδὸν ἐλθεῖν Σεμέλῃν ἀνάξοντα, τὴν δὲ ταύτῃ καθόδον δεῖξαι οἱ Πόλυμνον. τῇ δὲ Ἀλκυονίᾳ πέρας τοῦ βάθους οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέ τινα οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐς τὸ τέρμα αὐτῆς οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ καθικέσθαι δυνηθέντα, ὅπου καὶ Νέρων σταδίων πολλῶν κάλους ποιησάμενος καὶ συνάψας ἀλλήλοις, ἀπαρτίσας δὲ καὶ μόλυβδον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι

χρήσιμον ἄλλο ἐς τὴν πείραν, οὐδὲ οὗτος οὐδένα ἐξευρεῖν ἐδυνήθη ὅρον τοῦ βάθους. [6] καὶ τότε ἤκουσα ἄλλο: τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς λίμνης ὡς ἰδόντα εἰκάσαι γαληνόν ἐστι καὶ ἡρεμαῖον, παρεχόμενον δὲ ὄψιν τοιαύτην διανήχεσθαι τολμήσαντα πάντα τινὰ καθέλκειν πέφυκε καὶ ἐς βυθὸν ὑπολαβὸν ἀπήνεγκε. περίοδος δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐστὶν οὐ πολλή, ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε σταδίου τρίτον: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῆς πόα καὶ σχοῖνοι πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν Διονύσῳ δρώμενα ἐν νυκτὶ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον οὐχ ὅσιον ἐς ἅπαντας ἦν μοι γράψαι.

38. ἐκ Λέρνης δὲ ἰοῦσιν ἐς Τημένιον — τὸ δὲ Τημένιον ἐστὶν Ἀργείων, ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Τημένου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου: καταλαβὼν γὰρ καὶ ἐχυρωσάμενος τὸ χωρίον ἐπολέμει σὺν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν αὐτόθεν τὸν πρὸς Τισαμενὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς πόλεμον — ἐς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Τημένιον ἰοῦσιν ὃ τε Φρίξος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐν Τημένιῳ πεποιήται καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἕτερον καὶ μνημῆα ἐστὶ Τημένου τιμὰς ἔχον παρὰ Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Ἄργει. [2] Τημενίου δὲ ἀπέχει Ναυπλία πενήκοντα ἔμοι δοκεῖν σταδίους, τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημος, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Ναύπλιος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης εἶναι. λείπεται δὲ καὶ τειχῶν ἔτι ἐρείπια, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ καὶ πηγὴ Κάναθος καλουμένη: ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἥραν φασὶν Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος λουμένην παρθένον γίνεσθαι. [3] οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφισιν ἐκ τελετῆς, ἣν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ, λόγος τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐστίν: τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ λεγόμενα ἐς τὸν ὄνον, ὡς ἐπιφαγὼν ἀμπέλου κλῆμα ἀφθονώτερον ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνε τὸν καρπὸν — καὶ ὄνος σφίσιν ἐν πέτρᾳ πεποιημένος διὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἅτε ἀμπέλων διδάξας τομήν —, παρήμι οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἡγούμενος. [4] ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκ Λέρνης καὶ ἑτέρα παρ' αὐτὴν ὁδὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ Γενέσιον ὀνομάζουσι: πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ τοῦ Γενεσίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα. τούτου δ' ἔχεται χωρίον ἄλλο Ἀπόβαθοι: γῆς δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον τῆς Ἀργολίδος Δαναὸν σὺν ταῖς παισὶν ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν διελθοῦσιν Ἀνιγραῖα καλούμενα ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν καὶ ἄλλως δύσβατον, ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν καθήκουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ δένδρα — ἐλαίας μάλιστα — ἀγαθὴ τρέφειν γῆ, ἰόντι

[5] δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπ' αὐτῆς χωρίον ἐστίν, ἔνθα δὴ ἐμαχέσαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης λογάδες Ἀργείων τριακόσιοι πρὸς ἄνδρας Λακεδαιμονίων ἀριθμὸν τε ἴσους καὶ ἐπιλέκτους ὁμοίως. ἀποθανόντων δὲ πάντων πλην ἑνὸς Σπαρτιάτου καὶ δυοῖν Ἀργείων, τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐχώσθησαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ τάφοι, τὴν χώραν δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενομένου πανδημεῖ σφισιν ἀγῶνος πρὸς Ἀργεῖους κρατήσαντες βεβαίως αὐτοῖ τε παρὰυτίκα ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήταις ἔδοσαν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῆς νήσου. τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θυρεᾶτιν ἐνέμοντο Ἀργεῖοι: φασὶ δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι δίκη νικήσαντες. [6] ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν

πολυανδρίων ἰόντι Ἀνθήνη τέ ἐστιν, ἐς ἣν Αἰγινήται ποτε ὄκησαν, καὶ ἑτέρα κόμη Νηρίς, τρίτη δὲ Εὐα μεγίστη τῶν κωμῶν: καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ. ὃ δὲ Πολεμοκράτης ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος Μαχάονος υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλεξάνορος, καὶ ἰᾶται τοὺς ταύτῃ καὶ τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσοίκων ἔχει. [7] ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κόμας ὅρος Πάρνων, καὶ

Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ὄροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν: ἐστήκασι
δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.
ποταμὸς δὲ καλούμενος Τάναος — εἷς γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ Πάρνωνος κάτεισι
— ῥέων διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Θυρεάτην κόλπον.

BOOK III.

Λακωνικά

1. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ἐστὶν ἤδη Λακωνικὴ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρας. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λέλεξ αὐτόχθων ὢν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Λέλεγες ὢν ἤρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. Λέλεγος δὲ γίνεται Μύλης καὶ νεώτερος Πολυκάων. Πολυκάων μὲν δὴ ὅποι καὶ δι' ἦντινα αἰτίαν ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω· Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβεν ὁ παῖς Εὐρώτας τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διώρυγι κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπορρύνεντος δὲ — ἦν γὰν δὴ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα — ὠνόμασεν Εὐρώταν. [2] ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ὄντων· αὐτῷ παῖδων ἄρρένων βασιλεύειν καταλείπει Λακεδαίμονα, μητρὸς μὲν Ταυγέτης ὄντα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὠνομάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα ἀνήκοντα κατὰ τὴν φήμην· συνώκει δὲ ὁ Λακεδαῖμων Σπάρτη θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα. τότε δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτα μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετέθετο ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ᾧκισέ τε καὶ ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πόλιν, ἣ Σπάρτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς. [3] Ἀμύκλας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαῖμονος, βουλόμενος ὑπολιπέσθαι τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς μνήμην, πόλισμα ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ. γενομένων δὲ οἱ παίδων Ὑάκινθον μὲν νεώτατον ὄντα καὶ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστον κατέλαβεν ἢ πεπρωμένη πρότερον τοῦ πατρός, καὶ Ὑακίνθου μνημᾶ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ὑπὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀμύκλα ἐς Ἄργαλον τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀμύκλα παίδων καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Κυνόρταν Ἀργάλου τελευτήσαντος ἀφίκετο ἡ ἀρχή. [4] Κυνόρτα δὲ ἐγένετο Οἶβαλος. οὗτος Γοργοφόνην τε τὴν Περσέως γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε Τυνδάρεων, ᾧ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰπποκόων ἡμφισβῆται καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἔχειν ἡξίου τὴν ἀρχήν. προσλαβὼν δὲ Ἰκάριον καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ πολὺ τε ὑπερεβάλετο δυνάμει Τυνδάρεων καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἀποχωρῆσαι δέισαντα, ὥς μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοί φασιν, ἐς Πελλάναν, Μεσσηνίων δὲ ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος Τυνδάρεων

φεύγοντα ἐλθεῖν ὥς Ἀφαρέα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἶναί τε Ἀφαρέα τὸν Περιήρους ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεω πρὸς μητρός· καὶ οἰκῆσαι τε αὐτὸν τῆς Μεσσηνίας φασὶν ἐν Θαλάμαις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. [5] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατήλθε τε ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους Τυνδάρεως καὶ ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐβασίλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες καὶ Μενέλαος ὁ Ἀτρέως Τυνδάρεω γαμβρὸς ὢν Ὀρέστης τε Ἑρμιόνη τῇ Μενελάου συνοικῶν. κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐπὶ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος, Μεσσήνη μὲν καὶ Ἄργος ἐκατέρα μοῖρα Τήμενον, ἡ δὲ Κρεσφόντην ἔσχεν ἄρχοντας· ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δὲ ὄντων διδύμων τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οἰκίαι δύο βασιλείαι γίνονται· [6] συναρέσαι γὰρ τῇ Πυθίᾳ φασίν. Ἀριστοδήμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὶν ἢ Δωριέας κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν τοξευθῆναι λέγουσιν Ἀριστοδήμον ὑπὸ

Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκοιτο ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐντυχόντος οἱ πρότερον πύθοιτο ὡς ἐς Πελοπόννησον Δωριεῦσι γενήσεται ἥδε ἡ κάθοδος: ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστερος ἔχει λόγος Πυλάδου τοὺς παῖδας καὶ Ἡλέκτρας, ἀνεψιούς ὄντας Τισαμενῶ τῷ Ὀρέστου, φονεῦσαι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον. [7] ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης ἐτέθη, δίδυμοι δὲ ὄντες διάφοροι τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν. προεληλυθότες δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπεχθείας ὅμως ἐν κοινῷ Θήρα τῷ Αὐτεσίωνος, ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν ὄντι Ἀργείας, ἐπιτροπεύσαντι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο ἐς ἀποικίαν. τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν ὁ Θήρας ἔστελλεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν τότε ὀνομαζομένην Καλλίστην, τοὺς ἀπογόνους οἱ τοῦ Μεμβλιάρου παραχωρήσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίζων ἐκόντας, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐποίησαν [8] λαβόντες λογισμὸν ὅτι Θήρα μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνῆι Κάδμος τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου: Μεμβλίारον δὲ ἄνδρα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου Κάδμος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κατέλιπεν ἡγεμόνα εἶναι τῶν ἐποίκων. καὶ Θήρας μὲν τῇ τε νήσῳ μετέβαλεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστῇ: Προκλεῖ δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθένει μέχρι μὲν τῆς προθυμίας τῆς ἐς τὸν Θήραν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνῆλθον αἱ γινῶμαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διειστήκει σφίσιν ἐπὶ παντὶ τὰ βουλευματα. [9] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁμονοησάντων τοὺς ἀπογόνους αὐτῶν ἐς κοινὸν κατάλογον ὑπάζειν ἂν ἔμελλον: οὐ γάρ τι τὰ πάντα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνελήλυθασιν ἡλικίας, ὡς ἀνεψιὸν τε ἀνεψιῶ καὶ ἀνεψιῶν παῖδας, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατωτέρω κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις γεγονότας τὸν ἴσον. ἐκατέραν οὖν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπέξειμι αὐτῶν ἰδίως καὶ οὐκ ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναμίξας.

2. Εὐρυσθένει πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παιδῶν ὄντι ἡλικίαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν υἱὸν Ἄγιν: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τὸ γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένους καλοῦσιν Ἀγιάδας. ἐπὶ τούτου Πατρεῖ τῷ Πρευγένους κτίζοντι ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ πόλιν, ἦντινα Πάτρας καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρώως τούτου, συνεπελάβοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ. συνήραντο δὲ καὶ Γρᾶ τῷ Ἐχέλα τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου στελλομένῳ ναυσὶν ἐς ἀποικίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ Μυσῶν, καλουμένην δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καθέξειν ἔμελλεν: ὁ δὲ οἱ πρόγονος Πενθίλος Λέσβον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης νῆσον εἶλεν ἔτι πρότερον. [2] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος βασιλεύοντες ἐν Σπάρτῃ Κυνουρέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους, αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκόντες ὡς τὴν Ἀργολίδα συγγενῶν σφίσιν ὄντων Ἀργείων λησταί τε ἐκ τῆς Κυνουριακῆς κακουργοῖεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καταδρομάς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιοῖντο ἐς τὴν γῆν. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Κυνουρεῖς Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἶναι, καὶ οἰκιστὴν φασιν αὐτῶν Κύνουρον γενέσθαι τὸν Περσέως. [3] ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς Λαβώτας ὁ Ἐχεστράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῦτον τὸν Λαβώταν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροῖσον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους φησὶν ἐπιτροπευθῆναι παῖδα ὄντα: Λεωβώτην δὲ οἱ τίθεται τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οὐ Λαβώταν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρῶτον τότε ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς Ἀργεῖους πόλεμον: ἐποιοῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα τὴν τε Κυνουριακὴν ἐλόντων αὐτῶν ἀποτέμενσθαι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὄντας ἀφιστάναι. τότε μὲν δὴ παρὰ οὐδετέρων πολεμησάντων ὅμως μνήμης ἄξιον πραχθῆναι φασιν οὐδέν: [4] τοὺς

δὲ ἐφεξῆς βασιλεύσαντας τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης Δόρυσσον τὸν Λαβῶτα καὶ Ἀγησίλαον Δορύσσου δι' ὀλίγου σφᾶς τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Λυκοῦργος Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου βασιλείας: θεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας διδαχθέντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ὡς Κρητικὰ ὄντα νόμιμα ἐπαγάγοιτο. τούτους δὲ οἱ Κρήτες τοὺς νόμους τεθῆναι σφισιν ὑπὸ Μίνῳ λέγουσι, βουλευσασθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ τὸν Μίνῳ. ἡνίζατο δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περὶ τοῦ Μίνῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι: “τῆσι δ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως

ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς.

“Hom. Od.

19.178 [5] Λυκοῦργου μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι μνήμην: Ἀγησιλάου δὲ παῖς ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος. ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες πόλιν τῶν περιοικίδων ἡνδραποδίσαντο Αἴγυν, ὑποπτεύσαντες ὡς οἱ Αἰγῦται φρονοῦσι τὰ Ἀρκάδων. Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς συνεξείλε μὲν καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν Αἴγυν, ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἰδία Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸς ἔδρασεν ἡγούμενος, μνήμην καὶ τῶνδε ποιησόμεθα ὁμοῦ τῇ λόγῳ μεταβάντι ἐς τοὺς Εὐρυπωντίδας καλουμένους.

[6] Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἦν Τηλέκλος: ἐπὶ τούτου πόλεις Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν περιοικίδων πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἐξεῖλον Ἀμύκλας καὶ Φᾶριν καὶ Γεράνθρας, ἐχόντων ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν. τούτων Φαρῖται καὶ Γερανθῤᾶται τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Δωριέων καταπλαγέντες ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου συγχωροῦνται ὑπόσπονδοι: τοὺς δὲ Ἀμυκλαιεῖς οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς

ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀντισχόντας τε ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἔργα οὐκ ἄδοξα ἐπιδειξαμένους. δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Δωριεῖς τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀμυκλαιεῦσιν ἀναστήσαντες, ὡς ἐν τῷ τότε λόγῳ μάλιστα ἄξιον τοῦτο ὑπάρξαν σφίσι. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τηλέκλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐπεποιήτο ἐν χωρίῳ καλουμένῳ Λίμναις. [7] Τηλέκλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἀλκαμένης ἔσχεν ὁ Τηλέκλου τὴν ἀρχήν: καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Κρήτην Χαρμίδαν τὸν Εὐθύος, ἄνδρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ τῶν δοκίμων, στάσεις τε καταπαύσοντα τοῖς Κρησι καὶ τὰ πολίσματα, ὅποσα ἦν ἀπωτέρω θαλάσσης καὶ ἄλλως ἀσθενῇ, ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς Κρήτας πείσοντα ἐκλιπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ τοῦ παράπλου συνοικιοῦντα ἀντ’ αὐτῶν. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Ἑλος ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλισμα Ἀχαιῶν ἐχόντων καὶ Ἀργεῖους τοῖς εἰλωσιν ἀμύναντας μάχῃ νικῶσιν.

3. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλκαμένου Πολυδῶρος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀλκαμένος, καὶ ἀποικίαν τε ἐς Ἰταλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἐς Κρότωνα ἔστειλαν καὶ ἀποικίαν ἐς Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς ἄκρα Ζεφυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ καλούμενος Μεσσηνιακὸς Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος μάλιστα ἐς ἀκμὴν προῆλθε. λέγουσι δὲ οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε αἰτίας καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ τοῦ πολέμου. [2] τὰ οὖν λεγόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅποιον ὁ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος πέρας, τοῦ λόγου μοι τὰ ἐφεξῆς δηλώσει: τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνησθῆσόμεθα αὐτῶν, τὰ πολλὰ ἡγήσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ

πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμῳ Θεόπομπον τὸν Νικάνδρου, βασιλέα ὄντα τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας. διαπεπολεμημένου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμου καὶ ἤδη Λακεδαιμονίοις δορικτήτου τῆς Μεσσηνίας οὔσης, Πολύδωρον εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ — οὔτε γὰρ ἔργον βίαιον οὔτε ὕβριστὴν λόγον παρείχετο ἐς οὐδένα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεσι τὰ δίκαια ἐφύλασεν οὐκ ἄνευ φιланθρωπίας, ἔχοντος δὲ ἤδη Πολυδώρου λαμπρὸν ^[3] ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὄνομα, Πολέμαρχος οἰκίας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀδόξου, θρασύτερος δὲ ὥς ἐδήλωσε γνώμην, φονεύει τὸν Πολύδωρον: ἀποθανόντι δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ τε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δέδοται καὶ ἀξιόλογα ἐς τιμὴν. ἔστι μέντοι καὶ Πολεμάρχου μνημα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, εἴτε ἀγαθοῦ τὰ πρότερα ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομισθέντος εἴτε καὶ κρύφα οἱ προσήκοντες θάπτουσιν αὐτόν. ^[4] ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος Μεσσήνιοι τε ἠνείχοντο ὑπήκοοι Λακεδαιμονίων ὄντες καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργείων οὐδέν σφισιν ἀπήντησε νεώτερον: ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτους — τὸ γὰρ χρεὼν ἤδη Μεσσηνίους ἤλυνεν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου πάσης — ἀφίστανται Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι. καὶ χρόνον μὲν ἀντέσχον πολεμοῦντες: ὑπόσπονδοι δὲ ὥς ἐκρατήθησαν ἀπήεσαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλειφθὲν τῇ γῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένοντο οἰκέται πλὴν οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ πολίσματα ἔχοντες.

^[5] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμβάντα, ὃν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες ἐπολέμησαν, οὐ μοι κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ παρούσῃ δηλῶσαι: Ἀναξάνδρου δὲ υἱὸς Εὐρυκράτης γίνεται, Εὐρυκράτους δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Λέων. ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλεύοντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέεπταιον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τεγεάτας πολέμῳ τὰ πλείονα. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξανδρίδου τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπικρατέστεροι Τεγεατῶν γίνονται τῷ πολέμῳ: γίνονται δὲ οὕτως. ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος Λίχας ὄνομα ἀφίκετο ἐς Τεγέαν: ^[6] τηνικαῦτα δὲ αἱ πόλεις ἄγουσαι σπονδὰς ἔτυχον. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Λίχα Ὁρέστου τὰ ὅσα ἀνεζήτουν: ἀνεζήτουν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ θεοπροπίου Σπαρτιάται. συνῆκεν οὖν ὁ Λίχας ὥς ἔστι κατακείμενα ἐν οἰκίᾳ χαλκέως, συνῆκε δὲ οὕτως: ὅποσα ἐν τῇ τοῦ χαλκέως ἐώρα, παρέβαλεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα, ἀνέμοις μὲν τοῦ χαλκέως εἰκάζων τὰς φύσας, ὅτι καὶ αὐταὶ βίαιον πνεῦμα ἠφίεσαν, τύπον δὲ τὴν σφῦραν καὶ τὸν ἄκμονα ἀντίτυπον ταύτῃ, πῆμα δὲ εἰκότως ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν σίδηρον, ὅτι ἐχρῶντο ἐς τὰς μάχας ἤδη τῷ σιδήρῳ: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων ἂν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ πῆμα εἶναι τὸν χαλκόν. ^[7] τῷ χρησμῷ δὲ τῷ γενομένῳ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς τοῦ Ὁρέστου τὰ ὅσα καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον εἰκότα ἐχρήσθη κατάγουσιν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Σκύρου Θησέα, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ εἶναί σφισιν ἐλεῖν Σκῦρον: ἀνεῦρε δὲ δὴ τὰ ὅσα τοῦ Θησέως Κίμων ὁ Μυττιάδου, σοφία χρησάμενος καὶ οὗτος, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἶλε τὴν Σκῦρον. ^[8] ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰ ὄπλα ὁμοίως χαλκᾷ ἦν πάντα, μαρτυρεῖ μοι καὶ Ὀμήρου τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ ἔς τε ἀξίνην ἔχοντα τὴν Πεισάνδρου καὶ ἐς τοῦ Μηριόνου τὸν οἰστόν. βεβαιοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μοι τὸν λόγον ἐν Φασήλιδι ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τὸ δόρυ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Νικομηδεῦσιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναῷ μάχαιρα ὁ Μέμνωνος: καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἦ τε αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ σαυρωτήρ, ἡ μάχαιρα δὲ καὶ διὰ πάσης χαλκοῦ πεποίηται. ^[9] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ

ἴσμεν ἔχοντα οὕτως: Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ὁ Λέοντος Λακεδαιμονίων μόνος γυναικᾶς τε δύο ἅμα ἔσχε καὶ οἰκίας δύο ἅμα ᾤκησε. τὴν γὰρ οἱ πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν ἀρίστην τὰ ἄλλα οὕσαν συνέβαινε οὐ τίκτειν: ἀποπέμψασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κελεύοντων τῶν ἐφόρων τοῦτο μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται, τοσοῦτον δὲ σφισιν εἵκει γυναῖκα ἐτέραν λαβεῖν πρὸς ταύτην. καὶ ἥ τε ἐπεισελθοῦσα Κλεομένην παῖδα ἔσχε καὶ ἡ προτέρα τέως οὐ σχοῦσα ἐν γαστρὶ ἐπὶ γεγονότῃ ἤδη Κλεομένει τίκτει Δωριέα καὶ αὐθις Λεωνίδα, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Κλεόμβροτον.

[10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθανεν Ἀναξανδρίδης, Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέα καὶ γνώμην Κλεομένους καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀμείνονα εἶναι νομίζοντες τὸν μὲν ἀπώσαντο ἄκοντες, Κλεομένει δὲ διδῶσιν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρεσβεῖα τὴν ἀρχήν.

4. Δωριεὺς μὲν δὴ — οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχετο ὑπακοῦειν Κλεομένει μένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι — ἐς ἀποικίαν στέλλεται: Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν, αὐτίκα ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα, Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιάν. ὡς δὲ ἐπεξήλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις, ὁ Κλεομένης ἐνίκα τῇ μάχῃ: καὶ — ἦν γὰρ πλησίον ἄλλος ἱερὸν Ἄργου τοῦ Νιόβης — καταφεύγουσιν ὡς ἐτράποντο ὅσον τε πεντακισχίλιοι τῶν Ἀργείων ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. Κλεομένης δὲ — ἐξώρμει γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ — κελεύει καὶ τότε ἐνεῖναι πῦρ τοῖς εἰλωσιν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ τό τε ἄλσος ἡ φλόξ ἐπέλαβεν ἅπαν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄλσει καιομένῳ συγκατεκαύθησαν αὐθις οἱ ἱκέται. [2] ἐστράτευσεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρότερον Ἀθηναίοις τε ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δόξαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀγαθὴν κτῶμενος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι χάριτι ἀνδρὸς Ἰσαγόρου τυραννίδα οἱ συγκατεργασόμενος Ἀθηνῶν. ὡς δὲ ἡμάρτανε τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐμαχέσαντο ἐρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλεομένης ἄλλα τε ἐδήλωσε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς καλουμένης Ὀργάδος θεῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἑλευσίνι ἱερᾶς, καὶ ταύτης τεμεῖν φασιν αὐτόν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἰγίναν, καὶ Αἰγινήτων τοὺς δυνατοὺς συνελάμβανε οἱ μὴ διςμοῦ τε αὐτῶν μετέσχον καὶ βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖϊ τῷ Ὑστάσπου γῆν δοῦναι καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπεισαν. [3] διατρίβοντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Κλεομένους Δημάρατος ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας διέβαλλεν αὐτόν ἐς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πλῆθος: Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐξ Αἰγίνης, ἔπρασσε ὅπως Δημάρατον παύσειε βασιλεύοντα, καὶ τὴν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς πρόμαντιν ὠνήσατο, Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτὴν ὅποσα αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐς Δημάρατον χρῆσαι, καὶ Λεωτυχίδην ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ οἰκίας Δημαράτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπῆρεν ἀμφισβητεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς. [4] εἶχετο δὲ Λεωτυχίδης λόγων οὓς Ἀρίστων ποτὲ ἐς Δημάρατον τεχθέντα ἐξέβαλεν ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐχ αὐτοῦ παῖδα εἶναι φήσας. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰώθεσαν, ἀνάγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα τὸ ὑπὲρ Δημαράτου: ἡ δὲ σφισιν ἔχρησεν ἡ πρόμαντις ὅποσα ἦν Κλεομένει κατὰ γνώμην. [5] Δημάρατος μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ βασιλείας ἐπαύθη, Κλεομένην δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευταία μανέντα: ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάβετο ξίφους, ἐτίτρωσκεν αὐτὸς αὐτόν καὶ διεξῆει τὸ σῶμα ἅπαν κόπτων τε καὶ λυμαινόμενος. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἱκέταις τοῦ

Ἄργου διδόντα αὐτὸν δίκην τέλος τοῦ βίου φασὶν εὐρέσθαι τοιοῦτον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὅτι ἐδήλωσε τὴν Ὀργάδα, Δελφοὶ δὲ τῶν δώρων ἕνεκα ὧν τῇ προμάντιδι ἔδωκεν, ἀναπείσας ἐγνευσμένα εἰπεῖν ἐς Δημάρατον. [6] εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ μηνίματα ἕκ τε ἡρώων ὁμοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Κλεομένει συνεληλυθότα, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ Πρωτεσίλαος ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι οὐδὲν ἥρως Ἄργου φανερώτερος ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν ἐτιμωρήσατο Ἀρταῦκτῃν καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν οὐ ποτε θεῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ὄντων ἐξεγένετο ἰλάσασθαι τὸ μήνιμα γῆν ἐπεργασαμένοις τὴν ἱεράν. τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ μαντείου τὴν διάπειραν οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν ἄλλον γε οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ μόνον Κλεομένην τολμήσαντα ἴσμεν. [7] Κλεομένει δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ἀρρένων παίδων ἐς Λεωνίδα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου, Δωριέως δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφόν, κατέβαιναν ἡ ἀρχή. καὶ Ξέρξης τε τῆνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν καὶ Λεωνίδας τριακοσίοις ὁμοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπήντησεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ πόλεμοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους βαρβάρων, εὐαρίθμητοι δὲ ὀπόσους ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς μάλιστα ἀρετὴ προήγαγεν ἐς πλεον δόξης, ὥς Ἀχιλλεύς τε τὸν πρὸς Ἴλιω πόλεμον καὶ Μιλτιάδης τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεωνίδου κατόρθωμα ὑπερεβάλετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τά τε ἀνὰ χρόνον συμβάντα καὶ τὰ ἔτι πρότερον.

[8] Ξέρξης γὰρ βασιλέων, ὅποσοι Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις ἐγένοντο ὕστερον, παρασχομένῳ μέγιστον φρόνημα καὶ ἀποδειξαμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Λεωνίδας σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὓς ἠγάγετο ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐγένετο ἂν ἐμποδῶν μηδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ Ἀθηναίων ποτὲ ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς Οἴτης τείνουσαν περιαγαγὼν τὴν μετὰ Ὑδάρνου στρατιὰν ὁ Τραχίνιος κυκλώσασθαι σφισι τοὺς Ἑλληνας παρέσχε καὶ οὕτω κατεργασθέντος Λεωνίδου παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἱ βάρβαροι. [9] Πausanίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου βασιλεὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο: ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ Πλείσταρχον τὸν Λεωνίδου καταλειφθέντα ἔτι παῖδα ἐς Πλάταιαν τε Λακεδαιμονίους ἤγαγε καὶ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. Πausανίου δὲ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐς τὴν Κῶν γυναῖκα ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τίθεται μάλιστα, ἦντινα ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀδόξου παρὰ Κῶις θυγατέρα οὖσαν Ἥγητορίδου τοῦ

Ἀνταγόρου Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιδος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, παλλακὴν εἶχεν ἄκουσαν:

[10] ἐπεὶ δὲ Πλαταιᾶσι Μαρδονίος τε ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἀπώλοντο οἱ βάρβαροι, τὴν γυναῖκα ὁ Πausanίας ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Κῶν κόσμον τε ὃν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Πέρσης αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγομένην κατασκευήν. Μαρδονίου τε οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Πausanίας αἰσχῶναι τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Λάμπωνος.

5. Πλείσταρχος μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδου νεωστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφὼς ἐτελεύτησε, Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Πausanίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγήσαμένου: Πλειστοάνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Πausanίας. οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀφίκετο ὁ Πausanίας Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν ἐπιτραπεῖσιν ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καταστησόμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐν βεβαίῳ. καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ἀπάγειν οἴκαδε ἤρесе μηδὲ ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν

τυραννίδα αὖξοντα ἐπισπάσασθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸ αἰσχιστον τῶν ὀνειδῶν. [2] ὥς δὲ ἐπανήλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μαχεσάμενος ἄπρακτον μάχην, ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν οἱ ἔχθροί. βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθιζον οἱ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες, ὅκτῳ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας. τέσσαρες μὲν δὴ καὶ δέκα τῶν γερόντων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἅγις ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς, ἀδικεῖν τὸν Πausanίαν κατέγνωσαν· [3] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπέγνω δικαστήριον. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίων συλλεγόντων ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατιάν — αἰτία δὲ ἦτις ἐγένετο προσέσται τῷ ἐς Ἀγησίλαον λόγῳ — , τότε δὲ Λύσανδρος μὲν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν πανδημεῖ τοὺς Φωκέας οὐδένα ἐτι ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς τε Βοιωτίαν ἐληλύθει καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο ἐς τὸ Ἀλιαρτίων τεῖχος οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἀρίστασθαι. ἐσεληλύθεσαν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς κρύφα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὧν ἐπεξεληόντων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τεύχους ταζαμένων ἄλλοι τε ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λύσανδρος ἔπεσε. [4] Πausανίας δὲ ὑστέρησε μὲν τοῦ ἀγῶνος παρὰ Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τῆς ἄλλης ἀθροίζων δύναμιν· ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐπυνθάνετό τε τὴν τε ἥτταν τῶν ὁμοῦ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπήγε δὲ ὁμως ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ διενοεῖτο ὥς μάχης ἄρξων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ τε Θηβαῖοι τὰ ἐναντία ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Θρασύβουλος ἀπέχειν οὐ πολὺ ἀπηγγέλλετο ἄγων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἀνέμενε δὲ ἄρξαι Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἄρξαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἤδη κατὰ νότου σφίσιν ἔμελλεν ἐπικείσεσθαι. [5] ἔδεισεν οὖν ὁ Πausανίας διπλοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεταξὺ ἀποληφθῆναι, καὶ οὕτω σπονδὰς τε πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀλιαρτίων τείχει πεσόντας ἀνείλετο. τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐγένετο οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ τῶνδε ἕνεκα τὸ βούλευμα· ἅτε γὰρ εὖ εἰδὼς ὁ Πausανίας ὥς τὰ σφάλματα αἰεὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις

γίνονται ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων ἀποληφθεῖσι, τό τε ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ δεῖμα ἐποιήσατο μὴ σφισι καὶ αὐτὸς τρίτου γένηται κακοῦ πρόφασις. [6] τότε δὲ ἐν αἰτία ποιουμένων τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν βραδυτῆτα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς Βοιωτίαν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς δικαστήριον, Τεγεᾶται δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ikήτην ἐδέξαντο τῆς Ἀλέας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πελοποννησίοις πᾶσιν αἰδέσιμον καὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι ikετεύουσιν ἀσφάλειαν μάλιστα παρείχετο· ἐδήλωσαν δὲ οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Πausanίαν καὶ ἐτι πρότερον τούτου Λεωτυχίδην καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Χρυσίδα, καθεζομένους ἐνταῦθα ikέτας, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐξαιτῆσαι θελήσαντες. [7] Πausανίου δὲ φυγόντος οἱ μὲν παῖδες Ἀγησίπολις καὶ Κλεόμβροτος νέοι παντάπασιν ἐτι ἦσαν, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ ἐπετρόπευεν αὐτοὺς γένους ἐγγύτατα ὧν· καὶ τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Λακεδαιμονίων κατόρθωμα Ἀριστοδήμου σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡγουμένου.

[8] Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν αὖξηθεῖς, Πελοποννησίων πρώτοις ἐπολέμησεν Ἀργείοις. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Τεγεατῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἤγαγε τὸν στρατὸν, πέμπουσι κήρυκα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σπεισόμενον πρὸς Ἀγησίπολιν σφισι πατρώους δὴ τινὰς σπονδὰς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστῶσας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τῷ κήρυκι ἐσπέισατο καὶ προῖων ὁμοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ

τὴν γῆν ἔφθειρεν: ἔσεισέ τε δὴ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίπολις οὐδ' οὕτω τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάξιν ἐμελλε, καίτοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων — ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις — δεῖμα αἱ διοσημεῖαι παρείχοντο. [9] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κατεστρατοπεδεύετο ἥδη τὸ Ἀργείων καὶ οὐ παρίει σείων ὁ θεὸς καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεραυνωθέντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονας ἐποίησαν αἱ βρονταί. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος ἀνέζευξεν ἄκων, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλυνθίους ἐποιεῖτο αὐθις στρατείαν. κρατοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἡρηκότα τῶν τε ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν ἐν Χαλκιδεδυσι τὰς πολλὰς καὶ αὐτὴν ἐλπίζοντα αἰρήσειν τὴν Ὀλυνθον νόσος τε ἐξαίφνης καὶ θάνατος ἐπέλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

6. Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος ἐς Κλεόμβροτον περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι τούτῳ Βοιωτοῖς ἐναντία ἡγωνίσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις: Κλεόμβροτος δὲ αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀρχομένης ἔτι ἔπασσε τῆς μάχης. μάλιστα δὲ πῶς ἐπὶ πταίσμασιν ἐθέλει μεγάλοις προαφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαίμων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀπῆγεν Ἴπποκράτην τε τὸν Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦντα ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Λεωσθένην. [2] Κλεομβρότου δὲ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων Ἀγησίπολις παρέσχετο μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ νεώτερος μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τελευτήσαντα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀκροτάτου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Κλεωνύμου κατήγαγε τὸ χρεὼν Ἀκρότατον ἔτι πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ ὥς Κλεομένης ἀπέθανεν ὕστερον, ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκοντο ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας Κλεωνύμος τε ὁ Κλεομένους καὶ Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου. δικάζουσιν οὖν οἱ γέροντες Ἀρεῖ τῷ Ἀκροτάτου καὶ οὐχὶ Κλεωνύμῳ πατρώαν εἶναι τὴν τιμήν.

[3] Κλεωνύμῳ δὲ ἀπελαθέντι τῆς βασιλείας περισσῶς δὴ τι ὁ θυμὸς ᾧδει, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ ἄλλοις γέραςι ψυχαγωγοῦντες καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφιστάντες ἄρχοντα παρήγον μὴ ποτε πολέμιον γενέσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ. τέλος δὲ ὁ μὲν πολλὰ τε καὶ ἐχθρὰ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐτόλμησε καὶ Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου σφίσις ἐπηγάγετο ἐς τὴν χώραν: [4] Ἀρέως δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῦ Ἀκροτάτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου πεζῷ τε καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατεύει. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀμυνοῦντες ἀφίκοντο μὲν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων ὁμοῦ Πατρόκλῳ στόλος, ἐξίασι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεί, τὸν βασιλέα ἡγεῖσθαι σφίσις Ἀρέα ἐπιτάζαντες. [5] περικαθημένου δὲ Ἀντιγόπου τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχικὰ εἵργοντος, Πάτροκλος ἀποστέλλων ἀγγέλους προέτρεπε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρέα ἄρχειν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχης, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀρξάντων οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ νότου τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔφασκεν ἐπικείσεσθαι: πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι σφᾶς Αἰγυπτίους τε ὄντας καὶ ναύτας Μακεδόσιν ἐπιέναι πεζῇ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ παρακινδυνεύειν ὥρμητο Ἀθηναίων τε εὐνοία καὶ τι καὶ ἄξιον μνήμης ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐργάσασθαι προθυμοῦμενοι: [6] Ἀρεὺς δέ, ὥς σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξανήλωτο, ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν. ταμιεύεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνειαν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἡξίου καὶ μὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐπ' ἄλλοτριούς ἀναρρῖναι. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀντισχοῦσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐποιήσατο Ἀντίγονος εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τέ σφίσις ἐπαγάγῃ φρουρὰν ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον

αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἐκουσίως τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, Ἀρέως δὲ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀκρότατος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρέως, ὃς ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτη γεγονὼς τελευτᾷ νόσῳ. [7] καὶ ἐλείπετο γὰρ τῆς Εὐρυσθένους οἰκίας γένος τὸ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμου, παντάπασιν ἤδη γέρων· τούτῳ δὴ διδόασιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀρχὴν. τῷ δὲ Λεωνίδα διάφορος ἐτύγγανεν ὢν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Λύσανδρος, ἀπόγονος Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοκρίτου. οὗτος προσποιεῖται Κλεόμβροτον θυγατέρα ἔχοντα Λεωνίδου· τοῦτον δὲ οἰκειωσάμενος ἐπῆγε Λεωνίδα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ ὅρκους αὐτὸν Κλεωνύμῳ τῷ πατρὶ ὁμόσαι παῖδα ὄντα ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Σπάρτης. [8] ἐπαύσθη τε δὴ Λεωνίδας βασιλείας καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κλεόμβροτος ἔσχε τὴν τιμὴν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ὁ Λεωνίδας ἐπέτρεψε τῷ θυμῷ καὶ Δημαράτῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνος κατὰ ταῦτά ἀπεχώρησεν ἥτοι παρὰ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλεύοντα ἢ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ μεταγνόντων ἂν Σπαρτιατῶν ὄνατο οὐδέν· νῦν δὲ ἐπιβαλόντων οἱ φυγὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς κατάγουσί τε αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὖθις βασιλέα ἐποίησαντο. [9] Κλεομένης δὲ τῷ Λεωνίδου τά τε ἄλλα ὅποια ἐς τόλμαν ἐτόλμησεν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρείαν ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο ἐξ ἐκείνου Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλευόμενοι, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσέ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἄρατον· προσεπελάβετο δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι καὶ τρόπον ὄντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Κλεομένης ἐτελεύτησεν.

7. γένους μὲν δὴ τοῦ Εὐρυσθένους, καλουμένων δὲ Ἀγιαδῶν, Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑτέραν τοιαύδε ἤκουσα εἶναι. Προκλῆς ὁ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ παιδί ὄνομα τίθεται Σόον. Εὐρυπῶντα δὲ τὸν Σόου φασὶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀφικέσθαι δόξης ὥς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην Εὐρυπωντίδας ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, Προκλείδας ἐς ἐκείνον καλουμένους. [2] Εὐρυπῶντος δὲ υἱὸς γίνεται Πρυτανίς. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Πρυτανίδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος τὸ ἔχθος τε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρξατο τὸ ἐς Ἀργεῖους καὶ ἔτι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου πρότερον Κυνουρεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν· τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ γενεάς, Εὐνόμου τε τοῦ Πρυτανίδος καὶ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου βασιλευόντων, ἐν εἰρήνῃ διετέλεσεν οὕσα ἡ Σπάρτη. [3] Χάριλλος δὲ ὁ Πολυδέκτου τὴν τε γῆν ἐδήλωσεν Ἀργείοις — οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλὼν — καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι Χαρίλλῳ γίνεται καὶ ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπὶ Τεγεάτας ἐξοδος, ὅτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάτας αἰρήσειν ἤλπισαν καὶ ἀποτεμεῖσθαι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τὸ Τεγεατῶν πεδίον, ὑπούλῳ μαντεύματι ἐπελθόντες. [4] μετὰ δὲ Χάριλλον τελευτήσαντα Νικάνδρος ὁ Χαρίλλου διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνίων ἐς Τήλεκλον τὸν τῆς ἑτέρας βασιλέα οἰκίας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Λιμνάδος συμβάντα ἐπὶ Νικάνδρου γίνεται βασιλεύοντος. ἐσέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὁ Νικάνδρος στρατιᾷ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε τῆς χώρας· μετασχόντες δὲ Ἀσιναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῦ ἔργου δίκην μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀργείοις ἀπέδοσαν σὺν μεγάλῳ πατρίδος τε ὀλέθρῳ καὶ φυγῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ.

[5] Θεόπομπον δὲ τὸν Νικάνδρου βασιλεύσαντα μετὰ Νικάνδρον μέλλει καὶ αὖθις ὁ λόγος μοι προσθήσειν προελθόντι ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν συγγραφὴν. Θεοπόμπου δὲ ἔτι ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γίνεται καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Θυρεάτιδος καλουμένης χώρας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγὼν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους,

Θεόπομπος δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἔργου γῆρα καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης τὸ πλέον: Ἀρχίδαμον γὰρ Θεοπόμπου ζῶντος ἔτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν. [6] οὐ μὴν ἄπαις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ζευξίδαμον δὲ ἀπολιπὼν υἱόν. Ζευξιδάμου δὲ Ἀναξίδαμος ὁ παῖς ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐπὶ τούτου Μεσσήνιοι φεύγουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολέμῳ τὸ δεύτερον κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν. Ἀναξιδάμου δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ Ἀγησικλῆς: καὶ σφισιν ὑπῆρξεν ἀμφοτέροις τὸν βίον διατελέσαι πάντα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ πολέμων οὓσιν ἐκτός. [7] Ἀρίστωνι δὲ τῷ Ἀγησικλέους ἀγαγομένῳ γυναῖκα ἦντινα παρθένον μὲν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἶναί φασιν αἰσχίστην, γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ εἶδος καλλίστην ὑπὸ Ἑλένης γενέσθαι, ταύτην ἀγαγομένῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι ἐγένετο υἱὸς Δημάρατος ἐν μόνοις μηνσὶν ἐπτά: καὶ αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων καθημένῳ τῆνικαῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἦλθεν οἰκέτης ἀπαγγέλλων τετέχθαι οἱ παῖδα. Ἀρίστων δὲ ἐπῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως γενέσιν πεποιημένος λήθην ἢ μὴδὲ ἀρχὴν συνεῖς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη τῶν μηνῶν ἔνεκα αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα εἶναι.

[8] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων μετάνοια ἔλαβεν ὕστερον: Δημάρατον δὲ βασιλεύοντα καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Κλεομένει συνελευθερώσαντα Ἀθηναίους ἢ τε Ἀρίστωνος ἀγνωμοσύνη καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους ἐποίησεν ιδιώτην. καὶ τοῦ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντος ἐς Πέρσας ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ χρόνον διαμεῖναι τοὺς ἀπογόνους φασί: [9] Λεωτυχίδης δὲ ἀντὶ Δημαράτου γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετέσχε μὲν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τῷ στρατηγῷ Ξανθίπῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Μυκάλῃ, ἐστράτευσε δὲ ὕστερον τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλευάδας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν: καὶ οἱ καταστρέφασθαι Θεσσαλίαν πᾶσαν ἐξὸν ἄτε αἰεὶ νικῶντι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, δῶρα ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν. [10] ὑπαγόμενος δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐς δίκην ἔφυγεν ἐθελοντῆς ἐς Τεγέαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Ἀλέαν ἰκέτευε, Λεωτυχίδου δὲ ὁ μὲν παῖς Ζευξίδαμος ζῶντος ἔτι Λεωτυχίδου καὶ οὐ πεφευγότος πῶ τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, Ἀρχίδαμος δὲ ὁ Ζευξιδάμου μετὰ Λεωτυχίδην ἀπελθόντα ἐς Τεγέαν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος Ἀρχίδαμος Ἀθηναίοις μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε τὴν χώραν στρατῷ τε ἐσβάλλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ὅποτε ἐσβάλοι διὰ πάσης ἐπεζῆει φθείρων καὶ Πλαταιέων Ἀθηναίοις ὄντων εὖνων πολιορκία τὸ ἄστυ εἶλεν. [11] οὐ μὴν τὸν πόλεμόν γε τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι συνέσπευσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσον δυνάμεως ἦκε, διαμεῖναί σφισιν ἔπρασσε τὰς σπονδάς. Σθενελαΐδας δὲ ἔς τε ἄλλα ὣν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐφορεύων ἐν τῷ τότε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα ἐγένετο αἴτιος: καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος εὖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔτι βεβηκυῖαν διέσεισεν ἐκ βάθρων, καὶ ὕστερον Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου σαθρὰν ἤδη καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ὑγιῇ προσκατήρειπεν αὐτήν.

8. Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα καταλιπόντος παῖδας Ἄγις τε πρεσβύτερος ἦν ἡλικία καὶ παρέλαβεν ἀντὶ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμῳ καὶ θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμότατα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν καὶ πρώτη τε ἱπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν πρώτη. Κυνίσκας δὲ ὕστερον γυναῖξί καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος γεγόνασιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, ὧν ἡ ἐπιφανεστέρα ἐς τὰς νίκας οὐδεμία ἐστὶν αὐτῆς. [2] δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιαταὶ μοι ποίησιν καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν

ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἥκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῇ Κυνίσκᾳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐποίησεν ὅστις δὴ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πανσανία τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίποδι Σιμωνίδης τῷ ἀνατεθέντι ἐς Δελφούς, ἄλλο δέ γε παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ποιητοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην. [3] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἁγίδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄλλα τε ἐγένετο ἐς Ἡλείους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰργόμενοι μάλιστα ἤχθοντο. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν κήρυκα ἐπίταγμα φέροντα Ἡλείοις Λεπρεάτας τε αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλοι σφίσιν ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ Ἡλείων ὡς ἐπειδὰν τὰς περιοικίδας τῆς Σπάρτης πόλεις ἴδωσιν ἐλευθέρας, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ μελλήσουσιν ἔτι ἀφιέναι τὰς ἐαυτῶν, οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἅγισ ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν.

[4] τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν ἄχρι Ὀλυμπίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ προελθόντες: τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Ἅγισ καὶ ἤλασε τῆς λείας τὴν πολλήν. Ξενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος Ἁγίδι τε ἰδίᾳ ξένος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενος ἐπανάστη τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἔχουσι: πρὶν δὲ Ἅγιν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφίχθαι σφισιν ἀμύνοντας, Θρασυδαῖος προεστηκὼς τότε τοῦ Ἡλείων δήμου μάχῃ Ξενίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [5] Ἅγισ δὲ ὡς ἀπήγαγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Λυσίστρατον Σπαρτιάτην καὶ μοῖράν τε τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Ἡλείων καταλείπει τοὺς φυγάδας, κακουργεῖν σφᾶς ὁμοῦ Λεπρεάταις τὴν χώραν. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Ἅγισ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν καὶ τότε ἐσβαλοῦντες: οἱ δὲ Ἡλείοι καὶ Θρασυδαῖος — κεκακωμένοι γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἦσαν — συγχωροῦσι μήτε τῶν περιοίκων ἔτι ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ἄστεως κατερεῖψαι τὸ τεῖχος, Λακεδαιμονίους τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξεῖναι σφισιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι. [6] ἐνέβαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν συνεχῶς ὁ Ἅγισ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐπετείχισε φρούριον Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἐν Δεκελείᾳ: καταλυθέντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικοῦ Λύσανδρος ὁ

Ἀριστοκρίτου καὶ Ἅγισ ὅρκους μὲν θεῶν ὑπερέβησαν, οὓς ὤμοσαν Ἀθηναίοις ἐν κοινῷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐ μετὰ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ βούλευμα ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξήνεγκαν ἐκκόψαι προρρίζους τὰς Ἀθήνας. [7] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς πόλεμον μάλιστα ἐπίσημα τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Ἁγίδι: προπέτειαν δὲ τὴν Ἀρίστωνος ἐς Δημάρατον καὶ Ἅγισ ἐς τὸν παῖδα ἔσχε Λεωτυχίδην, καὶ οἱ κατὰ τινα οὐκ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα ἐσῆλθεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν ἐφόρων εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐχ αὐτοῦ νομίζοι Λεωτυχίδην. ἐπέλαβε μέντοι καὶ Ἅγιν μετάνοια ὕστερον, καὶ — ἔφερον γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα οἴκαδε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα — ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἡραΐᾳ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος μάρτυρας ἐποιεῖτο ἢ μὴν Λεωτυχίδην ἐαυτοῦ παῖδα ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ σφισι σὺν ἱκεσίᾳ τε καὶ δακρύοις ἐπέσκηπτε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλειν. [8] μετὰ δὲ Ἅγιν ἀποθανόντα ἀπήλauen Ἀγησίλαος τῆς βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδην, ἐς μνήμην ἄγων Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ὑπὸ Ἁγίδος ποτε λεχθέντα ἐς τὸν Λεωτυχίδην. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἡραΐας Ἀρκάδες καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Λεωτυχίδῃ μάρτυρες ὅποσα Ἁγίδος τελευτῶντος ἦκουσαν.

[9] τῷ δὲ Ἀγησίλῳ καὶ Λεωτυχίδῃ παρέσχεν ἐς πλεόν τὸ μάντευμα

ἀντιλογίαν τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, γεγονὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ, ἔχον δὲ οὕτω: “φράζεο δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μέγαλαυχος ἐοῦσα,

μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστη χολὴ βασιλεία.

δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχίσουσιν ἄελπτοι

φθερσιβρότου τ’ ἐπὶ κῦμα κυκωόμενον πολέμοιο.

“[10] τότε οὖν Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ἐς Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἔφασκεν εἰρῆσθαι, τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπεπύρωτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος: Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐς Λεωτυχίδην αὐτὰ ἔτρεπεν οὐ γνήσιον ὄντα Ἄγιδος. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, καίπερ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὄν, οὐκ ἐπανήγαγον τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα ἐς Δελφούς: αἴτιος δ’ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Λύσανδρος ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου Ἀγησιλάῳ συσπεύδων ἐξ ἅπαντος τὴν βασιλείαν γενέσθαι.

9. βασιλεύει τε δὴ Ἀγησίλαος ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρесе διαβῆναι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου αἰρήσοντας: ἐδιδάσκοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου μὴ τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, Κῦρον δὲ εἶναι τὸν τὰ χρήματα δίδοντα ἐς τὰς ναῦς. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ — ἀπεδείχθη γὰρ διαβιβάσαι τε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυνάμεως ἡγεμὼν τῆς πεζῆς — περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Πελοπόννησον πλὴν Ἀργούς καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, συμμαχεῖν σφίσιν ἐπαγγέλλων. [2] Κορίνθιοι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔχοντες προθύμως μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, κατακαυθέντος σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ναοῦ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ὀλυμπίου, ποιησάμενοι πονηρὸν οἰωνὸν καταμένουσιν ἄκοντες. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἦν μὲν ἡ πρόφασις ἐκ τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου καὶ ἐκ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους ἐπανήκειν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὴν πρότερόν ποτε οὔσαν εὐδαιμονίαν: πυνθανόμενοι δὲ δι’ ἀγγέλων ὡς Κόνων ὁ Τιμοθέου παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβεβηκὼς εἶη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἡσύχαζον μάλιστα. [3] ἀπεστάλη δὲ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρεσβεύειν Ἀριστομηλίδας, μητρὸς μὲν τῆς Ἀγησιλάου πατὴρ, Θηβαίοις δὲ εἶχεν ἐπιτηδεῖως καὶ ἐγεγόνει τῶν δικαστῶν, οἱ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἀλόντος τοῦ τείχους ἀποθανεῖν τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἔγνωσαν. Θηβαῖοι μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέιπαντο, οὐ φάμενοι βοηθήσειν: Ἀγησίλαος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὰ τε οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ στράτευμα ἤθροιστο καὶ ἅμα αἱ νῆες εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν, ἀφίκετο ἐς Αὐλίδαν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσων, ὅτι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐνταῦθα ἱλασάμενος τὴν θεὸν τὸν ἐς Τροίαν στόλον ἤγαγεν. [4] ἡξίου δὲ ἄρα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος πόλεώς τε εὐδαιμονεστέρας ἢ Ἀγαμέμνων βασιλεὺς εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, τό τε κατόρθωμα ἐπιφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι βασιλέα κρατήσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην εὐδαιμονίαν κτήσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν ἢ ἀρχὴν καθελεῖν τὴν Πριάμου. θύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Θηβαῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπελθόντες τῶν τε ἱερείων καίόμενα ἤδη τὰ μηρία ἀπορρίπτουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [5] Ἀγησίλαον δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν ἡ θυσία μὴ τελεσθεῖσα, διέβαινε δὲ ὅμως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἤλανεν ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις: ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς κάτω μέγιστον μέρος τηνικαῦτα ἡ Λυδία, καὶ αἱ Σάρδεις πλούτῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ προεῖχον, τῷ τε σατραπεύοντι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοῦτο οἰκητήριον ἀπεδέδεικτο καθάπερ γε αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Σοῦσα. [6] γενομένης δὲ πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην σατράπην τῶν περὶ Ἰωνίαν μάχης ἐν

Ἐρμου πεδίῳ τὴν τε ἵππον τῶν Περσῶν ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τότε πλεῖστον ἀθροισθὲν μετὰ γε τὸν Ξέρξου καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείου καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατόν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀγασθέντες τὸ ἐς τὰ πράγματα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου πρόθυμον διδόασιν ἄρχοντα εἶναι καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ταῖς μὲν τριήρεσιν ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα Πείσανδρον — τοῦ Πεισάνδρου δὲ ἐτύγχανε συνοικῶν ἀδελφῇ —, τῷ πολέμῳ δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ γῆν προσεῖχεν ἐρρωμένως. [7] καὶ οἱ θεῶν τις ἐβάσκηνε μὴ ἀγαγεῖν τὰ βουλευόμενα ἐς τέλος. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐπύθετο Ἀρταξέρξης μάχας τε ἅς ἐνίκησεν Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ὥς ἐς τὸ πρόσω χειρούμενος τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πρόεισιν ἀεὶ σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, Τισσαφέρνην μὲν καίπερ τὰ πρότερα εὐεργέτην ὄντα ζημοῖ θανάτῳ, Τιθραύστην δὲ κατέπεμψε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ φρονῆσαι τε δεινὸν καὶ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχοντα δυσνοίας. [8] οὗτος ὥς ἀφίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, αὐτίκα ἐπενόει τρόπον ᾧ τινι ἀναγκάσει Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνακαλέεσθαι στρατιάν. ἄνδρα οὖν Ῥόδιον Τιμοκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πέμπει χρήματα ἄγοντα, ἐντειλάμενος πόλεμον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐργάσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων μεταλαβόντες Ἀργείων μὲν Κύλων τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ Σωδάμας, ἐν Θήβαις δὲ Ἀνδροκλείδης καὶ Ἴσμηνίας καὶ Ἀμφίθεμις· μετέσχε δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος Κέφαλος καὶ Ἐπικράτης καὶ ὅσοι Κορινθίων ἐφρόνουν τὰ Ἀργείων Πολυάνθης τε καὶ Τιμόλαος. [9] οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερόν τοῦ πολέμου παρασχόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένοντο οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης Λοκροί. τοῖς γὰρ δὴ Λοκροῖς γῇ πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐτύγχανεν οὐσα

ἀμφισβητήσιμος γῆ· ἐκ ταύτης ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπαρθέντες τῶν περὶ Ἴσμηνίαν τόν τε σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἔτεμον καὶ ἤλασαν λείαν ἄγοντες· ἐνέβαλον δὲ πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ ἐδήλωσαν τὴν χώραν. [10] ἐπηγάγοντο οὖν οἱ Λοκροὶ συμμάχους Θηβαίους καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐπόρθησαν· ἐς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντες οἱ Φωκεῖς τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπέκειντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον οἷα ἐπεπόνθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πόλεμον πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι· ἐποιοῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι αὐτῶν ὕβριν ἐς τὴν Ἀγησιλάου θυσίαν. [11] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προπεπυσμένοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, ὅπλα μὲν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ Θήβας δεόμενοι μὴ κινήσαι, δίκη δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι διακρίνεσθαι· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποπέμπουσιν τὴν πρεσβείαν. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔς τε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔξοδον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Λυσάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Πausanias: [12] καὶ ὁ κληθεὶς Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἐς πλεον ἀεὶ προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρξάμενος ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἐξόδου. κατὰ ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὀπίσω τὸ στρατεύμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπῆγεν Ἀγησίλαος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀβύδου περαιωθεὶς ναυσὶν ἐς Σηστὸν καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν Θράκην ἀφίκετο ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ χάριτι τῇ ἐς Θηβαίους τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπειρῶντο εἶργειν· ἦν δέ τι εὐνοίας ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀθηναίων. [13] Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Θεσσαλίαν τε διεξῆλθε τρεψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ αὖθις διὰ Βοιωτῶν διώδευσε Θηβαίους ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νικήσας συμμαχικόν. ὥς δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ Βοιωτοί, καταφεύγουσιν ἄνδρες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἰωνίας· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ εἶχε μὲν τραῦμα ἐκ τῆς

μάχης, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἰκέτας παρενόμησεν οὐδ' οὕτως.

10. οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκαν τῶν Ἰσθμίων οἱ ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγοντες Κορίνθιοι. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μὲν τῷ Ἀγησίλαου δείματι ἡσύχαζον: ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Ἀργείων τὰ Ἴσθμια ἄγουσιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ Κόρινθον στρατιᾷ: καὶ — ἐπήει γὰρ Ὑακίνθια — ἀφίησι τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίεις οἰκαδε ἀπελθόντας τὰ καθεστηκότα τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ὑακίνθῳ δρᾶσαι. ταύτην τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιθέμενοι καθ' ὁδὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἰφικράτης διέφθειραν: [2] Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπικουρήσων ἀφίκετο Αἰτωλοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις, καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἠνάγκασε καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας Καλυδῶνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Αἰτωλῶν πολίσματα ἡρῆκεναι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔπλευσε καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀφεστηκότων ἀπὸ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθήσων: καὶ ἔστιν Ἀγησίλαῳ πολλὰ τε εἰργασμένα καὶ μνήμης ἄξια ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. καὶ — ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἤδη γέρων — τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐπέλαβεν ἡ μοῖρα: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς ἐκομίσθη σφίσιν ὁ νεκρὸς, θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέων τιμήσαντες μάλιστα. [3] Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησίλαου βασιλεύοντος κατέλαβον τὸ ἱερὸν Φωκεῖς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Θηβαίοις μὲν δὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἀφίκετο μὲν καὶ ἰδίᾳ

συμμαχικὰ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀπὸ δὲ κοινοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοί σφισιν ἤμυνον, οἱ μὲν ἀρχαίαν δὴ τινα ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων μνημονεύοντες εὐεργεσίαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προφάσει μὲν καὶ οὗτοι φιλίας, κατὰ ἔχθος δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ Θηβαίων. Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ Δαμασιστράτου τόν τε Ἀρχίδαμον μετασχεῖν τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτι Δεινίχαν τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου γυναῖκα παρὰ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἔφη λαμβάνουσαν δωρεὰν ἐτοιμότερον ποιεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν Ἀρχίδαμον.

[4] τὸ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ἱερὰ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀμῦναι μαντείων πορθήσασι τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον οὐκ ἐς ἔπαινον τίθεμαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ οἱ πρόσεστιν ἐς ἔπαινον: Δελφῶν γὰρ τοὺς τε ἡβῶντας ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι, καταβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμων οἱ Φωκεῖς: ταῦτα οὖν μὴ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων αὐτοὺς παρητήσατο Ἀρχίδαμος. [5] διέβη δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὕστερον Ταραντίνους βαρβάρων πόλεμον συνδιοίσων σφίσιν ὁμόρων: καὶ ἀπέθανέ τε αὐτόθι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀμαρτεῖν τάφου τὸ μήνιμα ἐγένετο ἐμποδῶν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον παῖδα Ἄγιν κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Μακεδόσιν ἐναντία καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μαχεσάμενον, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐβασίλευσεν ἄγουσιν εἰρήνην. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἄγιν τὸν Εὐδαμίδου καὶ ἐς Εὐρυδαμίδαν τὸν Ἀγίδος ὥς ἔσχεν, ἤδη μοι καὶ τάδε ἡ Σικυωνία συγγραφὴ διεξῆι. [6] ἰοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας δρυῶν πλήρης: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν τὸ δὲ σκότος οὐ τὸ συνεχές τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα πρὸ στάδια ἐκτραπομένοις ἱερὸν Σκοτίτα Διός. ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον καὶ τραπεῖσιν αὐθις ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἀγαλμά ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τρόπαιον: ἀναστήσαι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνας

Ἰπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας.

[7] τρίτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εὐθείας ἐκβολὴ κατὰ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐς Καρύας ἄγει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νυμφῶν ἐστὶν αἱ Κάρναι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χοροὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι κατὰ ἔτος ἰσθᾶσι καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις. ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἰόντι ἐρείπια Σελλασίας ἐστί· ταύτην, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα, ἠνδραποδίσαντο Ἀχαιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Κλεομένην τὸν Λεωνίδου μάχῃ νικῆσαντες.

[8] ἐν δὲ Θόρνακι — ἐς γὰρ τοῦτον ἀφίξῃ προϊών — ἄγαλμά ἐστι Πυθαέως Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις πεποιημένον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γράψω. Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ ἐπιφανέστερά ἐστι τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀμυκλαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν χρυσόν, ὃν Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔπεμψε τῷ Πυθαεῖ, τούτῳ ἐς κόσμον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις κατεχρήσαντο ἀγάλματος.

11. ἀπὸ δὲ Θόρνακος προελθόντι ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, Σπάρτη μὲν ὀνομασθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσλαβοῦσα δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ Λακεδαίμων ἡ αὐτὴ καλεῖσθαι· τέως δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔκειτο τῇ γῇ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφεξῆς, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἀφηγήσεως, ὧν ἂ ἕκαστοι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρῖναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ὥς οὖν εὖ βεβουλευμένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου παραβήσομαι. [2] Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς Σπάρτην ἔχουσιν ἐστὶν ἀγορὰ θέας ἄξια, καὶ τῆς τε γερουσίας βουλευτήριον καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ νομοφυλάκων καὶ καλουμένων Βιδιαίων ἀρχεῖά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἡ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίους κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἄρχοντες· τοῖς δὲ ἐφόροις καὶ Βιδιαίοις πέντε ἀριθμὸν ἑκατέρους οὖσι, τοῖς μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καλουμένῳ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγῶνας τιθέναι καθέστηκεν, ἔφοροι δὲ τά τε ἄλλα διοικοῦσι τὰ σπουδῆς μάλιστα ἄξια καὶ παρέχονται τὸν ἐπώνυμον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τῶν καλουμένων ἐννέα ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν εἰς ἄρχων.

[3] ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἣν στοὰν Περσικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος τὸ νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβελήκασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου.

πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμισία, θυγάτηρ μὲν Λυγδάμιδος, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ· ταύτην φασὶν ἐκουσίως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατεῦσαι Ξέρξῃ καὶ ἔργα ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἀποδείξασθαι. [4] ναοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Καίσαρος, ὃς μοναρχίας πρῶτος ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν πρῶτος ἐκτίσαστο, ὁ δὲ Αὐγούστῳ πεποίηται παιδὶ ἐκείνου τὴν τε βασιλείαν βεβαιωσαμένῳ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀξιώματος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐς πλεόν ἢ ὁ πατήρ οἱ προελθόντι· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἦν τούτῳ Αὐγούστος, ὃ κατὰ γλῶσσαν δύναται τὴν Ἑλλήνων σεβαστός. [5] τοῦ δὲ Αὐγούστου δεικνύουσι πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα Ἀγίου. τοῦτον τὸν Ἅγιαν μαντευσάμενόν φασι Λυσάνδρῳ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν ναυτικὸν περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς πλὴν τριήρων δέκα· αὗται δὲ ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐς Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ

αὐτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγίας Ἀγγελόχου παῖς ἦν τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ:

[6] Τισαμενῶ δὲ ὄντι Ἠλείῳ τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν λόγιον ἐγένετο ἀγῶνας ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτόν. οὕτω πένταθλον Ὀλυμπiasιν ἀσκήσας ἀπῆλθεν ἡττηθείς, καίτοι τὰ δύο γε ἦν πρῶτος: καὶ γὰρ δρόμῳ τε ἐκράτει καὶ πηδήματι Ἰερώνυμον τὸν Ἄνδριον. καταπαλαισθεῖς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτῶν τῆς νίκης συνήσι τοῦ χρησμοῦ, διδόναι οἱ τὸν θεὸν μαντευομένῳ πέντε ἀγῶνας πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι. [7] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ — οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἀνηκόως ὦν Τισαμενῶ προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία — πείθουσι μετοικήσαντα ἐξ Ἥλιδος μαντεύεσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τῷ κοινῷ: καὶ σφισιν ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἀγῶνας πολέμου πέντε ἐνίκησε, πρῶτον μὲν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐναντία Περσῶν, δευτέρον δὲ ἐν Τεγέα πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Ἀργεῖους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίοις συνεστώσης, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἐν Διπαιῦσιν Ἀρκάδων πάντων πλὴν Μαντινέων ἀντιτεταγμένων: οἱ δὲ Διπαιεῖς ἐν τῇ Μαιναλία πόλισμα Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν. [8] τέταρτον δὲ ἡγωνίσαστο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ τῶν εἰλώτων: ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ εἰλωτες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνιακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰλώτων ἀποσχισθέντες: καὶ μοι καὶ τάδε ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα ἐπέξεισι. τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἶασαν Τισαμενῶ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι: τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἐμαντεύσατο ἐν Τανάγρα σφίσι πρὸς Ἀργεῖους καὶ Ἀθηναίους γινομένης συμβολῆς. [9] τὰ μὲν Τισαμενοῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην ὄντα: Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαέως τέ ἐστιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις — ἐορτὴ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδία διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν — ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἰστάσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἀγοραίου, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀγοραίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὃν ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἀσφάλιον, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐθις καὶ Ἥρας:

[10] ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Δήμου τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδριᾶς μεγέθει μέγας. καὶ Μοιρῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, Ὁρέστου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρὸς αὐτῷ τάφος: κομισθέντα γὰρ ἐκ Τεγέας τοῦ Ὁρέστου τὰ ὀστᾶ κατὰ μαντείαν θάπτουσιν ἐνταῦθα. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὁρέστου τὸν τάφον ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένους, ὃν βασιλέων ἐς τοσοῦτο τιμῆς προήχασιν ὥστε οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, ὅποσα δεῖ σημαίνεσθαι, τοῦ Πολυδώρου σημαίνονται τῇ εἰκόνι. [11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος Δίονυσον φέρων παῖδα, καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα καλούμενα Ἐφορεία, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κρητὸς μνῆμα καὶ Ἀφαρέως τοῦ Περιήρου: καὶ τὰ γε ἐς Ἐπιμενίδην Λακεδαιμονίους δοξάζω μᾶλλον Ἀργεῖων λέγειν εἰκότα. ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα αἱ Μοῖραι, καὶ Ἑστία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶ καὶ Ζεὺς Ξένιος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ξενία.

12. ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν Ἀφεταῖδα ὀνομάζουσι, τὰ καλούμενα Βοώνητά ἐστι: καὶ με ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ πρότερα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῆς ὁδοῦ. τοῖς μνηστήρσιν Ἰκάριον τῆς Πηνελόπτης φασὶν ἀγῶνα προθεῖναι δρόμου: καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκράτει, δηλὰ ἐστὶν, ἀφεθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀφεταῖδος. [2] δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοὶ δρόμου Ἰκάριος τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐποίησε μιμούμενος Δαναόν. Δαναῶ γὰρ τοῦτο

ἐπὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν εὐρέθη, καὶ ὥς γυναῖκα οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μίasma ἀγαγέσθαι, διέπεμπε δὴ ὁ Δαναὸς ἔδνων ἄνευ δώσειν ἢ ἂν ἕκαστος κατὰ κάλλος ἀρέσκηται: ἀφικομένοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ἀγῶνα δρόμου κατέστησε, καὶ πρῶτῳ τε ἐλθόντι ἐγένετο ἐλέσθαι πρῶτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ἤδη κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἄχρι τοῦ τελευταίου: τὰς δὲ ὑπολειφθείσας μένειν ἔφοδον ἄλλην μνηστήρων ἔδει καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄλλον δρόμου. [3] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐστίν, ὥς ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι, τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα Βοώνητα, Πολυδώρου ποτὲ οἰκία τοῦ βασιλέως: ἀποθανόντος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυδώρου τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπρίαντο ἀντιδόντες βοῦς. ἀργύρου γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πῶ τότε οὐδὲ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα, κατὰ τρόπον δὲ ἔτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀντείδιδονσαν βοῦς καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀργὸν τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν: [4] οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐσπλέοντες φορτίων φασὶν Ἑλληνικῶν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀγώγιμα ἄλλα ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι, νόμισμα δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα χρυσοῦ τε ἀφθόνου καὶ χαλκοῦ παρόντος σφίσι.

τοῦ δὲ τῶν Βιδιαιῶν ἀρχεῖου πέραν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν: Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγεται καὶ ὀνομάσαι Κελεύθειαν, τοὺς Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρας τῷ δρόμῳ νικήσας. ἰδρύσατο δὲ τῆς Κελευθείας ἱερὰ ἀριθμῷ τρία διεστηκότα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. [5] προϊόντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀφεταῖδα ἡρῶά ἐστιν Ἴοπός τε κατὰ Λέλεγα ἢ Μύλητα γενέσθαι δοκοῦντος καὶ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ Ὀικλέους: τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς Τυνδάρειω παῖδας νομίζουσιν ἅτε ἀνεπιῶ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ ποιῆσαι: καὶ αὐτοῦ Λέλεγός ἐστιν ἡρῶν, τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ τέμενος Ποσειδῶνος Ταιναρίου — Ταινάριον δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν — [6] οὐ μακρὰν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ὃ τοὺς ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Τάραντα ἀποικισθέντας ἀναθεῖναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἑλλήνιον, ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὥς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ξέρξην διαβαίνοντα ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον βουλευσάμενοι τρόπον ὄντινα ἀνθέξουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τοὺς Μενελάου χάριτι στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ Ἴλιον βουλευσασθῆαι φησιν ἐνταῦθα ὅπως ἀναπλεῦσαι τε ἐς Τροίαν καὶ δίκας δυνήσονται παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβεῖν τῆς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγῆς. [7] τοῦ δὲ Ἑλληνίου πλησίον Ταλθυβίου μνῆμα ἀποφαίνουσι: δεικνύουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν Αἰγίεις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Ταλθυβίου καὶ οὗτοι φάμενοι μνῆμα εἶναι. Ταλθυβίου δὲ τούτου μῆνιμα ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν κηρύκων, οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως Δαρείου γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ αἰτήσοντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέμφθησαν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐπεσήμαινεν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἰδία τε καὶ ἐς ἐνὸς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς κατέσκηψε Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος: ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῶν κηρύκων τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἀποθανεῖν αἴτιος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. [8] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκρίτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον ἱερὸν Γῆς: Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἵδρυται Μαλεάτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πέρατι τῆς Ἀφεταῖδος, ἐγγύτατα ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, Δικτύννης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ βασιλῆιοι τάφοι τῶν καλουμένων Εὐρυπωντιδῶν: παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἑλλήνιον Ἀρσινόης ἱερὸν, Λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν Πολυδεύκους καὶ Κάστορος ἀδελφῆς. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Φρουρίοις καλουμένοις ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον πεποιήται μνῆμα τοῖς ἐξ Ἡλίδος μάντεσι, καλουμένοις δὲ Ἰαμίдайς. [9] καὶ Μάρωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν

καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐς Θερμοπύλας στρατευσαμένων λόγον μάλιστα ἀξίως μαχέσασθαι μετὰ γε αὐτὸν δοκοῦσι Λεωνίδα. τοῦ δὲ Τροπαίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Δωριεῖς πολέμῳ τούς τε ἄλλους Ἀχαιοὺς, οἱ γῆν τὴν Λακωνικὴν τῆνικαῦτα εἶχον, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίεις κρατήσαντες. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Μεγάλης μητρὸς τιμᾶται περισσῶς δὴ τι. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἡρῶα Ἴππολύτου τέ ἐστι τοῦ Θησέως καὶ Αὐλῶνος Ἀρκάδος, υἱοῦ δὲ Τλησιμένους: Τλησιμένην δὲ Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Μελανίωνος ἀδελφόν, οἱ δὲ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν. [10] ἐτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἔξοδος, καθ' ἣν πεποιήται σφισιν ἡ καλουμένη Σκιάς, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐκκλησιάζουσι. ταύτην τὴν Σκιάδα Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου φασὶν εἶναι ποίημα, ὃς πρῶτος διαχέαι σίδηρον εὔρε καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλάσαι. ἐνταῦθα ἐκρέμασαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν Τιμοθέου τοῦ Μιλησίου κιθάραν, καταγνόντες ὅτι χορδαῖς ἑπτὰ ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἐφεῦρεν ἐν τῇ κιθαρωδία τέσσαρας χορδὰς.

[11] πρὸς δὲ τῇ Σκιάδι οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι περιφερές, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀγάλματα ἐπὶ κλῆσιν Ὀλυμπίων: τοῦτο Ἐπιμενίδην κατασκευάσαι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀργείοις, ὅπου μὴδὲ πολεμήσαι φασὶ πρὸς Κνωσσίους.

13. πλησίον δὲ ἔστι μὲν Κυνόρτου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα τάφος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κάστορος μνήμα, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερὸν πεποιήται: τεσσαρακοστῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴδαν καὶ Λυγκέα θεοὺς τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας καὶ οὐ πρότερον νομισθῆναι φασὶ. δεικνύται δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σκιάδι καὶ Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως τάφος. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκὸς ἐτάφησαν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ: [2] Μεσσηνίων δὲ αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ ὁ χρόνος, ὅσον ἔφυγον ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐποίησεν ἄγνωστα, ἅτε δὲ ἐκείνων οὐκ εἰδότες ἔστιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ ναὸς Κόρης Σωτείας: ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν Θρᾶκα Ὀρφέα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀβαριν ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων. [3] ὁ δὲ Καρνειός, ὃν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἴδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κριοῦ τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως: τούτου δὲ τοῦ Κριοῦ γεμιζούσῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ὕδωρ συντυχόντες κατάσκοποι τῶν Δωριέων αὐτῇ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κριὸν ἐλθόντες διδάσκονται τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Σπάρτης. [4] Κάρνειον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριεῦσι μὲν τοῖς πᾶσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, μαντευομένου δὲ ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος: τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἐνέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μήνιμα Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἰππότης τε ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ καὶ Δωριεῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀκαρνανᾶ μάντιν καθέστηκεν ἰλάσκεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ οὗτος ὁ Οἰκέτας ἐστὶ

Καρνείος, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῦ μάντεως Κριοῦ τιμώμενος Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν Σπάρτην. [5] Πραξιῖλῃ μὲν δὴ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ὥς Εὐρώπης εἶη καὶ Διὸς ὁ Κάρνειος καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἀπόλλων καὶ Λητώ: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῇ Τρωικῇ κρανεΐας ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσει πεφυκυίας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐκτεμεῖν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ δουρείου τὴν ποίησιν: μαθόντες δὲ ὀργὴν σφισιν ἔχειν τὸν θεὸν θυσίαις ἰλάσκονται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι

Κάρνειον ἀπὸ τῶν κρανείων, ὑπερθέντες τὸ ῥῶ κατὰ δὴ τι ἀρχαῖον. [6] τοῦ Καρνείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα Ἀφεταιίου· τοῖς δὲ Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρσί φασιν ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔστι δὲ τι χωρίον ἔχον στοὰς ἐν τετραγώνῳ τῷ σχήματι, ἔνθα σφίσιν ἐπιπράσκετο ὁ ῥῶπος τὸ ἀρχαῖον· πρὸς τούτῳ Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ τούτων Ἀμβουλίων.

[7] ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἦ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναὸς, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος, ὃν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Σπάρτην Διονύσῳ φασὶ γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα· τῷ δὲ ἥρῳι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιπίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἑνδεκα ἅς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα· [8] δρᾶν δὲ οὕτω σφίσιν ἤλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὐ μακρὰν Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Εὐάνεμου, τούτου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πλευρῶνος ἥρῳον. γεγόνασι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ

Πλευρῶνος· Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἄσιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήγορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος. τοῦ δὲ ἥρῳος λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω καὶ Ἦρας ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναὸς Ἀργείας· ιδρύσασθαι δὲ Εὐρυδίκην φασὶ Λακεδαιμόνος θυγατέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀκρισίου τοῦ Ἄβαντος. Ἦρας δὲ ἱερὸν Ὑπερχειρίας κατὰ μαντεῖαν ἐποιήθη, τοῦ Εὐρώτα πολὺ τῆς γῆς σφισιν ἐπικλύζοντος. [9] ξόανον δὲ ἀρχαῖον καλοῦσιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἦρας· ἐπὶ δὲ θυγατρὶ γαμουμένη νενομίκασι τὰς μητέρας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. τοῦ λόφου δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐς δεξιὰν ὁδὸν Ἑτοιμοκλέους ἐστὶν εἰκὼν· τῷ δὲ Ἑτοιμοκλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἴπποσθένει τῷ πατρὶ πάλης εἰσὶν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, καὶ συναμφοτέροις μὲν μία τε καὶ δέκα, τῷ δὲ Ἴπποσθένει μὲν νίκη τὸν υἱὸν παρελθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν.

14. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι δυόμενον τάφος κενὸς Βρασίδα τῷ Τέλλιδος πεποιήται· ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τάφου τὸ θέατρον, λίθου λευκοῦ, θέας ἄξιον. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγήσαμένου μνημῆα ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου — καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλῳ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι —, τὰ δὲ ὅσῃ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πausανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν. [2] καλεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Θεομηλίδα χωρίον· κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως τάφοι τῶν

Ἀγιάδων βασιλέων εἰσὶ καὶ πλησίον ὀνομαζομένη λέσχη Κροτανῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Κροτανοὶ Πιτανατῶν μοῖρα. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς λέσχης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἐν Ἀγιάδων καλούμενον. προελθοῦσι δὲ Ταινάρου μνημῆα ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐσέχουσαν ἀπὸ τούτου φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι· θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἴπποκουρίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰγιναιῆς. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω πρὸς τὴν λέσχην ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰσσωρίας ἱερὸν· ἐπονομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Λιμναίαν, οὗσαν οὐκ Ἄρτεμιν, Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν Κρητῶν· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Αἰγίναϊος ἔχει μοι λόγος. [3] ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τῶν μνημάτων ἃ τοῖς Ἀγιάδαις πεποιήται στήλην ὄψει, γεγραμμένα δὲ εἰσιν ἅς Χίονις ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος δρόμου νίκας ἀνείλετο ἄλλας τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαςιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ

ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγένοντό οἱ νῆκαι, τέσσαρες μὲν σταδίου, διαύλου δὲ αἱ λοιπαί: τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι δρόμον ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινε εἶναι πω. Χίονιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετασχεῖν τῷ Θηραίῳ Βάττῳ καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Λιβύων καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους λέγουσιν. [4] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος κατασκευασθῆναι φασιν ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη: πολεμεῖν μὲν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀφεστηκότας, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα σφῶν Ἀναξάνδρον ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν λαβεῖν αἰχμαλώτους γυναῖκας, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς εἶναι Κλεῶ, Θέτιδος δὲ αὐτὴν ἰέρειαν εἶναι. ταύτην ἡ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου γυνὴ τὴν Κλεῶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου αἰτεῖ, καὶ τό τε ξόανον τῆς Θέτιδος ἀνεῦρεν ἔχουσαν καὶ ναὸν μετ' αὐτῆς ἰδρύσατο τῇ θεῷ: ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Λεανδρίς κατὰ ὅσιν ὄνειρατος. [5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ξόανον τῆς Θέτιδος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσι: Δήμητρα δὲ Χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασὶ παραδόντος σφίσιν Ὀρφέως, δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἑρμιόνη κατέστη καὶ τούτοις Χθονίαν νομίζειν Δήμητρα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σαράπιδος νεώτατον τοῦτο Σπαρτιάταις ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίου. [6] καλοῦσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δρόμον, ἔνθα τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι δρόμου μελέτη καθέστηκεν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Δρόμον ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τῶν Ἀγιαδῶν ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μνημα Εὐμήδους, Ἰπποκόωντος δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὁ Εὐμήδης: ἔστι δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον Ἡρακλέους, ὃ θύουσιν οἱ Σφαιρεῖς: οἱ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας ἀρχόμενοι συντελεῖν. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια ἐν τῷ Δρόμῳ, τὸ ἕτερον Εὐρυκλέους ἀνάθημα ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου: τοῦ Δρόμου δὲ ἐκτὸς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστιν οἰκία τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἰδιώτου, Μενελάου τὸ ἀρχαῖον. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν καὶ Χαρίτων, τὸ δὲ Εὐλειθυίας ἔστιν Ἀπόλλωνός τε Καρνείου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἥγεμόνης:

[7] τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγνίτα πεποιήται μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Δρόμου, Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἔστιν ἐπὶ κλησις ὁ Ἀγνίτας, ὅτι ἦν ἄγνου τῷ θεῷ ξόανον: ἡ δὲ ἄγνος λύγος καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τῇ ράμνῳ. τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ τρόπαιον ἔστηκε, Πολυδεύκην δὲ ἀναστήσαι φασιν ἐπὶ Λυγκεῖ: καὶ μοι κάμοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀποφαίνει τὸν λόγον εἰκότα, οὐ ταφῆναι τοὺς Ἀφαρέως παῖδας ἐν Σπάρτῃ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Δρόμου τῇ ἀρχῇ Διόσκουροί τέ εἰσιν Ἀφετήριοι καὶ ὀλίγον προελθόντι ἡρῶν Ἀλκωνος: τὸν δὲ Ἀλκωνα λέγουσιν Ἰπποκόωντας παῖδα εἶναι.

παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκωνος τὸ ἡρῶν Ποσειδωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, Δωματίτην δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν. [8] καὶ χωρίον Πλατανιστᾶς ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, αἱ δὲ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς περὶ αὐτὸ αἱ πλάτανοι πεφύκασιν. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα τοῖς ἐφήβοις μάχεσθαι καθέστηκεν, κύκλῳ μὲν εὐριπὸς περιέχει κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ νῆσον θάλασσα, ἔφοδοι δὲ ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν εἰσι. γεφυρῶν δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῇ μὲν ἔστιν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, τῇ δὲ εἰκὼν Λυκούργου: νόμους δὲ ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ ἐς τὴν μάχην τῶν ἐφήβων ἔθηκεν ὁ Λυκούργος. [9] καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα τοῖς ἐφήβοις δρώμενά ἐστι: θύουσι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ: τὸ δὲ Φοιβαῖον ἔστιν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, Θεράπνης οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκός. ἐνταῦθα ἑκάτερα μοῖρα τῶν ἐφήβων σκύλακα κυνὸς τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσι, θεῶν τῷ ἀλκιμωτάτῳ κρίνοντες ἱερεῖον κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον ζῶον τῶν ἡμέρων. κυνὸς δὲ σκύλακας οὐδένας ἄλλους οἶδα

Ἑλλήνων νομίζοντας θύειν ὅτι μὴ Κολοφωνίους· θύουσι γὰρ καὶ Κολοφώνιοι μέλαιναν τῇ Ἑνοδίῳ σκύλακα. νυκτεριναὶ δὲ ἦ τε Κολοφωνίων θυσία καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἐφήβων καθεστῆκασιν. [10] ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ κάπρους ἡθάδας οἱ ἔφηβοι συμβάλλουσι μαχουμένους· ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν ὁ κάπρος τύχη νικῶν, ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ κρατῆσαι τούτους ὡς τὰ πλείω συμβαίνει. τοσάδε μὲν δρῶσιν ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὀλίγον πρὸ μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας ἐσίασι κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἔσοδον, καθ' ἣν ἐσελθεῖν δεῦρο ἔστιν ἐκατέραν τάξιν, προεδήλωσε κληρὸς σφισιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί· μάχονται δὲ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐμπηδῶντες λάξ, δάκνουσί τε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀντορύσσουσιν. ἀνὴρ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον μάχεται· ἀθρόοι δὲ ἐμπίπτουσι βιαίως καὶ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ὠθοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.

15. πρὸς δὲ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καὶ Κυνίσκας ἐστὶν ἡρῶν, θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Σπαρτιατῶν· πρώτη δὲ ἵπποτροφῆσε γυναικῶν καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳσι πρώτη νίκην ἀνέειλετο ἄρματι. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς, ἣ παρὰ τὸν Πλατανιστὰν πεποιῆται, ταύτης ὀπισθεν ἡρῶα, τὸ μὲν Ἀλκίμου, τὸ δὲ Ἐναρσφόρου καὶ ἀφεστηκὸς οὐ πολὺ Δορκέως, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Σεβροῦ· παῖδας δὲ Ἴπποκόωντος εἶναι λέγουσιν. [2] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δορκέως κρήνην τὴν πλησίον τοῦ ἡρώου Δορκείαν, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ Σέβριον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβροῦ. τοῦ Σεβρίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ μνημα Ἀλκμᾶνος, ᾧ ποιήσαντι ἄσματα οὐδὲν ἐς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν ἐλυμήνατο τῶν Λακῶνων ἢ γλῶσσα, ἥκιστα παρεχομένη τὸ εὐφωνον. [3] Ἑλένης δὲ ἱερὰ καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῇ δὲ ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀγάλμα Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ὠπλισμένον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μάχην γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἔχθος Ἡρακλεῖ φασιν ἐς οἶκον ὑπάρχει τὸν Ἴπποκόωντος, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτου θάνατον καθαρσίῳν ἔνεκα ἐλθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπηξίωσαν καθῆραι· [4] προσεγένετο δὲ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε. Οἰωνὸς ἡλικίαν μὲν μεираκίον, ἀνεψιὸς δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ — Λικυμνίου γὰρ παῖς ἦν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης — ἀφίκετο ἐς Σπάρτην ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ· περιόντι δὲ καὶ θεωμένῳ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τοῦ Ἴπποκόωντος τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ κύων ἐπεφέρετο οἰκουρός. ὁ δὲ τυγχάνει τε ἀφείς λίθον ὁ Οἰωνὸς καὶ καταβάλλει τὴν κύνα· ἐπεκθέουσιν οὖν τοῦ Ἴπποκόωντος οἱ παῖδες καὶ ῥοπάλοις τύπτοντες κατεργάζονται τὸν Οἰωνόν. [5] τοῦτο Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα ἐξηγρίωσεν ἐς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς ὀργῆς εἶχε χωρεῖ σφισιν ἐς μάχην. τότε μὲν δὴ τιτρώσκειται καὶ λαθὼν ἀπεχώρησεν· ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεγένετό οἱ στρατεῦσαντι ἐς Σπάρτην τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἴπποκόωντα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Οἰωνοῦ φόνου. τὸ δὲ μνημα τῷ Οἰωνῷ πεποιῆται παρὰ τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον. [6] ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δρόμου πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀτραπὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀξιοποίνου καλουμένης ἱερὸν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀμυνόμενος Ἡρακλῆς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετῆλθε κατ' ἀξίαν ὧν προυπηρξεν, ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύεται, Ἀξιοποίνου δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅτι τὰς τιμωρίας οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠνόμαζον ποινάς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰόντι ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου· Θήραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι τὸν Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου φασίν, ἥνικα ἀποικίαν ἔστελλεν

ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἣ νῦν ἀπὸ Θήρα τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλιόστη.

[7] πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶν Ἱπποσθένους ναός, ὃ γεγόνασιν αἱ πολλαὶ νῆκαι πάλης: σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος τὸν Ἱπποσθένην ἅτε Ποσειδῶνι τιμὰς νέμοντες. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐνυάλιος, ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ἄπτερον καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὐποτε τὸν Ἐνυάλιον φεύγοντα οἰχίσσεσθαι σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαις, Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι ἀεὶ μενεῖν οὐκ ὄντων πτερῶν.

τόνδε μὲν εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις αὗται τὰ ξόανα τὸν τρόπον ἰδρυμέναι καὶ ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοιαύτῃ: [8] ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ λέσχη τέ ἐστὶ καλουμένη Ποικίλῃ καὶ ἡρῶα πρὸς αὐτῇ Κάδμου τοῦ Ἀγήνορος τῶν τε ἀπογόνων, Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα καὶ Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου. ποιῆσαι δὲ τὰ ἡρῶα λέγουσι Μαῖσιν καὶ Λαίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὑραίου παῖδας τοῦ Αἰγέως. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τὸ ἡρῶν, ὅτι σφίσιν ὁ πρόγονος Τισαμενὸς μητρὸς ἦν Δημωνάσσης, ἀδελφῆς Ἀμφιλόχου. [9] μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἦραν ἐπονομάζειν Αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἶγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. Ἡρακλέα δὲ λέγουσιν ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αἶγας θῆσαι πρῶτον, ὅτι μαχομένῳ οἱ πρὸς Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἦρας ἀπῆντησεν ἐμπόδιον, ὥσπερ γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδόξαζεν ἐναντιοῦσθαι οἱ τὴν θεόν: αἶγας δὲ αὐτὸν θῆσαι φασιν ἱερεῖων ἀπορήσαντα ἄλλοιων.

[10] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶνός τε ἱερὸν ἐστὶ Γενεθλίου καὶ ἡρῶα Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου καὶ Οἰβάλου. τῶν δὲ Ἀσκληπιείων τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον πεποιήται σφισι πρὸς τοῖς Βοωνήτοις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡρῶν Τηλέκλου: τούτου δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. προελθοῦσι δὲ οὐ πολὺ λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἀρχαῖος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόanon ὠπλισμένης. ναῶν δὲ ὧν οἶδα μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερῶν ἄλλο ἐπωκοδόμηται Μορφοῦς ἱερὸν. [11] ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἡ Μορφώ, κάθεται δὲ καλύπτραν τε ἔχουσα καὶ πέδας περὶ τοῖς ποσί: περιθεῖναι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεων τὰς πέδας φασὶν ἀφομοιοῦντα τοῖς δεσμοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας τῶν γυναικῶν βέβαιον. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον λόγον, ὡς τὴν θεὸν πέδαις ἐτιμωρεῖτο ὁ Τυνδάρεως, γενέσθαι ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἡγούμενος τὰ ὄνειδῃ, τοῦτον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν προσίεμαι: ἦν γὰρ δὴ παντάπασιν εὐηθὲς κέδρου ποιησάμενον ζῶδιον καὶ ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτην θέμενον ἐλπίζειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν θεόν.

16. πλησίον δὲ Ἰλαίρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν: ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι. κόραι δὲ ἱερῶνται σφισι παρθένοι, καλούμεναι κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ αὗται Λευκιπτίδες. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερασαμένη τις ταῖς θεαῖς Λευκιπτὶς ἐπεκόσμησε, πρόσωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ποιησαμένη τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τέχνης τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπικοσμεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπεν ὄνειρον. ἐνταῦθα ἀπῆρηται ῥὸν τοῦ ὀρόφου κατελιγμένον ταινία: εἶναι δὲ φασιν ῥὸν ἐκεῖνο ὃ τεκεῖν Λήδαν ἔχει λόγος. [2] ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἔνθα ὑφαίνουσι Χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν. οἰκία δὲ

αὐτοῦ πεποίηται πλησίον: τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασιν αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκτήσατο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ξένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐοικότες: ἦκειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φήσαντες καταχθινὰ τε ἡξίουσαν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκημα ἡτοῦντο ὃ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἥνικα μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν. [3] ὁ δὲ οἰκίας μὲν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ἔνθα ἂν ἐθέλωσιν οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν: θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἔτυχεν οἱ παρθένος ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ δίαίταν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὕστεραίαν παρθένος μὲν ἐκείνη καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν παῖδα ἡφάνιστο, Διοσκούρων δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι εὐρέθη καὶ τράπεζά τε καὶ σίλφιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ. [4] τάδε μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν: ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτῶνος Χίλωνός ἐστιν ἡρῶν τοῦ σοφοῦ νομιζομένου καὶ Αθηνοδώρου τῶν ὁμοῦ Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου σταλέντων ἐς Σικελίαν: ἐστάλησαν δὲ τὴν Ἑρυκίνην χώραν νομίζοντες τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ οὐ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐχόντων. Ἡρακλέα γὰρ ἔχει λόγος παλαῖσαι πρὸς Ἑρυκα ἐπὶ τοῖσδε εἰρημένοις, ἦν μὲν Ἡρακλῆς νικήσῃ, γῆν τὴν Ἑρυκος Ἡρακλέους εἶναι, κρατηθέντος δὲ τῇ πάλῃ βοῦς τὰς Γηρυόνας —

[5] ταύτας γὰρ τότε ἤλυνεν Ἡρακλῆς, διανηξαμένας δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν κατὰ τὸν ἔλαιον τὸν κυφὸν ἀνευρήσων ἐπιδιέβη — τὰς οὖν βοῦς ἔδει κρατηθέντος Ἡρακλέους τὸν Ἑρυκα ἄγοντα οἴχεσθαι. τὸ δὲ εὐμενὲς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἀποκτίνουσιν Ἑρυκα, Δωριέα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειραν τὸ πολὺ Ἑγεσταῖοι. [6] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Λυκούργῳ τῷ θεμένῳ τοὺς νόμους οἷα δὴ θεῶ πεποιήκασιν καὶ τούτῳ ἱερὸν. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶν ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ Λυκούργου παιδὶ Εὐκόσμῳ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ βωμῷ Λαθρίας καὶ Ἀναξάνδρας: αἱ δὲ αὐταί τε ἦσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἱ τ' Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες ἅτε ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι λαμβάνουσι, θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμηδίδα, βασιλεύοντος μὲν Κλεωναίων, τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ μνήμα Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυβιάδου Λακεδαιμονίων τριήρεσιν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσαντος πρὸς Μήδους, πλησίον δὲ Ἀστραβάκου καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἡρῶν.

[7] τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ ξόανον δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι λέγουσιν ὃ ποτε καὶ Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἰφιγένεια ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐκκλέπτουσιν: ἐς δὲ τὴν σφετέραν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κοιμισθῆναι φασιν Ὀρέστου καὶ ἐνταῦθα βασιλεύοντος. καί μοι εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον τι δοκοῦσιν ἢ Αθηναῖοι. ποίῳ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ κατέλιπεν ἂν ἐν Βραυρῶνι Ἰφιγένεια τὸ ἄγαλμα; ἢ πῶς, ἥνικα Αθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν παρεσκεύαζοντο, οὐκ ἐσέθεντο καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς;

[8] καίτοι διαμεμένηκεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τηλικούτο ὄνομα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεῷ, ὥστε ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν Καππάδοκες καὶ οἱ τὸν Εὐξείνιον οἰκοῦντες τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οἷς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ἀναιτίτιδος. Αθηναῖοις δὲ ἄρα παρώφθη γεγόμενον λάφυρον τῷ Μῆδῳ: τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ἐκομίσθη τε ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὕστερον Σελεύκου δόντος Σύροι Λαοδικεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσι. [9] μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι

Ὁρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξόανον: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένους τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἀγίδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὐρόντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν: τοῦτο δὲ οἱ Λιμνᾶται Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐκ Μεσόας τε καὶ Πιτάνης θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς διαφοράν, ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς φόνους προήχθησαν, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ πολλῶν νόσος ἐφθειρε τοὺς λοιπούς. [10] καὶ σφισιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γίνεται λόγιον αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν αἰμάσσειν: θυομένου δὲ ὄντινα ὁ κλῆρος ἐπελάμβανε, Λυκοῦργος μετέβαλεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις μάστιγας, ἐμπίπλαται τε οὕτως ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ὁ βωμός. ἡ δὲ ἰέρεια τὸ ξόανον ἔχουσά σφισιν ἐφέστηκε: τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἄλλως μὲν κοῦφον ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἦν δὲ οἱ [11] μαστιγοῦντές ποτε ὑποφειδόμενοι παίωσι κατὰ ἐφήβου κάλλος ἢ ἀξίωμα, τότε ἤδη τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ ξόανον γίνεται βαρὺ καὶ οὐκέτι εὐφορον, ἡ δὲ ἐν αἰτία τοὺς μαστιγοῦντας ποιεῖται καὶ πιέζεσθαι δι' αὐτούς φησιν. οὕτω τῷ ἀγάλματι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ θυσῶν ἐμμεμένηκεν ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ἥδεσθαι: καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὁρθίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτὴν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων εὐρέθη, περιειληθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν.

17. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Ὁρθίας ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν: οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ καὶ Εἰλειθυίαν νομίσαι θεὸν γενομένου σφίσιν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντεύματος.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἐς ὕψος περιφανὲς ἐξίσχουσα οὐκ ἔστι, καθὰ δὴ Θηβαίοις τε ἡ Καδμεία καὶ ἡ Λάρισα Ἀργείοις: ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐς μετέωρον ἀνῆκον ὀνομάζουσιν ἀκρόπολιν. [2] ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πεποιήται Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοῖκου τῆς αὐτῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς κατασκευῆς Τυνδάρεως καθὰ λέγουσιν ἤρξατο: ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου δεῦτερα οἱ παῖδες ἐξεργάσασθαι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἤθελον, ἀφορμὴ δὲ σφισιν ἔμελλε τὰ ἐξ Αἰφιδναίων ἔσεσθαι λάφυρα. προαπολιπόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν: Γιτιάδας δὲ εἰργάσατο ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἄσματα Δώρια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον ἐς τὴν θεόν. [3] ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἡρακλέους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐθελοντῆς κατώρθωσε, Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἀρπαγὴ: καὶ Ἡφαιστος τὴν μητέρα ἐστὶν ἀπολύων τῶν δεσμῶν. ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅποια λέγεται, πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἀθίδι συγγραφῇ. Περσεῖ δ' ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὠρμημένῳ διδοῦσαι νύμφαι δῶρά εἰσι κυνὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα, ὑφ' ὧν οἰσθήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔμελλεν. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θέας ἄξια. [4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτόθι Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐργάνης ἱερὸν. ἐς δὲ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἰόντι στοᾶν Κοσμητᾶ τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Διὸς ναὸς καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνημά ἐστιν: ἡ δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἔχει τῶν στοῶν ἀετούς τε δύο τοὺς ὄρνιθας καὶ ἴσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Νίκας, Λυσάνδρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τῶν δὲ ἔργων ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε περὶ Ἐφεσον, ὅτε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου κυβερνήτην καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς καθεῖλεν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ναυτικόν. [5] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου Μουσῶν ἰδρύσαντο ἱερὸν, ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς ἐξόδους

ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας οὐ μετὰ σαλπίγγων ἐποιοῦντο ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε αὐλῶν μέλη καὶ ὑπὸ λύρας καὶ κιθάρας κρούσασιν. ὅπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρείας· τὰ δὲ ξόανα ἀρχαῖα εἶπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἑλλήσιν.

[6] τῆς Χαλκιοίκου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ὑπάτου

πεποιήται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὅποσα ἐστὶ χαλκοῦ· δι' ὅλου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰργασμένον, ἐληλασμένου δὲ ἰδίᾳ τῶν μερῶν καθ' αὐτὸ ἐκάστου συνήρμοσταί τε πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἦλοι συνέχουσιν αὐτὰ μὴ διαλυθῆναι. καὶ Κλέαρχον δὲ ἄνδρα Ῥηγῖνον τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν, ὃν Διποῖνον καὶ Σκύλλιδος, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δαιδάλου φασὶν εἶναι μαθητὴν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ Σκηνώματι ὀνομαζομένῳ γυναικὸς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Εὐρυλεωνίδα λέγουσιν εἶναι· νίκην δὲ ἵππων συνωρίδι ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν. [7] παρὰ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου τὸν βωμὸν ἐστήκασι δύο εἰκόνες Πausανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν ἡγησαμένου. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια ἐγένετο εἰδόσιν οὐ διηγῆσομαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον συγγραφέντα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἀποχρῶντα ἦν· ἐπεξελεθῆναι δὲ σφισιν ἀρκέσομαι. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Βυζαντίου Πausανίαν φωραθῆναι τε ἐφ' οἷς ἐβουλεύετο καὶ μόνον τῶν ἱκετευσάντων τὴν Χαλκιοίκον ἀμαρτεῖν ἀδείας κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φόνου δὲ ἄγος ἐκνίψασθαι μὴ δυνηθέντα.

[8] ὥς γὰρ δὴ διέτριβε περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ναυσὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, παρθένου Βυζαντίας ἐπεθύμησε· καὶ αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης τὴν Κλεονίκην — τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ κόρῃ — κομίζουσιν οἷς ἐπετέτακτο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὑπνωμένον τὸν Πausανίαν ἐπήγειρεν ὁ ψόφος· ἰοῦσα γὰρ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιόμενον λύχνον κατέβαλεν ἄκουσα. ἅτε δὲ ὁ Πausανίας συνειδὼς αὐτῷ προδιδόντι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐχόμενος ταραχῇ τε αἰεὶ καὶ δέϊματι, ἐξέστη καὶ τότε καὶ τὴν παῖδα τῷ ἀκινάκῃ παίει. [9] τοῦτο τὸ ἄγος οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀποφυγεῖν Πausανίᾳ, καθάρσια παντοῖα καὶ ἱκεσίας δεξαμένῳ Διὸς Φυξίου καὶ δὴ ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἐλθόντι τὴν Ἀρκάδων παρὰ τοὺς ψυχαγωγούς· δίκην δὲ ἦν εἰκὸς ἦν Κλεονίκη τε ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῷ θεῷ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τάς τε εἰκόνας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην, τὸ ἐπὶ Πausανίᾳ τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μήνιμα ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τοῦτον.

18. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων τοῦ Πausανίου πλησίον ἐστὶν Ἀμβολογήρας Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἰδρυμένον κατὰ μαντείαν, ἄλλα δὲ Ὑπνου καὶ Θανάτου· καὶ σφᾶς ἀδελφοὺς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἡγῆνται. [2] ἰόντι δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλπίον καλούμενον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀφθαλμίτιδος· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Λυκοῦργον λέγουσιν ἐκκοπέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ Ἀλκάνδρου, διότι οὕς ἐθηκε νόμους οὐκ ἀρεστοὺς συνέβαιναν εἶναι τῷ Ἀλκάνδρῳ. διαφυγὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμυνάντων μὴ προσαπολέσθαι οἱ καὶ τὸν λειπόμενον ὀφθαλμόν, οὕτω ναὸν Ὀφθαλμίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἐποίησε. [3] προελθόντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀμμωνος· φαίνονται δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντεῖῳ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρῳ πολιορκοῦντι Ἀφυτιν τὴν ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ νύκτωρ ἐπιφανέντα Ἀμμωνα προαγορεύειν ὥς ἄμεινον ἐκείνῳ τε ἔσοιτο καὶ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι

πολέμου πρὸς Ἀφυταίους παυσάμενοις· καὶ οὕτω τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσεν

ὁ Λύσανδρος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν θεὸν σέβειν προήγαγεν ἐς πλεόν, Ἀφυταῖοι δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἄμμωνα οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ οἱ Ἀμμώνιοι Λιβύων. [4] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν ἐστὶν οὕτω λεγόμενα: Κναγέα ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον στρατεῦσαί φασιν ἐς Ἄφιδναν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Διοσκοούροις, ληφθέντα δὲ αἰχμάλωτον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πραθέντα ἐς Κρήτην δουλεύειν ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τοῖς Κρησὶν ἱερὸν, ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὸν τε ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ παρθένον τὴν ἱερωμένην ἔχοντα οἴχεσθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγουσιν ὀνομάζειν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν:

[5] ἐμοὶ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κναγεὺς ἄλλως ἀφικέσθαι πως ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεται καὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοί φασιν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ γενέσθαι δοκῶ πρὸς Ἀφίδνῃ μάχην Θησέως τε ἐν Θεσπρώτοις ἐχομένου καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐχ ὁμονοούντων ἀλλὰ ἐς Μενεσθέα ρεπόντων μᾶλλον ταῖς εὐνοίαις. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀγῶνος συμβάντος πείθοιτο ἂν τις αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι παρὰ τῶν κρατησάντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ πολὺ γενομένης τῆς νίκης, ὥστε ἄλῶναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀφιδναν. [6] τὰδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω: ἐς Ἀμύκλας δὲ κατιοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ποταμός ἐστι Τίασα: θυγατέρα δὲ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὴν Τίασαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Φαέννας καὶ Κλητᾶς, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ἐποίησεν. ἰδρῦσασθαι δὲ Λακεδαίμονα Χάρισιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα ἦγνται.

[7] τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις θέας ἄξια ἀνὴρ γὰρ πένταθλός ἐστιν ἐπὶ στήλης ὄνομα Αἰνῆτος: τούτῳ νικήσαντι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ ἔτι στεφανουμένῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευταίην λέγουσι. τούτου τε οὖν ἐστὶν εἰκὼν καὶ τρίποδες χαλκοῖ: τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαιοτέρους δεκάτην τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου φασὶν εἶναι. [8] ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ τρίποδι Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐστήκει, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Γιτιάδα καὶ αὐτοὶ τέχνη καὶ τὰ ἐπειρασμένα, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος: ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἄγαλμα Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἔστηκεν. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ Πάριος καὶ Πολύκλειτος Ἀργεῖος ὁ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐποίησεν ἔχουσαν λύραν, Σπάρτην δὴθεν, Πολύκλειτος δὲ Ἀφροδίτην παρὰ Ἀμυκλαίῳ καλουμένην. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τρίποδες μεγέθει τε ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης τῆς ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἀνετέθησαν. [9] Βαθυκλέους δὲ Μάγνητος, ὃς τὸν θρόνον ἐποίησε τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου, ἀναθήματα ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ τῷ θρόνῳ Χάριτες καὶ ἄγαλμα δὲ Λευκοφρυγῆς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. ὅτου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Βαθυκλῆς μαθητὴς ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' ὅτου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποίησε, τὰδε μὲν παρίημι, τὸν θρόνον δὲ εἰδὼν τε καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια ἦν γράψω. [10] ἀνέχουσιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτόν, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὀπίσω, Χάριτές τε δύο καὶ Ὠραι δύο: ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἐχιδνα ἔστηκε καὶ Τυφώς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Τρίτωνες. τὰ δὲ ἐπειρασμένα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς διελθεῖν ὄχλον τοῖς ἐπιλεξομένοις παρέξειν ἔμελλεν: ὥς δὲ δηλῶσαι συλλαβόντι, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ἄγνωστα τὰ πολλὰ ἦν, Ταυγέτην θυγατέρα Ἀτλαντος καὶ ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀλκυόνην φέρουσι Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ζεὺς. ἐπείρασται δὲ καὶ Ἄτλας καὶ Ἡρακλέους μονομαχία πρὸς Κύκνον καὶ ἡ παρὰ Φόλῳ τῶν Κενταύρων μάχῃ. [11] τὸν δὲ Μίνω καλούμενον Ταῦρον οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθ' ὅτου πεποίηκε Βαθυκλῆς δεδεμένον τε καὶ ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Θησέως ζῶντα: καὶ Φαιάκων χορὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ ἄδων ὁ Δημόδοκος:

Περσέως τε τὸ ἔργον πεποίηται τὸ ἐς Μεδούσαν. παρέντι δὲ Ἡρακλέους μάχην πρὸς Θούριον τῶν γιγάντων καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸς Εὐρυτον, ἔστιν ἀρπαγὴ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων: Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν παῖδα ἔτι ὄντα ἐς οὐρανὸν ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς φέρων, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἄγουσα Ἡρακλέα συνοικήσοντα ἀπὸ τούτου θεοῖς. [12] παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέα τραφησόμενον παρὰ Χίρῳ, ὃς καὶ διδάξει λέγεται: Κέφαλος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἔνεκα ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἔστιν ἡρπασμένος, καὶ ἐς τὸν γάμον τὸν Ἀρμονίας δῶρα κομίζουσιν οἱ θεοί. καὶ Ἀχιλλέως μονομαχία πρὸς Μένονα ἐπείργασται, Διομήδην τε Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Θρᾶκα καὶ ἐπ' Εὐήνω τῷ ποταμῷ Νέσσον τιμωρούμενος. Ἑρμῆς δὲ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον κριθησομένης ἄγει τὰς θεάς, Ἄδραστος δὲ καὶ Τυδεὺς Ἀμφιάραον καὶ Λυκοῦργον τὸν Πρώνακτος μάχης καταπαύουσιν. [13] Ἥρα δὲ ἀφορᾷ πρὸς Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου βοῦν οὔσαν ἤδη, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διώκοντα ἀποφεύγουσά ἔστιν Ἥφαιστος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἡρακλέους πεποίηται τάξις τῶν ἔργων τῶν τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕδραν καὶ ὡς ἀνήγαγε τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα. Ἀναξίας δὲ καὶ Μνασίνοους, τούτων μὲν ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενός ἔστιν ἑκάτερος, Μεγαπένθην δὲ τὸν Μενελάου καὶ Νικόστρατον ἵππος εἰς φέρων ἔστιν. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντης τὸ ἐν Λυκίᾳ θηρίον, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἐλαύνει. [14] τοῦ θρόνου δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄνω πέρασιν ἐφ' ἵππων ἑκατέρωθεν εἰσιν οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες: καὶ σφίγγες τέ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ θηρία ἄνω θέοντα, τῇ μὲν πάρδαλις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πολυδεύκην λέαινα. ἀνωτάτω δὲ χορὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ πεποίηται, Μάγνητες οἱ συνειργασμένοι Βαθυκλεῖ τὸν θρόνον. [15] ὑπελθόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον τὰ ἔνδον ἀπὸ τῶν Τριτώνων ὅς ἐστι θήρα τοῦ Καλυδωνίου καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνων τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἄκτορος, Κάλαις δὲ καὶ Ζήτης τὰς Ἀρπυίας Φινέως ἀπελαύνουσιν: Πειρίθους τε καὶ Θησεὺς ἡρπακότες εἰσὶν Ἑλένην καὶ ἄγχων Ἡρακλῆς τὸν λέοντα, Τιτυὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων τοξεύει καὶ Ἄρτεμις: [16] Ἡρακλέους τε πρὸς Ὀρειον Κένταυρον μάχη πεποίηται καὶ Θησέως πρὸς Ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀχελῶν Ἡρακλέους πάλη καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς Ἥραν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἥφαιστου δεθείη, καὶ ὃν Ἄκαστος ἔθηκεν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Πρωτέα ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ. τελευταῖα Ἀδμητὸς τε ζευγνύων ἔστιν ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα κάπρον καὶ λέοντα καὶ οἱ Τρῶες ἐπιφέροντες χοῶς Ἑκτορι.

19. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἥ καθίζοιτο ἂν ὁ θεός, οὐ διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τοῦτο συνεχοὺς ὄντος ἀλλὰ καθέδρας παρεχομένου πλείονας, παρὰ δὲ καθέδραν ἐκάστην

ὑπολειπομένης καὶ εὐρυχωρίας, τὸ μέσον ἔστιν εὐρυχωρὲς μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἐνέστηκε. [2] μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ μέτρῳ μὲν οὐδένα ἀνευρόντα οἶδα, εἰκάζοντι δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα εἶναι φαίνονται ἂν πήχεις. ἔργον δὲ οὐ Βαθυκλέους ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονί ἔστιν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. [3] τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος τὸ βάθρον παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάρθῃ δὲ τὸν Ὑάκινθον λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ὑακινθίοις πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος θυσίας ἐς τοῦτον Ὑακίνθῳ τὸν βωμὸν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς ἐναγίζουσιν: ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ

ἔστιν ἡ θύρα τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τοῦτο μὲν ἄγαλμα Βίριδος, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος· Διὸς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ διαλεγομένων ἀλλήλοις πλησίον Διόνυσος ἐστήκασι καὶ Σεμέλη, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰνώ. [4] πεποιήται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Μοῖραι τε καὶ Ὠραι, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις· κομίζουσι δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ Πολύβοιαν, Ὑακίνθου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔτι παρθένον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ὑακίνθου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχον ἔστιν ἤδη γένεια, Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικομήδους περισσῶς δὴ τι ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν ὥραϊον, τὸν ἐπὶ Ὑακίνθῳ λεγόμενον Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ὑποσημαίνων. [5] πεποιήται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὗτος ἀγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ Θεοσίου θυγατέρες ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ, καὶ Μοῦσαι τε καὶ Ὠραι. περὶ δὲ ἀνέμου Ζεφύρου, καὶ ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑακίνθος ἀπέθανεν ἄκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ ἄνθος εἰρημένα τάχα μὲν ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλως, δοκεῖτω δὲ ἥ λέγεται. [6] Ἀμύκλαι δὲ ἀνάστατος ὑπὸ Δωριέων γενομένη καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κώμη διαμένουσα θέας παρείχετο ἄξιον ἱερὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ ἄγαλμα· τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδραν οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖες Κασσάνδραν τὴν Πριάμου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα εἰκὼν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀγαμέμνονος νομιζόμενον μνῆμα. θεῶν δὲ σέβουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τόν τε Ἀμυκλαῖον καὶ Διόνυσον, ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Ψίλλακα ἐπονομάζοντες· ψίλλα γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς τὰ πτερά, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οἶνος ἐπαίρει τε καὶ ἀνακουφίζει γνῶμην οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἢ ὀρνίθας πτερά.

καὶ Ἀμύκλαι μὲν παρείχοντο τοσαῦτα ἐς μνήμην, ἐτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐς Θεράπνην ἄγει:

[7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανόν ἐστιν Ἀλέας. πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐρώταν, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἱερὸν δεῖκνυται Διὸς Πλουσίου. διαβάσι δὲ Κοτυλέως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς· καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν Κοτυλέα ὠνόμασεν ἀκεσθεὶς τὸ τραῦμα τὸ ἐς τὴν κοτύλην οἱ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προτέρᾳ μάχῃ. ὁπόσα δὲ πεποιήται κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον αὐτῶν Ἄρεως ἱερὸν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶ κομίσαι ἐκ Κόλχων· [8] Θηρίταν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν ἀπὸ Θηροῦς, ταύτην γὰρ τροφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἄρεως λέγουσι. τάχα δ' ἂν ἀκηκοότες παρὰ Κόλχων Θηρίταν λέγοιεν, ἐπεὶ Ἑλληνές γε οὐκ ἴσασιν Ἄρεως τροφὸν Θηρώ· δοκεῖν δέ μοι Θηρίτας οὐ διὰ τὴν τροφὸν ἢ ἐπωνυμίᾳ τῷ Ἄρει γέγονεν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνδρὶ χρὴ πολεμῖω καταστάντα ἐς μάχην οὐδέν ἔτι ἔχειν ἥπιον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ περὶ Ἀχιλλέως πεποιήται “λέων δ' ὥς ἄγρια οἶδεν.

“Hom. II.

24.41 [9] Θεράπνη δὲ ὄνομα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λέλεγος θυγατρὸς, Μενελάου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναός, καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ Ἑλένην ἐνταῦθα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν. Ῥόδιοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίοις φασὶν Ἑλένην Μενελάου τελευτήσαντος, Ὀρέστου δὲ ἔτι πλανωμένου, τηνικαῦτα ὑπὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους διωχθεῖσαν ἐς Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι Πολυξοῖ τῇ Τληπολέμου γυναικὶ ἔχουσαν ἐπιτηδεῖως:

[10] εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Πολυξῷ τὸ γένος Ἀργεῖαν, Τληπολέμῳ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον

συνοικοῦσαν φυγῆς μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐς Ῥόδον καὶ τῆς νήσου τηνικαῦτα ἄρχειν ὑπολειπομένην ἐπὶ ὀρφανῷ παιδί. ταύτην τὴν Πολυξώ φασιν ἐπιθυμοῦσαν Ἑλένην τιμωρήσασθαι τελευτῆς τῆς Τληπολέμου τότε, ὡς ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον, ἐπιτέμναι οἱ λουμένην θεραπαίνας Ἐρινύσιν ἴσα ἐσκευασμένας· καὶ αὗται διαλαβοῦσαι δὴ τὴν Ἑλένην αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπάγχουσιν ἐπὶ δένδρου, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ῥοδίοις Ἑλένης ἱερὸν ἐστὶ Δενδρίτιδος. [11] ὃν δὲ οἶδα λέγοντας Κροτωνιάτας περὶ Ἑλένης λόγον, ὁμολογοῦντας δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἱμεραίους, ἐπιμνησθήσομαι καὶ τοῦδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ νήσος κατὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου τὰς ἐκβολὰς Ἀχιλλέως ἱερά· ὄνομα μὲν τῇ νήσῳ Λευκή, περίπλους δὲ αὐτῇ σταδίων εἴκοσι, δασεῖα δὲ ὕλη πᾶσα καὶ πλήρης ζώων ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων, καὶ ναὸς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῇ. [12] ἐς ταύτην πρῶτος ἐσπλεύσαι λέγεται Κροτωνιάτης Λεώνυμος. πολέμου γὰρ Κροτωνιάταις συνεστηκότος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλία Λοκροῦς, τῶν Λοκρῶν κατὰ οἰκειότητα πρὸς Ὀπουντίους Αἴαντα τὸν Οὐλέως ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπικαλουμένων, ὁ Λεώνυμος Κροτωνιάταις στρατηγῶν ἐπήει τοῖς ἐναντίοις κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ προτετάχθαι σφίσι τὸν Αἴαντα ἤκουε. τιτρώσκεται δὴ τὸ στέρνον καὶ — ἔκαμνε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος — ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφούς. ἐλθόντα δὲ ἡ Πυθία Λεώνυμον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς νήσον τὴν Λευκὴν, ἐνταῦθα εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ φανήσεσθαι τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἀκέσεσθαι τὸ τραῦμα. [13] χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ὑγιάνας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Λευκῆς, ἰδεῖν μὲν ἔφασκεν Ἀχιλλέα, ἰδεῖν δὲ τὸν Οὐλέως καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν σφισι καὶ Ἀντίλοχον· Ἑλένην δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν συνοικεῖν, προστάξει δὲ οἱ πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἱμέραν πρὸς Σησίχορον ἀγγέλλειν ὥς ἡ διαφθορά τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἑλένης γένοιτο αὐτῷ μηνίματος. Σησίχορος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν παλινωδίαν ἐποίησεν:

20. ἐν Θεράπνῃ δὲ κρήνην τὴν Μεσσηίδα ἰδὼν οἶδα. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρημένον τὴν Πολυδεύκειαν ὀνομαζομένην ἐφ' ἡμῶν, οὐ τὴν ἐν Θεράπνῃ Μεσσηίδα καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἡ δὲ Πολυδεύκειά ἐστιν αὐτὴ τε ἡ κρήνη καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐς Θεράπνῃν ὁδοῦ. [2] Θεράπνης δὲ οὐ πόρρω Φοιβαῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διοσκοούρων ναός· καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Γαιαόχου. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ Ταῦγετον ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀλεσσίας χωρίον, Μύλητα τὸν Λέλεγος πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων μύλην τε εὐρεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλεσσίαις ταύταις ἀλέσαι. καὶ σφισι Λακεδαιμόνιος τοῦ Ταῦγέτης ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἡρῶν.

[3] διαβάσι δὲ αὐτόθεν ποταμὸν Φελλίαν, παρὰ Ἀμύκλας ἰοῦσιν εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτε ὤκειτο· ἀποτρεπομένῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φελλίας ἐς δεξιὰν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ταῦγετὸν ἐστὶν ὁδός. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Διὸς Μεσσαπέως τέμενος· γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς λέγουσιν ἱερασαμένου τῷ θεῷ. ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου χωρίον ἔνθα πόλις ποτὲ ὤκειτο Βρυσαίαι· καὶ Διόνυσου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόναις γυναῖξιν ἐστὶν ὄραν· γυναῖκες γὰρ δὴ μόναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρῶσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. [4] ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἥλιον καλοῦσιν ἱεράν καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἠλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα

θύειν νομίζοντας. Ταλετοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενός ἐστιν Εὐόρας, θηρία καὶ ἄλλα τρέφων καὶ αἶγας μάλιστα ἀγρίας. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ δι' ὅλου τὸ Ταῦγετον τῶν αἰγῶν τούτων ἄγραν καὶ ὑδν, πλείστην δὲ καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ ἄρκτων. [5] Ταλετοῦ δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ καὶ Εὐόρα Θήρας ὀνομάζοντες Λητῶ φασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Ταῦγέτου * * * Δήμητρος ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἐλευσινίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν: ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ τραῦμα ἰώμενον: καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ξόανον, Πελασγῶν ὥς φασιν ἔργον. καὶ τότε δὲ ἄλλο δρώμενον ἐνταῦθα οἶδα:

[6] ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλισμα Ἔλος ἦν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐμνημόνευκεν ἐν καταλόγῳ Λακεδαιμονίων: "οἳ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἔλος τ' ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον.

"Hom. II.

2.584 τοῦτο ᾤκισε μὲν Ἔλιος νεώτατος τῶν Περσέως παίδων, Δωριεῖς δὲ παρεστήσαντο ὕστερον πολιορκία, καὶ πρῶτοί τε ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδαιμονίων δοῦλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν: τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτηθὲν ὕστερον, Δωριεῖς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξενίκησεν εἰλωτας, καθότι καὶ Ἕλληνας τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποτὲ καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος. [7] ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Ἔλους ξόανον Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον. πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου σταδίου ἀφέστηκε Λαπίθαιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐγχωρίου Λαπίθου: τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ Λαπίθαιον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Ταῦγέτῳ καὶ οὐ πόρρω Δέρειον, ἐνθα Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερεάτιδος, καὶ πηγὴ παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν Ἄνονον ὀνομάζουσι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δέρειον σταδίους προελθόντι ὥς εἴκοσιν ἔστιν Ἀρπλεια καθήκοντα ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου. [8] τὴν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἰοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀθηνᾶς ἔσθηκεν ἐπὶ κλησιν Παρείας ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀχιλλέως: ἀνοίγειν δὲ αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν: ὅποσοι δ' ἂν τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι μέλλωσιν ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πρὸ τῆς μάχης θύειν. ποιῆσαι δὲ σφισι τὸ ἱερὸν Σπαρτιάται λέγουσι Πράκα ἀπόγονον τρίτον Περγᾶμου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου.

[9] προΐοῦσι δὲ Ἴππου καλούμενον μνημᾶ ἐστι. Τυνδάρεως γὰρ θύσας ἐνταῦθα ἵππον τοὺς Ἑλένης ἐξώρκου μνηστῆρας ἰστάς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου τῶν τομίων: ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἦν Ἑλένη καὶ τῷ γῆμαι προκριθέντι Ἑλένην ἀμυνεῖν ἀδικουμένοις: ἐξορκώσας δὲ τὸν ἵππον κατῴρυσεν ἐνταῦθα. κίονες δὲ ἐπτὰ οἱ τοῦ μνήματος τούτου διέχουσιν οὐ πολὺ, κατὰ τρόπον οἶμαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον, οὗς ἀστέρων τῶν πλανητῶν φασιν ἀγάλματα. καὶ Κρανίου τέμενος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Στεμματίου καὶ Μυσίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος. [10] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Αἰδοῦς τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχον τῆς πόλεως Ἰκαρίου μὲν ἀνάθημα εἶναι, ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ φασὶ τοιῷδε. ὅτ' ἔδωκεν Ὀδυσσεὶ Πηνελόπην γυναῖκα Ἰκάρῳ, ἐπειράτο μὲν κατοικίσαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, διαμαρτάνων δὲ ἐκείνου δευτέρα τὴν θυγατέρα ἰκέτευσεν καταμεῖναι καὶ ἐξορμωμένης ἐς Ἰθάκην ἐπακολουθῶν τῷ ἄρματι ἐδέετο. [11] Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τέως μὲν ἠνείχετο, τέλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Πηνελόπην συνακολουθεῖν ἐκοῦσαν ἢ τὸν πατέρα ἐλομένην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. καὶ τὴν

ἀποκρίνασθαι φασιν οὐδέν· ἐγκαλυψαμένης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα, Ἰκάριος τὴν μὲν ἄτε δὴ συνιείς ὡς βούλεται ἀπιέναι μετὰ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφήσιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Αἰδοῦς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τῆς ὁδοῦ προήκουσαν ἤδη τὴν Πηνελόπην λέγουσιν ἐγκαλύψασθαι.

21. προελθόντι δὲ αὐτόθεν σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ρέυμα ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ γίνεται, καὶ Λάδα μνημῆα ἐστὶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλομένου ποδῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπίαςιν ἐστεφανοῦτο δολίχῳ κρατῶν, δοκεῖν δέ μοι κάμνων αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκομίζετο, καὶ συμβάσης ἐνταῦθα οἱ τελευτῆς ὁ τάφος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον. τὸν δὲ ὁμώνυμον τούτῳ, νίκην καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι, πλὴν οὐ δολίχου, σταδίου δὲ ἀνελόμενον, Ἀχαιοὶ ἐξ Αἰγίου φησὶν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα. [2] προϊόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελλάναν Χαράκωμά ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Πελλάνα πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Τυνδάρων δὲ οἰκῆσαι φασιν ἐνταῦθα, ὅτε Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔφευγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης. θέας δὲ ἄξια αὐτόθι ἰδὼν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε οἶδα ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πηγὴν Πελλανίδα. ἐς ταύτην λέγουσιν ὑδρευομένην ἐσπεσεῖν παρθένον, ἀφανισθείσης δὲ τὸ κάλυμμα ἀναφανῆναι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐν ἐτέρᾳ πηγῇ Λαγκία. [3] Πελλάνας δὲ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀπέχει Βελεμίνα καλουμένη· τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἡ Βελεμίνα μάλιστα ἄρδεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἥντινα διοδεύει μὲν τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ὕδωρ, παρέχεται δὲ ἀφθόνους καὶ αὐτὴ πηγὰς. [4] ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντί ἐστι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ κόμη καλουμένη Κροκεία καὶ

λιθοτομία· μία μὲν πέτρα συνεχῆς οὐ διήκουσα, λίθοι δὲ ὀρύσσονται σχῆμα τοῖς ποταμίους ἐοικότες, ἄλλως μὲν δυσεργεῖς, ἣν δὲ ἐπεργασθῶσιν, ἐπικοσμήσαιεν ἂν καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, κολυμβήθραις δὲ καὶ ὕδασι συντελοῦσι μάλιστα ἐς κάλλος. θεῶν δὲ αὐτόθι πρὸ μὲν τῆς κόμης Διὸς Κροκεάτα λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε, Διόσκουροι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λιθοτομίᾳ χαλκοί.

[5] μετὰ δὲ Κροκεάς ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐς Γύθιον εὐθείας ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἥξεις Αἰγίας· Ὀμηρον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸ πόλισμα τοῦτο ὀνομάζειν λέγουσιν Αὐγείας. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν λίμνη καλουμένη Ποσειδῶνος, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ. τοὺς δὲ ἰχθῦς δεδοίκασιν ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν θηρεύσαντα ἀλιέα γενέσθαι λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπου. [6] Γύθιον δὲ ἀπέχει μὲν σταδίους τριάκοντα Αἰγίων, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ δὲ ὠκισμένον ἔστιν ἤδη τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων, οὓς βασιλεὺς Αὔγουστος δουλείας ἀφῆκε Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατηκόους ὄντας. θαλάσῃ μὲν δὴ πλὴν τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ περιέχεται πᾶσα ἡ Πελοπόννησος· κόχλους δὲ ἐς βαφὴν πορφύρας παρέχεται τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας μετὰ γε τὴν Φοινίκων θάλασσαν.

[7] ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων ὅκτῳ πόλεις καὶ δέκα εἰσί, πρώτη μὲν καταβᾶσιν ἐξ Αἰγίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Γύθιον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Τευθρώνη τε καὶ Λᾶς καὶ Πύρριχος, ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ δὲ Καινίηπολις Οἴτυλός τε καὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Θαλάμαι, πρὸς δὲ Ἀλαγονία τε καὶ Γερηνία· τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Γυθίου πρὸς θαλάσῃ Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριαὶ Βοιαὶ Ζάραξ Ἐπίδauρος ἡ Λιμηρὰ Βρασιαὶ Γερὸνθραι Μαριός. αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ποτῶν καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας, ἐφ' ἃς ἂν καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ λόγος

ἐπέλθῃ δὴ μοι, συντελούσας ἴστω τις ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς προλεχθεῖσιν αὐτονόμους. [8] Γυθεᾶται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας, ὡς διηλλάγησαν, μετὰ τὴν ἔριν οἰκίσαι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν: καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σφισιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Διόνυσος. ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἀπόλλων Κάρνειος καὶ ἱερὸν Ἄμμωνος καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐπόντος ὀρόφου τῷ ναῷ, καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἅγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα Γαιαόχου. [9] ὃν δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Γυθεᾶται Γέροντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν θαλάσσῃ φάμενοι, Νηρέα ὄντα εὕρισκον: καὶ σφισι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου παρέσχεν ἀρχὴν Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐν Θέτιδος λόγοις: "ὕμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον, ὀψόμεναί τε γέρονθ' ἄλιον καὶ δώματα πατρός.

"Hom. II.

18.140-141 καλοῦνται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πύλαι Καστορίδες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιῆται.

22. Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἀργὸς λίθος: Ὁρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας: διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὀνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καπώτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα. ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἡ Κρανάη πρόκειται Γυθίου, καὶ Ὅμηρος Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐνταῦθα ἔφη συγγενέσθαι οἱ πρῶτον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῇ ἡπεύρῳ Μιγωνίτιδος, καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας καλεῖται Μιγώνιον. [2] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν Ἀλέξανδρον: Μενέλαος δὲ Ἴλιον ἐλὼν καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὀκτὼ μετὰ Τροίας πόρθησιν οἴκαδε ἀνασωθεὶς ἄγαλμα Θέτιδος καὶ θεᾶς Πραξιδίκας ἰδρύσατο ἐγγὺς τῆς Μιγωνίτιδος. Διονύσου δὲ ὄρος ἱερὸν Λαρύσιον καλούμενόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μιγωνίου: καὶ ἦρος ἀρχομένου Διονύσῳ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐς τὰ δρώμενα λέγοντες καὶ ὡς βότρυν ἐνταῦθα ἀνευρίσκουσιν ὠραῖον. [3] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Γυθίου στάδια προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἡπεύρῳ Τρινασοῦ καλουμένης τεύχῃ, φρουρίου ποτὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν καὶ οὐ πόλεως. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ δοκῶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν νησίδων, αἱ ταύτῃ πρόκεινται τῆς ἡπείρου τρεῖς ἀριθμόν. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Τρινασοῦ στάδια ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα τοῦ Ἑλίου τὰ ἐρείπια ὑπόλοιπα ἦν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τριάκοντα

[4] προελθόντι που σταδίους ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀκρίαι: θεᾶς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατον δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι φασιν οἱ τὰς Ἀκρίας ἔχοντες, ὅποσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίοις ἱερά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ Μαγνησί γε, οἱ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρᾳ Μητρός ἐστι θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἄγαλμα: ποιῆσαι δὲ οἱ Μάγνητες αὐτὸ Βροτέαν λέγουσι τὸν

Ταντάλου. [5] Ἀκριᾶται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ποτὲ Ὀλυμπιονίκην παρέσχοντο Νικοκλέα, Ὀλυμπιάσι δύο ἀνελόμενον δρόμου νίκας πέντε: πεποιῆται δὲ καὶ μνῆμα τῷ Νικοκλεῖ τοῦ τε γυμνασίου μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. [6] ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω Γερόνθραι σταδίους ἀπέχουσιν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ἀκριῶν. ταύτας οἰκουμένας πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας ἐλθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους Δωριεῖς οἱ Λακεδαίμονα ἔχοντες,

ἀναστήσαντες δὲ Γερωνθῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς παρὰ σφῶν ἐποίκους ἀπέστειλαν· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Ἐλευθερολακῶνων καὶ οὗτοι μοῖρα ἦσαν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκριῶν ἐς Γερόνθρας ὁδὸν ἔστι Παλαιὰ καλουμένη κώμη, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερόνθραις Ἄρεως ναὸς καὶ ἄλλος· [7] ἐορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος, ἐν ἧ γυναιξὶν ἐστὶν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισιν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων εἰσὶν ὑδάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀγάλματος ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένου κεφαλῇ· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πῦρ ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ τῷ προτέρῳ ναῷ. [8] Μαρὶὸς δὲ ἄλλο Ἐλευθερολακῶνων πόλισμα, ὃ ἀπὸ Γερωνθῶν στάδια ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκεν. ἱερὸν ἐστὶν αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον κοινὸν θεῶν ἀπάντων καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος παρεχόμενον πηγὰς, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ πηγαί· ὕδωρ δὲ ἄφθονον εἴπερ ἄλλο τι χωρίον παρέχεται καὶ Μαρὶός. κώμη δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμά ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὕτη, Γλυπία· καὶ ἐς κώμην ἐτέραν Σελινοῦντα ἐκ Γερωνθῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς σταδίων εἴκοσι.

[9] τάδε μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀκριῶν ἄνω πρὸς ἡπειρον· τὰ δὲ πρὸς θαλάσση, πόλις Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριῶν ἀπέχει σταδίους ἐξήκοντα. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ναὸς τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλέων καὶ ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ὅσον τε σταδίους δώδεκα καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ· Φιλόλαον τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ ὅσα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τὰ τιμώμενα μεγέθει μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὅμως ἐστί. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κυπαρισσίας ἐπὶ κλησιν. τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια καλουμένης Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Παρακυπαρισσίων.

[10] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ στάδια ἀπέχον ὥς πεντήκοντα Ἀσωποῦ· τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἔνθα τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον, Ὑπερτελέατον ὀνομάζουσιν. ἄκρα δὲ ἀνέχουσα ἐς θάλασσαν ἀφέστηκεν Ἀσωποῦ διακόσια στάδια· καλοῦσι δὲ Ὀνου γνάθον τὴν ἄκραν. ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον, οὐδὲ ὄροφος ἔπεστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ· λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐποιήθη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μνημα Κινάδου· νεὸς τῆς Μενελάου καὶ οὗτος κυβερνήτης ἦν. [11] ἐσέχει δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν Βοιατικὸς καλούμενος κόλπος, καὶ Βοιαί πόλις πρὸς τῷ πέρατί ἐστὶ τοῦ κόλπου. ταύτην ὥκισε μὲν Βοιὸς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, συναγαγεῖν δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐς αὐτὴν λέγεται πόλεων, Ἡτιδος καὶ Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Σίδης. τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς μὲν δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν φεύγοντα Αἰνεῖαν καὶ ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀπενεχθέντα ἐς τοῦτον τὸν κόλπον οἰκίσαι φασί, τὴν Ἡτιάδα Αἰνεῖου θυγατέρα λέγοντες εἶναι· τὴν τρίτην δὲ κληθῆναι τῶν πόλεων λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Δαναοῦ Σίδης. [12] ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάντες ἐζήτουν ἔνθα οἰκῆσαι σφᾶς χρεὼν εἴη· καὶ τι καὶ μάντευμα ἦν αὐτοῖς Ἄρτεμιν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν ἐπιδείξειν. ὡς οὖν ἐκβᾶσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν λαγῶς ἐπιφαίνεται, τὸν λαγὼν ἐποιήσαντο ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ· καταδύντος δὲ ἐς μυρσίνην πόλιν τε οἰκίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐπὲρ ἡ μυρσίνη ἦν, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἔτι ἐκείνην σέβουσι τὴν μυρσίνην καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ὀνομάζουσι Σώτειραν. [13] καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῇ Βοιατῶν ἀγορᾷ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐτέρωθι Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Σαράπιδος τε καὶ Ἰσίδος. Ἡτιδος δ' ἐρείπια ἀπέχει μὲν Βοιῶν οὐ πλέον ἢ σταδίους ἐπτά· ἰόντι δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ λίθινον ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγείας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀφανές.

23. Κύθηρα δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ Βοιῶν, ἐς δὲ Πλατανιστοῦντα — ἐλάχιστον γὰρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτη διέστηκεν ἡ νῆσος — ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄκραν τὸν Πλατανιστοῦντα ἀπὸ ἄκρας τῆς ἡπείρου, καλουμένης δὲ Ὀνου γνάθου, σταδίων πλοῦς τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν. ἐν Κυθήροις δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Σκάνδειά ἐστιν ἐπίνειον, Κύθηρα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἀναβάντι ἀπὸ Σκανδεῖας στάδια ὡς δέκα. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Οὐρανίας ἀγιώτατον καὶ ἱερῶν ὅποσα Ἀφροδίτης παρ' Ἑλληνσίν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον: αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ θεὸς ξόανον ὠπλισμένον. [2] πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Βοιῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας λιμὴν ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον Νύμφαιον καὶ

Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν καὶ σπῆλαιον θαλάσσης ἐγγύτατα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γλυκεὸς ὕδατος πηγή: καὶ ἄνθρωποι περιοικοῦσι πολλοί. περιπλεύσαντι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀποσχόντι, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίον ἐν ὅροις Βοιατῶν Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν ἱερὸν ἐστίν, Ἐπιδήλιον δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον:

[3] τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ξόανον, ὃ νῦν ἐστίν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν Δήλῳ ποτὲ ἴδρυτο. τῆς γὰρ Δήλου τότε ἐμπορίου τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὕσης καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις διὰ τὸν θεὸν δοκούσης παρέχειν, Μηνοφάνης Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς εἴτε αὐτὸς ὑπερφρονήσας εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου προστεταγμένον — ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἀφορῶντι ἐς κέρδος τὰ θεῖα ὕστερα λημμάτων —, οὗτος οὖν ὁ Μηνοφάνης, ἅτε οὕσης [4] ἀτειχίστου τῆς Δήλου καὶ ὅπλα οὐ κεκτημένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τριήρεσιν ἐσπλεύσας ἐφόνευσεν μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν ξένων, ἐφόνευσεν δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δηλίους: κατασύρας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα, προσεξανδραποδισάμενος δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλε τὴν Δήλον. ἅτε δὲ πορθουμένης τε καὶ ἀρπαζομένης, τῶν τις βαρβάρων ὑπὸ ὕβρεως τὸ ξόανον τοῦτο ἀπέρριπεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν: ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ κλύδων ἐνταῦθα τῆς Βοιατῶν ἀπήνεγκε, καὶ τὸ χωρίον διὰ τοῦτο Ἐπιδήλιον ὀνομάζουσι. [5] τὸ μέντοι μήνιμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διέφυγεν οὔτε Μηνοφάνης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιθριδάτης: ἀλλὰ Μηνοφάνην μὲν παραυτίκα, ὡς ἀνήγετο ἐρημώσας τὴν Δήλον, λοχήσαντες ναυσὶν οἱ διαπεφευγότες τῶν ἐμπόρων καταδύουσι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ

ὕστερον τούτων ἠνάγκασεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτόχειρα αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς οἱ καθηρημένης καὶ ἐλαυνόμενον πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασὶν αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν μισθοφόρων θάνατον βίαιον ἐν μέρει χάριτος εὔρασθαι. [6] τούτοις μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπῆντησεν ἀσεβήσασι: τῇ δὲ Βοιατῶν ὁμορος Ἐπίδαιρος ἐστίν ἡ Λιμηρά, σταδίους ὡς διακοσίους ἀπέχουσα Ἐπιδηλίου. φασὶ δὲ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἐπιδαιρίων εἶναι, πλέοντες δὲ ἐς Κῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσσχεῖν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων γενομένων σφίσι καταμείναντες οἰκῆσαι.

[7] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς οἰκοῦν ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου δράκοντα ἐπαγομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐξέφυγεν ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ὁ δράκων, ἐκφυγὼν δὲ οὐ πόρρω κατέδυ θαλάσσης, καὶ σφισιν ὁμοῦ τῶν ὄνειράτων τῇ ὄψει καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν δράκοντα ἔδοξεν αὐτόθι καταμείναντας οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ἔνθα ὁ δράκων κατέδυ, βωμοὶ τέ εἰσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἐλαῖα περὶ αὐτοὺς πεφύκασιν. [8] προελθόντι δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ δύο πού σταδίους, ἔστιν Ἰνοῦς καλούμενον ὕδωρ,

μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ λίμνην μικράν, τῆς γῆς δὲ ἐν βάθει μᾶλλον: ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τῆς Ἰνουῦ ἐμβάλλουσιν ἀλφίτων μάζας. ταύτας ἐπὶ μὲν αἰσίῳ τοῦ ἐμβαλόντος καταδεξάμενον ἔχει τὸ ὕδωρ: εἰ δὲ ἀναπέμψαιτο σφᾶς, πονηρὸν κέκριται σημεῖον. [9] τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν Αἴτνῃ δηλοῦσιν οἱ κρατῆρες: καὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀργύρου ποιήματα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖα τὰ πάντα ἀφιασι: ταῦτα δὲ ἦν μὲν ὑπολαβὸν ἀπενέγκῃ τὸ πῦρ, οἱ δὲ χαίρουσιν ὥς ἐπὶ πεφηνότι ἀγαθῷ, ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τὰ ἐμβληθέντα συμφορὰν ἔσσεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ νομίζουσι. [10] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λιμηρὰν ἄγουσαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδουρίῳ Λιμνάτιδος. ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀπέχουσα οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ μὲν ᾧκισται, θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια τὸ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, τὸ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ λιμένος Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτῆρος. [11] ἄκρα δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέχει καλουμένη Μινῶα: καὶ ὁ μὲν κόλπος οὐδέν τι ἔχει διάφορον ἢ ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄλλαι θαλάσσης εἰσὶν ἐσβολαί, αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ὁ ταύτῃ παρέχεται ψηφίδας σχῆμα εὐπρεπεστέρως καὶ χροᾶς παντοδαπῆς.

24. Ἐπιδαύρου δὲ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἀπέχει Ζάραξ, ἄλλως μὲν εὐλίμενον χωρίον, τῶν δὲ Ἐλευθερολακῶνων μάλιστα τοῦτο ἐκτετρύχεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ Κλεομένους τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος μόνον τοῦτο τῶν Λακωνικῶν πολισμάτων ἐποίησεν ἀνάστατον: καί μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Κλεώνυμον ἐτέρωθί ἐστιν εἰρημένα. ἐν Ζάρακι δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ λιμένος τῷ πέρατι Ἀπόλλωνος ναός ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα κιθάραν ἔχον. [2] προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Ζάρακος παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἑκατόν που στάδια καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντι αὐτόθεν ἐς μεσόγειαν καὶ ἐπαναβάντι σταδίους ὥς δέκα, Κυφάντων καλουμένων ἐρείπιά ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς σπήλαιον ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ψυχροῦ κρουνοῦ ἐκβάλλον ἐκ πέτρας: Ἀταλάντην θηρεύουσιν ἐνταυθὰ φασιν, ὥς ἡνιάτο ὑπὸ δίψης, παῖσαι τῇ λόγχῃ τὴν πέτραν καὶ οὕτω ῥυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ.

[3] Βρασιαὶ δὲ ἐσχάτη μὲν ταύτῃ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστί, Κυφάντων δὲ ἀπέχουσι πλοῦν σταδίων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσιν οἱ ἐνταῦθα, οὐδέσιν ὁμολογοῦντες Ἑλλήνων, ὥς Σεμέλη τέκοι τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Διὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φωραθεῖσα ἐς λάρνακα αὐτὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθεῖη: καὶ τὴν λάρνακα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν σφετέραν, καὶ Σεμέλην μὲν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν περιούσαν ἔτι εὐρεῖν — ἐπιφανῶς θάψαι, Διόνυσον δὲ ἀναθρεῖν φασιν.

[4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, Ὀρειάτας ἐς ἐκεῖνο ὀνομαζομένην, μετονομασθῆναι Βρασιάς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν γῆν τῆς λάρνακος: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπωθούμενα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβεβράσθαι καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί. Βρασιᾶται δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἰνώ σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀφικέσθαι πλανωμένην, ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ ἐθελῆσαι τοῦ Διονύσου γενέσθαι τροφόν: καὶ ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἄντρον ἔνθα τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν Ἰνώ, καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον Διονύσου κῆπον. [5] ἱερὰ δὲ αὐτόθι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ἐορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν Ἀχιλλεῖ. ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς Βρασιαῖς μικρά, προέχουσα ἡρέμα ἐς

τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοὶ ποδιαίων ἐστήκασιν οὐ μείζονες, πῖλους ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ Διοσκόρους σφᾶς ἢ Κορύβαντας νομίζουσι: τρεῖς δ' οὖν εἰσὶ, τέταρτον δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα. [6] τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Γυθίου Λᾶς ἐστὶ, θαλάσσης μὲν δέκα στάδια, Γυθίου δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχουσα. ὤκισται δὲ νῦν μὲν Ἰλίου καλουμένου καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Κνακαδίου, τῶν ὁρῶν τούτων τὸ μεταξὺ ἀπέχουσα, πρότερον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ ὄρους ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ: καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐρείπια καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων τρόπαιον, οἱ μοῖρα τῆς Φιλίππου στρατιᾶς ἦσαν, ἡνίκα ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀποτραπόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐλεηλάτουν τῆς χώρας.

[7] ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκην καὶ Κάστορά φασιν ἀνασθέντας ἐκ Κόλχων: εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Κόλχοις Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀσίας ἱερὸν. μετασχόντας μὲν οὖν οἶδα Ἰάσονι τοῦ στόλου τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας: ὅτι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀσίαν τιμῶσιν οἱ Κόλχοι, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκούσας γράφω. τῆς δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένης πόλεως κρήνη τέ ἐστὶ πλησίον διὰ τὴν χροάν τοῦ ὕδατος καλουμένη Γαλακῶ καὶ πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυμνάσιον: Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἔστηκεν ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. [8] τῶν δὲ ὁρῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἰλίου Διονύσου τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Κνακαδίῳ Κάρνειος καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καρνείου σταδίου προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντα, ἔστιν ἐν χωρίῳ Ὑψοῖς ἐν ὁροῖς ἤδη Σπαρτιατῶν ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Δαρναίας. [9] πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ναός ἐστὶ Δικτύννης Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. ταύτης δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἄκρας ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν Σμῆνος, ὕδωρ πιεῖν ἡδὺ εἴπερ ἄλλος τις παρασχόμενος ποταμός: ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ταυγέτῳ τὰς πηγὰς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου οὐ πλέον πέντε. [10] ἐν δὲ Ἀραῖνῳ καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ τάφος Λᾶ καὶ ἀνδριάς ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἔπεστι. τοῦτον τὸν Λᾶν οἰκιστὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν οἱ ταῦτη, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, Ἀχιλλέα δὲ κατὰρ αἰσφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἑλένην παρὰ Τυνδάρεω γυναῖκα αἰτοῦντα. λέγοντι δὲ ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ Πάτροκλός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν Λᾶν ἀποκτείνας: οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ μνηστευσάμενός ἐστιν Ἑλένην. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῶν Ἑλένης μνηστήρων Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν Καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν, μηδὲν τοῦτο ἔστω τεκμήριον οὐκ αἰτῆσαι Ἑλένην αὐτόν: [11] Ὅμηρος δὲ ἔγραψε μὲν τῆς ποιήσεως ἀρχόμενος ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀτρέως παισὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐνεχόμενος τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς Τυνδάρεω παραγένοιτο ἐς Τροίαν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις λέγοντα Ἀντίλοχον ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ γενεᾷ, τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς Ἀλκίνοον περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰδοῦ καὶ ἄλλα διηγούμενον καὶ ὅτι Θησέα ἰδεῖν ἐθελήσαι καὶ Πειρίθουν προτέρους ἄνδρας ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ: Θησέα δὲ ἴσμεν ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην. οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐγχωροῦν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴν Ἑλένης μνηστῆρα Ἀχιλλέα γενέσθαι.

25. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμὸς, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Σκύρας, ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτον ἀνώνυμον τέως ὄντα Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἔσχε ταῖς ναυσίν, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης γάμον ἐπλευσεν ἐκ Σκύρου. διαβάντων δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον * * ἀπωτέρω Διὸς

βωμοῦ. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει Πύρριχος ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι φασὶν ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, οἱ δὲ εἶναι θεὸν Πύρριχον τῶν καλουμένων [2] Κουρήτων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιληνὸν ἐκ Μαλέας ἐλθόντα ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἰκῆσαι. τραφῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν Σιληνὸν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἐξ ἄσματος Πινδάρου· ὁ ζαμενῆς δὲ ὁ χοροτύπος, ὃν Μαλέας ὄρος

ἔθρεψε, Ναῖδος ἀκοίτας, Σιληνός·

“Pindar, Frag. 156 (Schroeder) ὥς δὲ καὶ Πύρριχος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, Πινδάρῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρημένον, λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Μαλέαν οἰκοῦντες. [3] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρρίχῳ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, δοῦναι δὲ σφισι τὸν Σιληνὸν νομίζουσι· σπανίζοιεν τ’ ἂν ὕδατος, εἰ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦτο ἐπιλείποι. θεῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ σφισιν ἱερά ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀστρατείας, ὅτι τῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσω στρατείας ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος· ξόανα μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμῶδοντος γυναικάς. [4] ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρίχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔστι Τευθρώνη· τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ταύτῃ Τεῦθραντα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα ἀποφαίνουσι, τιμῶσι δὲ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἰσσωρίαν Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ πηγὴ σφισίν ἐστι Ναῖα. Τευθρώνης δὲ ἀπέχει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνέχουσα ἄκρα Ταίναρον, καὶ λιμένες ὃ τε Ἀχίλλειός ἐστι καὶ Ψαμαθοῦς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα.

[5] ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὥς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἰδίου τὸν κύνα, οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆν ὁδοῦ διὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου φερούσης οὔτε ἔτοιμον ὃν πεισθῆναι θεῶν ὑπόγαιον εἶναι τινα οἴκησιν ἐς ἣν ἀθροίζεσθαι τὰς ψυχάς. ἀλλὰ Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὔρεν εἰκότα, ὅφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταῖνάρῳ τραφῆναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἰδίου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παρατύκῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ, καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ’ Εὐρυσθέα· [6] Ὅμηρος δὲ — πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν Ἰδίου κύνα ὄντινα Ἡρακλῆς ἦγεν — οὔτε ὄνομα ἔθετο οὐδὲν οὔτε συνέπλασεν ἐς τὸ εἶδος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Κέρβερον ὄνομα ἐποίησαν καὶ κυνὶ τᾶλλα εἰκάζοντες κεφαλὰς τρεῖς φασὶν ἔχειν αὐτὸν, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον Ὀμήρου κύνα τὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σύντροφον εἰρηκότος ἢ εἰ δράκοντα ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν Ἰδίου κύνα. [7] ἀναθήματα δὲ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ Ταῖνάρῳ καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ κιθαρωδὸς χαλκοῦς ἐπὶ δελφίνος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀρίονα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ δελφίνι Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν ἀκοῇ ἐν τῇ Λυδία συγγραφῇ· τὸν δὲ ἐν Ποροσελήνῃ δελφῖνα τῷ παιδί σῶστρον ἀποδιδόντα, ὅτι συγκοπέντα ὑπὸ ἀλιέων αὐτὸν ἰάσατο, τοῦτον τὸν δελφῖνα εἶδον καὶ καλοῦντι τῷ παιδί ὑπακούοντα καὶ φέροντα, ὁπότε ἐποχεῖσθαι οἱ βούλοιο. [8] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ Ταῖνάρῳ καὶ πηγὴ, νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ θαῦμα εἶναι παρεχομένη, πρότερον δὲ τοῖς ἐνδοῦσιν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοὺς λιμένας — φασὶ — καὶ τὰς ναῦς θεάσασθαι παρεῖχε. τοῦτο ἔπαυσε γυνὴ τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μεμιασμένην ἐναποπλύνασα ἐσθῆτα. [9] Ταῖνάρου δὲ τῆς ἄκρας πλοῦν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἀφέστηκε Καινὴ πόλις· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν πάλαι καὶ ταύτῃ Ταίναρον. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ μέγαρον Δήμητρος καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου. ἐντεῦθεν ἀποσχόντι τριάκοντα σταδίους

Θυρίδες ἄκρα Ταινάρου καὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια Ἰππόλας ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Ἰππολαΐτιδος· ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Μέσσα πόλις καὶ λιμὴν.

[10] ἀπὸ τούτου στάδια τοῦ λιμένος πεντήκοντά ἐστι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Οἰτύλον· ὁ δὲ ἥρως ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἀργεῖος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν, Ἀμφιάνακτος υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Ἀντιμάχου. θέας δὲ ἄξια ἐν Οἰτύλῳ Σαράπιδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Καρνείου ξόανον Ἀπόλλωνος.

26. ἐς Θαλάμας δὲ ἐξ Οἰτύλου μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ στάδιοι περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντά εἰσι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἴνους καὶ μαντεῖον. μαντεύονται μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες, ὅποσα δ' ἂν πυθέσθαι δεηθῶσιν, ὀνείρατα δείκνυσί σφισιν ἢ θεός. χαλκᾷ δὲ ἔστηκεν ἀγάλματα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε Πασιφῆς καὶ Ἥλιου τὸ ἕτερον· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ στεφανωμάτων, χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι λέγουσι. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἱερᾶς πιεῖν ἡδύ· Σελήνης δὲ ἐπὶ κλησις καὶ οὐ Θαλαμάταις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἐστὶν ἢ Πασιφάη. [2] Θαλαμῶν δὲ ἀπέχει σταδίους εἴκοσιν ὀνομαζομένη Πέφνος ἐπὶ θαλάσση. πρόκειται δὲ νησίς πέτρας τῶν μεγάλων οὐ μείζων, Πέφνος καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ὄνομα· τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶν οἱ Θαλαμᾶται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα ἐν ἄσματι οἶδα εἰπόντα· τραφῆναι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐν τῇ Πέφνῳ φασὶν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἐς Πελλάναν κομίσαντα εἶναι.

[3] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νησίδι ἀγάλματα Διοσκούρων χαλκᾷ μέγεθος ποδιαῖα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς νησίδος ἐστὶν· ταῦτα ἢ θάλασσα ἀποκινεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλει κατακλύζουσα ὥρα χειμῶνος τὴν πέτραν. τοῦτό τε δὴ θαῦμά ἐστι καὶ οἱ μύρμηκες αὐτόθι λευκότερον ἢ ὥς μυρμηκῶν τὸ χρῶμα φαίνουσι. τὴν δὲ χώραν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ταύτην αὐτῶν φασὶν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους μᾶλλον τι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίοις προσήκειν νομίζουσιν. [4] Πέφνου δὲ στάδια εἴκοσιν ἀπέχει Λευκτρα. ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει Λευκτρα, οὐκ οἶδα· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ Λευκίππου τοῦ Περιήρου, ὥς οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι, τούτου μοι δοκοῦσιν ἔνεκα οἱ ταύτῃ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀσκληπιὸν τιμᾶν, ἅτε Ἀρσινόης παῖδα εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου νομίζοντες. λίθου δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἴνους ἐτέρωθι.

[5] πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρας τῆς Πριάμου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα, Ἀλεξάνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καλουμένης· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου ξόανά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων νομίζουσιν οἱ Σπάρτην ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ Ἐρωτός ἐστιν ἐν Λεύκτροις ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος· ὕδωρ δὲ ὥρα χειμῶνος διαρρεῖ τὸ ἄλσος, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τῷ ἥρι ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων πίπτοντα οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐδὲ πλεονάσαντος παρενεχθεῖη. [6] ὁ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσση χώρᾳ τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γράφω. ἄνεμος πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· ὥς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον φυλόν, ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἰθωμάτα. τοῦτο οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι μαρτύριον εἶναί σφισι τὰ Λευκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι· δύναται δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λευκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἰθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμᾶς. [7] Καρδαμύλῃ δέ, ἥς καὶ Ὀμηρὸς μνήμην ἐποιήσατο ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑποσχέσει δώρων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶν ὑπήκοος τῶν ἐν

Σπάρτη, βασιλέως Αὐγούστου τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀποτεμομένου. ἀπέχει δὲ Καρδαμύλη θαλάσσης μὲν ὀκτὼ σταδίους, Λεύκτρων δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐνταῦθα οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τέμενος ἱερὸν τῶν Νηρέως θυγατέρων ἐστίν: ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο ἀναβῆναι τὸ χωρίον φασὶν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὰς Πύρρον ὀψομένας τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅτε ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης ἀπῆει γάμον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολίσματι Ἀθηνᾶς τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Κάρνειος, καθὰ Δωριεῦσιν ἐπιχώριον.

[8] ΠΟΛΙΝ δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἑνόπην τοῖς Ὀμήρου, Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον συντελοῦντας τὸ Ἐλευθερολακόνων, καλοῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Γερηνίαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Νέστορα οἱ μὲν τραφῆναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν φεύγοντα τὸ χωρίον, ἥνικα Πύλος ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους.

[9] ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ μνημα καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἅγιον, καὶ ἀνθρώποις νόσων ἰάματα παρὰ τῷ Μαχάονι ἔστιν εὐρέσθαι. καὶ Ῥόδον μὲν τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἱερόν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ τοῦ Μαχάονος χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθόν: ἐπικείται δὲ οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ὃν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κίφος καλοῦσι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ. Μαχάονα δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρύπυλου τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτῆσαι φησὶν ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα.

[10] διὸ καὶ τάδε αὐτὸς οἶδα περὶ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐν Περγάμῳ γινόμενα: ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ Τηλέφου τῶν ὕμνων, προσάδουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπυλον, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ θέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν αὐτόν, οἷα ἐπιστάμενοι φονέα ὄντα Μαχάονος. ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ Νέστορα λέγεται τοῦ Μαχάονος τὰ ὁστᾶ: Ποδαλείριον δέ, ὡς ὀπίσω πορθήσαντες Ἴλιον ἐκομίζοντο, ἁμαρτεῖν τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς Σύρνον τῆς Καρικῆς ἡπείρου φασὶν ἀποσωθέντα οἰκῆσαι. [11] τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Γερηνίας ὄρος Καλάθιον ἐστίν: ἐν αὐτῷ Κλαίας ἱερὸν καὶ σπήλαιον παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερόν, ἔσοδον μὲν στενήν, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον παρεχόμενον θεᾶς ἄξια. Γερηνίας δὲ ὡς ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἄνω τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Ἀλαγονία, καὶ τὸ πόλισμα κατηρίθησα ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἐλευθερολάκῳσι: θεᾶς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερά.

BOOK IV.

Μεσσηνιακά

1. Μεσσηνίοις δὲ πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν τὴν ἀπονεμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὸ Λακωνικὸν ὅροι κατὰ τὴν Γερηνίαν εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἡ ὀνομαζομένη Χοῖριος νάπη. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔρημον οὖσαν οὕτω σχεῖν τοὺς πρώτους λέγουσιν οἰκήτορας: ἀποθανόντος Λέλεγος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λακωνικῇ, τότε δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνου Λελεγία καλουμένη, Μύλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ὢν τῶν παίδων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, Πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερός τε ἦν ἡλικία καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ιδιώτης, ἐς ὃ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα τοῦ Φόρβαντος ἔλαβε γυναῖκα ἐξ Ἀργου.

[2] φρονοῦσα δὲ ἡ Μεσσήνη διὰ τὸν πατέρα, ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει τῶν τότε προέχοντα Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἤξιον τὸν ἄνδρα ιδιωτεύειν. ἀθροίσαντες δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀργου δυνάμιν καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν, καὶ συμπάσῃ μὲν ἐτέθη τῇ γῇ Μεσσήνῃ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Πολυκάωνος γυναικός, πόλεις δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ — ἐνθα τὰ βασίλεια κατεσκευάσθη σφίσιν — Ἀνδανία. [3] πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης, ἣν Θηβαῖοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις, καὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ, πόλιν οὐδεμίαν πω κληθῆναι πρότερον δοκῶ Μεσσήνην: εἰκάζω δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ὀμήρου τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ καταλόγῳ τῶν ἐς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένων Πύλον καὶ Ἀρήνην καὶ ἄλλας καταλέγων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν Μεσσήνην ἐκάλεσεν: ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ δὲ δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἔθνος καὶ οὐ πόλιν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, "μήλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες αἶψαν,

"Hom. Od.

21.18 [4] σαφέστερον δὲ ἔτι περὶ τοῦ τόξου λέγων τοῦ Ἰφίτου "τὼ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλουιν

οἶκῳ ἐν Ὀρτιλόχοιο.

"Hom. Od.

21.15 τοῦ γὰρ Ὀρτιλόχου τὸν οἶκον ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πόλισμα εἶρηκε τὰς Φηράς, καὶ τότε ἐξηγήσατο αὐτὸς ἐν Πεισιστράτου παρὰ Μενέλαον ἀποδημία: "ἐς Φηράς δ' ἵκοντο Διοκλῆρος ποτὶ δῶμα,

υἱὸς Ὀρτιλόχοιο.

"Hom. Od.

3.488 [5] πρῶτοι δ' οὖν βασιλεύουσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ Πολυκάων τε ὁ Λέλεγος καὶ Μεσσήνη γυνὴ τοῦ Πολυκάωνος, παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Μεσσήνην τὰ ὄργια κομίζων τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Καύκων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος ὁ Κελαινοῦ τοῦ Φλύου. Φλύον δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς: ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ ὕμνος Μουσαίου Λυκομίδαις ποιηθείς ἐς Δήμητρα. [6] τὴν δὲ τελετὴν τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Καύκωνος προήγαγεν ἐς πλέον τιμῆς: καὶ Λύκου δρυμὸν ἔτι ὀνομάζουσιν ἐνθα ἐκάθηρε τοὺς μύστας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δρυμός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ Λύκου

καλούμενος, Ίριαν ὅτι Κρητὶ ἐστὶ πεπονημένον” πᾶρ τε τρηχὺν Ἑλαιὸν ὑπὲρ δρυμόν τε Λύκοιο:

“1 [7] ὥς δὲ ὁ Πανδίωνος οὗτος ἦν Λύκος, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ἔπη τῇ Μεθάπου. μετεκόσμησε γὰρ καὶ

Μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς ἐστὶν ἄ: ὁ δὲ Μέθαπος γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, τελεστῆς δὲ καὶ ὀργίων καὶ παντοίων συνθέτης. οὗτος καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν Καβείρων τὴν τελετὴν κατεστήσατο, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ κλίσιον τὸ Λυκομιδῶν εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλα τε λέγον καὶ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐς πίστιν συντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου: [8] “ἦγγισα δ’ Ἑρμείαιο δόμους σεμνῆς τε κέλευθα

Δάματρος καὶ πρωτογόνου Κούρας, ὅθι φασὶ

Μεσσήνην θεῖναι Μεγάλαισι θεαῖσιν ἀγῶνα

Φλυάδεω κλεινοῖο γόνου Καυκωνιάδαο.

θαύμασα δ’ ὥς σύμπαντα Λύκος Πανδίωνιος φῶς

Ἀτθίδος ἱερὰ ἔργα παρ’ Ἀνδανίη θέτο κεδνῇ.

“ [9] τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ μὲν ὥς παρὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Καῦκων ἀπόγονος ὢν Φλύου, δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Λύκον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὥς ἡ τελετὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ. καὶ μοι καὶ τοῦτο εἰκὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ ἐτέρωθι, ἀλλὰ ἔνθα αὐτὴ τε καὶ Πολυκάων ὥκουν, καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν.

2. πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῇ πάνυ ἐθελήσας, οἱ τινες παῖδες Πολυκάωνι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἑοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναιθίων καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. οὐ μὴν ἔς γε ταῦτα ἦν σφισιν οὐδὲν πεπονημένον, ἀλλὰ Ὑλλου μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐαίχμῃ συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάωνα υἱὸν Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς

μεγάλας οἶδα Ἑοίας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεσσήνης ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν Μεσσήνην παρεῖται σφισι. [2] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὥς ἦν τῶν Πολυκάωνος οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀπογόνων, ἐς γενεὰς πέντε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προελθόντων καὶ οὐ πλέονας, Περιήρην τὸν Αἰόλου βασιλέα ἐπάγονται. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκετο, ὥς οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι, Μελανεύς, τοξεύειν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι νομιζόμενος: καὶ οἱ τῆς χώρας τὸ Καρνάσιον, τότε δὲ Οἰχαλίαν κληθεῖσαν, ἀπένειμεν ὁ Περιήρης ἐνοικῆσαι: γενέσθαι δὲ ὄνομα Οἰχαλίαν τῇ πόλει φασὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μελανέως τῆς γυναικός. [3] Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ καὶ Εὐβοεῖς, ἥκει γὰρ δὴ ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὰ πλεῖω, λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὥς τὸ Εὐρύτιον — χωρίον δὲ ἔρημον ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ Εὐρύτιον — πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Οἰχαλία, τῷ δὲ Εὐβοέων λόγῳ Κρεώφυλος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίηκεν ὁμολογοῦντα: Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Σκίῳ μοῖρα τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς ἔγραψεν εἶναι Οἰχαλίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὰ τε ἄλλα δοκοῦσί μοι μᾶλλον εἰκότα ἐκείνων λέγειν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ὁσῶν ἔνεκα τῶν Εὐρύτου, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτ’ αὖτε ὁ λόγος ἐπέξεισί μοι. [4] Περιήρει δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ Γοργοφόνης τῆς Περσέως Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ Λεύκιππος, καὶ ὥς ἀπέθανε Περιήρης, ἔσχον οὗτοι τὴν Μεσσηνίων ἀρχήν: κυριώτερος δὲ ἔτι Ἀφαρεὺς ἦν. οὗτος βασιλεύσας πόλιν ὥκισεν Ἀρήνην ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰβάλου θυγατρὸς, αὐτοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀδελφῆς

ὁμομητρίας: καὶ γὰρ

Οἰβάλῳ συνῴκησε Γοργοφόνῃ, καὶ μοι δις ἤδη τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ἔν τε τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἐδήλωσε καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ συγγραφῇ.

[5] ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀφαρεὺς πόλιν τε ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ Νηλέα τὸν Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ, φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελίαν ἐδέξατο οἶκῳ καὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἔδωκε τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν οἷς ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν πόλεις καὶ ἡ Πύλος, ἔνθα καὶ ὤκησε καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον κατεστήσατο ὁ Νηλεὺς. [6] ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἰγέα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφευγε: καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐπέδειξε τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Ἀφαρεῖ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀρήνῃ: ταῦτα δὲ σφισιν ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀγαθὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην ὁ Καύκων ἐμύησεν ἐνταῦθα. [7] Ἀφαρεῖ δὲ τῶν παίδων πρεσβύτερος μὲν καὶ ἀνδρείότερος Ἴδας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Λυγκεύς, ὃν ἔφη Πίνδαρος — ὅτῳ πιστὰ — οὕτως ὅζῳ ὁρᾶν ὥς καὶ διὰ στελέχους θεᾶσθαι δρυός. Λυγκέως μὲν δὴ παῖδα οὐκ ἴσμεν γενόμενον, Ἴδα δὲ Κλεοπάτρῃν θυγατέρα ἐκ Μαρπήσσης, ἣ Μελεάγρῳ συνῴκησεν. ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὰ Κύπρια Πρωτεσιλάου φησὶν, ὃς ὅτε κατὰ τὴν Τρωάδα ἔσχον Ἕλληνες ἀποβῆναι πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε, Πρωτεσιλάου τούτου τὴν γυναῖκα Πολυδώραν μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, θυγατέρα δὲ Μελεάγρου φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ Οἰνέως. εἰ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἀληθές, αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται τρεῖς οὔσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Μαρπήσσης ἀρξάμεναι προαποθανοῦσι πᾶσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατέσφαζαν.

3. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἀφαρέως παισὶ πρὸς τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐγένετο ἀνεψιὸς ὄντας μάχῃ περὶ τῶν βοῶν καὶ τὸν μὲν Πολυδεύκης ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἴδαν δὲ ἐπέλαβε τὸ χρεῶν κεραυνωθέντα, ὁ μὲν Ἀφαρέως οἶκος γένους παντὸς ἡρήμωτο τοῦ ἄρρενος, ἐς δὲ Νέστορα τὸν τοῦ Νηλέως περιῆλθε Μεσσηνίων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσων πρότερον ἐβασίλευεν Ἴδας, πλὴν ὅσοι τοῖς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παισὶν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουον. [2] καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδας στρατεῦσαί φασιν ἐπ' Ἴλιον Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, Ἀρσινόης γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸν τῆς Λευκίππου καὶ οὐ Κορωνίδος παῖδα εἶναι: καὶ Τρίκκῃν τε καλοῦσιν ἔρημον ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον καὶ ἔπη τῶν Ὀμήρου καταλέγουσιν, ἐν οἷς τὸν Μαχάονα ὁ Νέστωρ τῷ οἰστῷ βεβλημένον περιέπων ἐστὶν εὐνοϊκῶς: οὐκ ἂν οὖν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ ἐς γείτονα καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα ὁμοφύλων προθυμίαν τοσὴνδε γε ἐπιδείξασθαι. οἱ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἤδη βεβαιοῦνται τὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας λόγον, ἀποφαίνοντες ἐν Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος μνῆμα καὶ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς τῶν Μαχάονος παίδων ἱερόν. [3] διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον πολέμου καὶ Νέστορος ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν οἴκαδε τελευτήσαντος, Δωριέων στόλος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ἡρακλείδων γενομένη δύο γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Νηλέως ἀπογόνους ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. καὶ μοι ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἤδη τῷ λόγῳ προσθήκη τῷ ἐς Τισαμενόν: πλὴν τοσόνδε ἔτι δηλώσω. Τημένῳ τῶν Δωριέων Ἄργος ἐφέντων ἔχειν, Κρεσφόντης γῆν σφᾶς ἵτει τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἅτε καὶ αὐτὸς

Ἀριστοδήμου πρεσβύτερος.

[4] Ἀριστόδημος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη τεθνεώς, Θήρας δὲ ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Θηβαῖός τε καὶ

ἀπόγονος πέμπτος Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, τότε δὲ ἐπετρέπευεν Ἀριστοδήμου τοὺς παῖδας θεῖος ὢν πρὸς μητρός: Αὐτεσίωνος γὰρ θυγατέρα Ἀριστόδημος ἔγημεν ὄνομα Ἀργεῖαν. Κρεσφόντης δὲ — γενέσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἤθελε τὴν Μεσσηνίαν πάντως μοῖραν — Τημένου δεῖται, παρεσκευασμένους δὲ τοῦτον τῷ κλήρῳ δῆθεν ἐφίησι. [5] Τήμενος δὲ ἐξ ὕδριαν, ἐνόντος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατος, καθήσι τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων καὶ Κρεσφόντου τοὺς πάλους ἐπὶ διηρημένοις, μοῖραν ἀναιρεῖσθαι τῆς χώρας προτέρους ὀποτέρων ἂν πάλος ἀνέλθῃ πρότερον. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πάλους γῆς ὁ Τήμενος ἐπεποίητο ἀμφοτέρους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ ξηρὰς ὑπὸ ἡλίου, Κρεσφόντῃ δὲ ὀπτῆς πυρί: ὃ τε δὴ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων πάλος κατετέθηκτο καὶ ὁ Κρεσφόντης οὕτω λαχὼν γῆν αἰρεῖται τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. [6] Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων ὁ δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριεῆς τὴν γῆν: ταῦτα δὲ σφισιν εἴκειν παρίστατο ὑποψία πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύοντας, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οἱ Νηλεῖδαι. γυναιῖκα δὲ ἔσχε Κρεσφόντης Μερόπην τὴν Κυψέλου, βασιλεύοντος τότε Ἀρκάδων, ἀφ' ἧς ἄλλοι τε δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ καὶ νεώτατος Αἴπυτος: [7] τὰ δὲ βασιλεία, ἔνθα αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἔμελλον οἰκήσῃν, ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Περιήρης ὥκουν ἐν Ἀνδανία, κτίσαντος δὲ Ἀφαρέως Ἀρήνην αὐθις Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐνταῦθα ὥκησαν: ἐπὶ δὲ Νέστορος καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἐν Πύλῳ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν: Κρεσφόντης δὲ ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τὸν βασιλέα οἰκεῖν κατεστήσατο. διοικούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτὸν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς λοιπούς, ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος — παῖδα [8] γὰρ ἔτι ὄντα ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύψελος — περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ὥς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην: συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωριέων, οἱ τε Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Ἰσθμῖος ὁ Τημένου. Αἴπυτος δὲ ὥς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐτιμωρήσατο μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς φονέας, ἐτιμωρήσατο δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ φόνου παραίτιοι καθεστήκεσαν: προσαγόμενος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τέλει τῶν Μεσσηνίων θεραπείαις, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ δήμου, δωρεαῖς, ἐς τοσοῦτο προέβη τιμῆς ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Αἰπυτίδας ἀντὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κληθῆναι. [9] Γλαῦκῳ δὲ τῷ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύσαντι μετὰ Αἴπυτον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξήρκεσε μιμήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα ἐν τε τοῖς κοινῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας, εὐσεβείας δὲ ἐς πλεόν προέβη. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Ἰθώμης τέμενος, ἀνέντων Πολυκάονος καὶ Μεσσήνης, οὐκ ἔχον παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πῶ τιμάς, Γλαῦκος ἦν ὁ καὶ τούτοις σέβειν καταστησάμενος: καὶ Μαχάονι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ πρῶτος ἔθυσεν ἐν Γερηνία, γέρα δὲ ἀπένειμε Μεσσήνῃ τῇ Τριόπα τὰ νομιζόμενα ἥρωσιν.

[10] Ἰσθμῖος δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Γοργάσῳ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς ἐποίησεν: Ἰσθμίου δὲ γίνεται Δωτάδας, ὃς ἐπίνεια καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Μεσσηνίας παρεχομένης τὸ ἐν Μοθώνῃ κατεσκευάσατο. Συβότας δὲ ὁ Δωτάδα τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμίσῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον θύειν τὸν βασιλεύοντα καὶ Εὐρύτῳ τῷ Μελανέως ἐναγίζειν ἐν Οἰχαλία πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς

τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἀγομένης ἔτι ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ.

4. ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι: τὸ δὲ σφισιν ἄσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἶναι τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τῆς Φίντα βασιλείας διαφορὰ πρῶτον, ἀπὸ αἰτίας ἀμφισβητουμένης μὲν καὶ ταύτης, γενέσθαι δὲ οὕτω λεγομένης. [2] ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἱ τε Μεσσήνιοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ φασιν ὡς παρθένους αὐτῶν παραγενομένας ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτάς τε βιάσαιντο ἄνδρες τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀποκτείναιεν πειρώμενον κωλύειν, Τήλεκλον Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λαβότα τοῦ Ἐχέστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος, πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις τὰς

βιασθείσας τῶν παρθένων διεργάσασθαι λέγουσιν αὐτάς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνῃ: [3] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κατὰ ἀξίωμα, τούτοις φασὶν ἐπιβουλευσαι Τήλεκλον, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπιβουλεύοντα δὲ ἐπιλέξει Σπαρτιατῶν ὁπόσοι πω γένεια οὐκ εἶχον, τούτους δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους ἀναπαυομένοις τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπεισαγαγεῖν, δόντα ἐγχειρίδια: καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τοὺς τε ἀγενεῖους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει Τήλεκλον, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα βουλευσαι σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα — συνειδότας ὡς ἄρξαιεν ἀδικίας, τοῦ φόνου σφᾶς τοῦ Τηλέκλου δίκας οὐκ ἀπαιτῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν ἑκάτεροι λέγουσι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὡς ἔχει τις ἐς τοὺς ἐτέρους σπουδῆς. [4] γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος, Μεσσηνίων δὲ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τῶν Φίντα, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἐξήρθη τὸ ἐς ἀλλήλους μῖσος: καὶ ἦρξαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμου, ἐπιγενομένης ἀφορμῆς σφισιν ἐθελέχθῳ μὲν ἔχουσι καὶ πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἐγνωκόσιν οὐ μόνον ἀποχρώσης ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐπροσώπου, μετὰ δὲ εἰρηνικωτέρας γνώμης κἂν διελύθη δικαστηρίου γνώσει. τὰ δὲ συμβάντα ἔσχεν οὕτω.

[5] Πολυχάρης Μεσσήνιος τὰ τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀφανὴς καὶ νίκην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνηρημένος — τετάρτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἦγον Ἥλειοι καὶ ἀγώνισμα ἦν σταδίου μόνον, ὅτε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐνίκησεν — , τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐγένοντο βουῖς: καὶ — οὐ γὰρ ἐκέκτητο ἰδίαν γῆν ὡς νομὰς ταῖς βουσίην ἱκανὰς εἶναι — Σπαρτιάτῃ σφᾶς δίδωσιν Εὐαίφνῳ βόσκεισθαι τε ἐν ἐκείνῳ καὶ μοῖραν εἶναι καὶ Εὐαίφνῳ τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν βοῶν. [6] ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοιόσδε τις ὁ Εὐαίφνος, κέρδη τε ἄδικα ἐπίπροσθεν ἢ πιστὸς εἶναι ποιούμενος καὶ ἄλλως αἰμύλος: ὃς καὶ τότε καταπλεύσας ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμπόροις ἀποδόμενος βουῖς τὰς Πολυχάρους ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ὡς Πολυχάρην ἄγγελος, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἀποβάντας ἔλεγεν ἐς τὴν χώραν ληστὰς καὶ βιασαμένους αὐτὸν λείαν βουῖς τε ἄγεσθαι καὶ βουκόλους. ἔως δὲ οὗτος παρέπειθεν, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις βουκόλων ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς ἐμπόρους, ἐπανήκων δὲ καταλαμβάνει τε αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ

δεσπότη τὸν Εὐαίφνον καὶ Πολυχάρους ἐναντίον ἤλεγχεν. [7] ἀλισκόμενος δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἀπαρνήσασθαι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸν Πολυχάρην, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν παῖδα ἰκέτευε νεῖμαί οἱ συγγνώμην: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει καὶ ἄλλων ἐνόντων, ἐφ' οἷς βιαζόμεθα ἄδικοι γίνεσθαι, τὰ κέρδη μεγίστην ἀνάγκην ἔχειν: τιμὴν δὲ ἦντινα εἰλήφει τῶν βοῶν, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἡξίου τὸν Πολυχάρους ἔπεσθαι οἱ κοιμούμενον. ὥς δὲ προϊόντες ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ, ἔργον ἐτόλμησεν Εὐαίφνος ἀνοσιώτερον τοῦ προτέρου: [8] φονεύει τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν υἱόν. ὁ δὲ ὥς καὶ ταῦτα ἔγνω πεπονθῶς, φοιτῶν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις δι' ὄχλου, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν παῖδα ἀνακλαίων, καταριθμούμενος δὲ οἷα ὑπὸ Εὐαίφνου πεπονθῶς ἦν, ὃν αὐτὸς ξένον ἐποίησατο καὶ πρὸ πάντων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπίστευσεν. ὥς δὲ οἱ συνεχῶς ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐδεμία ἐγίνετο τιμωρία, ἐνταῦθα παρετράπη τε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἅτε ἔχων ἀφειδῶς ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῦ, πάντα τινὰ ὃν λάβοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτόλμα φονεύειν.

5. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ Πολυχάρους τε ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐκδοθέντος σφίσι καὶ διὰ τὸν Τηλέκλου φόνον, καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούργημα ἐς τὸν κληρὸν, πολεμῆσαι λέγουσι: Μεσσήνιοι δὲ περὶ Τηλέκλου ἀντιλέγουσι τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι καὶ Αἴπυτον τὸν Κρεσφόντου συγκαταχθέντα ἀποφαίνουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου τῶν παίδων, ὃ μῆποτ' ἂν ποιῆσαι σφᾶς Κρεσφόντῃ γε ὄντας διαφόρους. [2] Πολυχάρην δὲ ἐκδοῦναι μὲν ἐπὶ τιμωρία Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐ φασιν, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν Εὐαίφνον, ἐθέλειν μέντοι παρὰ Ἀργείοις συγγενέσιν οὗσιν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Ἀμφικτυονίᾳ διδόναι δίκας, ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίῳ, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ὅτι δίκας τὰς φονικὰς τὸ δικαστήριον τοῦτο ἐδόκει δικάζειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ. [3] Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πολεμῆσαι φασιν, ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τε ἐπιβουλεύσαι καὶ ἄλλα ἐργάσασθαι, προφέροντες μὲν σφισι τὰ Ἀρκάδων, προφέροντες δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἀργείων, ὥς οὐποτε ἐσχήκασι κόρον ἀποτεμνόμενοι τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ τι ἐκατέρων: Κροίσῳ τε αὐτοῖς δῶρα ἀποστείλαντι γενέσθαι φίλους βαρβάρῳ πρώτους, ἀφ' οὗ γε τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατεδουλώσατο Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσοι Δωριεῖς ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ κατοικοῦσιν ἠπεῖρῳ. [4] ἀποφαίνουσιν δὲ καὶ ἡνίκα οἱ Φωκέων δυνάσται τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατεilhάσιν, ἰδία τε κατὰ ἄνδρα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπ' ἀξιώματος καὶ κοινῇ τῶν τε ἐφόρων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν μετασχόντας τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. πρό τε δὴ πάντων, ὥς οὐδὲν ἂν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κέρδους ἔνεκα ὀκνήσαντας, τὴν συμμαχίαν ὀνειδίζουσιν σφισι τὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἐν Κασσανδρείᾳ τυραννήσαντα. [5] ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τὸ ὀνειδος ἡγῆνται τοῦτο οὕτω πικρόν, οὗ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ παρόντι ἦν ἐπεισάγεσθαι: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ εὐψυχον καὶ χρόνου μῆκος ὃν ἐπολέμησαν διάφορα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου τυραννίδος, ἔς γε τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ πολλῶν τι ἀποδόει ἂν αἱ οἱ Κασσανδρεῖς πεπόνθασι. [6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αἷτια ἐκάτεροι τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι λέγουσι: τότε δὲ πρεσβεία Λακεδαιμονίων ἤκουσα ἐξήτει Πολυχάρην. οἱ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων βασιλεῖς τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο

ὅτι βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα ἐπιστελοῦσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς πολίτας συνήγον. αἱ δὲ γινῶμαι διάφοροι παρὰ πολὺ ἐγίνοντο, Ἀνδροκλέους μὲν ἐκδιδόναι Πολυχάρην ὥς ἀνόςία τε καὶ πέρα δεινῶν εἰργασμένον· Ἀντίοχος δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντέλεγε καὶ τὸ ἀπάντων οἰκτιστον, εἰ Πολυχάρης ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πείσεται τοῖς Εὐαίφνου, καταριθμούμενος ὅσα καὶ οἷα ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν.

[7] τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο προήχθησαν οἱ τε Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ οἱ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ συσπεύδοντες ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβον. οὐ μὴν ἐς μακράν γε προήλθε σφισιν ἡ μάχη· περιόντες γὰρ ἀριθμῷ καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ τὸν τε Ἀνδροκλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίους ἀποκτείνουσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ βασιλεύων ἤδη μόνος ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σπάρτην ὥς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἃ ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ λέγονται τοῖς κομίσασσι τὰ γράμματα ἀποκρίνασθαι. [8] μῆσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου τελευτήσαντος Εὐφαῖς ὁ Ἀντιόχου παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔτε κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι προερούντα Μεσσηνίους πόλεμον οὔτε προαπειπάμενοι τὴν φιλίαν, κρύφα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ὥς ἐδύναντο ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρασκευασάμενοι, προοιμύνουσιν ὄρκον μήτε τοῦ πολέμου μήκος, ἢ μὴ δι' ὀλίγου κριθῇ, μήτε τὰς συμφοράς, εἰ μεγάλαι πολεμοῦσι γένοιτο, ἀποστρέφειν σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ κτήσαιντο χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν δοριάλωτον.

[9] ταῦτα προοιμύσαντες ἔξοδον νύκτωρ ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ Ἄμφειαν, Ἀλκαμένην τὸν Τηλέκλου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἀποδειξάντες. ἡ δὲ Ἄμφεια πρὸς τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλισμα ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, μεγέθει μὲν οὐ μέγα, ἐπὶ λόφου δὲ ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, καὶ ὑδάτων πηγὰς εἶχεν ἀφθόνους· ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὀρμητήριόν σφισιν ἐπιτήδειον ἢ Ἄμφεια εἶναι. καὶ τό τε πόλισμα αἰροῦσι πυλῶν ἀνεωγμένων καὶ φυλακῆς οὐκ ἐνούσης καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας φονεύουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, τοὺς δὲ ὥς ἦσθοντο πρὸς τε ἱερὰ θεῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθημένους ἰκέτας· ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐγένοντο. [10] ταύτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶτην ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔξοδον ἐποιήσαντο ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐνάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν Ξενοδόκος Μεσσηνίος ἐνίκα στάδιον· Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐκ ἦσάν πω τότε οἱ τῷ κλήρῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες· τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ Μελάνθου, καλουμένους δὲ Μεδοντίδας, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφείλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησαν ἐς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας Αἰσιμίδης Ἀθηναῖοις ἦρχεν ὁ Αἰσχύλου πέμπτον ἔτος.

6. πρὶν δὲ ἢ συγγράφειν με τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅποσα πολεμοῦσιν ἑκατέροις ὁ δαίμων παθεῖν ἢ δρᾶσαι παρεσκεύασε, διακρίναι τι καὶ ἡλικίας ἔργα πέρι ἠθέλησα ἀνδρὸς Μεσσηνίου. τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον τοῦτον γενόμενον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους, ὀνομασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὥσπερ γε ὁ Μηδικὸς καὶ ὁ Πελοποννησίος, Μεσσηνίον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ κληθῆναι Τρωικὸν καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐξενίκησεν, τοῦτον γὰρ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον Ῥιανὸς τε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ

Βηναῖος καὶ ὁ Πριηνεὺς Μύρων· λόγοι δὲ περὶ Μύρωνός ἐστιν ἡ

συγγραφῇ. [2] συνεχῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδετέρῳ διήνυσται: μέρος δὲ ᾧ ἑκάτερος ἠρέσκετο, ὁ μὲν τῆς τε Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνέθηκεν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς, Ῥιανὸς δὲ τοῦδε μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πολέμων οὐδὲ ἦπατο ἀρχήν: ὅποσα δὲ χρόνῳ συνέβη τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἔγραψε, τῆς μάχης δὲ τὰ ὕστερα ἦν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ. [3] ἄνδρα οὖν Μεσσήνιον — τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἔνεκα τὸν πάντα ἐποίησάμην Ῥιανοῦ καὶ Μύρωνος λόγον — Ἀριστομένην, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Μεσσήνης ὄνομα ἐς ἀξίωμα προήγαγε, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἐς τὴν συγγραφὴν, Ῥιανῷ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν οὐδὲν Ἀριστομένης ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὀμήρῳ. διάφορα οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρηκότων, προσέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἕτερόν μοι τῶν λόγων καὶ οὐχ ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους ὑπελείπετο, Ῥιανὸς δὲ μοι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο εἰκότα ἐς τὴν Ἀριστομένους ἡλικίαν: [4] Μύρωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἄλλοις καταμαθεῖν ἔστιν οὐ προορώμενον εἰ ψευδῇ τε καὶ οὐ πιθανὰ δόξει λέγειν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. πεποίηκε γὰρ ὡς ἀποκτείνειε Θεόπομπον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀριστομένης ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς: Θεόπομπον δὲ οὔτε μάχης γινομένης οὔτε ἄλλως προαποθανόντα ἴσμεν πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμηθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον. [5] οὗτος δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος: ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθείς τῷ πολέμῳ: μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία τῶν Τυρταίου λέγοντα “ἡμετέρῳ βασιλεῖ θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,

ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location. ὁ τοῖνυν Ἀριστομένης δόξη γε ἐμῇ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὕστερου: καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπειδὰν ἐς τοῦτο ὁ λόγος ἀφίκηται, τηνικαῦτα ἐπέξειμι. [6] οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τότε, ὡς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφειαν ἤκουον παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποσωθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως, συνελέγοντο ἐς Στενύκληρον ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς παρεκελεύετο μήτε τῆς Ἀμφείας καταπεπληχθαι τὴν πόρθησιν, ὡς τὸν πάντα ἤδη κεκριμένον δι’ αὐτῆς πόλεμον, μήτε ὡς τῆς σφετέρας κρείσσονα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δεδοικέναι τὴν παρασκευήν: μελέτην μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκ χρόνου πλείονος, σφίσι δὲ εἶναι τὴν τε ἀνάγκην ἰσχυροτέραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐμενέστερον ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμύνουσι τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀδικίας ἄρχουσιν.

7. τοιαῦτα ὁ Εὐφάης εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πάντας ἔσχεν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐν ὅπλοις, τοὺς τε οὐκ εἰδότας ἐπαναγκάζων διδάσκεσθαι τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἐπιμελεστέραν ἢ πρότερον τὴν ἄσκησιν εἶναι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν οὐκ ἐλυμαίνοντο ἅτε δὴ νομίζοντες οἰκείαν οὐδὲ δένδρα ἔκοπτον οὐδὲ οἰκήματα κατέβαλλον: οἱ δὲ λείαν εἰ περιτύχοιεν ἡλαυνον καὶ σίτον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν ἀφηροῦντο.

[2] πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις ποιοῦμενοι προσβολὰς εἶλον μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἅτε καὶ τείχεσιν ὠχυρωμένας καὶ δι’ ἀκριβείας φρουρουμένας, λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀπεχώρουν ἄπρακτοι καὶ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν

πόλεων. ἐλήστευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὰ τε ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ ὅσαι γεωργίαι περὶ τὸ Ταῦγετον ἦσαν. [3] τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετὰ τῆς Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν Εὐφάης τῷ θυμῷ χρήσασθαι τῷ Μεσσηνίων προθυμούμενος ἀκμαζόντων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἄσκησιν ἤδη σφίσιν αὐτάρκη νομίζων εἶναι, προεῖπεν ἔξοδον: συνακολουθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας προσέτασσε φέροντας ξύλα καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς ποίησιν χαρακώματος. ἐπνυθάνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρῶν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐξιόντας: ἐξεστρατεύοντο οὖν καὶ οὗτοι.

[4] καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον ἄλλως μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδειον, χαράδρα δὲ προεβέβλητο αὐτοῦ βαθεῖα: ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρέτασεν ὁ Εὐφάης, ἀποδείξας στρατηγὸν Κλέονιν: τῆς δὲ ἵππου καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, οἱ συναμφοτέροι ἐλάσσους πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, τούτων Πυθάρατος καὶ Ἄντανδρος ἡγούντο. [5] ὥς δὲ συνήει τὰ στρατόπεδα, τοῖς μὲν ὀπλίταις καὶ ἀφειδῶς ὅμως καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ μίσους φερομένοις ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους οὐ παρέσχεν ἐλθεῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἢ χαράδρα διείργουσα: τὸ δ' ἵππικόν καὶ οἱ ψилоὶ συμμίσγουσι μὲν κατὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χαράδραν, ἦσαν δὲ οὔτε πλῆθος οὔτε ἐμπειρία διαφέροντες οὐδέτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ισόρροπος ἡ μάχη σφίσιν ἐγένετο. [6] ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτοι συνεστήκασιν, ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευεν ὁ Εὐφάης πρῶτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ νῶτον τοῦ στρατοπέδου φράζεσθαι τοῖς σταυροῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ἀμφοτέρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τε νύξ ἐπέλαβε καὶ ἡ μάχη διελέλυτο, τότε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἐφράξαντο, ὥστε ἐπισχούσης ἡμέρας τῆς τε προνοίας τοῦ Εὐφάους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιπίπτει λογισμὸς εἶχόν τε οὔτε ὅπως μάχεσθαι χρή πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μὴ προϊόντας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος προσκαθῆσθαι τε ἀπεγίνωσκον ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὄντες. [7] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀποχωροῦσιν οἴκαδε, ἐνιαντῷ δὲ ὕστερον κακιζόντων σφᾶς τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ δειλίαν τε ὁμοῦ προφερόντων καὶ τοῦ ὅρκου τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, οὕτω δευτέραν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους στρατείαν ἐποιοῦντο. ἡγούντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφοτέροι, Θεόπομπός τε ὁ Νικάνδρου καὶ Πολύδωρος ὁ Ἀλκαμένους: Ἀλκαμένης δὲ οὐκέτι περιῆν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ πειρωμένων μάχης τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄρχειν ἀντεπεξήεσαν.

[8] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡγεῖτο Πολύδωρος μὲν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερόν, Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ, τὸ μέσον δὲ εἶχεν Εὐρυλέων, τὰ μὲν παρόντα Λακεδαιμόνιος, τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν, Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος ἀπόγονος πέμπτος. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντετάσσοντο Ἄντανδρός τε καὶ Εὐφάης, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Πολύδωρον Πυθάρατος εἶχε, Κλέωνις δὲ τὸ μέσον. [9] συνιέναι δὲ ἤδη μελλόντων, ἐπεὶ παριόντες οἱ βασιλεῖς προέτρεπον τοὺς αὐτῶν, πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βραχεῖαν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον τὴν παράκλησιν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Θεόπομπος, τοῦ τε ὅρκου τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀναμνησκῶν καὶ ὥς καλὸν σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα, τῶν πατέρων οἳ τοὺς περιοίκους κατεδουλώσαντο φανῆναι λαμπρότερα εἰργασμένους καὶ χώραν εὐδαιμονεστέραν προσκεκτημένους: Εὐφάης δὲ μακρότερα μὲν εἶπεν ἢ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, οὐ πλείω δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος ἢ ἐφίεντα ἐώρα

τὸν καιρόν. [10] οὐ γὰρ περὶ γῆς μόνον οὐδὲ κτημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπέφαινε γενησόμενον, εἰδέναι δὲ ἔφη σαφῶς ἃ νικωμένους ἐπιλήψεται: γυναικας μὲν γὰρ ἀχθήσεσθαι καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μέρει, τοῖς δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὸ ἐλαφρότατον ἔσεσθαι. θάνατον, ἦν μετ' αἰκίας μὴ γένηται, συλήσεσθαι δὲ σφισι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐμπρήσεσθαι: λέγειν δὲ οὐκ εἰκάζων, μάρτυρα δὲ ἐναργῆ πᾶσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ τὰ πάθη. [11] πρό τε δὴ τηλικούτων κακῶν κέρδος εἶναι καλῶς τινα ἀποθανεῖν, πολὺ δὲ εἶναι ῥᾶον ἀηττήτοις οὖσιν ἔτι καὶ τὰς τόλμας καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἴσου προθυμία τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ὑπερβαλεῖν ἢ προαποβαλόντας τὸ φρόνημα ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐπταισμένα.

8. τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Εὐφαῖς εἶπεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκατέροις ἐσήμηναν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, Μεσσηνιοὶ μὲν δρόμῳ τε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἀφειδῶς αὐτῶν εἶχον ἅτε ἄνθρωποι θανατῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος πρῶτος ἔσπευδεν ἄρξαι μάχης: ἀντεπήεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σπουδῇ καὶ οὗτοι, πρόνοιαν δὲ ὁμῶς ἐποιοῦντο μὴ διαλυθῆναι σφισι τὴν τάξιν. [2] ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγίνοντο, ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρῶντο τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ κινήσει καὶ ἐνορῶντες ἐς ἀλλήλους δεινόν: ἔς τε λοιδορίας προήγοντο οἱ μὲν οἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλευθερωτέρους ἀποκαλοῦντες τῶν εἰλώτων, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνους τῷ τε ἐγχειρήματι ἀνοσίους, ἐπεὶ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας συγγενεῖς ἐπίασι, καὶ θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς ὅσοι Δωριεῦσι πατρῷοι, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα Ἡρακλέους. ἤδη τε ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδέσι καὶ ἔργων ἥπτοντο, ἄθροοι τε πρὸς ἄθροους ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι μάλιστα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιόντες. [3] τέχνη μὲν οὖν ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ μελέτη πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέσχον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει: τοὺς τε γὰρ περιοίκους ὑπηκόους ἤδη καὶ συνακολουθοῦντας εἶχον Ἀσιναιοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Δρύοπες γενεᾷ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνεστηκότες καὶ ἦκοντες ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἰκέται κατ' ἀνάγκην συνεστρατεύοντο: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοξότας Κρήτας ἐπήγοντο μισθωτοὺς. [4] Μεσσηνίοις δὲ ἥες ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἦ τε ἀπόνοια καὶ τὸ ἐς τὸν θάνατον εὐθυμον: καὶ ὅποσα μὲν πάσχοιεν, ἀναγκαῖα μᾶλλον τοῖς πατρίδα σεμνύνουσιν ἢ δεινὰ ἐνόμιζον, ἃ δὲ ἔδρων, αὐτοὶ τε ἡγοῦντο εἰργάσθαι μειζόνως καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβαίνειν χαλεπώτερα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν προεκπηδῶντες τῆς τάξεως τολμήματα λαμπρὰ ἀπεδείκνυντο, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπικαίρως τετρωμένοις καὶ ἐμπνέουσιν ὀλίγον ὁμῶς ἢ ἀπόνοια ἠκμαζε. [5] παρακλήσεις τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ζῶντες καὶ ἔτι ἄτρωτοι τοὺς τραυματίας παρώξυνον, πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἐσχάτην τινὶ ἐφেষθηκέναι μοῖραν, ἀντιδράσαντα ὃ τι καὶ δύναιτο σὺν ἡδονῇ δέχεσθαι τὸ πεπρωμένον: οἱ δὲ ὁπότε αἰσθόιντο οἱ τραυματῖαι τὴν ἰσχὺν σφᾶς ὑπολείπουσαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ παραμένον, διεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἀτρώσι μὴ χεῖρονας ἢ αὐτοὶ γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἐς ἀνωφελὲς τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τελευτὴν καταστῆσαι. [6] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προτροπῇ μὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους τῇ δεήσει οὐκ ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν τολμημάτων οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐτοίμως τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις εἶχον: ἅτε δὲ εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐπιστάμενοι, βαθυτέρα τε τῇ φάλαγγι ἐχρῶντο καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἠλπίζον οὔτε χρόνον τὸν ἴσον καρτερῆσειν ἀντιτεταγμένους οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς

ὄπλοις κάματον ἢ τὰ τραύματα ἀνθέξουσιν. [7] ἴδια μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ἔς τε τὰ ἔργα ἦν καὶ ἔς τὰς γνώμας τῶν μαχομένων, κοινὰ δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων: οὔτε γὰρ ἱκεσίαις οἱ φονευόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων ὑποσχέσεις ἐχρῶντο, τάχα μὲν πού μὴ πείσειν διὰ τὸ ἔχθος ἀπεγνωκότες, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἀπαξιούντες ὥς οὐ τὰ πρότερά γε κακιοῦσιν: οἱ τε ἀποκτείνοντες ἀπείχοντο καὶ αὐγῆματος ὁμοίως καὶ ὄνειδῶν, οὐκ ἔχοντές πο βεβαίαν οὐδέτεροι τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰ κρατήσουσι. παραδοξότατα δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οἱ τῶν κειμένων σκυλεύειν τινὰ ἐπιχειροῦντες: ἡ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος γυμνὸν τι ὑποφήναντες ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ἐτύπτοντο οὐ προορώμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀσχολίαν, ἡ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σκυλευομένων ἐτι ἐμπνεόντων διεφθείροντο. [8] ἐμάχοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀξίως λόγου, Θεόπομπος δὲ καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὥρμητο ὥς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενῶν Εὐφαῖ. Εὐφαῖς δὲ ὄρῶν ἐπιόντα εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τὸν Ἄντανδρον οὐδὲν εἶναι τὰ Θεοπόμπου διάφορα ἢ ὅσα ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ Πολυνείκης ἐτόλμησε: Πολυνείκην τε γὰρ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀγαγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους ἀποκτείνειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοχειρὶ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ ἐκείνου, Θεόπομπόν τε ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσαι μιάσματος τοῖς ἀπὸ Λαῖου καὶ Οἰδίποδος τὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος: οὐ μέντοι χαίροντά γε ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διακριθῆσθαι. τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγων ἀντεπῆει καὶ οὗτος. [9] ἐνταῦθα ἡ τε πᾶσα μάχη κεκμηκότων ὅμως ἐς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον αὐθις ἦρθη, καὶ τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνερρώννυντο καὶ τὸ ἀφειδὲς ἐς τὸν θάνατον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἠϋξάνετο, ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν τις τοῦ ἔργου τότε σφᾶς πρῶτον ἅπτεσθαι. τέλος δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῖ τῆς τε ἀπονοίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι μανίας ὄντες ἐγγύτατα καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδραγαθίας — πᾶν γὰρ δὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα οἱ λογάδες τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἦσαν — βιάζονται τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους: καὶ αὐτὸν τε Θεόπομπον ἀπώσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. [10] τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρας τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐταλαιπώρει. Πυθάρατός τε γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐτεθνήκει καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἀτακτότερον καὶ θορυβωδέστερον ἐμάχοντο, οὐ μέντοι ἀθύμως εἶχον οὐδ' οὔτοι. φεύγουσι δὲ οὔτε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ὁ Πολύδωρος οὔτε οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῖ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἠκολούθησαν: Εὐφαεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰρετώτερα ἐφαίνετο ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἡττωμένοις — οὐ μέντοι Πολυδώρῳ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν συμμίσγουσιν, ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ γινόμενα ἦν — [11] καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἅμα εἶργε μὴ πρόσω τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία τῶν τόπων. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλως πάτριον σχολαιοτέρας τὰς διώξεις ποιεῖσθαι, μὴ διαλυῖν τὴν τάξιν πλείονα ἔχοντας πρόνοιαν ἢ τινα ἀποκτείνειν φεύγοντα. τὰ δὲ μέσα ἀμφοτέροις, ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Εὐρυλέων, Μεσσηνίοις δὲ Κλέωνις ἡγήτο, ἰσοπαλῶς μὲν ἠγωνίζοντο, διέλυσε δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τούτους ἐπελθοῦσα ἡ νύξ. [12] ταύτην τὴν μάχην παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἡ μόνα ἡ μάλιστα ἐμαχέσαντο τὰ ὀπλιτικά. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ μνημονευθῆναι διεπράξαντο: οὐ γάρ τοι ἀγαθοὶ τότε ἱππεύειν ἦσαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους Κρήτες οὐδὲ συνέμιξαν ἀρχήν: τῷ γὰρ πεζῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ κατὰ τρόπον ἐτι ἑκάτεροι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐπετάχθησαν.

[13] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν μάχης μὲν οὐδέτεροι διενοοῦντο ἄρχειν οὐδὲ

ιστάναι πρότεροι τρόπαιον, προοιούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ ἀναιρέσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων συνεχωρήθη, θάψειν ἔμελλον ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν.

9. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις μετὰ τὴν μάχην πονηρὰ γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἤρχετο: δαπάνη τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀπειρήκεσαν, ἃ τῶν πόλεων ἀνῆλiskon ἐς τὰς φρουράς, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠτομόλουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ νόσος ἐνέπεσε καὶ ταραχὰς μὲν παρέσχεν ὥς εἴη λοιμώδης, οὐ μὴν ἐς ἅπαντάς γε ἐχώρησεν. βουλευομένοις δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκει τὰ μὲν πολλὰ πολίσματα τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν πάντα ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν Ἰθώμην. [2] ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι οὐ μέγα, ὃ καὶ Ὅμηρόν φασιν ἔχειν ἐν καταλόγῳ: “καὶ Ἰθώμην κλιμακόεσσαν.

“Hom. II.

2.729 ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πόλις ἀνφκίζοντο, ἐπεκτείνοντες τὸν ἀρχαῖον περίβολον ἔρυμα εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐταρκες. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως ἐχυρόν: ἡ γὰρ Ἰθώμη μεγέθει τε οὐδενὸς ἀποδεῖ τῶν ὄρων ὅποσα ἐντὸς ἐστὶν ἰσθμοῦ καὶ δύσβατος κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἦν. [3] ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ θεωρὸν πέμψαι σφίσι ἐς Δελφούς. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν Τῖσιν τὸν Ἀλκίδος, καὶ ἀξιώματι οὐδενὸς ὕστερον καὶ ὅτι προσκεῖσθαι μαντικῇ μάλιστα ἐνομίζετο. τοῦτον τὸν Τῖσιν ἐπανιόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν λοχῶσιν ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρᾶς: λοχήσαντες δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ὑπεῖκεν αἰχμάλωτος γενέσθαι — περιμένοντα οὖν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα ἐτίρωσκον, ἐς ὃ γίνεται βοή σφισιν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ‘τὸν χρησιμοφόρον μέθες.’ [4] καὶ Τῖσις μὲν ὥς ἀπεσώθη τάχιστα ἐς Ἰθώμην καὶ τὴν μαντείαν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἀνήνεγκε, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων τελευτᾷ: τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους συναθροίσας ὁ Εὐφάης ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν χρησμόν:” κόρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δαίμοσι,

κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν Αἰπυτιδῶν ἀφ’ αἵματος,

θυηπολεῖτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγαῖς.

ἦν δὲ σφαλῆτε, καὶ παρ’ ἀλλοίου τότε

θῦειν, διδόντος ἐς σφαγὴν ἐκουσίως.

“ [5] ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος αὐτίκα ἐκκληροῦντο ὅσαι παρθέναι τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν: καὶ ἐπελάμβανε γὰρ Λυκίσκου θυγατέρα ὁ κλῆρος, ταύτην Ἐπήβολος ὁ μάντις ἀπηγόρευεν ὥς οὐ δέοι θῦειν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Λυκίσκου: τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἡ Λυκίσκῳ συνώκησεν, ὥς τεκεῖν οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν παῖδα ὑποβαλέσθαι. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτος ἀνεδίδασκε τὰ ἐς αὐτήν, ἐν τοςῶδε ὁ Λυκίσκος ἀπαγόμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἠτομόλησεν ἐς Σπάρτην. [6] ἐχόντων δὲ ἀθύμως τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥς Λυκίσκον ἀποδράντα ἦσθοντο, ἐνταῦθά σφισιν Ἀριστοδήμος ἀνὴρ καὶ γένους τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν καὶ Λυκίσκου τῇ τε ἄλλῃ δόξῃ καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπιφανέστερος ἐδίδου τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκὼν θῦσαι. τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ πρόθυμον ἢ πεπρωμένη κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπικρύπτει καὶ εἰ ψηφῖδα ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἰλὺς ποταμοῦ, ὅπου καὶ τότε Ἀριστοδήμῳ διασώσασθαι Μεσσήνην ἀγώνισμα ποιουμένῳ τὸ ἐμπόδιον ἐπήγαγε τοιόνδε. [7] ἀνὴρ τῶν Μεσσηνίων — τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐ λέγουσιν — ἐρῶν ἔτυχε τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τῆς

θυγατρὸς, τότε δὲ ἦδη ἔμελλε καὶ γυναῖκα ἄξεσθαι. οὗτος κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν

ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστοδήμῳ προήλθεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐγγυήσαντά οἱ μηκέτι εἶναι κύριον τῆς παιδός, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγγυησάμενος κυριώτερος ἐκείνου γίνεσθαι. δεύτερα δὲ ὡς τοῦτο οὐχ εἴωρα οἱ κατορθούμενον, ἐπ' ἀναίσχυντον τρέπεται λόγον: [8] ξυγγενέσθαι τε τῇ παιδί καὶ κύειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον Ἀριστόδημον προήγαγεν ὡς ἐκμανέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποκτείνει: μετὰ δὲ ἀνέτεμνε καὶ ἐπεδείκνυνεν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ. παρὼν δὲ Ἐπήβολος ἐκέλευεν ἄλλον τινὰ τὸν θυγατέρα ἐπιδώσοντα γενέσθαι: τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου πλέον εἶναι σφισιν ἀποθανούσης οὐδέν: φονεῦσαι γὰρ τὸν πατέρα αὐτήν, θεοῖς δὲ οἷς ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν οὐ θῦσαι. [9] τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ μάντεως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥρμησεν ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν μνηστῆρα τῆς παιδός, ὡς Ἀριστοδήμῳ τε μίasma εἰκαῖον προσάψαντα καὶ σφίσι τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἀμφίβολον πεποιηκότα. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τῷ Εὐφαιῖ φίλος: πείθει οὖν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους Εὐφαιῆς τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἔχειν τέλος ἀποθανούσης τῆς παιδός καὶ σφίσιν ἀποχρᾶν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου πεποιημένα. [10] λέγοντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔφασαν τὰ ὄντα λέγειν ὅσοι τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν: ἀπεῖναι γὰρ σφισι τὸ δέος τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἕκαστος ἔσπευδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ παραινέσει πειθόμενοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύουσι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τε θυσίας θεῶν καὶ ἐορτὴν τρέπονται:

10. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες τὸν γενόμενον Μεσσηνίοις χρησμὸν ἀθύμως διέκειντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἕς τε τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ἄρχειν ὀκνοῦντες μάχης.

ἔτει δὲ ἕκτῳ μετὰ τὸν ἐξ Ἰθώμης Λυκίσκου δρασμὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι — τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς αἴσια — στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰθώμην: οἱ δὲ Κρήτες οὐκέτι παρόντες σφίσιν ἔτυχον. ὑστέρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι — δι' ὑποψίας γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀρκάσιν ἦσαν καὶ Ἀργείοις μάλιστα — καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι κρύφα ἔμελλον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ ἰδίᾳ δὴ μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ δόγματος κοινοῦ, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ἡ στρατεία μὲν ἀνείρητο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, παρέτυχον δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι. τοὺς γὰρ Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἄνευ συμμάχων κινδυνεῦσαι προήγαγεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ χρησμοῦ. [2] τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὐδέν τι ἐγένετο διάφορα ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης, ἥ τε ἡμέρα καὶ τότε μαχομένους προαπέλινεν: οὐ μέντοι βιασθῆναί γε οὐδέτερον κέρας ἢ καὶ λόχον μνημονεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ τὴν τάξιν, ὡς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐτάχθησαν, συμμεῖναι φασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τοὺς ἀρίστους συνελθόντας ἐς τὸ μεσαίτατον ἐνταῦθα τὸν πάντα ἔχειν πόνον. [3] ὁ γὰρ Εὐφαιῆς πλέον τι ἢ βασιλέα εἰκὸς ἦν προθυμούμενος καὶ ἀφειδῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον ἐγκείμενος τραύματα τε πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ ἰάσιμα λαμβάνει: λιποψυχήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πεσόντα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὀλίγον ὅμως ἐμπνέοντα ἐποιοῦντο παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐλκύσαι σπουδῇ. ἐπήγειρε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἢ τε ἐς τὸν Εὐφαιῆ προϋπάρχουσα εὐνοία καὶ τὰ ὄνειδι τὰ μέλλοντα: φονευομένοις τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄμεινόν σφισιν ἐφαίνετο προῖεσθαι τὰς

ψυχὰς ἢ ἐκεῖνον προεμένων ἀποσωθῆναί τινα. [4] τότε μὲν δὴ πεσὼν ὁ Εὐφαιῆς τὴν τε μάχην ἐπεμήκυνε καὶ προήγαγεν ἐς πλέον παρὰ ἐκατέρων τὰ

τολμήματα: ὕστερον δὲ ἀνήνεγκε μὲν καὶ ἥσθετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐσχήκασιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ἀποθνήσκει, βασιλεύσας Μεσσηνίων τρία ἔτη καὶ δέκα καὶ πολεμήσας Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν πάντα τῆς βασιλείας χρόνον. [5] Εὐφραεῖ δὲ οὐκ ὄντων παίδων τὸν αἰρεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατελείπετο ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, Κλέοννις τε καὶ Δᾶμις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστοδήμῳ προῆλθον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον διαφέρειν νομιζόμενοι: τὸν δὲ Ἄντανδρον οἱ πολέμοι κατειργάσαντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ προκινδυνεύοντα Εὐφραοῦς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν μάντεων αἱ γνῶμαι κατὰ ταυτὰ ἀμφοτέρων, Ἐπηβόλου καὶ Ὀφιονέως, μὴ σφᾶς ἀνδρὶ ἐναγεῖ καὶ θυγατρὸς μίasma ἐπικειμένῳ δοῦναι τὴν Αἰπύτου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τιμῇν:

[6] ἡρέθη δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀριστόδημος. ὁ δὲ Ὀφιονεὺς οὗτος ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων μάντις τυφλὸς ὢν εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς μαντικὴν τινα εἶχε τοιαύτην: πυνθανόμενος τὰ γινόμενα ἐκάστοις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ προέλεγεν οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα. οὗτος μὲν τρόπον ἐμαντεύετο τὸν εἰρημένον, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βασιλεύσας τῷ τε δήμῳ διέμεινε τὰ εἰκότα χαρίζεσθαι προθυμούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ μάλιστα Κλέοννιν καὶ Δᾶμιν ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ: διὰ θεραπείας δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρκάδων τε τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ Σικυῶνα ἀποστέλλων δῶρα. [7] τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου βασιλείας ἐπολέμουν

ληστεῖαις τε κατ' ὀλίγους ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὠραίαν καταδρομαῖς ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων χρώμενοι, συνεσέβαλλον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν: Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαναφῆναι μὲν τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος οὐκ ἤξιουν, γινομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μεθέξοντες.

11. πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου βασιλείας μελλόντων ἐκ προρρήσεως συμβολὴν ποιήσεσθαι — τῷ τε γὰρ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῖς δαπανήμασιν ἀπειρήκεσαν — οὕτω παρεγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν Κορίνθιοι Πελοποννησίων μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οἱ τε Ἀρκάδες πανστρατιᾷ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων λογάδες. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοις καὶ τοῖς εἰλωσι καὶ ὅσοι περίοικοι συνεστρατεύοντο τὸ μέσον ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐτάσσοντο βαθεῖα τε ὡς οὐπω πρότερον καὶ πυκνῇ τῇ φάλαγγι. [2] τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν διετάχθη τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην οὕτως. ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦσαν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς ψυχάς, ὅπλα δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἰσχυρά, τούτοις τῶν ὀπλῶν τὰ χρησιμώτατα ἐπέλεξε, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἡπείγεν, ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ Σικυωνίοις καὶ τούτους ἔτασσε: τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα ἐπὶ πλέον ἡπλώσεν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. προείδετο δὲ καὶ ὅπως τεταγμένοις σφίσι τὸ ὄρος ἢ Ἰθώμῃ κατὰ νότου γίνοιτο. καὶ τούτοις μὲν Κλέοννιν ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα: [3] αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ Δᾶμις ὑπέμενον ἔχοντες τοὺς ψιλοὺς, σφενδονήτας μὲν ἢ τοξότας ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἦσαν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις ἐπιτήδαιοι καὶ τῇ ὀπλίσει κοῦφοι: θώρακα γὰρ ἢ ἀσπίδα εἶχεν οὐχ ἕκαστος, ὅσοι δὲ ἠπόρουσαν τούτων, περιεβέβληντο αἰγῶν νάκας καὶ προβάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ θηρίων δέρματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ὀρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων. [4] ἀκόντια δὲ

ἕκαστος πολλά, οἱ δὲ καὶ λόγχας αὐτῶν ἔφερον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλόχων τῆς Ἰθώμης ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἡκιστα ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτοι· οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων τὴν τε ἔφοδον τὴν πρώτην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέμειναν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδρεῖοι. ἀριθμῷ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπελείποντο, λογάδες δὲ ὄντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς δῆμον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς κρείττους, ἧ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ τε ἄλλῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντεῖχον. [5] ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὁ εὐζωνος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τούτοις ἦρθη τὰ σημεῖα, ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους δρόμῳ καὶ περιστάντες ἠκόντιζον ἐς τὰ πλάγια· ὅσοις δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον μετὴν τόλμης, προσέθεόν τε καὶ ἔτυπτον ἐκ χειρός. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κίνδυνόν σφισι δεύτερον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ οὕτως ἀνέλπιστον ὀρῶντες παρόντα, ὅμως οὔτε ἐταράχθησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενοι τε ἐς τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι μὲν ἐπειρῶντο, διὰ δὲ τὴν κουφότητα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποφευγόντων ἀπορία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἤδη καὶ ὀργὴ γίνεται. [6] πεφύκασι δέ πως οἱ ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα ἔχειν ἀκρατῶς πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἀξίαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε οἱ τε ἡδὴ τραύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰληφότες καὶ ὅσοι κειμένων τῶν παραστατῶν ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν ψιλῶν πρῶτοι προεξέθεόν τε, ὅποτε ἴδοιεν ἐπιφερομένους τοὺς ψιλοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ μακροτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἀποχωρούντων. οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥς τὸ πρῶτον ἠρξάντο, κατὰ χώραν τε μένοντας ἔτυπτον καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον καὶ διωκόντων ἔφθανον ἀποφεύγοντες καὶ πειρωμένοι ἀναστρέφειν αὐθις ἐπήεσαν. [7] ταῦτα δὲ ἔδρων σποράδην καὶ ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλο τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τάξεως· οἱ τε ὀπλῖται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων θρασύτερον ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τοῖς κατὰ στόμα αὐτῶν ἐπέκειντο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ἀπαγορεύοντες καὶ ἅμα παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ταρασσόμενοι διαλύουσι τὴν τάξιν· τραπέντων δέ, ἐνταῦθ' αὖ σφισι πλείω παρῆχον κακὰ οἱ ψιλοί. [8] τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διαφθαρέντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συλλαβεῖν μὲν οὐχ οἶα τε ἦν ἀριθμῷ, πείθομαι δὲ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλούς. ἡ δὲ οἶκαδε ἀναχώρησις τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν, Κορινθίοις δὲ ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι χαλεπή· διὰ πολεμίας γὰρ ἐγίνετο ὁμοίως διὰ τε τῆς Ἀργείας πειρωμένοις καὶ παρὰ Σικυῶνα ἀνασωθῆναι.

12. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς πταῖσμα, τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀξίων λόγου, παρίστατο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν ἀθύμως ἔχειν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφούς. τούτοις ἐλθοῦσιν ἡ Πυθίᾳ χρᾶ τάδε· “οὐ σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ' ἐφέπειν χερὶ Φοῖβος ἄνωγεν,

ἀλλ' ἀπάτῃ μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός,

ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναισιν ἀλώσεται αἷσπερ ὑπῆρξεν.

“ [2] ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις τέχνας μὲν οὖν προθυμουμένοις οὐκ ἐγίνετο ἀνευρεῖν· οἱ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως τῶν ἔργων ἀπομιμούμενοι τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ πέμπουσιν ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐς Ἰθώμην συνήσοντας ἃ μηχανῶνται, λόγῳ δὲ αὐτομόλους· ἦν δὲ καὶ φυγὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κατεγνωσμένη. τούτους ἤκοντας ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτίκα Ἀριστόδημος, Λακεδαιμονίων φήσας τὰ ἀδικήματα καινὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ σοφίσματα ἀρχαῖα. [3]

ἀμαρτόντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐγγχειρήματος δευτέρα ἐπειῶντο τῶν Μεσσηνίων διαλυσαὶ τὸ συμμαχικόν· ἀντειπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων — παρὰ γὰρ τούτους πρότερον ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις — οὕτω τὴν ἐπ’ Ἄργος ἐπέσχον πορείαν. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ πυνθανόμενος τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρησομένους τὸν θεόν, ἡ δὲ Πυθία σφίσιιν ἔχρησε· [4] “κῦδός σοι πολέμοιο διδοῖ θεός· ἀλλ’ ἀπάταισι

φράζεο μὴ Σπάρτης δόλιος λόχος ἐχθρὸς ἀνέλθῃ
κρείσσων· ἥ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων εὐήρεα τεύχῃ
καὶ τὸ χορῶν στεφάνωμα πικροῦς οἰκήτορας ἔξει,
τῶν δύο συντυχίαις κρυπτὸν λόχον ἐξαναδύντων.
οὐ πρόσθεν δὲ τέλος τόδ’ ἐπόψεται ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
πρὶν τὰ παραλλάξαντα φύσιν τόξαν χρεῶν ἀφίκηται.

“τότε μὲν δὴ Ἀριστόδημος καὶ οἱ μάντις ἀπειρώς εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ εἰρημένον· ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἀναφαίνειν τε καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄξειν ἔμελλεν ὁ θεός. [5] ἕτερα δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις συνέβαινε τοιαῦτα. Λυκίσκου μετοικούντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν, ἣν ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης. πολλάκις δὲ αὐτὸν φοιτῶντα ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα τῆς παιδὸς λοχῆσαντες ἰππεῖς τῶν Ἀρκάδων αἰροῦσιν· ἀναχθεῖς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν καταστάς ἀπελογεῖτο ὥς οὐ προδιδούς τὴν πατρίδα ἀποχωρήσαι, πειθόμενος δὲ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάντεως ἐς τὴν παῖδα ὥς οὕσαν οὐ γνησίαν.

[6] ταῦτα ἀπολογούμενος οὐ πρότερον ἔδοξεν ἀληθῆ λέγειν πρὶν ἢ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἢ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τότε τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσα. αὕτη δὲ τεκεῖν τε τὴν παῖδα ὠμολόγει καὶ τῇ Λυκίσκου γυναικὶ ὑποβαλέσθαι δοῦναι· ‘νῦν δὲ’ ἔφη ‘τό τε ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνουσα ἦκω καὶ παύσουσα ἐμαυτὴν ἱερωμένην.’ ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καθεστηκός, ἦν γυναικὸς ἱερωμένης ἢ καὶ ἀνδρὸς προαποθάνῃ τις τῶν παίδων, ἐς ἄλλον τὴν ἱερωσύνην μεταχωρεῖν. νομίζοντες οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα ἀληθῆ λέγειν, τῇ θεῷ τε εἵλοντο ἱερατευσομένην ἄντ’ ἐκείνης καὶ Λυκίσκον συγγνωστὰ ἔφασαν εἰργάσθαι. [7] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐδόκει σφίσι — καὶ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐπῆει τῷ πολέμῳ — πέμπειν αὖθις ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησομένους ὑπὲρ νίκης. ἐρομένοις δὲ ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία·”τοῖς τρίποδας περὶ βωμὸν Ἰθωμάτα Διὶ πρῶτοις

στήσασιν δεκάδων ἀριθμὸν δις πέντε δίδωσι
σὺν κύδει πολέμου γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα δαίμων.
Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔνευσ’ οὕτως. ἀπάτη δὲ σε πρόσθε τίθῃσιν
ἢ τ’ ὀπίσω τίσις ἐστί, καὶ ἔνθεον ἐξαπατῶς.
ἔρδ’ ὅππῃ τὸ χρεῶν· ἅτῃ δ’ ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων.
“

[8] ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες γεγονέναι τε ἡγοῦντο ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὴν μαντείαν καὶ σφίσι διδόναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν γε ἐχόντων ἐντὸς τείχους τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερὸν Λακεδαιμονίους προτέρους ἀναθέντας φθῆσσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ξυλίνους κατασκευάσεσθαι τρίποδας ἔμελλον, οὐ γὰρ σφίσι περιῆν χρήματα ὥς χαλκοῦς ποιήσεσθαι· τῶν δὲ τις Δελφῶν τὸν χρησμὸν ἐξήγγειλεν ἐς Σπάρτην. πυθομένοις δὲ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν οὐδέν σφισιν ἐξεγένετο ἀνευρεῖν

σοφόν, Οἶβαλος δὲ [9] τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, γνώμην δὲ ὡς ἐδήλωσεν ἀγαθός, ποιησάμενος ὡς ἔτυχε πηλοῦ τρίποδας ἑκατόν, τούτους τε ἀποκεκρυμμένους ἐν πήρᾳ καὶ δίκτυα ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἔφερεν ὡς ἀνὴρ θηρευτής. ἅτε δὲ ὦν ἀγνώς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς πολλοῖς, ῥᾱον Μεσσηνίους ἐλάνθανεν: ἀναμίξας δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἀγροίκοις ἐσηλθὲ τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ὡς νύξ τάχιστα ἐπελάμβανεν ἀναθείς τοὺς τρίποδας τῷ θεῷ τούτους δὴ τοὺς πηλίνους αὐθις ἐς Σπάρτην ἀπαγγελὼν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥχeto. [10] Μεσσηνίους δέ, ὡς εἶδον, ἐτάραξε μὲν μεγάλως, καὶ εἰκάζον — ὥσπερ ἦν — παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι: παρεμυθεῖτο δὲ ὁμως αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστόδημος λέγων ἄλλα τε ἃ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ξυλίνους τρίποδας — ἐπεποίητο γὰρ ἤδη — περὶ τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν βωμὸν ἔστησε. συνέβη δὲ καὶ Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν τοῦτον, τὸν ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλόν, ἀναβλέψαι παραλόγως δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων: ἐπέλαβε γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλγημα αὐτὸν ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

13. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν — ἔρρεπε γὰρ ἤδη τὸ χρεὼν ἐς ἅλωσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων — προσήμεινεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλλοντα ὁ θεός. τό τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα, ὃν χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, παρῆκε τὴν ἀσπίδα: καὶ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἰθωμάτῃ θύειν μέλλοντος τὰ ἱερεῖα, οἱ κριοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν αὐτόματοι καὶ βία τὰ κέρατα ἐνράξαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. τρίτον δὲ ἄλλο συνέβη σφίσιν: οἱ κύνες συνιόντες ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ὠρύοντο, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στρατόπεδον. [2] ταῦτά τε δὴ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἐτάρασσε καὶ ὄνειρατος ὅψις ἐπιγενομένη τοιαύδε. ἔδοξεν ἐξίνααι οἱ μέλλοντι ἐς μάχην καὶ ὠπλισμένῳ τῶν ἱερείων τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ προκεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ οἱ θυγατέρα ἐπιφανῆναι μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα ἔχουσιν καὶ φαίνουσιν τό τε στέρνον καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀνατετμημένα, ἀναφανεῖσαν δὲ ἀπορρῖψαι μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ στέφανον ἐπιθεῖναι χρυσοῦν καὶ ἰμάτιον ἐπιβαλεῖν λευκόν. [3] ἔχοντος δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου τά τε ἄλλα ἀθύμως καὶ τὸν ὄνειρον ἡγουμένου προλέγειν οἱ τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, ὅτι οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τὰς ἐκφορὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ ἰμάτια ἐπιβεβλημένων λευκά, ἀπαγγέλλει τις Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν οὐχ ὄρᾶν ἔτι ἄλλ'.

ἐξαίφνης γενέσθαι τυφλόν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. συνιᾷσι δὴ καὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τότε, ὡς τοὺς ἀναδύντας δύο ἐκ τοῦ λόχου καὶ ἐς τὸ χρεὼν αὐθις ἐλθόντας τοῦ Ὀφιονέως τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία. [4] ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστόδημος τά τε οἰκεῖα ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον γένοιτο φονεὺς θυγατρός, καὶ τῇ πατρίδι οὐχ ὄρῶν ἔτι ὑποῦσαν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς παιδὸς τῷ τάφῳ, τὰ μὲν ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν ἦκοντα Μεσσηνίους σώσας, τῆς τύχης δὲ ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ἀγαγούσης τά τε ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βουλευμάτα. ἀπέθανε δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔτη τε ἑξ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐβδόμου μῆνας ἐπιλαβὼν οὐ πολλούς. [5] τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τὰ πράγματα παρίστατο, ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν ἰκεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποστέλλειν: οὕτω σφόδρα κατέπληξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτή. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θυμὸς ἐπέσχεεν αὐτοὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι: συλληγέντες δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν βασιλέα μὲν οὐδένα, Δᾶμιν δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἵλοντο. ὁ

δὲ Κλέοννιν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Φυλέα ἐλόμενος συνάρχοντας παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων συνάψων ἐς μάχην: ἐπηνάγκαζε γὰρ ἢ τε πολιορκία καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ λιμὸς καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος, μὴ καὶ προδιαφθαρῶσιν ὑπὸ ἐνδείας.

[6] ἀρετῇ μὲν δὴ καὶ τολμήμασιν οὐδὲ τότε ἀπεδέξεσε τὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων: ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ σφισιν ἅπαντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῆνας μὲν που πέντε μάλιστα ἀντέσχον, περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λήγοντα ἐξέλιπον τὴν Ἰθώμην,

πολεμήσαντες ἔτη τὰ πάντα εἴκοσι, καθὰ καὶ Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν:”εἰκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες

φεύγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location. [7] ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν οὗτος τέλος ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν Δάσμων Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα στάδιον, Ἀθήνησι Μεδοντιδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν δεκέτιν καὶ ἔτους Ἱππομένει τετάρτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡνυσμένου.

14. Μεσσηνίων δὲ ὅσοις μὲν ἔτυχον ἐν Σικυῶνι οὔσαι καὶ ἐν Ἀργεὶ προξενίαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τισίν, οὗτοι μὲν ἐς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἐς Ἐλευσίνα δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις τελοῦντες τὰ ὄργια: ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν. [2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Ἰθώμην καθεῖλον ἐς ἔδαφος, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες ἦρουν. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ τρίποδας χαλκοῦς: Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαλμὰ ἐστὶν ἐστηκὸς ὑπὸ τῷ τρίποδι τῷ πρώτῳ, Ἀρτέμιδος δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Κόρης δὲ ἡ Δήμητρος ὑπὸ τῷ τρίτῳ. [3] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνέθεσαν ἐνταῦθα, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Μεσσηνίας Ἀσιναίοις μὲν ἀνεστηκόσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων διδόασιν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ταύτην ἦν καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι νέμονται: τοῖς δὲ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπογόνους — ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ παῖδες τῆς θυγατρὸς, φεύγοντες δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους ὄχοντο ἐς Σπάρτην — τούτοις τὴν Ὑαμίαν καλουμένην ἀπονέμουσι. [4] τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔσχεν οὕτως. πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγουσιν ὄρκον μῆτε ἀποστῆναί ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν μῆτε ἄλλο ἐργάσασθαι νεώτερον μηδέν: δεύτερα δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπέταξαν εἰρημένον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γεωργουμένων τροφῶν σφισιν ἀπέφερον ἐς Σπάρτην πάντων τὰ ἡμίσεα. προεῖρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ: καὶ τοῖς παραβάσιν ἐπέκειτο ποινή. [5] ἐς τιμωρίας δὲ ἃς ὕβριζον ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν”ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,

δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς

ἥμισυ πᾶν ὅσων καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location. ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπενεθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη, δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε:”δεσπότης οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,

εὐτέ τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location. [6] τοιούτων οὖν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατελιηφότων καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα οὐδὲν ἐνορῶντες παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φιλάνθρωπον, πρό τε δὴ τῶν παρόντων τεθνάναι μαχομένους ἢ καὶ τὸ

παράπαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας οἷχεσθαι νομίζοντες αἰρετώτερα, ἀφίστασθαι πάντως ἐγίνωσκον. ἐνήγον δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοῦτο καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι, πολέμου μὲν ἔτι ἀπείρως ἔχοντες, λαμπροὶ δὲ ὄντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν προτιμώντες ἐν ἐλευθέρῃ τῇ πατρίδι, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαιμόνως δουλεύειν παρείη.

[7] ἐπετράφη δὲ νεότης καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλεῖστοι περὶ τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀριστομένης, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὥς ἥρως ἔχει παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις τιμὰς. καὶ οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπάρξαι νομίζουσι: Νικοτελεία γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ δαίμονα ἢ θεὸν δράκοντι εἰκασμένον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμῃ Σικυωνίους οἶδα εἰρηκότας, διάφορα δὲ τοσόνδε ἦν: [8] Μεσσήνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐσποιοῦσιν Ἀριστομένην Ἡρακλεῖ παῖδα ἢ Δίῃ, ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀμμωνι οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιῷ Σικυώνιοι: Ἀριστομένει δὲ πατέρα Ἑλλήνων μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἶναι, Μεσσηνίους δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἀριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζων ἡλικία καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν: ἐπράσσετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, κρύφα δὲ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀπέστελλον, εἰ σφισιν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ μὴδὲν ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προτέρου ἀμύναι θελήσουσιν.

15. ὥς δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἔτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προθυμώτερα ἢ προσεδόκων — καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοις ἤδη καὶ Ἀρκάσι λαμπρῶς τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος ἐξήπτο — οὕτως ἀπέστησαν ἔτει τριακοστῷ μὲν καὶ ἐνάτῳ μετὰ Ἰθώμης ἄλωσιν, τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Ἰκαρος Ὑπερησιεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον: Ἀθήνησι δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν ἤδη τότε ἄρχοντες, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοις Τλησίας ἦρχεν. [2] ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι οἱ τινες τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον βασιλεύοντες, Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔγραψε, Ῥιανὸς δ' ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Λεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου. Ῥιανῷ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδαμῶς κατὰ γε τοῦτο συνθήσομαι: Τυρταῖον δὲ καὶ οὐ λέγοντα ὅμως εἰρηκέναι τις ἂν ἐν τῷδε ἡγοῖτο. ἐλεγεῖα γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρότερόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πόλεμον: "ἀμφ' αὐτῇ δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη

νολεμέως, αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,

αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες.

"Tyrtaeus, unknown location. [3] δῆλα οὖν ἐστὶν ὥς ὕστερον τρίτῃ γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τόνδε ἐπολέμησαν, ἀποδεικνύσι τε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ συνεχὲς βασιλεύοντας τηνικαῦτα ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἀνάξανδρον Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Ἀναξίδαμον Ζευξίδαμου τοῦ Ἀρχίδαμου τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. κατέβην δὲ ἐς ἀπόγονον Θεοπόμπου τέταρτον, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Θεοπόμπου προαπέθανε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς Ζευξίδαμον υἱδοῦν ὄντα ἢ Θεοπόμπου περιῆλθεν ἀρχή. Λεωτυχίδης δὲ μετὰ Δημάρατον βασιλεύσας φαίνεται τὸν Ἀρίστωνος: Θεοπόμπου δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀπόγονος ἔβδομος. [4] τότε δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάλλουσιν ἐν Δέραις καλουμέναις τῆς σφετέρας, ἔτει πρώτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν: ἀπῆσαν δὲ

ἀμφοτέροις οἱ σύμμαχοι. καὶ νίκη μὲν ἐγένετο οὐδετέρων σαφής, Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἔργα φασὶν ἀποδείξασθαι πλέον τι ἢ ἄνδρα ἓνα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἡροῦντο αὐτόν, ἦν γὰρ καὶ γένους τῶν Αἰγυπτιδῶν:

[5] παραιτουμένου τε, οὕτω στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἴλοντο. Ἀριστομένην δὲ παρίστατο μηδ' ἂν ἄλλον ἀπαξιῶσαι παθεῖν τι ἐν πολέμῳ δράσαντα ἄξια μνήμης: αὐτῷ μέντοι καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμονίους καταπλήξαντα φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά σφισι φοβερώτερον. ἄτε δὲ οὕτως ἔχων, ἀφικόμενος νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀνατίθησιν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τὸν τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου ναόν: ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ Ἀριστομένην ἀπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν διδόναι τῇ θεῷ. [6] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραινέσοντα ἃ χρή σφισιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην οὔτε αὐτοὶ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσι: καὶ ἦν γὰρ Τυρταῖος διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων νοῦν τε ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν χολός, τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὁπόσους τύχοι καὶ τὰ

ἐλεγεῖα καὶ τὰ ἔπη σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα ᾗδεν.

[7] ἐνιαντῷ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ περὶ τὰς Δέρας ἀγῶνος, ἡκόντων ἀμφοτέροις καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μάχην συνάγοντες ἐπὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Κάπρου σήματι. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν Ἥλειοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικυῶνος βοήθεια. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐφευγον ἐκουσίως, ἐξ Ἑλευσινός τε, οἷς πάτριον δρᾶν τὰ ὄργια τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν, καὶ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι: καὶ γὰρ οἱ συσπεύσαντες μάλιστα σφισιν ἦσαν οὗτοι. [8] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἦλθον Κορίνθιοι συμμαχήσοντες καὶ Λεπρεατῶν τινες κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Ἥλειον: Ἀσιναίοις δὲ ὄρκοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, Κάπρου σήμα, ἔστι μὲν ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Ἡρακλέα δὲ αὐτόθι ὄρκον ἐπὶ τομίῳν κάπρου τοῖς Νηλέως παισὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν παρὰ ἐκείνων λέγουσιν.

16. ὥς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις προεθύσαντο οἱ μάντις, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν Ἑκάς ἀπόγονός τε καὶ ὁμώνυμος Ἑκά τοῦ σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶν ἐλθόντος ἐς Σπάρτην, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις Θέοκλος — ἐγγόνει δὲ ὁ Θέοκλος οὗτος ἀπὸ Εὐμάντιδος, Εὐμαντὶν δὲ ὄντα Ἥλειον τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Μεσσήνην — τότε δὲ παρόντων καὶ τῶν μάντεων σὺν φρονήματι ἀμφοτέροι μᾶλλον ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν μάχην. [2] καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρόθυμα, ὥς ἡλικίας ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἢ ρώμης, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀνάξανδρός τε ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν: παρὰ Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι Φίντας καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι σφίσι ἐπειρῶντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι. Τυρταῖος δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱεροφάνται τῶν Μεγάλων ἔργου μὲν ἤπτοντο οὐδενός, τοὺς τελευταίους δὲ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἐκάτεροι στρατιᾶς ἐπήγειρον. [3] κατὰ δὲ αὐτόν

Ἀριστομένην εἶχεν οὕτω. λογάδες περὶ αὐτὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἦσαν Μεσσηνίων, ἡλικίαν τε γεγονότες ἐκείνῳ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἕκαστος προτετιμῆσθαι μεγάλως νομίζων ὅτι ἡζίωτο Ἀριστομένει συντετάχθαι: ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αἰσθέσθαι δι' ὀλίγου δεινοὶ τὰ τε παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνου καὶ ἀρχομένου τι δρᾶν καὶ ἔτι μέλλοντος. οὗτοι μὲν πρῶτον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀριστομένης πόνον εἶχον πολὺν κατ' Ἀνάξανδρον καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἀρίστους: λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀφειδῶς καὶ ἐς πᾶν προϊόντες ἀπονοίας τῷ τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀνάξανδρον. [4] τούτοις μὲν δὴ φεύγουσι διώκειν ἐπέταξεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἕτερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων λόχον: αὐτὸς δὲ ὀρμήσας πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα ἀνθεστηκός, ὥς ἐβιάσατο καὶ τούτους, ἐπ' ἄλλους ἐτράπετο αὐθις. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους ὥσάμενος ἐτοιμότερον ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ἐπεφέρετο, ἐς ὃ πᾶσαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν τάξιν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συνέχεε: καὶ οὐχὶ σὺν αἰδοῖ φευγόντων οὐδὲ ἀναμένειν θελόντων ἔτι ἀλλήλους, ἐπέκειτό σφισι φοβερώτερος ἢ κατὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς εἶναι μανίαν. [5] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παρ' ἀχράδα πεφυκυῖαν πού τοῦ πεδίου, παρὰ ταύτην Ἀριστομένην οὐκ εἶα παραθεῖν ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος: καθέζεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἔφασκεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀχράδι. Ἀριστομένης δὲ εἶκων τῷ θυμῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀκρόωμενος τὰ πάντα τοῦ μάντεως ὥς κατὰ τὴν ἀχράδα ἐγίνετο, ἀπόλλυσι τὴν ἀσπίδα, Λακεδαιμονίοις τε τὸ ἀμάρτημα τοῦ Ἀριστομένους παρέσχεν αὐτῶν ἀποσωθῆναι τινὰς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς: διέτριψε γὰρ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνευρεῖν πειρώμενος. [6] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐχόντων ἀθύμως μετὰ τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ὠρμημένων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, Τυρταῖός τε ἐλεγεία ῥδων μετέπειθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόχους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων κατέλεγεν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν εἰλώτων. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὥς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ταινίας αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ ὥραῖα ἐπιβάλλουσιν τῶν ἀνθῶν ἐπέλεγον ῥῆσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἀδόμενον” ἔς τε μέσον πεδῖον Στενυκλήριον ἔς τ' ὄρος ἄκρον εἶπετ' Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

“Unknown.ἀνεσώσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐκείνην, ἔς τε Δελφοῦς

[7] ἀφικόμενος καὶ ὥς οἱ προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία καταβὰς ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἱερὸν τοῦ Τροφωνίου τὸ ἐν Λεβαδεῖα. ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Λεβάδειαν φέρων, ἣ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνακειμένην: ἐπίθημα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἀετὸς τὰ περὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκτετακὼς ἐς ἄκραν τὴν ἴτυν. τότε δὲ Ἀριστομένης ὥς ἐπανῆκεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας εὐρών τε παρὰ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ καὶ κομισάμενος τὴν ἀσπίδα, αὐτίκα ἔργων μειζόνων ἠπτετο. [8] συλλέξας δὲ ἄλλους τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἅμα ἔχων λογάδας, φυλάξας τὰ μετὰ ἐσπέραν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ πόλιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα καὶ ἐν Ὀμήρῳ καταλόγῳ Φᾶριν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ προσοίκων καλουμένην Φαράς: ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε πειρωμένους ἀμύνεσθαι διέφθειρε καὶ λείαν περιβαλλόμενος ἀπήλαυνεν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιθεμένων καθ' ὁδόν, ἐτρέψατό τε καὶ τούτους καὶ διώκειν τὸν Ἀνάξανδρον ὥρμητο: βληθεὶς δὲ ἀκοντίῳ τὸν γλουτὸν τὴν δίωξιν ἐπέσχεν, οὐ μέντοι τὴν λείαν γε ἦν ἠλαυνεν ἀφηρέθη. [9] διαλιπὼν δὲ ὅσον ἀκεσθῆναι τὸ τραῦμα, ἐς μὲν αὐτὴν Σπάρτην ἔξοδον ποιοῦμενος νύκτωρ ἀπετράπετο ὑπὸ φασμάτων Ἑλένης καὶ

Διοσκούρων, τὰς δ' ἐν Καρύαις παρθένους χορευούσας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ἐλόχησε μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ συνέλαβεν ὅσαι χρήμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀξιώματι πατέρων προεῖχον: ἀγαγὼν δὲ ἐς κώμην τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύετο, ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπιτρέψας τῶν παρθένων. [10] ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ μέθης οἱ νεανίσκοι δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκρατῶς ἔχοντες λογισμοῦ πρὸς βίαν ἐτρέποντο τῶν παρθένων, Ἀριστομένους δὲ ἀπείργοντος οὐ νομιζόμενα Ἑλλήσι δρῶντας οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο λόγον, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς παροινούντας μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων πολλῶν, παρθένους ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἶλεν.

17. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγίλα τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἔνθα ἱερὸν ἴδρυται ἅγιον Δήμητρος. ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς γυναικας ἀγούσας ἑορτὴν * * ἀμύνεσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς θεοῦ προαχθεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τραύματα μαχαίραις τε, αἷς τὰ ἱερεῖα αἱ γυναικες ἔθνον, καὶ ὀβελοῖς, οἷς τὰ κρέα ἐπειρον ὀπτῶσαι: τὸν δὲ Ἀριστομένην τύπτουσαι ταῖς δασὶ ζῶντα αἰροῦσιν. ἀπεσώθη δὲ ὁμως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. ἀφεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἱερεῖα τῆς Δήμητρος αἰτίαν ἔσχεν Ἀρχιδάμεια: ἀφῆκε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐρῶσα ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἔτι, προϋφασίζετο δὲ ὡς Ἀριστομένης διακούσας τὰ δεσμὰ ἀποδρὰς οἴχοιτο. [2] τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου μελλούσης γίνεσθαι συμβολῆς ἐπὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ καὶ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδων βεβοηθηκότων ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων, Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ἰκέτα Τραπεζούντιον, βασιλέα τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἐν τῷ τότε, διαφθείρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρήμασι. πρῶτοι γὰρ ὧν ἴσμεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμῖφ ἀνδρὶ δῶρα ἔδωκαν, καὶ ὦνιον πρῶτοι κατεστήσαντο εἶναι τὸ κράτος τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις:

[3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ παρανομῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Ἀρκάδος τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀρετὴ τε οἱ μαχόμενοι καὶ τύχαις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διεκρίνοντο. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὕστερον, ἠνίκα ἐπὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ταῖς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἀνθώρμουν, ἄλλους τε τῶν στρατηγούντων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀδεΐμαντον ἐξωνησάμενοι. [4] περιῆλθε μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἡ Νεοπτολέμειος καλουμένη τίσις. Νεοπτολέμῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως, ἀποκτείναντι Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου, συνέπεσε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποσφαγῆναι: καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ παθεῖν ὁποῖόν τις καὶ ἔδρασε Νεοπτολέμειον τίσιν ὀνομάζουσι. [5] τοῖς οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα ἦνθησαν καὶ Ἀθηναίων τε τὸ ναυτικὸν καθηρήκεσαν καὶ Ἀγησίλαος κεχείρωτο τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη τῆς Ἀσίας, τότε σφίσι τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς ὁ βάρβαρος περιῆλθε τῷ ἐκείνων εὐρήματι, ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θήβας χρήματα ἀποστείλας: ὃ τε ὀνομαζόμενος Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξήφθη τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς ἀπολείπειν Ἀγησίλαον ἀναγκασθῆναι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. [6] Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν τὸ ἐς Μεσσηνίους σόφισμα ὁ δαίμων ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς ἀποφανεῖν συμφοράν: Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὡς τὰ χρήματα ἐδέξατο ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, τὸ μὲν παραντῖκα ἔκρυπτεν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας οἷα ἐπεβούλευε, μελλόντων δὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἦδη

συνέρχεσθαι, τηνικαῦτα ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ τέ εἰσιν ἀπειλημένοι καὶ ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἔσται αὐτοῖς, ἣν κρατηθῶσιν, τά τε ἱερά σφισιν οὐκ ἔφη γεγονέναι κατὰ γνώμην. ἐκέλευεν οὖν πάντα τινά, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸς σημήνη, φυγῇ χρῆσθαι.

[7] ὥς δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνέμισγον καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τετραμμένοι, ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστοκράτης ἀρχομένης τῆς μάχης ἀπῆγε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, καὶ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τό τε ἀριστερὸν καὶ μέσον ἡρήμωτο: οἱ γὰρ Ἀρκάδες σφίσιν εἶχον ἀμφοτέρω ἅτε ἀπόντων μὲν Ἡλείων τῆς μάχης, ἀπόντων δὲ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων. προσεξεργάσθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τῷ Ἀριστοκράτει: διὰ γὰρ Μεσσηνίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν φυγὴν. [8] οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τῶν παρόντων ἐγένοντο ἐκφρονες καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τῆς διεξόδου τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐταράσσοντο, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐδέησαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν ἐν χερσίν: ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιφερομένων ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀφεώρων φεύγοντας, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραμείναι σφισιν ἰκέτευον, οἱ δὲ καὶ λοιδορίαις ἐς αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐς ἄνδρας προδότας καὶ οὐ δικαίους ἐχρῶντο. [9] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἦ τε κύκλωσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων μονωθέντων ἐγένετο οὐ χαλεπὴ καὶ νίκην ἐτοιμοτάτην πασῶν καὶ ἀπονώτατα ἀνεῖλοντο. Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ συνέμειναν μὲν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς μάλιστα ἐγκειμένους ἀνείργειν ἐπειρῶντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ ὄντες οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέλουν. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων τοῦ μὲν δήμου τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνηλώθησαν, ὥς τὰ πρῶτα Λακεδαιμονίων δεσπότης ἀντὶ δούλων ἔσσεσθαι νομίζοντας τότε μηδὲ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτὴν ἔτι ἔχειν ἐλπίδα: ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ Φίντας καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως ἀγωνισάμενος Φάνας, ὃς πρότερον τούτων ἔτι δολίχου νίκην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἦν ἀνηρημένος. [10] Ἀριστομένης δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς διαπεφευγότας τῶν Μεσσηνίων συνήθροιζε, καὶ Ἀνδανίαν μὲν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλισμα ἔπεισε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Εἵραν τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι. συνελθαμένοις δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον προσεκάθηντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιορκίᾳ σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἐξαίρῃσιν νομίζοντες: ἀντήρκεσαν δὲ ὅμως οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ συμφορὰν ἐνὶ τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι.

[11] τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἔπη Ῥιανοῦ πεποιημένα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: οὐρεος ἀργεννοῖο περὶ πτύχας ἐστρατόωντο

χείματά τε ποίας τε δῶο καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας:

“Rhianus, unknown location. χεῖμωνας γὰρ καὶ θέρη κατέλεξε, πόας εἰπὼν τὸν χλωρὸν σῖτον ἢ ὀλίγον πρὸ ἀμητοῦ.

18. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ὥς ἐς τὴν Εἵραν ἀνφικίσθησαν, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ἐξείργοντο πλὴν ὅσον σφίσιν οἱ Πύλιοι τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ οἱ Μοθωναῖοι διέσωζον, ἢ ἐλήστευον τὴν τε Λακωνικὴν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν, πολεμίαν ἤδη καὶ ταύτην νομίζοντες: ἄλλοι τε δὴ συνίσταντο ἐς τὰς καταδρομάς, ὥς ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν, καὶ Ἀριστομένης δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν λογάδας ἐς τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν προήγαγεν. [2] ἦγον μὲν δὴ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἔφερον ὃ τι καὶ δύναιτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ἐλόντες δὲ σῖτον καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ οἶνον ἀνήλισκον, ἐπιπλα

δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπεδίδοσαν χρημάτων: ὥστε καὶ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δόγμα, ἅτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Εἵρᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦντες, τὴν Μεσσηνίαν καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὴν προσεχῆ, ἕως ἂν πολεμῶσιν, ἔαν ἄσπορον. [3] καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου σιτοδεία ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ σιτοδείᾳ στάσις: οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο οἱ ταῦτῃ τὰ κτήματα ἔχοντες τὰ σφέτερα ἄργα εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τὰ διάφορα διέλυε Τυρταῖος: Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχων τοὺς λογάδας τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον περὶ βαθεῖαν ἐποιήσατο ἐσπέραν, ἔφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τάχους τὴν ἐς Ἀμύκλας ἀνύσας πρὸ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου, καὶ Ἀμύκλας τὸ πόλισμα εἶλέ τε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιήσατο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης προσβοηθῆσαι. [4] κατέτρεχε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Λακεδαιμονίων λόχοις πλεόν ἢ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις συμβαλὼν ἄλλα τε ἔσχεν ἀμυνόμενος τραύματα καὶ πληγῆντι ὑπὸ λίθου τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ σκοτοδινιῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. καὶ πεσόντα ἀθρόοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιδραμόντες ζῶντα αἰροῦσιν: ἤλωσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐς πεντήκοντα. τούτους ἔγνωσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ῥῖναι πάντας ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν: ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὓς ἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τιμωρῶνται. [5] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Μεσσηνίων ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπώλλυντο αὐτίκα, Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἐξ τε τὰ ἄλλα θεῶν τις καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφύλασσε: οἱ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένει φασὶν ἐμβληθέντι ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν ὄρνιθα τὸν αἰετὸν ὑποπέτεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχειν ταῖς πτέρυξιν, ἐς ὃ κατήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πέρασ οὔτε πηρωθέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τραῦμά τι λαβόντα. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτόθεν ὁ δαίμων ἔξοδον ἀποφαίνειν αὐτῷ. [6] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὸ τέρμα ἦλθε τοῦ βαράθρου, κατεκλίθη τε καὶ

ἐφελκυσάμενος τὴν χλαμύδα ἀνέμενεν ὥς πάντως οἱ ἀποθανεῖν πεπρωμένον: τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ ψόφου τε αἰσθάνεται καὶ ἐκκαλυσάμενος — ἐδύνατο δὲ ἤδη διὰ τοῦ σκότους διορᾶν — ἀλώπεκα εἶδεν ἀπτομένην τῶν νεκρῶν. ὑπονοήσας δὲ ἔσοδον εἶναι τῷ θηρίῳ ποθέν, ἀνέμενεν ἐγγὺς οἱ τὴν ἀλώπεκα γενέσθαι, γενομένης δὲ λαμβάνεται: τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ, ὅποτε ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφοιτο, τὴν χλαμύδα προὔβαλλέν οἱ καὶ δάκνειν παρείχε. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλείω θεούσῃ συνέθει, τὰ δὲ ἄγαν δυσέξοδα καὶ ἐφείλκετο ὑπ' αὐτῆς: ὁπρὲ δέ ποτε ὀπὴν τε εἶδεν ἀλώπεκι ἐς διάδυσιν ἱκανὴν καὶ φέγγος δι' αὐτῆς. [7] καὶ τὴν μὲν, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστομένου ἡλευθερώθη, τὸ φωλίον ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι: Ἀριστομένης δὲ — οὐ γάρ τι ἡ ὀπὴ καὶ τούτῳ παρέχειν ἐδύνατο ἔξοδον — εὐρυτέραν τε ταῖς χερσὶν ἐποίησε καὶ οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Εἵραν ἀποσώζεται, παραδόξῳ μὲν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλωσιν χρυσάμενος, τὸ γὰρ οἱ φρόνημα ἦν καὶ τὰ τολμήματα μείζονα ἢ ὥς ἐλπίσαι τινὰ Ἀριστομένην αἰχμάλωτον ἂν γενέσθαι, παραδοξότερα δέ ἐστι καὶ πάντων προδηλότατα οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Κεάδα σωτηρία.

19. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτομόλων, ὥς Ἀριστομένης ἐπανήκοι σῶς: νομιζομένου δὲ ἀπίστου κατὰ ταῦτα ἢ εἴ τινα τεθνεῶτα ἐλέγετο ἀναβιώναι, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρξεν ἐς πίστιν. Κορίνθιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις δύναμιν ὥς συνεξαίρησοντας τὴν Εἵραν ἀποστέλλουσι. [2] τούτους παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης τῇ πορείᾳ τε ἀτακτότερον χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς

στρατοπεδείαις ἀφυλάκτως, ἐπιτίθεται νύκτωρ σφίσι: καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων καθευδόντων ἐτι ἐφόνευσε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας Ὑπερμενίδην καὶ Ἀχλαδαῖον καὶ Λυσίστρατον καὶ Σίδεκτον ἀποκτίννυσι. διαρπάσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν στρατηγίδα παρέστησεν εὖ εἰδέναι Σπαρτιάταις ὥς Ἀριστομένης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα εἰργασμένος. [3] ἔθυσσε δὲ καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἰθωμάτῃ τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ἑκατομόνια ὀνομάζουσιν. αὕτη δὲ καθεστῆκει μὲν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, θύειν δὲ αὐτὴν Μεσσηνίων ἐνομίζετο ὁπόσοι πολεμίους ἄνδρας κατεργάσαιντο ἑκατόν. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὅτε ἐπὶ Κάπρου σήματι ἐμαχέσατο, θύσαντι ἑκατομόνια πρῶτον, δεύτερα ἤδη θῦσαι καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῶν Κορινθίων παρέσχε φόνος. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὕστερον θῦσαι καταδρομαῖς θυσίαν τρίτην, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ — ἐπήει γὰρ [4] Ὑακίνθια — πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εἵρᾳ τεσσαράκοντα ἐποιήσαντο ἡμερῶν σπονδάς: καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀναχωρήσαντες οἴκαδε ἐώρταζον, Κρήτες δὲ τοξόται — μετεπέμψαντο γὰρ ἔκ τε Λύκτου καὶ ἐτέρων πόλεων μισθωτοὺς — οὗτοί σφισιν ἀνὰ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐπλανῶντο. Ἀριστομένην οὖν, ἅτε ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀπωτέρω τῆς Εἵρας γενόμενον καὶ προϊόντα ἀδεέστερον, ἐπτὰ ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν τούτων ἐλόχησαν,

συλλαβόντες δὲ τοῖς ἱμάσιν οἷς εἶχον ἐπὶ ταῖς φαρέτραις δέουσιν: [5] ἐσπέρα γὰρ ἐπήει. δύο μὲν οὖν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἀριστομένην εὐηγγελίζοντο ἡλωκέναι: οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς ἀγρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ. ἐνταῦθα ᾧκει κόρη σὺν μητρὶ παρθένος, πατρὸς ὀρφανή. τῇ δὲ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ εἶδεν ὄψιν ἢ παῖς: λέοντα ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν λύκοι σφίσιν ἡγαγον δεδεμένον καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄνυχας, αὕτη δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἀπέλυσε καὶ ἀνευροῦσα ἔδωκε τοὺς ὄνυχας, οὕτω τε διασπασθῆναι τοὺς λύκους ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ λέοντος. [6] τότε δὲ ὥς τὸν Ἀριστομένην ἐσάγουσιν οἱ Κρήτες, συνεφρόνησεν ἡ παρθένος ὕπαρ ἡκειν τὸ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ οἱ πεφηνὸς καὶ ἀνηρώτα τὴν μητέρα ὅστις εἴη: μαθοῦσα δὲ ἐπερρώσθη τε καὶ ἀπιδούσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ προσταχθὲν συνῆκεν. οἶνον οὖν τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγγέουσα ἀνέδην, ὥς σφᾶς ἢ μέθη κατελάμβανεν, ὑφαιρεῖται τοῦ μάλιστα ὑπνωμένου τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον: τὰ μὲν δὴ δεσμὰ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους ἔτεμεν ἡ παρθένος, ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸ ξίφος ἐκείνους διειργάσατο. ταύτην τὴν παρθένον λαμβάνει γυναῖκα Γόργος Ἀριστομένους: ἐδίδου δὲ Ἀριστομένης τῇ παιδί ἐκτίνων σῶστρα, ἐπεὶ Γόργῳ οὐκ ἦν πω δέκατον καὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος, ὅτε ἔγνηεν.

20. ἐνδεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας τὴν τε Εἵραν ἐπέπρωτο ἀλῶναι καὶ ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι Μεσσηνίους, καὶ δὴ σφισιν ἐπετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς Ἀριστομένει καὶ Θεόκλῳ χρησθέν τι. τούτοις γὰρ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς

Δελφοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ πληγὴν καὶ ἐπερομένοις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοσόνδε εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία: "εὕτε τράγος πίνησι Νέδης ἐλικόρροον ὕδωρ,

οὐκέτι Μεσσήνην ρύομαι: σχεδόθεν γὰρ ὄλεθρος.

"[2] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς Νέδας ἐν ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ: προελθὼν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἐπιστρέψας αὐθις ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὀρίζει τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ἠλείοις τὴν γῆν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν τοὺς αἶγας τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ πίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Νέδας: τοῖς δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων προεσήμαινε τοιόνδε. τὸ δένδρον τὸν ἐρινεόν εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ καλοῦσιν

ὀλύνθην, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τράγον. τότε οὖν πρὸς τῇ Νέδᾳ πεφυκῶς ἐρίνεος οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἠΰξητο, ἀλλὰ ἐς τε τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐπέστρεφε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄκροις τοῖς φύλλοις ἐπέψαυε. [3] θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ μάντις Θέοκλος συνεβάλετο ὡς τὸν τράγον τὸν πίνοντα ἐκ τῆς Νέδας προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἐρίνεον τοῦτον καὶ ὡς ἤδη Μεσσηνίους ἦκει τὸ χρεών: καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, Ἀριστομένην δὲ πρὸς τε τὸν ἐρίνεον ἡγάγε καὶ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐξήκοι σφίσιν ὁ χρόνος. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχειν οὕτω πείθεται καὶ ἀναβολὴν οὐκέτι εἶναι σφισι, προενοήσατο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων. [4] καὶ ἦν γάρ τι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἔμελλε δὲ ἀφανισθὲν ὑποβρύχιον τὴν Μεσσήνην κρύψειν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, φυλαχθὲν δὲ οἱ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος χρησμοὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔλεγον χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἀνασώσεσθαι τὴν χώραν: τοῦτο δὴ ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἄτε ἐπιστάμενος τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐγίνετο, ἐκόμιζε. παραγενόμενος δὲ ἔνθα τῆς Ἰθώμης ἦν τὸ ἐρημότατον, κατῶρυξεν ἐς Ἰθώμην τὸ ὄρος, καὶ Δία Ἰθώμην ἔχοντα καὶ θεοὺς οἱ Μεσσηνίους ἐς ἐκεῖνο ἔσωζον φύλακας μεῖναι τῆς παρακαταθήκης αἰτούμενος, μηδὲ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι τὴν μόνην καθόδου Μεσσηνίους ἐλπίδα. [5] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἦρχετο, καθὼ καὶ Τρωσὶν ἔτι πρότερον, γίνεσθαι κακὰ ἀπὸ μοιχείας. ἐπεκράτουν μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐπεὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Εἵραν ἄχρι τῆς Νέδας, ἦσαν δὲ οἰκήσεις καὶ ἔξω πυλῶν ἐνίοις. αὐτόμολος δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἄλλος μὲν ἀφίκετο οὐδεὶς, οἰκέτης δὲ Ἐμπεράμου βουκόλος ἐλαύνων τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς βοῦς: ὁ δὲ Ἐμπεράμος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος.

[6] οὗτος ὁ βουκόλος ἔνεμεν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Νέδας. ἀνδρὸς οὖν τῶν Μεσσηνίων τῶν οὐκ ἐντὸς τείχους ἐχόντων οἰκήσιν γυναῖκα εἶδεν ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἐλθοῦσαν: ἐρασθεὶς δὲ διαλεχθῆναί τε ἐτόλμησε καὶ δοὺς δῶρα συγγίνεται. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα παρεφύλασεν αὐτῆς, ὁπότε ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐς τὴν φρουράν. ἀνὰ μέρος δὲ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπήγετο ἡ φυλακή: ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ ὑπερβῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁπότε οὖν οὗτος ἀποχωρήσειε, τηνικαῦτα ὁ βουκόλος ἐφοίτα παρὰ τὴν γυναῖκα. [7] καὶ ποτε ἔτυχε σὺν ἄλλοις ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιήκουσα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἡ φυλακή, ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὕειν πολλῷ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐκλείπουσιν οἱ

Μεσσήνιοι τὴν φρουράν: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐβιάζετο σφᾶς ἀθρόον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταχερόμενον, οὔτε ἐπάλξεων ἐνφοκοδομημένων οὔτε πύργων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῦ τειχισμοῦ, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ κινήσεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠλπιζον ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ καὶ οὕτω χειμερίῳ. [8] Ἀριστομένης δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις Κεφαλλῆνα ἔμπορον, ἑαυτῷ ξένον καὶ ἐσάγοντα ἐς τὴν Εἵραν ὁπόσων ἐδέοντο, ἐαλωκότα ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοξοτῶν Ἀπτεραίων ὧν ἦρχεν Εὐρύαλος Σπαρτιάτης, τοῦτον τὸν Κεφαλλῆνα ἀφαιρούμενος ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁπόσα ἦγεν ἀπέσωσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτέτρωτο καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς φυλάσσουσι καθάπερ εἰώθει. τοῦτο μάλιστα αἴτιον ἐγένετο ἐκλειφθῆναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν: [9] τῶν τε δὴ ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουκόλου μοιχευομένης ὁ ἀνὴρ. ἡ δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἔνδον εἶχε τὸν βουκόλον, αἰσθάνεται τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιόντος καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἀποκρύπτει τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

ἐσελθόντα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο ὡς οὐπω πρότερον καὶ ἡρώτα καθ' ἣν τινα αἰτίαν ἦκοι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε μεμοιχευμένην εἰδὼς οὔτε ἔνδον ὄντα τὸν βουκόλον ἐχρήτο τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτός τε διὰ τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ἐφασκεν ἀπολελοιπέναι τὴν φρουράν. [10] ἐπηκροᾷτο δὲ λέγοντος ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐπύθετο ἕκαστα, αὐθις ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίκετο αὐτόμολος. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τηνικαῦτα ἀπῆσαν, πολεμαρχῶν δὲ τότε Ἑμπεράμος ὁ τοῦ βουκόλου δεσπότης προσεκάθητο τῇ Εἵρᾳ. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ἐς τοῦτον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δρασμῷ παρητεῖτο ἀμάρτημα, δεύτερα δὲ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τὴν Εἴραν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα αἰρήσουσιν, αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ὅποσα ἦσθετο τοῦ Μεσσηνίου διηγούμενος.

21. ἔδοξε τε δὴ λέγειν πιστὰ καὶ ἡγεῖτο Ἑμπεράμῳ καὶ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ἦν δὲ ἡ πορεία χαλεπὴ σφισιν ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντος τοῦ ὕετοῦ· ὁμος δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἦνυσαν, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς Εἵρας ἐγένοντο, ὑπερέβαινον κλίμακάς τε προστιθέντες καὶ ὄτῳ τις ἐδύνατο ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρεῖχeto μὲν τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ καὶ ἄλλα αἴσθησιν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ κύνες οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑλακτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ συνεχεστέρα καὶ βιαιοτέρα τῇ κραυγῇ χρώμενοι. γνόντες οὖν τὸν ὕστατον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον σφᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐπειληφότα, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντα ἀνελάμβανον, ἀλλ' ὄτῳ προχείρῳ μάλιστα ἐντύχοι τις, ἀρπάζοντες ἡμυνον τῇ πατρίδι, ἡ μόνη σφίσιν ἐλείπετο ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας πάσης. [2] πρῶτοι δὲ ἦσθοντο ἔνδον τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ ἐβοήθουν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρῶτοι Γόργος τε ὁ Ἀριστομένους καὶ Ἀριστομένης αὐτὸς Θεόκλος τε ὁ μάντις καὶ Μάντικλος ὁ Θεόκλου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐεργετίδας ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πλεόν ἁξιώματος ἦκων· ἀδελφὴν γὰρ εἶχεν Ἀριστομένους Ἀγναγόραν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, συνιέντες ὡς ἐν δικτύοις εἰσὶν ἐσχημένοι, ὁμος καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἶχόν τινα ἐλπίδα· [3] Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ ὁ μάντις ἠπίσταντο μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἀναβολὴν ὀλέθρου

Μεσσηνίοις οὖσαν, ἅτε εἰδότες καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ὃν ἠνίζατο ἐς τὸν τράγον· ἡ Πυθία, ἐπέκρυπτον δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν, καὶ ἦν σφισιν ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπόρητον. ἐπιόντες δὲ τὴν πόλιν σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐρχόμενοι τοῖς τε ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὅποτε αἰσθάνοιντο ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, παρεκελεύοντο ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν ἀνεκάλουν τοὺς ἔτι ὑπολειπομένους. [4] ἐν μὲν δὴ νυκτὶ οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπράχθη λόγου παρ' οὐδετέρων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀπειρία τῶν τόπων καὶ ἡ τόλμα τοῦ Ἀριστομένους παρεῖχε μελλησμόν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οὔτε παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν σύνθημα ἐγεγόνει φθάνοντας εἰληφέναι τάς τε δᾶδας, ἡ εἴ τινα λαμπτήρα ἀλλοῖον ἄναιτό τις, ὥαν ἂν ἐσβέννυνεν ὁ θεός. [5] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν καὶ ἀλλήλους καθορᾶν ἐδύναντο, ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστομένης καὶ Θεόκλος ἐπειρῶντο ἐς πᾶσαν ἀπόνοιαν προάγειν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἄλλα τε ὅποσα εἰκὸς ἦν διδάσκοντες καὶ Σμυρναίων τὰ τολμήματα ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὡς Ἰώνων μοῖρα ὄντες Γύγην τὸν Δασκύλου καὶ Λυδοὺς ἔχοντας σφῶν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκβάλοιν. [6] οἱ Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἀκούοντες ἀπονοίας τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ συνιστάμενοι καθ' ὁπόσους ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ὥρμησαν δὲ καὶ

γυναῖκες τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ ὄτῳ δύναιτο ἐκάστη τοὺς πολεμίους βάλλειν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μὴ δρᾶσαι σφᾶς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῶν τεγῶν τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον ἐπεκώλυε: λαβεῖν δὲ ὄπλα ἐτόλμησαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ πλεόν αὐται τὴν τόλμαν ἐξήσαν, ὅποτε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐώρων

προτιμῶσας συναπολέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι ἢ ἀχθῆναι δούλας ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ὥστε κἂν παρελθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τὸ πεπρωμένον: [7] ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγεν ἀθρόον μᾶλλον μετὰ ἰσχυροῦ τῶν βροντῶν τοῦ ψόφου καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐναντίαις ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐξέπλησσε. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ταῦτα πάντα παρίστη φρόνημα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύνειν σφίσιν ἔφασαν τὸν θεόν: καὶ — ἥστραπτε γὰρ τοῦτοις κατὰ δεξιὰ — ἀπέφαινεν Ἔκας ὁ μάντις ὡς αἴσιον εἶη τὸ σημεῖον. [8] οὗτος δὲ καὶ στρατήγημα ἐξεῦρε τοιόνδε. ἀριθμῷ καὶ πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιῆσαν: ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ σφίσιν οὐδὲ κατὰ σύνταγμα ἐγγινομένης τῆς μάχης, ἄλλων δὲ ἐν ἄλλῃ τῆς πόλεως ποιουμένων τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀχρεῖους ἀπὸ ἐκάστης τάξεως συνέβαινε εἶναι τοὺς τελευταίους. τούτους ἐκέλευεν ἀποχωρήσαντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον σιτίων μεταλαβεῖν καὶ ὕπνου καὶ αὔθις πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἦκειν τοῖς ὑπομενοῦσιν αὐτῶν διαδεξομένους τὸν πόνον. [9] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀναπνύμενοί τε καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος μαχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀντήκουν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις πανταχόθεν παρίστατο ἀπορία: μεθ' ἡμέραν γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ τρίτην ἡμύνοντο. ἤδη τε ἡμέρα ἦν καὶ ἡ τε ἀυπνία καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τε καὶ ῥίγος ἐπίεξε σφᾶς, ὃ τε λιμὸς καὶ ἡ δίψα ἐπέκειτο: μάλιστα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀηθεία τε πολέμου καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τλαιπωρίας ἀπειρήκεσαν. [10] παραστὰς οὖν ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος πρὸς Ἀριστομένην εἶπε: 'τί μάτην τόνδε ἔχεις τὸν πόνον; ἀλῶναι Μεσσήνην πάντως ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον, συμφορὰν δὲ τὴν ἐν

ὀφθαλμοῖς πάλαι τε ἡμῖν προεσήμαινε ἡ Πυθία καὶ ἔναγχος ὁ ἐρινεὸς ἔδειξεν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ κοινὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπάγει τὴν τελευτήν: σὺ δὲ σώζεις μὲν ὡς δυνάμεως ἦκεις Μεσσηνίους, σώζεις δὲ καὶ σαυτόν.' ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔθει: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔπεισιν ἐκβοῆσαι τοσόνδε: 'ἀλλ' οὐ τοι τὸν πάντα γε χρόνον χαίροντες καρπώσεσθε τὰ Μεσσηνίων.' [11] μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθεστηκόσιν ἐμπεσὼν ἐκείνους τε ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιτρώσκετο, προεμπλήσας δὲ τὸν θυμὸν τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφήσι τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ὀπίσω τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀνεκάλει, πλὴν ὅσοι κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν αὐτῶν προεμάχοντο: τούτους δὲ εἶα κατὰ χώραν μένειν: τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς προσέταξε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐντὸς τῆς τάξεως ἔχοντας ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἥπερ ἂν αὐτὸς παρέχεται διέξοδον. [12] καὶ τούτων μὲν τοῖς τελευταίοις Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἐπέστησεν ἄρχοντας: αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τοὺς προτεταγμένους τῆς τε κεφαλῆς τῷ νεύματι καὶ τοῦ δόρατος τῇ κινήσει δῆλος ἦν διέξοδόν τε αἰτούμενος καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν ἤδη βεβουλευμένος. τῷ τε οὖν Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῖς παροῦσι διεῖναι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρεσκε μηδὲ λυσσῶντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀπονοίας ἦκοντας ἐξαγριᾶναι πέρα: καὶ ἅμα οὕτω σφᾶς ποιεῖν Ἔκας ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευεν.

22. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες παραυτίκα τε τὴν κατάληψιν ἐπυνθάνοντο τῆς Εἵρας καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀριστοκράτην

ἐκέλευον σφᾶς ἄγειν ὥς ἡ σώσοντας Μεσσηνίους ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπολουμένους. ὁ δὲ ἅτε ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος δεδεγμένος δῶρα, οὔτε ἄγειν ἤθελεν εἰδέναι τε ἔφασκεν οὐδένα ἔτι Μεσσηνίων ὄτῳ καὶ ἄμυνουσιν ὄντα ὑπόλοιπον. [2] τότε δὲ ὥς σαφέστερον ἡσθάνοντο περιόντας καὶ ἐκλείπειν τὴν Εἵραν βεβιασμένους, αὐτοὶ μὲν περὶ τὸ ὄρος σφᾶς τὸ Λύκαιον ἔμελλον ὑποδέξεσθαι, προετοιμασάμενοι καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σιτία, ἄνδρας δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει πέμπουσι παραμυθεῖσθαι τε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἅμα τῆς πορείας γενέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν, ὥς ἐς τὸ Λύκαιον ἀνεσώθησαν, ἐξένιζον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐνοικῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, κατανέμειν τε ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἤθελον καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι δι’ ἐκείνους τὴν γῆν. [3] Ἀριστομένει δὲ ὃ τε οἶκτος διαρπαζομένης τῆς Εἵρας καὶ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βούλευμα παρίστησι τοιόνδε. πεντακοσίους τῶν Μεσσηνίων, οὓς μάλιστα ἠπίστατο αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς ἔχοντας, ἀποκρίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἤρετο σφᾶς ἐν ἐπικῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους, ἅτε ὄντα προδότην οὐκ εἰδῶς — ἀνανδρία γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας φυγεῖν τότε ἤδη Ἀριστοκράτην τῆς μάχης καὶ οὐ διὰ κακίαν οὐδεμίαν ἐδόξαζεν αὐτόν, ὥστε ἐναντίον καὶ τούτου τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἤρετο — , εἰ τιμωροῦντες τῇ πατρίδι ἀποθνήσκειν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐθελήσουσι. [4] φαμένων δὲ ἐθέλειν ἀπεγύμνου τὸ πᾶν, ὥς πάντως τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἄγειν μέλλοι. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ τότε δὴ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν Εἵραν ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπεφοίτων φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες τὰ Μεσσηνίων. ‘καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐλεῖν τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶμεν’, ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης, ‘ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποδόντας Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ἐκείνων κομίσασθαι τὰ οἰκεῖα: ἁμαρτάνοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ ἀποθανοῦμεθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἄξια ἐργασάμενοι.’ [5] ταῦτα εἰπόντος τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅσον τριακόσιοι μετέχειν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ τολμήματος ἤθελον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπεῖχον τῆς ἐξόδου, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τό τε ἀπόρρητον ἔγνωσαν σφῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προπεπυσμένους καὶ αὐτοὶ δεύτερον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοκράτους προδεδομένοι: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστομένου βουλευμάτων αὐτίκα ὁ Ἀριστοκράτης ἐγγράφας βιβλίῳ, καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιθεὶς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὃν ἠπίστατο ὄντα εὐνούστατον, παρὰ Ἀνάξανδρον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς Σπάρτην. [6] ἐπανίοντα δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην λοχῶσιν ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀρκάδων διάφοροι καὶ πρότερον τῷ Ἀριστοκράτει, σχόντες δέ τι καὶ ὑποπτον τότε ἐς αὐτόν. λοχήσαντες δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐπανάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἐπεδείκνουν ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὰ ἀντεπεσταλμένα ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος: ἐπέστελλε δὲ ὁ Ἀνάξανδρος, φυγὴν τε αὐτῷ τὴν πρότερον ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης τάφρου φάμενος οὐκ ἀνόνητον ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι, προσέσεσθαι δέ οἱ χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνυμάτων. [7] ὥς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα ἐς ἅπαντας, αὐτοὶ τε τὸν Ἀριστοκράτην ἔβαλλον οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις διεκελεύοντο: οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀριστομένην ἀπέβλεπον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν

ἀφορῶν ἔκλειεν: τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοκράτην οἱ Ἀρκάδες καταλιθώσαντες τὸν μὲν τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἐκβάλλουσιν ἄταφον, στήλην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ τέμενος

τοῦ Λυκαίου λέγουσαν

πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδίκῃ βασιλῇ, “εὔρε δὲ Μεσσήνης σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην

ῥηιδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ’ ἐπιόρκον.

χαῖρε Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάα Ἀρκαδίαν.

“

23. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων ὅποσοι περὶ τὴν Εἵραν ἢ καὶ ἐτέρωθί που τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐγκατελήφθησαν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσένειμαν ἐς τὸ εἰλωτικόν: Πύλιοι δὲ καὶ Μοθωναῖοι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ παραθαλάσσια ὥκουν, καὶ ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Εἵρας ἀπαίρουσιν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἥλειον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀρκαδία Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλον, ἐθέλοντες κοινῶ στόλῳ χώραν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν ἀναζητεῖν, καὶ Ἀριστομένην ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι σφισιν ἐς ἀποικίαν. [2] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἕως ἂν περιῇ, πολεμήσειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασκεν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὥς αἰεὶ τι ἀναφύσεται τῇ Σπάρτῃ δι’ αὐτοῦ κακόν: ἐκείνοις δὲ Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἔδωκεν ἡγεμόνας. ὁ δὲ Εὐεργετίδας ἐς μὲν τὸ Λύκαιον σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μεσσηνίοις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν: ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ὥς ἐώρα τὸ βούλευμα διαπεπτωκὸς τῷ Ἀριστομένει τὸ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀναπείσας τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥς πεντήκοντα ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὴν Εἵραν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν διαρπάζουσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐπινίκια [3] πένθος σφίσιν ἐποίησε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα

ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν, Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὥς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπέταξεν ἰέναι ἐς Κυλλήνην, ὅστις ἐθέλοι μετέχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. καὶ μετέσχον ἅπαντες, πλὴν εἰ γῆράς τινα ἀπεῖργεν ἢ μηδὲ εὐπορῶν ἔτυχεν ἐς τὴν ἀποδημίαν: οὗτοι δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμειναν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν. [4] ἐάλω δὲ ἡ Εἵρα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ δεῦτερος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντας Αὐτοσθένους, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ὀγδόης τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα Χίονις Λάκων.

[5] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην οἱ Μεσσήνιοι συνελέχθησαν, τὸν μὲν παρόντα χειμῶνα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ χειμᾶζειν, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισι καὶ χρήματα οἱ Ἥλαιοι παρεῖχον: ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἥρῃ ἐβουλεύοντο ποῖ χρὴ σταλῆναι. γινῶμαι δὲ ἦσαν Γόργου μὲν Ζάκυνθον τὴν ὑπὲρ Κεφαλληνίας καταλαβόντας καὶ νησιώτας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτῶν γενομένους ναυσὶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιπλέοντας κακοῦν τὴν γῆν: Μάντικλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Μεσσήνης μὲν καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχθους λαβεῖν λήθην, πλεύσαντας δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶ κτήσασθαι μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν πρώτην.

[6] ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ Ἀναξίλας παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλεν ἐς Ἰταλίαν καλῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν Ῥηγίου, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου: μετώκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο: ἐλθοῦσί τε ἔλεγεν ὥς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ, χώραν δὲ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσιν, ἃ δὴ σφίσι ἐθέλειν ἔφῃ συγκατεργασάμενος δοῦναι. προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως Ἀναξίλας διεβίβασεν ἐς Σικελίαν αὐτούς. [7] Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ

μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λησταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῇ τεχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὀρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐχρῶντο: ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξεν οἰκήτορας.

[8] τότε δὲ τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ὃ τε Ἀναξίλας ναυσὶν ἀνταναγομένους ἐνίκησε καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ μάχῃ πεζῇ: Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ κατὰ γῆν τε ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης ὑπὸ Ῥηγίωνων πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ ἀλISCOμένους σφίσιν ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ τε βωμοὺς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγουσιν. Ἀναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις παρεκελεύετο τοὺς τε ἰκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ παισὶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι: [9] Γόργος δὲ καὶ Μάντικλος παρητοῦντο Ἀναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς, ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθότας ἀνόσια, ὅμοια αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἑλλήνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν καὶ ὄρκους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ὤκησαν ἀμφοτέρω κοινῇ: ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι. [10] ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἦν Χίονις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος. Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἰδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλούμενος Μάντικλος, καθάπερ γε καὶ Ἄμμων ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ὁ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Βῆλος ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Βήλου τοῦ Λιβύης ὄνομα ἔσχεν, Ἄμμων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου ποιμένος.

Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐγγέγονει πέρας τῆς ἄλης:

24. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέπατο τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν στελλομένων, τὰς θυγατέρας τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ Ἀγναγόραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν μὲν Θάρυκι ἐς Φιγαλίαν, Δαμοθοῖδᾶ δὲ Λεπρέατῃ καὶ Ἡραιεῖ Θεοπόμπῳ τὰς θυγατέρας συνώκισεν: αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρήτο τῷ θεῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Ἀριστομένει γινόμενον μάντευμα οὐ λέγεται: [2] Δαμαγῆτῳ δὲ Ῥοδίῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Ἰαλυσῷ, τότε δὲ ἦκοντι παρὰ τὸν Απόλλωνα καὶ ἐρωτῶντι ὁπόθεν ἀγαγέσθαι χρὴ γυναῖκα, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία θυγατέρα ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ ἀρίστου λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ — ἦν γὰρ καὶ τρίτῃ τῷ Ἀριστομένει θυγάτηρ — γαμεῖ ταύτην, Ἑλλήνων τῶν τότε ἐκείνον μακρῷ δὴ τινι ἄριστον νομίζων. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐς τε Σάρδεϊς ἐνενόει παρὰ Ἄρδυν τὸν Γύγου καὶ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ἀναβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βασιλεῖα Φραόρτην: [3] ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρότερον τούτων συνέπεσεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ νοσήσαντι, οὐ γὰρ ἔδει συμφορὰν οὐδεμίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι ἐξ Ἀριστομένους γενέσθαι. τελευτήσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ Δαμαγῆτος καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι μνημὰ τε ἐπιφανὲς ἐποίησαν καὶ ἔνεμον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου τιμᾶς. τὰ μὲν δὴ λεγόμενα ἐς τοὺς Διαγορίδας καλούμενους ἐν Ῥόδῳ, γεγονότας δὲ ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγῆτου τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Δαμαγῆτου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένους θυγατρὸς, παρήκα, μὴ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν δοκοῖν γράφειν: [4] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τότε, ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλην

τῆς Ἀσιναίων αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον, Μοθώνην δὲ Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐδίδουσαν ἐκπεπωκόσιν ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἔναγχος ὑπὸ Ἀργείων. [5] Μεσσηνίων δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν τῇ γῇ, συντελοῦντας κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐς τοὺς εἰλωτας, ἐπέλαβεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὕστερον ἀποστῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἐβδομηκοστήν, ἣν Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν, Ἀρχιμήδους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος· ἀπέστησαν δὲ καιρὸν τοιόνδε εὐρόντες. Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι ὅτῳ δὴ καταγνωσθέντες ἰκέται καταφεύγουσιν ἐς Ταίναρον· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπὸ τοῦ βομοῦ σφᾶς ἀποσπάσασα ἀπέκτεινε.

[6] Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θεμένοις τοὺς ἰκέτας ἀπήντησεν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος μήνιμα, καὶ σφισιν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν κατέβαλεν ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ τῶν εἰλωτῶν ὅσοι Μεσσήνιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦσαν, ἐς τὸ ὅρος τὴν Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄλλα τε μετεπέμποντο συμμαχικὰ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου πρόξενόν σφισιν ὄντα καὶ Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν· ἀφικομένους δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑποπτεῦσαι δοκοῦσιν ὥς τάχα νεωτερίσοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποψίας ἀποπέμψασθαι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἐξ Ἰθώμης. [7] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπόνοιαν συνέντες Ἀργείοις τε φίλοι δι’ αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοῖς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πολιορκουμένοις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑποσπόνδοις ἔδουσαν Ναύπακτον, ἀφελόμενοι Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς Αἰτωλίᾳ καλουμένους Ὀζόλας. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρέσχεν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Ἰθώμης τοῦ τε χωρίου τὸ ἐχυρὸν καὶ ἅμα Λακεδαιμονίοις προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία ἢ μὴν εἶναι σφισι δίκην ἀμαρτοῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν ἰκέτην.

ὑπόσπονδοι μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τούτων ἔνεκα ἀφείθησαν:

25. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔσχον τὴν Ναύπακτον, οὐκ ἀπέχρη πόλιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χώραν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς πόθος εἶχεν ἰσχυρὸς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν φανῆναι λόγου τι κεκτημένους ἄξιον. καὶ ἠπίσταντο γὰρ Οἰνιάδας Ἀκαρνάνων γῆν τε ἔχοντας ἀγαθὴν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις διαφόρους τὸν πάντα ὄντας χρόνον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτούς. ὄντες δὲ ἀριθμῶ μὲν οὐ πλείους, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ πολλὸν ἀμείνονες ὄντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ νικῶσι, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν κατακεκλειμένους ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. [2] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν, οὐ γάρ τι τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐρημένων ἐς πολιορκίαν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρίεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλίμακας προστιθέντες ἐπειρῶντο ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑπώρυσσον κάτωθεν τὸ τεῖχος, μηχανήματά τε, ὅποια ἐνὴν δι’ ὀλίγου παρασκευάσασθαι, προσαγαγόντες αἰεὶ τι ἥρειπον· δείσαντες δὲ οἱ ἔνδον μὴ ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὶ τε ἀπόλωνται καὶ αἱ γυναῖκές σφισι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐξανδραποδισθῶσιν, εἵλοντο ἀπελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι. [3] καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν μάλιστα οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν· τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ὑστέρῳ δύναμιν οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπὸ πασῶν συλλέξαντες τῶν πόλεων ἐβουλεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον στρατεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπέδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πορείαν ὀρῶσιν, ὅτι ἔσσεσθαι δι’ Αἰτωλῶν ἐμελλε πολεμίων αἰεὶ ποτε ὄντων, καὶ ἅμα τοὺς Ναυπακτίους κεκτῆσθαι τι ναυτικὸν ὑπώπτευνον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἶχον, ἐπικρατούντων δὲ ἐκείνων τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδὲν εἶναι κατεργάσασθαι μέγα οὐδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ:

[4] μετεβουλεύετό τε δὴ σφισι καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους τρέπονται τοὺς ἐν Οἰνιάδαις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥς πολιορκήσοντας παρεσκευάζοντο: οὐ γάρ ποτε ὑπελάμβανον ἄνδρας οὕτως ὀλίγους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἥξειν ὥς μαχέσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπάντων στρατιάν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι προητοιμασμένοι μὲν καὶ σίτον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἦσαν ὅποσα εἰκὸς ἦν, πολιορκίας πειράσεσθαι μακροτέρας ἐλπίζοντες: [5] παρίστατο δὲ σφισι πρὸ τῆς μελλούσης πολιορκίας ἀγῶνα ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, οἱ μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρία, τύχη δὲ ἡλαττώθησαν, καταπεπληχθαι τὸν ἥκοντα ὄχλον ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας: τό τε Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργον ἀνεμνήσκοντο, ὥς μυριάδες τριάκοντα ἐφθάρησαν τῶν Μήδων ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ ἐς μυρίους ἀριθμόν. [6] καθίσταντό τε δὴ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ἐς ἀγῶνα καὶ ὁ τρόπος λέγεται τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι τοιόσδε. οἱ μὲν, ἅτε πλήθει προέχοντες πολὺ, οὐ χαλεπῶς περιέβαλον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, πλὴν ὅσον αἱ πύλαι τε ἀπεῖργον κατὰ νότου τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις γινόμεναι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς σφετέροις προθύμως ἀμύνοντες: ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ μὴ περισχεθῆναι σφᾶς ἐκώλυε, τὰ δὲ πλευρὰ ἀμφοτέρω ἐκυκλώσαντο αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον πανταχόθεν. [7] οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι συνεστραμμένοι μετ' ἀλλήλων, ὁπότε ἀθρόοι τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ἐμπέσοιεν, ἐτάρασσον μὲν τοὺς κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔστηκότας καὶ ἐφόνευόν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον πολλούς, τελέαν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐργάσασθαι φυγὴν: ὅπου γὰρ τῆς τάξεως αἰσθοντό τι οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Μεσσηνίων διασπώμενον, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀμύνοντες τοῖς βιαζομένοις αὐτῶν ἀνείργον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐπικρατοῦντες τῷ πλήθει. [8] οἱ δὲ ὁπότε ἀνακοπεῖεν, κατ' ἄλλο αὐθις πειρώμενοι διακόψαι τὴν Ἀκαρνάνων φάλαγγα τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν ἔπασχον: ὅτῳ μὲν προσβάλλοιεν, διέσειόν τε καὶ τροπὴν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐποίουν, ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ αὐθις κατὰ τοῦτο σπουδῇ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπετρέποντο ἄκοντες. γενομένου δὲ ἰσορρόπου τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἄχρι ἐσπέρας καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐπελθούσης δυνάμεως ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων, οὕτω τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις περιεστήκει πολιορκία. [9] καὶ ἀλῶναι μὲν κατὰ κράτος τὸ τεῖχος ἢ ὑπερβάντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἢ καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν βιασθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν φρουρὰν δέος ἦν οὐδέν: τὰ δὲ ἐπιτηδεῖα σφισι πάντα ὁμοίως ὀγδόῃ μηνὶ ἐξανήλωτο. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἐχρῶντο ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους χλευασία, μὴ σφᾶς τὰ σιτία προδοῦναι ποτε ἂν μηδὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον πολιορκουμένους: [10] αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ὕπνον πρῶτον ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνιαδῶν, καὶ γενομένης τοῦ δρασμοῦ σφῶν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν αἰσθήσεως καὶ ἐς μάχην ἀναγκασθέντες ἀφικέσθαι, περὶ τριακοσίους μὲν ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ πλείονας ἔτι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων κατεργάζονται, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῶν διεκπίπτουσι διὰ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς Αἰτωλῶν ἐχόντων σφίσιν ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἀνασώζονται.

26. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἐνέκειτό σφισι τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν ἐς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου Πελοποννησίου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου: τὴν τε γὰρ Ναύπακτον ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρείχοντο καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποληφθέντας Μεσσηνίων σφενδονῆται τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου συνεξέιλον. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς,

οὕτω καὶ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκβάλλουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατοῦντες, οἱ ἐς Σικελίαν τε παρὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἐς Ῥήγιον ἐστάλησαν, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἕς τε Λιβύην ἀφίκετο καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Εὐεσπερίτας· οἱ γὰρ Εὐεσπερίται πολέμῳ κακωθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προσοίκων πάντα τινὰ Ἑλληνα ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύνοικον. ἐς τοὺτους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ πολὺ ἀπεχώρησεν· ἡγεμῶν δὲ σφισιν ἦν Κόμων, ὃς καὶ περὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν ἐστρατήγησεν αὐτοῖς. [3] ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον ἢ κατορθῶσαι Θηβαίους τὰ ἐν Λεύκτροις, προσεήμαινεν ὁ δαίμων Μεσσηνίοις τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ πορθμῷ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν ὄνειρατος ἰδεῖν ὄψιν — τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔδοξε κληθῆναι τὸν Μάντικλον ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ ἐς Ἰθώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός —, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Εὐεσπερίταις Κόμων συγγενέσθαι νεκρᾷ τῇ μητρὶ ἐδόκει, συγγενομένου δὲ αὐθὶς οἱ τὴν μητέρα ἀναβιῶναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ ἡλπιζεν Ἀθηναίων δυνηθέντων ναυτικῷ κάθοδον ἔσεσθαι σφισιν ἐς Ναύπακτον· τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐδήλου τὸ ὄνειρον ἀνασώσεσθαι Μεσσήνην.

[4] ἐγένετό τε οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν Λεύκτροις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἀτύχημα ὀφειλόμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ· Ἀριστοδήμῳ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Μεσσηνίων ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος ἐστὶν ἔρδ' ὅππῃ τὸ χρεῶν· ἅτῃ δ' ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων·

“ὥς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐκείνον δέον καὶ Μεσσηνίους κακῶς πρᾶξαι, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἐπιληψομένης τῆς ἅτης. [5] τότε δὲ ἐν Λεύκτροις οἱ Θηβαῖοι νενικηκότες ἀγγέλους ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Εὐεσπερίτας ἀπέστελλον, ἕκ τε τῆς ἄλλης, εἴ πού τις Μεσσηνίων εἴη, πανταχόθεν ἀνεκάλουν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ δὲ θᾶσσον ἢ ὥς ἂν τις ἡλπισε συνελέχθησαν γῆς τε τῆς πατρίδος πόθῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος παραμεῖναν αἰεὶ σφισιν. [6] Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ δὲ οὔτε ἄλλως ἐφαίνετο ῥάδια ἀξιόμαχον πόλιν ἐποικίσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔτε ὅπου χρή κτίσαι τῆς χώρας ἐξευρίσκει· τὴν γὰρ Ἀνδανίαν οἱ

Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Οἰχαλίαν οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνοικεῖν, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ σφισιν ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν. ἀποροῦντι οὖν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτῃν ἄνδρα, ἱεροφάντη μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, νύκτωρ φασὶν ἐπιστάντα εἰπεῖν· ‘σοὶ μὲν δῶρά ἐστι παρ’ ἐμοῦ κρατεῖν ὅτῳ ἂν μεθ’ ὅπλων ἐπέρχῃ· καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένῃ, ἔγωγε ὃ Θηβαῖε ποιήσω μὴ ποτε ἀνώνυμον μηδὲ ἄδοξόν σε γενέσθαι. σὺ δὲ Μεσσηνίοις γῆν τε πατρίδα καὶ πόλεις ἀπόδος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μήνιμα ἤδη σφίσι πέπανται τὸ Διοσκούρων’. [7] Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Ἐπιτέλει δὲ τῷ Αἰσχίνου τάδε ἐμήνυε — στρατηγεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὸν Ἐπιτέλην καὶ Μεσσήνην ἀνοικίζειν ἤρηντο — τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὁ ὄνειρος, ἔνθα ἂν τῆς Ἰθώμης εὖρη πεφυκυῖαν σμίλακα καὶ μυρσίνην, τὸ μέσον ὀρύξαντα αὐτῶν ἀνασῶσαι τὴν γραῦν· κάμνειν γὰρ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ καθειργμένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἥδη λιποψυχεῖν αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ Ἐπιτέλης, ὥς ἐπελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, παραγενόμενος ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον ἐπέτυχεν ὀρύσσωσιν ὑδρία χαλκῇ, καὶ αὐτίκα παρὰ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν [8] κομίσας τό τε ἐνύπνιον ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸ πῶμα ἀφελόντα ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι ἐνείη σκοπεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ πεφηνότι ὄνειρατι ἤνοιγε τὴν

ὕδριαν, ἀνοίξας δὲ εὔρε κασσίτερον ἐληλασμένον ἐς τὸ λεπτότατον· ἐπείλικτο δὲ ὥσπερ τὰ βιβλία. ἐνταῦθα τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἐγγράπτο ἡ τελετή, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν παρακαταθήκη τοῦ Ἀριστομένου. τοῦτον τὸν ἐπελθόντα τῷ Ἐπιτέλει καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδα καθεύδουσι

Καύκωνα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὃς ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Ἀνδανίαν παρὰ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα.

27. τὸ δὲ τῶν Τυνδάρεω παίδων μήνιμα ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρξατο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ μάχης, γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ δι’ αἰτίαν τοιάνδε εἰκάζω. μεῖράκια ὥραϊα ἐξ Ἀνδανίας, Πάνορμος καὶ Γώνιππος, τά τε ἄλλα οἰκείως εἶχον ἀλλήλοις καὶ κοινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας ἐξόδους καὶ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν. [2] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Διοσκούροις ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς πότον καὶ παιδιὰς τετραμμένων μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον, ὁ Γώνιππος καὶ ὁ Πάνορμος χιτῶνας λευκοὺς καὶ χλαμύδας πορφυρεῖς ἐνδύντες ἐπὶ τε ἵππων τῶν καλλίστων ὀχούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πῖλους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ δόρατα ἔχοντες ἐπιφαίνονται Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, προσεκύνουν τε καὶ εὔχοντο, ἀφίχθαι δοκοῦντές σφισιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν θυσίαν τοὺς Διοσκούρους. [3] οἱ νεανίσκοι δὲ ὡς ἅπαξ ἀνεμίχθησαν, διεξήλυνον διὰ πάντων παίοντες τοῖς δόρασι, καὶ ἤδη κειμένων πολλῶν ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς Ἀνδανίαν, καθυβρίσαντες τῶν Διοσκούρων τῇ θυσίᾳ. τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προήγαγε τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐς τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Μεσσηνίων· τότε δέ, ὡς ἐδήλου τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ τὸ ὄνειρον, οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀκούσιος τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἡ κάθοδος. [4] μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν οἱ Βάκιδος ἐνήγον χρησμοί. Βάκιδι γὰρ μανέντι ἐκ Νυμφῶν ἐς ἄλλους τέ ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίον κάθοδον προειρημένα “καὶ τότε δὴ Σπάρτης μὲν ἀπ’ ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ὀλεῖται,

Μεσσήνη δ’ αὐτὶς οἰκήσεται ἡματα πάντα.

“ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Εἵρας, ὄντινα ἀλώσοιτο τρόπον, Βάκιν ἐφώρασα εἰρηκότα· καὶ οἱ καὶ τόδε ἐστὶ τῶν χρησμῶν,” οἳ τ’ ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης πατάγω κρουνοῖς τε δαμείσης.

“[5] ὡς δὲ ἡ τελετὴ σφισιν ἀνεύρητο, ταύτην μὲν, ὅσοι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων ἦσαν, κατετίθεντο ἐς βίβλους· Ἐπαμινώνδας δέ, ὥς οἱ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα νῦν ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὴν πόλιν, μάλιστα ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειον, ἐκέλευεν ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς μάντεσιν, εἴ οἱ βουλήσεται ταύτη καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιχωρῆσαι. φαμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ αἴσια, οὕτω παρεσκευάζετο ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν, λίθους τε ἄγεσθαι κελεύων καὶ ἄνδρας μεταπεμπόμενος, οἷς τέχνη στενωποὺς κατατέμνεσθαι καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τεῖχην περιβάλλεσθαι.

[6] ὡς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πάντα ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν — ἱερεῖα γὰρ παρεῖχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες — αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐπαμινώνδας καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι Διονύσῳ καὶ Απόλλωνι ἔθυσον Ἰσμηνίῳ τὸν νομιζόμενον τρόπον, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τῇ τε Ἥρᾳ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ Δίῳ, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ Δίῳ τε Ἰθωμάτῳ καὶ Διοσκούροις, οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἱερεῖς θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις καὶ Καύκωνι. ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ ἐν κοινῷ καὶ ἡρώας σφισιν ἐπανάκειν συνοίκους, Μεσσήνην μὲν τὴν Τριόπα μάλιστα, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ Εὐρυτον καὶ Ἀφαρέα τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν

Κρεσφόντην τε καὶ Αἵπυτον· πλείστη δὲ καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀνάκλησις ἐγένετο Ἀριστομένους. [7] καὶ τὴν μὲν τότε ἡμέραν πρὸς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἦσαν, ταῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ τείχους τὸν περίβολον ἤγειρον καὶ ἐντὸς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐποιοῦντο. εἰργάζοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ μουσικῆς ἄλλης μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, αὐλῶν δὲ Βοιωτίων καὶ Ἀργείων· τὰ τε Σακάδα καὶ Προνόμου μέλη τότε δὴ προήχθη μάλιστα ἐς ἁμιλλαν. αὐτῇ μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνην ἔθεντο ὄνομα, ἀνώκιζον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολιίσματα. [8] Ναυπλιεῖς δὲ ἐκ Μοθῶνης οὐκ ἀνέστησαν· κατὰ χώραν δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναίους μένειν εἶων, τούτοις μὲν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἀπομνημονεύοντες πολεμῆσαι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς σφᾶς οὐ θελήσασι, Ναυπλιεῖς δὲ κατιοῦσιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Μεσσηνίοις τε δῶρα ἡγαγον ὅποια εἶχον καὶ ἅμα μὲν ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῆς ἐκείνων συνεχέσιν ἐς τὸ θεῖον ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σφετέρας δεήσεσιν ἐς ἐκείνους ἐχρῶντο. [9] κατῆλθον δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπτά καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἔτεσιν ὕστερον μετὰ Εἵρας ἄλωσιν, Δυσκινήτου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Δάμων Θούριος τὸ δεῦτερον ἐνίκα. οὐκ ὀλίγος μὲν οὖν ὁ χρόνος καὶ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἐγένετο, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἔφευγον, καὶ Δηλίοις, ἠνίκα ὤκησαν Ἀδραμύτιον ἐκβληθέντες ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ὀρχομενίων:

[10] οἱ δὲ Μινύαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, κατήχθησαν ἐς Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς. Θηβαίων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐρημώσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν πόλιν, αὐθις ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος Ἀντιπάτρου τὰς Θήβας ἔκτισεν. φαίνεται μὲν δὴ τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἢ Πλαταικὴ φυγὴ συμβᾶσα, οὐ μέντοι περαιτέρω γε ἢ ἐπὶ δύο ἐγένετο οὐδ' αὐτὴ γενεάς. [11] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου τριακόσια ἔτη μάλιστα ἠλῶντο, ἐν οἷς οὔτε ἐθῶν εἰσι δῆλοι παραλύσαντές τι τῶν οἰκοθεν οὔτε τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Δωρίδα μετεδιδάχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτῆς Πελοποννησίῳ μάλιστα ἐφύλασσαν.

28. κατελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεινὸν ἦν οὐδέν· κατεχόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φόβῳ τῷ Θηβαίων Μεσσήνης τε ἠνείχοντο ἐποικιζομένης καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς μίαν ἡθροισμένων πόλιν. ὥς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ Φωκικός, καλούμενος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ ἱερός, ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου Θηβαίους, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀπέχεσθαι. [2] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοῖ τε μετὰ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀντείχον τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀμυνάει σφισιν ἐδεήθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὐποτε μετὰ ἐκείνων ἐσβαλεῖν ἔφασαν, ἀρχόντων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πολέμου καὶ ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐπηγγέλλοντο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Φιλίππῳ σύμμαχοι τῷ Ἀμύντῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοῦτο σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀποκωλύσαι τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγῶνος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μὴ μετασχεῖν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐναντία θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἠθέλησαν. [3] Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεμον δεύτερον τότε ἀνηρημένων πρὸς Μακεδόνας, μετέσχον καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοῦ πολέμου, καθά

καὶ πρότερον ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Γαλάταις δὲ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἔμαχέσαντο, Κλεωνύμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων σπείσασθαι σπονδάς σφισιν οὐ θελησάντων.

[4] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἔσχον Ἥλιν Μεσσήνιοι, σοφία τε ὁμοῦ χρησάμενοι καὶ τολμήματι. Ἥλαιοι γὰρ τὰ μὲν παλαιότατα εὐνομώτατοι Πελοποννησίων ἦσαν· Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου τά τε ἄλλα ὅποσα εἴρηται κακουργήσαντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἥλειων τοὺς δυνατοὺς διαφθείραντος χρήμασι, στασιάζουσι πρῶτον τότε Ἥλαιοι καὶ ἐς ὄπλα, ὡς λέγουσι, χωροῦσι.

[5] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ῥᾶον ἔτι ἔμελλον ἀπεχθῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔνεκα διέστη τὰ βουλευματα, καὶ ἐς ἔμφυλον προῆλθον πόλεμον. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς Ἥλειων τοῖς φρονοῦσι τὰ σφέτερα ἀμυνοῦντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τέλη τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ διενέμοντο ἐς τοὺς λόχους· τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων λογάδες χίλιοι φθάνουσιν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ἥλιν, σημεῖα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι Λακωνικὰ ἔχοντες. [6] ὡς δὲ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐθεάσαντο ὅσοι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις εὖνοι τῶν Ἥλειων ἦσαν, συμμαχίαν τε ἀφῖχθαι σφισιν ἤλπισαν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐδέχοντο ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ἐσελθόντες δὲ τρόπον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸν εἰρημένον τοὺς τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονοῦντας ἐδίωξαν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπουσι τοῖς στασιώταις τοῖς αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν. [7] ἔστι μὲν δὴ τὸ σόφισμα Ὀμήρου, φαίνονται δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν δέοντι μιμησάμενοι καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, ἐπεὶ Πάτροκλόν γε ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὀμηρος Ἀχιλλέως τὰ ὄπλα ἐνδύντα, καὶ ἐγγενέσθαι τε ἔφη τοῖς βαρβάροις δόξαν ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπίοι καὶ τοὺς προτεταγμένους αὐτῶν ταραχθῆναι. εὖρηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Ὀμήρῳ στρατηγήματα, δύο τε παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατασκόπους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἐς τοὺς Τρῶας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἄνδρα ὕστερον λόγῳ μὲν αὐτόμολον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἀπόρρητα πολυπραγμονήσοντα ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἐσελθεῖν. [8] ἔτι δὲ τοὺς διὰ νεότητα ἐν τοῖς Τρῶσιν ἢ γῆρας οὐχ ὠραίους μάχεσθαι, τούτους μὲν τὸ τεῖχος φρουρεῖν ἔταξε, τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιηλισμένων· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες ὀπλίζουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μάχιμον, ἵνα μηδὲ αὐτοὶ παντάπασιν ἀργοῖεν.

τὰ Ὀμήρου μὲν οὖν ὠφέλιμα ἐγένετο ἐς ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπους·

29. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἥλιδι Μακεδόνες καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μεσσήνην καταλαμβάνουσι. τὰ μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐς τε αὐτὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὰ ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου τολμηθέντα ἐκ Περσέως ἐν τοῖς Σικυωνίοις ἔγραψα ἤδη λόγοις· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τὴν Μεσσήνης ἔσχεν οὕτω. [2] χρημάτων ἐσπανίζετο Φίλιππος, καὶ — ἔδει γὰρ πάντως οἱ γενέσθαι χρήματα — ἀποστέλλει Δημήτριον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Δημήτριος δὲ κατήγετό που τῆς Ἀργείας ἐς λιμένα τῶν ἐρημοτέρων· αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς εἶχε διὰ τῶν ἐπιτομωτάτων τῆς χώρας τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης. προτάξας δὲ ὅσον ἦν τῶν τε ὀπλῶν τῇ σκευῇ κοῦφον καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην εἶχεν ὁδοῦ οὐκ ἀπείρως, λανθάνει περὶ ὄρθρον μάλιστα ὑπερβάς τὸ τεῖχος, καθὸ τῆς τε πόλεως μεταξὺ ἦν καὶ ἄκρας τῆς Ἰθώμης. [3] ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐπέσχε καὶ ἤδη τοῖς ἔνδον αἰσθησις ἐγεγόνει τοῦ κατειληφότος κινδύνου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐσῆλθεν ὑπόνοια ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ὀπλοῖς παρέλθοιεν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν

ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον διὰ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς Μακεδόνας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου γνωρίζουσιν ὄντας, δεῖμα ἰσχυρὸν παρέστη σφίσι λογιζομένοις τὴν τε ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων μελέτην καὶ τύχην ἥ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐώρων χρωμένους αὐτοὺς. [4] ὁμως δὲ τοῦ τε παρόντος κακοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἐδίδασκεν ἀνδρίαν τινὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ δυνατοῦ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἅμα τὰ ἀμείνω παρίστατο αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζειν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ θεοῦ διὰ τοσούτου σφίσιν ὑπάρξει τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. οἱ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσήνιοι θυμῷ παντὶ ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐχώρουν καὶ οἱ φρουροῦντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπέκειντο ἐς ὑπερδεξίων. [5] ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ὑπὸ τε ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίας τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡμύνοντο ἐρρωμένως: ἅτε δὲ ὁδοιπορία προαπειρηκότες καὶ ὁμοῦ τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν σφισιν ἐγκειμένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν κεράμῳ καὶ λίθοις βαλλόμενοι, σὺν οὐδενὶ ἔφευγον κόσμῳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο ὠθούμενοι κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν, ἀπτότομος γὰρ δὴ ταύτη μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰθώμη: ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ ρίψαντες τὰ ὅπλα ἀπεσώθησαν. [6] ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐσελθεῖν κατ' ἀρχὰς. Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτεπάγγελτοι βοηθήσοντες ἀφίκοντο ὑπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Αἰακίδου πολεμουμένοις, καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἤδη τὰ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης εἰρηνικώτερα ὑπῆρχεν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀνακινήσαι τὸ ἔχθος ἐβούλοντο ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συγχωρήσαντες, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καθεστήκεσαν.

[7] ὁ δὲ οὐ λέληθεν ἐμέ, οὐδὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐλελήθει δῆπου, καὶ μὴ συντελοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὥς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ Ἀχαιῶν ὑπάρχουσι: ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα ἦσαν. ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι προσεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικόν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου Μεγάλῃν πόλιν εἵλεν Ἀρκάδων ἐν σπονδαῖς: [8] τῶν δὲ οἱ καταληφθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλῳσιν, Φιλοποίμενα δὲ τὸν Κραύγιδος καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Φιλοποίμενος ἀπεχώρησαν — γενέσθαι δὲ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τὸ διαφυγὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δύο μοίρας λέγουσι — τούτους ὑπεδέξαντο οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε ἀρχαίων ἔργων ἕνεκα ὅποσα ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρκετο Ἀρκάσι καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσηνίας, ἀποδιδόντες σφίσι τὴν ὁμοίαν. [9] πέφυκε δὲ ἄρα ὡς ἐπίπαν μεταπίπτειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, εἰ δὴ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδας τε ἀντισῶσαι καὶ τὸ ἀδοκητότερον ἔτι ἐλεῖν Σπάρτην ὁ δαίμων ἔδωκεν: Κλεομένης γὰρ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀράτῳ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς συγκαθεῖλον. [10] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένοις Κλεομένους ἐπανίσταται τύραννος Μαχανίδας, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Νάβις ἀνέφυ σφίσιν αὖθις τύραννος: ἅτε δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρπάζοντι αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ συλῶντι, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ χρήματά τε ἄφθονα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιὰ συνεῖλεκτο. τούτου τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσηνὴν καταλαβόντος Φιλοποίμην καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο τῆς αὐτῆς: [11] καὶ ὁ μὲν Σπαρτιάτης τύραννος ἀπῆλθεν ὑπόσπονδος, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων μεμφόμενοί τι Μεσσηνίοις στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔτεμον τῆς χώρας. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὖθις περὶ ἀκμὴν σίτου συνελέγοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες: Δεινοκράτης δὲ δήμου τε προεστηκὼς καὶ

Μεσσηνίων ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡρημένος Λυκόρταν μὲν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν ἀναχωρῆσαι παρεσκεύασεν ἄπρακτον, τὰς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας παρόδους προλαβὼν τοῖς τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσηνίοις καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων σφίσιν ἤμυναν· [12] Φιλοποίμενος δὲ σὺν ἱπεῦσιν ὀλίγοις ἀφικομένου πολὺ ὕστερον ἢ ὁ μετὰ Λυκόρτα στρατός, πυθέσθαι δὲ οὐδέν πω τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δεδυνημένου, νικῶσιν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι γινομένης σφίσιν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τῆς μάχης καὶ ζῶντα αἰροῦσι Φιλοποίμενα. τρόπον δὲ ὄντινα ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐάλω καὶ ὥς ἐτελεύτησε, τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀρκαδικὸς λόγος ἐπέξεισι· Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ τε Φιλοποίμενι αἵτιοι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔδοσαν δίκας καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη συνετέλεσεν αὖθις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν. [13] ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦδε ὁ λόγος ἐπῆλθέ μοι Μεσσηνίων τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα, καὶ ὥς ὁ δαίμων σφᾶς ἐπὶ τε γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρώτατα Πελοποννήσου σκεδάσας ὕστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνέσωσε· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεων τραπώμεθα ἐς ἀφήγησιν.

30. ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τῆς νάπης τῆς Χοιρίου στάδια εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἀπέχουσα Ἀβία ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλις. ταύτην Ἴρην καλεῖσθαι πάλαι καὶ τῶν ἐπτά φασιν εἶναι πόλεων, ἃς Ἀχιλλεῖ πεποίηκεν Ὀμηρος Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπισχνόμενον. Ὑλλου δὲ καὶ Δωριέων μάχῃ κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀβίαν Γλήνου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἴρην καὶ οἰκῆσαί τε αὐτόθι καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ οἱ διὰ ταῦτα ὕστερον Κρεσφόντην ἄλλα τε γέρα νεῖμαι καὶ τῇ πόλει μεταθέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβίας. Ἡρακλεῖον δὲ ἦν αὐτόθι ἐπιφανὲς καὶ Ἀσκληπιεῖον.

[2] Φαραὶ δὲ ἀφεστήκασιν Ἀβίας σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἄλμυρόν· βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὐγουστος τοὺς ἐν Φαραῖς Μεσσηνίους συντελεῖν ἀπέταξεν ἐς τὸ Λακωνικόν. τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν Φᾶριν Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Φυλοδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι τῆς Δαναοῦ· Φάρει δὲ ἄρρενας μὲν οὐ φασι γενέσθαι, θυγατέρα δὲ Τηλεγόνην. τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐγενεαλόγησεν Ὀμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι διδύμους Κρήθωνα καὶ Ὀρτίλοχον εἶναι Διοκλεῖ, Διοκλέα δὲ αὐτὸν Ὀρτίλοχου τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἐς Τηλεγόνην παρείδεν, αὕτη γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶν ἡ τεκοῦσα Ἀλφειῷ τὸν Ὀρτίλοχον.

[3] καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἦκουσα ἐν Φαραῖς, Διοκλεῖ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ τοῖς διδύμοις παισιν Ἀντίκλειαν γενέσθαι, τῆς δὲ Νικόμαχόν τε εἶναι καὶ Γόργασον, πατρός δὲ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τούτους καταμεῖναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὥς ὁ Διοκλῆς ἐτελεύτησε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι. διαμεμένηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐς τότε ἔτι νοσήματά τε καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰᾶσθαι· καὶ σφισιν ἀντὶ τούτων θυσίας ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναὸς Φαραιάταις καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. [4] πρῶτος δὲ ὢν οἶδα ἐποίησατο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὀμηρος Τύχης μνήμην· ἐποίησατο δὲ ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς τὴν Δήμητρα ἄλλας τε τῶν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρας καταριθμούμενος, ὥς ὁμοῦ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παίζοιεν, καὶ Τύχην ὥς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ταύτην παιῖδα οὔσαν· καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη· “ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἂν ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα,

Λευκίππῃ Φαινῶ τε καὶ Ἠλέκτρῃ καὶ Ἰάνθῃ

Μηλόβοσις τε Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὠκυρὸν καλυκῶπις.

“HH Dem.

5.420 [5] πέρα δὲ ἐδήλωσεν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ὥς ἡ θεὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη μεγίστη θεῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι καὶ ἰσχὴν παρέχεται πλείστην, ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν καὶ Ἐνυὼ πολεμοῦντων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν, Ἄρτεμιν δὲ γυναικῶν ὠδίσιν εἶναι φοβερὰν, Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ τὰ ἔργα μέλειν τῶν γάμων. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐποίησεν ἐς τὴν Τύχην: [6] Βούπαλος δέ, ναοὺς τε οἰκοδομήσασθαι καὶ ζῶα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς πλάσαι, Σμυρναίοις ἄγαλμα ἐργαζόμενος Τύχης πρῶτος ἐποίησεν ὧν ἴσμεν πόλον τε ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας κέρας ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσε τῆς θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα: ἦσε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε ἐς τὴν Τύχην καὶ δὴ καὶ Φερέπολιν ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν.

31. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Φαρῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσος ἐστὶ Καρνείου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ πηγῇ: θαλάσσης δὲ ἔξ που στάδια ἀπέχουσιν αἱ Φαραί. ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας σταδίους προελθόντι ὁδοήκοντα, ἔστιν ἡ Θουριατῶν πόλις, Ἀνθειαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὀνομάσθαι τοῖς Ὀμήρου λέγουσι: Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἔδωκεν Αὐγούστος. Αὐγούστῳ γὰρ βασιλεύοντι Ῥωμαίων ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντώνιος, γένει καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαῖος: καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι προσέθεντο, ὅτι ἐφρόνουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Αὐγούστου. [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτων ἔνεκα Μεσσηνίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλαττον, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἐπεξήλθε: Θουριάται δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐν μετεώρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκουμένης ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατελθόντες οἰκοῦσιν. οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γε οὐδὲ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τείχους ἐρείπια καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν αὐτόθι ὀνομαζόμενον θεοῦ Συρίας: τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν ποταμὸς καλούμενος Ἄρις παρέξεισιν. [3] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κόμη Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμναι χωρίον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Λιμνάτιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔνθα Τηλέκλῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν τελευταίην συμβῆναι λέγουσιν.

[4] ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Θουρίας ὥς ἐπὶ Ἀρκαδίας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Παμίσου: καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς παισὶ μικροῖς ἀκέσματα γίνεται.

ιοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ προελθόντι ὥς τεσσαράκοντα στάδια, ἔστι Μεσσηνίους ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ πόλις: περιέχεται δὲ οὐ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πάμισον τὰ τετραμμένα ὑπὸ τῆς Εὐᾶς: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τῷ ὄρει φασὶ Βακχικόν τι ἐπιφθεγμα εὐοῖ Διονύσου πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῦ τε εἰπόντος καὶ τῶν ὁμοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυναικῶν. [5] περὶ δὲ τὴν Μεσσήνην τείχος, κύκλος μὲν πᾶς λίθου πεποιήται, πύργοι δὲ καὶ ἐπάλξεις εἰσὶν ἐνφοδομημένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν Βαβυλωνίων ἢ τὰ Μεμνόνεια τὰ ἐν Σούσοις τείχη τοῖς Περσικοῖς οὔτε εἶδον οὔτε ἄλλων περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα αὐτοπτούντων: τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμβρόσσῳ τῇ Φωκιῇ ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ῥόδῳ — ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ τετείχισται τὰ χωρία ἄριστα — τούτων Μεσσηνίους ἐστὶν ἐχυρώτερον. [6] Μεσσηνίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ κρήνη: τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκίππου θυγατρὸς εἴληφεν, ὑπορρεῖ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς καλουμένης Κλεψύδρας. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστί: καὶ οὐ μάλιστα ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς θεῶν λίθου Παρίου, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἔργον, ὃς καὶ τὸν Δία ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διεστηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἐλέφαντος συνήρμοσεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον:

καὶ οἱ δεδομένοι τιμαὶ παρὰ Ἡλείων εἰσί. [7] Δαμοφῶντος δέ ἐστι τοῦτου καὶ ἡ Λαφρία καλουμένη παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις· σέβεσθαι δέ σφισιν ἀπὸ τοιοῦδε αὐτὴν καθέστηκε. Καλυδωνίοις ἡ Ἄρτεμις — ταύτην γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα ἔσεβον —

ἐπὶ κλησιν εἶχε Λαφρία· Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ λαβόντες Ναύπακτον παρὰ Ἀθηναίων — τηνικαῦτα γὰρ Αἰτωλίας ἐγγύτατα ὄκουν — παρὰ Καλυδωνίων ἔλαβον. τὸ σχῆμα ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Λαφρίας ἀφίκετο ὄνομα ἔς τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἐς Πατρεῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνους, Ἐφεσίαν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν πόλεις τε νομίζουσιν αἱ [8] πᾶσαι καὶ ἄνδρες ἰδίᾳ θεῶν μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· τὰ δὲ αἷτια ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀμαζόνων τε κλέος, αἱ φήμην τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχουσιν ἰδρῦσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ παλαιωτάτου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐποιήθη. τρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις συνετέλεσεν ἐς δόξαν, μέγεθος τε τοῦ ναοῦ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατασκευάσματα ὑπερηρκότες καὶ Ἐφεσίων τῆς πόλεως ἡ ἀκμὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπιφανὲς τῆς θεοῦ. [9] πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Μεσσηνίοις ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, πλησίον δὲ Κουρήτων μέγαρον, ἔνθα ζῶα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν· ἀρξάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ βοῶν τε καὶ αἰγῶν καταβαίνουσιν ἐς τοὺς ὄρνιθας ἀφιέντες ἐς τὴν φλόγα. καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἅγιον καὶ Διοσκούρων ἀγάλματα φέροντες τὰς Λευκίππου· καὶ μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐστὶν ἤδη δεδηλωμένα, ὥς οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίοις προσήκειν.

[10] πλεῖστα δὲ σφισι καὶ θέας μάλιστα ἀγάλματα ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρέχεται τὸ ἱερὸν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, χωρὶς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἡρακλέους· πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμμιδος Τύχη τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις Φωσφόρος, τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λίθου Δαμοφῶν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο — Μεσσηνίον δὲ ὅτι μὴ τοῦτον ἄλλον γε οὐδένα λόγου ποιήσαντα ἀξίως οἶδα ἀγάλματα — , ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐκ σιδήρου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἔργον ἄλλου, οὐ τούτου. [11] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Μεσσηνίας τῆς Τριόπα ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου Παρίου· γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὀπισθεν αἱ βασιλεύσαντές εἰσι Μεσσηνίας, πρὶν μὲν ἢ στόλον ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες, κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐστίν, ἡγεμῶν καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, τῶν δὲ οἰκησάντων ἐν Πύλῳ Νέστωρ καὶ Θρασυμήδης καὶ Ἀντίλοχος, προτετιμημένοι παίδων τῶν Νέστορος ἡλικία καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν μετεσχηκότες τῆς στρατείας. [12] Λεύκιππός τε Ἀφαρέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἰλάειρά ἐστι καὶ Φοίβη, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀρσινόη. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιός, Ἀρσινόης ὢν λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ Μαχάων καὶ Ποδαλείριος, ὅτι ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ καὶ τούτοις μέτεστι. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς ἔγραψεν Ὀμφαλίων, Νικίου τοῦ Νικομήδους μαθητῆς· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δουλεῦσαι παρὰ τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φασὶν αὐτοῦ.

32. τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱεροθέσιον ἔχει μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ὁπόσους νομίζουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἔχει δὲ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα Ἐπαμινώνδου. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἀρχαῖοι τρίποδες· ἀπύρους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ Ὀμηρος. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ποιήματά ἐστιν

ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων, Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Θησεύς. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ ἤδη τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοῖς περὶ τε γυμνάσια καὶ ἐν

παλαιστραῖς καθέστηκεν ἔχειν ἐν τιμῇ: [2] Αἰθίδαν δὲ ἐμαντοῦ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα εὗρισκον, γενομένῳ δὲ οἱ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἀδυνάτῳ τιμαὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ὑπάρχουσιν ἅτε ἥρωι. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οἱ τῷ Αἰθίδᾳ χρήματα μὲν γενέσθαι πολλὰ ἔλεγον, οὐ μέντοι τοῦτόν γε εἶναι τὸν ἐπειργασμένον τῇ στήλῃ, πρόγονον δὲ καὶ ὁμώνυμον ἄνδρα τῷ Αἰθίδᾳ: Αἰθίδαν δὲ τὸν πρότερον ἡγήσασθαι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις φασίν, ἥνικα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ Δημήτριός σφισιν ὁ Φιλίππου μηδαμῶς ἐλπίσασιν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ λανθάνουσιν ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν. [3] καὶ Ἀριστομένους δὲ μνημὰ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα: οὐ κενὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ μνημα λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐρομένου μου τρόπον τε ὄντινα καὶ ὁπόθεν Ἀριστομένους κομίσαιντο τὰ ὀστέα, μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν ἐκ Ῥόδου φασί, τὸν δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν τὸν κελεύσαντα εἶναι. πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις ἐδίδασκόν με ὅποια ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δρῶσι. ταῦρον ὄντινα ἐναγίζειν μέλλουσιν, ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα ἔδησαν πρὸς τὸν ἐστηκότα ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ κίονα: ὁ δὲ ἅτε ἄγριος καὶ ἀήθης δεσμῶν οὐκ ἐθέλει μένειν: θορυβουμένῳ δὲ οἱ καὶ σκιρτῶντι ἦν ὁ κίων κινηθῆναι, Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν αἴσιον, οὐ κινηθέντος δὲ ἀσύμφορα ἐπαγγέλλει τὸ σημεῖον.

[4] παραγενέσθαι δὲ Ἀριστομένην καὶ τῷ περὶ Λευκτρά ἀγῶνι ἐθέλουσιν οὐ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ὄντα, καὶ ἀμῦναι τε αὐτόν φασι Θηβαίοις καὶ μάλιστα γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀτυχήματος Λακεδαιμονίοις αἴτιον. ἐγὼ δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ἰνδῶν τοὺς μάγους πρώτους οἶδα εἰπόντας ὡς ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπον ψυχῇ, καὶ σφισι καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄλλοι τε ἐπέισθησαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος· εἰ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ οἱ πάντες ἐθελήσουσιν, ἐκεῖνό γε ἀντειπεῖν οὐκ ἔνεστι μὴ οὐ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ἀριστομένει τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνεστάχθαι. [5] ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ἤκουσα ἐν Θήβαις, εἰκὸς μὲν τι παρείχετο ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων λόγον, οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογηκότα. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι μελλούσης τῆς μάχης ἔσεσθαι σφισιν ἐν Λευκτροῖς ἐς ἄλλα τε ἀποστεῖλαι χρηστήρια καὶ ἐρησομένους τὸν ἐν Λεβαδεῖα θεόν. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ τοῦ Πτώου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἀβαῖς τε χρησθέντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς· Τροφώνιον δὲ φασιν εἰπεῖν ἐξαμέτρῳ·”πρὶν δορὶ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, στήσασθε τρόπαιον,

ἀσπίδα κοσμήσαντες ἐμήν, τὴν εἶσατο νηφ

θοῦρος Ἀριστομένης Μεσσήνιος. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι

ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων φθίσω στρατὸν ἀπιστῶν.

“ [6] ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ δεηθῆναι Ξενοκράτους λέγουσιν Ἐπαμινώνδαν· ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἀσπίδα μεταπέμπεται τοῦ Ἀριστομένου καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἅπ’ αὐτῆς τρόπαιον, ὅθεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτον ἔμελλεν. ἦδεν δὲ ἄρα τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Λεβαδεῖα καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἑωρακότες, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ πάντες· ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἡ νίκη Θηβαίοις, ἀποδιδόασιν αὐτῆς τῷ Τροφώνιῳ τὸ ἀνάθημα. Ἀριστομένους δὲ καὶ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνίων σταδίῳ· τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρῳ Σαράπιδός ἐστι καὶ Ἰσιδος ἱερόν.

33. ἐς δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν ἐρχομένῳ τῆς Ἰθώμης, ἥ δὴ Μεσσηνίους ἐστὶν ἀκρόπολις, πηγὴ Κλεψύδρα γίνεται. πάντας μὲν οὖν καταριθμῆσασθαι καὶ προθυμηθέντι ἄπορον, ὅποσοι θέλουσι γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι Δία· μέτεστι δ’ οὖν καὶ Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ λόγου· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι τὸν θεόν, Ἰθώμην δὲ εἶναι καὶ Νέδαν τὰς θρεψαμένας, κεκληῆσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Νέδας τὸν ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν τῷ ὄρει τὴν Ἰθώμην δεδωκέναι τὸ ὄνομα. ταύτας δὲ τὰς νύμφας τὸν Δία, κλαπέντα ὑπὸ Κουρήτων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δεῖμα, ἐνταῦθα λοῦσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τῷ ὕδατι ἀπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων τῆς κλοπῆς· φέρουσί τε ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερόν. [2] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἐποίηθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκίσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων· ἱερεὺς δὲ αἰρετὸς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ’ ἐστὶν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον· “τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μοῖσα

ἀ καθαρὰν κιθάραν καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ’ ἔχοισα.

“Eumelus, unknown location. οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας. [3] ἰόντι δὲ τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀρκαδίας ἐς

Μεγάλην πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Ἑρμῆς τέχνης τῆς Ἀττικῆς· Ἀθηναῖον γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετράγωνόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, καὶ παρὰ τούτων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ ἄλλοι. σταδίους δὲ καταβάντι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τριάκοντα τὸ ρεῦμά ἐστι τῆς Βαλύρας, γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι Θαμύριδος τὴν λύραν ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντος ἐπὶ τῇ πηρώσει· παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἀργιόπης τῆς νύμφης εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀργιόπην τέως μὲν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶχεν ἐν γαστρί, ἐς Ὀδρύσας λέγουσι μετοικῆσαι· Φιλάμμωνα γὰρ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐτὴν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ Θάμυριν μὲν Ὀδρύσῃν τε καὶ Θραῖκα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καλοῦσιν· ἡ δὲ Λευκασία καὶ Ἀμφίτος συμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ρεύματα.

[4] διαβάντι δὲ τούτους πεδίον ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Στενυκληρικόν· εἶναι δὲ ἦρῳα Στενύκληρον λέγουσι. τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καλουμένη τὸ ἀρχαῖον Οἰχαλία, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Καρνάσιον ἄλσος, κυπαρίσσων μάλιστα πληρὲς. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Καρνείου καὶ Ἀγνῆς καὶ Ἑρμῆς φέρων κριόν. ἡ δὲ Ἀγνὴ Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησις· ὕδωρ δὲ ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα.

[5] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς θεὰς τὰς Μεγάλας — δρῶσι γὰρ καὶ ταύταις ἐν Καρνασίῳ τὴν τελετήν — ἀπόρρητα ἔστω μοι· δεύτερα γὰρ σφισι νέμω σεμνότητος μετὰ γε Ἑλευσίνια. ὅτι δ' ὕδρία τε ἡ χαλκῇ, τὸ εὖρημα τοῦ Ἀργείου στρατηγοῦ, καὶ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Μελανέως τὰ ὅσῃ ἐφυλάσσετο

ἐνταῦθα, δηλῶσαι με καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας οὐκ ἀπεῖργε τὸ ὄνειρον. ρεῖ δὲ ποταμὸς παρὰ τὸ Καρνάσιον Χάραδρος, καὶ προελθόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίους ὀκτὼ [6] μάλιστα ἐρείπια ἐστὶν Ἀνδανίας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς γέγονεν Ἀνδανίας, ὁμολογεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν· οὐ μὴν τά γε ἐς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τῷ συνώκησεν ἔχω λέγειν. ἰόντων δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ Κυπαρισσίας ἀπὸ Ἀνδανίας Πολίχνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἥλέκτρα καὶ Κοῖος ρέουσι· τάχα δ' ἂν τινα καὶ λόγον ἐς Ἥλέκτραν τὴν Ἀτλαντος λέγοιεν καὶ ἐς Κοῖον τὸν Λητοῦς πατέρα, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡρώων εἶεν Ἥλέκτρα τε καὶ Κοῖος. [7] διαβάντων δὲ Ἥλέκτραν Ἀχαῖα τε ὀνομαζομένη πηγὴ καὶ πόλεώς ἐστιν ἐρείπια Δωρίου. πεποίηκε δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν Θαμύριδι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Δωρίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰς Μούσας νικήσειν ἔφασκεν ἀδούσας· Πρόδικος δὲ Φωκαεὺς — εἰ δὴ τούτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη — προσκεῖσθαί φησι Θαμύριδι ἐν Αἰδου δίκην τοῦ ἐς τὰς Μούσας αὐχήματος. διεφθάρη δὲ ὁ Θάμυρις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου τοῦς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ συνέπεσεν ὕστερον· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐς ἅπαν διετέλει ποιῶν, οὐ γάρ τι εἶκε τῇ συμφορᾷ, Θάμυρις δὲ καὶ τὴν φθὴν ὑπὸ κακοῦ τοῦ παρόντος ἐξέλιπεν.

34. ἐκ δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ τοῦ Παμίσου τὸ στόμα ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἐστὶν ὀγδοήκοντα, ρεῖ δὲ ὁ Πάμισος διὰ τε ἄρουμένης καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ ἀναπλεῖται ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ δέκα πού σταδίους· ἀναθέουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ θαλάσσιοι τῶν ἰχθύων περὶ ὥραν μάλιστα τοῦ ἥρος. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς Ῥήνόν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἰχθύς· μάλιστα δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ ρεῦμα τὸ Ἀχελῷου νήχονται τοῦ ἐκδιδόντος κατὰ νήσους τὰς Ἑχινάδας.

[2] διάφοροι δὲ τὸ εἶδος μάλιστα ἰχθύς ἀναθέουσιν ἐς τὸν Πάμισον ἅτε ἐς

ὑδωρ καθαρὸν καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις ποταμοῖς ἰλυῶδες· οἱ κεφαλοὶ δέ, ἅτε ἰχθύων ὄντες τῶν πηλαίων, ποταμῶν φίλοι τῶν θολερωτέρων εἰσί. θηρία δὲ ἐς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώπων οὐ πεφύκασιν οἱ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ φέρειν, καθάπερ γε Ἰνδὸς καὶ Νεῖλος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἔτι δὲ Ῥῆνος καὶ Ἰστρος Εὐφράτης τε καὶ Φᾶσις· οὗτοι γάρ δι' ἡ θηρία ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα ἀνδροφάγα αὖξουσιν, ταῖς ἐν Ἑρμῷ καὶ Μαιάνδρῳ γλάνισιν εἰκότα ἰδέας πλὴν χροᾶς τε μελαντέρας καὶ ἀλκῆς· ταῦτα δὲ αἱ γλάνεις ἀποδέουσιν. [3] ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος κροκοδείλους μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, Νεῖλος δὲ παρέχεται καὶ ἵππους, οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ ὁ κροκόδειλος κακὸν ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ δείματα ὡς ἀπὸ θηρίων εἰσὶν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀῶ τῷ διὰ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ῥέοντι ἡπεύρου θηρία οὐ ποτάμια οἱ κύνες, ἀλλὰ ἐπήλυδές εἰσιν ἐκ θαλάσσης. [4] Κορώνη δὲ ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Παμίσου πρὸς θαλάσσην τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Μαθίᾳ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσην χωρίον, ὃ Ἰνὺς ἱερὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ἐπαναβῆναι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ θαλάσσης φασὶν αὐτὴν θεὸν τε ἤδη νομιζομένην καὶ Λευκοθέαν καλουμένην ἀντὶ Ἰνὺς. προελθόντων δὲ οὐ πολὺ Βίας ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός· γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ λέγουσι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Βιάντος τοῦ Ἀμυθάνου. καὶ Πλατανιστῶνος δὲ ἡ πηγὴ στάδια μὲν εἴκοσιν ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ, ῥεῖ δὲ ἐκ πλατάνου τὸ ὑδωρ πλατείας καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς κοίλης· κατὰ σπήλαιον μάλιστα πού μικρὸν τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ δένδρου, καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐς Κορώνην τὸ πότιμον κάτεισι.

[5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶχεν Αἴπεια· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων κατήχθησαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, Ἐπιμηλίδην φασὶν ἀποσταλέντα οἰκιστὴν καλέσαι Κορώνειαν, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Κορωνείας τῆς Βοιωτῶν, τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε οὐ κατορθοῦν περὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκνικῆσαι τὸ ἐκείνων ἀμάρτημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος λόγος, ὡς τοῦ τείχους τὰ θεμέλια ὀρύσσοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν κορώνῃ χαλκῇ. [6] θεῶν δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος τε καλουμένης Παιδοτρόφου καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός· τῷ μὲν δὴ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Διονύσῳ λίθου, Διὸς δὲ Σωτῆρος χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πεποιήται. χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, κορώνην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἐπιμηλίδου μνημα· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ τὸν λιμένα Ἀχαιῶν καλοῦσιν, οὐκ οἶδα. [7] ἐκ Κορώνης δὲ ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους προελθόντι Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν πρὸς θαλάσσην τιμᾶς ἔχον· ἀρχαιοτάτον τε γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶ καὶ νοσήματα ὁ θεὸς ἰᾶται, Κόρυνθον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα

ὀνομάζουσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ξόανον, τοῦ Ἀργεῶτα δὲ χαλκοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεύσαντας.

[8] τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει ἐστὶν ὁμορος Κολωνίδες· οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὐ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασὶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς Κόλαινον λέγουσι, Κολαίνῳ δὲ κόρυδον τὴν ὀρνίθα ἐκ μαντεύματος ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγήσασθαι. ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα διάλεκτόν τε ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ ἔθνη μεταμαθήσεσθαι τὰ Δωριέων. κεῖται δὲ τὸ πόλισμα αἱ Κολωνίδες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ, μικρὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. [9] Ἀσινάιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λυκαωρίταις ὁμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ὄκουν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύοπε. γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον τρίτῃ βασιλεύοντος

Φύλαντος μάχη τε οἱ Δρύορες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελφούς· ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμιόνη Ἀσίνην ἔσχον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων καὶ ὥς ἀνὰ χρόνον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατήχθησαν οὐ γενομένης σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως.

[10] Ἀσινᾶοι δὲ αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν οὕτω λέγουσι· κρατηθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους μάχῃ συγχωροῦσιν ἁλῶναί τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ πόλιν, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὗ φασιν· ἀλλ' ὥς ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, διαβάντες δὲ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον γενέσθαι φασὶν

Εὐρυσθέως ἰκέται, καὶ σφίσιν Εὐρυσθέα ἄτε ἀπεχθανόμενον τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δοῦναι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνην. [11] μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρυόπων οἱ Ἀσινᾶοι σεμνύνονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Εὐβοέων οἱ Στύρα ἔχοντες. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Στυρεῖς Δρύορες τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅσοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μάχης, ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς οἰκῆσεις· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν Στυρεῖς καλεῖσθαι Δρύορες ὑπερφρονοῦσι, καθάπερ γε καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ πεφεύγασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι Φωκεῖς, Ἀσινᾶοι δὲ Δρυόπες τε τὰ μάλιστα χαίρουσι καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ἀγιώτατά εἰσι δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτὲ ἐν Παρνασσῷ σφίσιν ἰδρυμένων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον· ἄγουσι καὶ παρὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ τελετὴν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες. [12] κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ αὕτη κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ποτὲ ἐν μοίρᾳ τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνῃ· σταδίων δὲ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Κολωνίδων ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδός, τοσαύτη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης πρὸς τὸν Ἀκρίταν καλούμενον. ἀνέχει δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν ὁ Ἀκρίτας, καὶ νῆσος Θηγανοῦσσά ἐστιν ἔρημος πρὸ αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀκρίταν λιμὴν τε Φοινικοῦς καὶ νῆσοι κατ' αὐτὸν Οἰνοῦσσαι.

35. Μοθώνη δέ, πρὶν ἢ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Τροίαν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πολέμου καλουμένη Πήδασος, μεταβέβληκεν ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ Μοθωναῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνέως θυγατρὸς· Οἰνεῖ γὰρ τῷ Πορθάονος μετὰ ἄλλωσιν Ἰλίου παρὰ Διομήδην ἀναχωρήσαντι ἐς Πελοπόννησον θυγατέρα φασὶν ἐκ παλλακῆς Μοθώνην γενέσθαι· δόξη δὲ ἐμὴ δέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Μόθων λίθος. οὗτος δὲ σφισι καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὸν λιμένα ἐστί· τὸν τε γὰρ ἔσπλουν στενώτερον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐργάζεται παρήκων ὕφαλος καὶ ἅμα μὴ ἐκ βυθοῦ ταρασσεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα ἔρμα ἔστηκεν. [2] ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ὅτι Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ διωχθεῖσι Δαμοκρατίδα βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἀργεὶ Μοθώνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι διδῶσαι καὶ ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων κατελθόντων ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς νεώτερον· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ναυπλιεῖς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ παλαιότερα, παραγενόμενοι δὲ ὁμοῦ Δαναῶν ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὕστερον γενεαῖς τρισὶν ὑπὸ Ναυπλίου τοῦ Ἀμυμώνης κατῳκίσθησαν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ. [3] Μοθωναῖοις δὲ βασιλεὺς μὲν Τραϊανὸς ἔδωκεν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνοις σφίσι Μεσσηνίων τῶν

ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοιόνδε ἀτύχημα ἰδίᾳ συνέβη γενέσθαι. τὰ ἐν Ἠπειρῷ τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐφθάρη: Δηιδამεῖα γὰρ τῇ Πύρρου παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὡς τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν, ἐπιτρέπει τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα. θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Πύρρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πύρρου: [4] τὰ δὲ ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐδήλωσα, Προκλῆς δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τύχης μὲν χρηστῆς ἔνεκα καὶ διὰ λαμπρότητα ἔργων ἔνεμεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου πλέον, τάξαι δὲ ὀπλίτας τε καὶ ἱππικὸν καὶ στρατηγήματα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας πολεμίους εὐρεῖν Πύρρον ἔφασκεν ἀμείνονα γενέσθαι. [5] Ἠπειρῶται δὲ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο βασιλεύεσθαι, τά τε ἄλλα ὁ δῆμος ὕβριζε καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπερεώρων: καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰονίου τὴν Ἠπειρον ὑπεροικοῦντες παρεστήσαντο ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς. οὐ γὰρ πῶ δημοκρατίαν ἴσμεν ἄλλους γε ἢ Ἀθηναίους αὐξήσαντας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ προήχθησαν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῆς: συνέσει γὰρ οἰκεία τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπερεβάλλοντο καὶ νόμοις τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν ἐλάχιστα ἡπείθουν. [6] οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ, ἀρχῆς τε γεγευμένοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες αἰεὶ τοῦ πλείονος, ναῦς τε ἐπήξαντο καὶ ἐληίζοντο ἄλλους τε ὡς ἐκάστους τύχοιεν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μοθωναίαν σχόντες ὠρμίσαντο οἷα ἐς φιλίαν: στείλαντες δὲ ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄγειν σφίσιν οἶνον ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐδεήθησαν. ὡς δὲ ἄγοντες ἀφίκοιντο ἄνδρες οὐ πολλοί, τὸν τε οἶνον ὠνοῦντο ἐπιτιμῶντων τῶν Μοθωναίων καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐπίπρασκον ὧν ἐπήγοντο. [7] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφικομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλείονων παρέχουσι καὶ τοῖσδε κερδᾶναι: τέλος δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες κατίασιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα οἶνόν τε ἀποδόσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντιληψόμενοι. ἔνθα νῦν ἀποτολήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ ἔτι πλείονας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρπάζουσιν: ἐσθέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, Μοθωναίων ἐρημώσαντες τὸ ἄστυ. [8] ἐν Μοθώνῃ δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμώτιδος: Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ θεῇ φασὶ θέσθαι. βιαιότεροι γὰρ καὶ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν πνέοντες ἐλυμαίνοντο οἱ ἄνεμοι τὴν χώραν: Διομήδους δὲ εὐξαμένου τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου συμφορὰ σφισιν οὐδεμία ἀνέμων γε ἔνεκα ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος δ' ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν φρέατι κεκραμένον πίσση, Κυζικηνῷ μύρῳ μάλιστα ἰδεῖν ἐμφερές: παράσχοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶσαν καὶ χρῶαν ὕδωρ καὶ ὁσμὴν.

[9] γλαυκότατον μὲν οἶδα ὕδωρ θεασάμενος τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, οὔτι που πᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Χύτρους γυναικείους: ξανθὸν δὲ ὕδωρ, οὐδέν τι ἀποδέον τὴν χρῶαν αἵματος, Ἑβραίων ἢ γῆ παρέχεται πρὸς Ἰόππῃ πόλει: θαλάσσης μὲν ἐγγυτάτῳ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστί, λόγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ, Περσέα ἀνελόντα τὸ κῆτος, ᾧ τὴν παῖδα προκεῖσθαι τοῦ Κηφέως, ἐνταῦθα τὸ αἶμα ἀπονίσασθαι. [10] ὕδωρ δὲ ἀπὸ πηγῶν ἀνερχόμενον μέλαν ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Ἀστύροις: τὰ δὲ Ἄστυρα ἀπαντικρὺ Λέσβου λουτρά ἐστι θερμὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀταρνεῖ καλουμένῳ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀταρνεὺς ὁ Χίων μισθός, ὃν παρὰ τοῦ Μήδου λαμβάνουσιν ἄνδρα ἐκδόντες ἱκέτην, Πακτύην τὸν Λυδόν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μελαίνεται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν, διαβάντων τὸν Ἄνιον ὀνομαζόμενον ποταμόν, ὕδωρ λευκόν ἐστὶν: ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐσβάντι ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν παραυτικά ψυχρόν τε πρόσεισι καὶ ἐμποιεῖ φρίκην, ἐπισχόντι δὲ ὀλίγον ἄτε φάρμακον θερμαίνει τὸ

πυρωδέστατον. [1] καὶ ὅσαις μὲν πηγαῖς θαυμά τι ἦν καὶ ἰδόντι, τοσαύτας θεασάμενος οἶδα, τὰς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάσσοнос θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος παρήμιμ: ἀλμυρὸν δὲ ὕδωρ καὶ στρυφνὸν οὐ μέγα θαῦμα ἐξευρεῖν. δύο δὲ ἄλλοῖα: τὸ μὲν τῆς Καρίας ἐν πεδίῳ καλουμένῳ Λευκῷ θερμὸν ἐστὶν ὕδωρ παρὰ κώμην ὀνομαζομένην Δασκύλου, πιεῖν καὶ γάλακτος ἥδιον: τὸν δὲ Ἡρόδοτον οἶδα εἰπόντα ὡς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὑπανιν ἐκδίδωσιν ὕδατος πικροῦ πηγῇ. πῶς δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀποδεξαίμεθα ἀληθεύειν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον, ὅπου γε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ τῇ Τυρρηνῶν ἐξεύρηται ὕδωρ σφίσι θερμὸν οὕτω δὴ τι ὁξὺ ὥστε τὸν μολύβδον — διεξήει γὰρ διὰ μολύβδου ρέον — ἔτεσι κατέτηξεν οὐ πολλοῖς;

36. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης ὁδὸς σταδίων μάλιστα ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Κορυφάσιον: ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ Πύλος κεῖται. ταύτην ὤκισε Πύλος ὁ Κλήσωνος ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τοὺς ἔχοντας τότε αὐτὴν Λέλεγας: καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐκ ὦντο ὑπὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθεῖς, ἀποχωρήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁμορον ἔσχεν ἐνταῦθα Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ. Νηλεὺς δὲ βασιλεύσας ἐς τοσοῦτο προήγαγεν ἀξιώματος τὴν Πύλον ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἄστὶ ἐπονομάσαι Νηλήιον. [2] ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κορυφασίας καὶ οἶκος καλούμενος Νέστορος: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ γέγραπται: καὶ μνημα ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τῆς Πύλου Θρασυμήδους φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως: βοῦς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰς Νέστορος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Νηλέως φασὶν αὐλίζεσθαι. [3] εἴη δ' ἂν Θεσσαλικὸν τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τούτων, Ἰφίκλου ποτὲ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλαου πατρός: ταύτας γὰρ δὴ τὰς βοῦς Νηλεὺς ἔδνα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἦται τοὺς μνωμένους, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα ὁ Μελάμπους χαριζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἐδέθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων τοῦ Ἰφίκλου, λαμβάνει δὲ μισθὸν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτῷ δεηθέντι ἐμαντεύσατο. ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ ἄρα οἱ τότε πλοῦτόν τινα συλλέγεσθαι τοιοῦτον, ἵππων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας, εἰ δὴ Νηλεὺς τε γενέσθαι οἱ βοῦς ἐπεθύμησε τὰς Ἰφίκλου καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ βοῶν προσέταξεν Εὐρύσθεὺς ἐλάσαι τῶν Γηρυόνου βοῶν τὴν ἀγέλην. [4] φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἐρυξ τότε ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύων δριμὺν οὕτως ἔχων ἐς τὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἔρωτα, ὥστε καὶ ἐπάλαισε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ καταθέμενος τὰς τε βοῦς ταύτας καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι, ὡς Ἰφιδάμας ὁ Ἀντήνορος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἔδνων ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῷ πενθερῷ δοίη. ταῦτα μὲν τὸν λόγον μοι βεβαιοῖ, βουσί τοὺς τότε χαίρειν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπους: [5] ἐνέμοντο δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν αἱ τοῦ Νηλέως βοῦς ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ: ὑπόψαμμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ τῶν Πυλίων χώρα καὶ πόαν βουσὶν οὐχ ἱκανὴ τοσαύτην παρασχέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν μνήμῃ Νέστορος ἐπιλέγων ἀεὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἡμαθόεντος εἶναι Πύλου. [6] τοῦ λιμένος δὲ ἡ Σφακτηρία νῆσος προβέβληται, καθάπερ τοῦ ὄρμου τοῦ Δηλίων ἡ Ῥήνεια: εἰκόασι δὲ αἱ ἀνθρώπειαι τύχαι καὶ χωρία τέως ἄγνωστα ἐς δόξαν προῆχθαι. Καφηρέως τε γὰρ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τοῦ ἐν

Εὐβοίᾳ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιγενομένου χειμῶνος ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου: Ψυττάλειάν τε τὴν ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνι ἴσμεν ἀπολομένων ἐν

αὐτῇ τῶν Μήδων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώριμον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Νίκης ἀνέθηκαν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦν ἐς μνήμην τῶν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ.

[7] ἀφικομένων δὲ ἐς Κυπαρισσίας ἐκ Πύλου σφίσι πηγὴ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει πλησίον θαλάσσης ἐστί: ῥυῆναι δὲ Διονύσῳ τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι θύρσῳ πλήξαντι ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Διονυσιάδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κυπαρισσιᾷ ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κυπαρισσίας. ἐν δὲ Αὐλῶνι καλουμένῳ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Αὐλωνίου: κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς ἢ Νέδα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μεσσηνίας ἤδη καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας διέξεισιν.

BOOK V.

Ἡλιακῶν Α

1. ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων Πελοποννήσου πέντε εἶναι μοίρας καὶ οὐ πλείονάς φασιν, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς ὁμολογεῖν ὥς ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων οἰκοῦσιν Ἥλαιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, δευτέρα δὲ Ἀχαιῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις αἱ Δωριέων. γένη δὲ οἰκεῖ Πελοπόννησον Ἀρκάδες μὲν αὐτόχθονες καὶ Ἀχαιοί· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνέστησαν, οὐ μέντοι Πελοποννήσου γε ἐξεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκβαλόντες Ἴωνας νέμονται τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τούτων καλούμενον:

[2] οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διατελοῦσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς τόδε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπηλύδαν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ νῦν νεώτατοι Πελοποννησίων εἰσὶ, καὶ σφισιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἦν ἐς ἐμέ· Δρύορες δὲ καὶ Δωριεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Παρνασσοῦ, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Οἰτῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησόν εἰσιν ἀφιγμένοι. [3] τοὺς Ἥλειους ἴσμεν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος διαβεβηκότας καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιαύδε εὕρισκον. βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν Ἀέθλιον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Διὸς τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Αἰθλίου δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα γενέσθαι:

[4] τούτου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος Σελήνην φασιν ἐρασθῆναι, καὶ ὥς θυγατέρες αὐτῷ γένοιτο ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον τι εἰκότα λέγοντες Ἐνδυμίῳ λαβόντι Ἀστεροδίαν γυναῖκα — οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος Χρομίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑπερίππην τὴν Ἀρκάδος — , γενέσθαι δ' οὐν φασιν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειὸν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· καὶ Ἐπειοὶ πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. [5] τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμεῖναι φασιν αὐτοῦ, Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἥσση φυγεῖν ὥς πορρωτάτῳ, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὠνομασθῆναι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐνδυμίωνος τελευτήν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλεῶταί τε οἱ πρὸς Μιλήτῳ καὶ Ἥλαιοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἥλαιοι μὲν ἀποφαίνουσιν Ἐνδυμίωνος μνήμα, Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ ἐς Λάτμον τὸ ὄρος ἀποχωρῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῷ νέμουσι, καὶ ἄδυστον Ἐνδυμίωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λάτμῳ. [6] Ἐπειὼ δὲ γήμαντι Ἀναξίρῳ τὴν Κορώνου θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑρμῖνα, ἄρσεν δὲ οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ γένος· καὶ τάδε ἄλλα συνέβη κατ' Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύοντα. Οἰνόμαος ὁ Ἀλξίωνος, Ἄρεως δὲ καθὰ ποιηταί τε ἐπεφήμισαν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, οὗτος δυναστεύων περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν καλουμένην ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς διαβάντος Πέλοπος τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας. [7] Πέλοψ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Οἰνομάου τὴν τε Πισαίαν ἔσχε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς Ἐπειοῦ χώρας ὁμορον οὔσαν τῇ Πισαίᾳ· Ἐρμοῦ τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναὸν ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ Πέλοπα ἔλεγον οἱ Ἥλαιοι πρῶτον, ἀποτρεπόμενον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Μυρτίλῳ

θανάτῳ μῆνιμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. [8] Αἰτωλῷ δὲ μετὰ Ἑπειὸν βασιλεύσαντι συνέπεσεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φυγεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ Ἄπιδος παῖδες ἐφ' αἵματι ἀκουσίῳ δίκην εἶλον: Ἄπιν γὰρ τὸν Ἰάσονος ἐκ Παλλαντίου τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἀπέκτεινεν Αἰτωλὸς ἐπελάσας τὸ ἄρμα τεθέντων ἐπὶ Ἀζᾶνι ἁθλων. ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον οἰκοῦντες ἐκλήθησαν φυγόντος ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἡπειρον, τὴν δὲ Ἑπειῶν ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν Ἥλείος, Εὐρυκύδας τε τῆς Ἐνδυμίωνος καὶ — ὅτῳ πιστὰ — πατὴρς ὢν Ποσειδῶνος: καὶ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ νῦν ἀντὶ Ἑπειῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλείου μεταβεβλήκασιν.

[9] Ἥλείου δὲ ἦν Αὐγέας: οἱ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, παρτρέψαντες τοῦ Ἥλείου τὸ ὄνομα, Ἥλιου φασὶν Αὐγέαν παῖδα εἶναι. τούτῳ βοῦς τῷ Αὐγέα καὶ αἰπόλια τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῷ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη διατελεῖν ἀργὰ ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς κόπρου: Ἡρακλέα οὖν εἴτε ἐπὶ μοῖρα τῆς Ἥλειας εἴτε ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ πείθει οἱ καθῆραι τῆς κόπρου τὴν γῆν.

[10] καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξειργάσατο ἐκτρέψας τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ ρέυμα ἐς τὴν κόπρον: Αὐγέας δέ, ὅτι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σοφία πλέον καὶ οὐ σὺν πόνῳ τὸ ἔργον ἦνυστο, αὐτὸς τε ἀποδοῦναι οἱ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπηξίου καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἀρσένων τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φυλέα ἐξέβαλεν ἀντειπόντα ὥς οὐ δίκαια ποιοῖτο πρὸς ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάζετο ὥς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀμυνόμενος, ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιν στρατεῦνται, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἄκτορος καὶ Ἀμαρυγκέα ἐπηγάγετο ἐς φιλίαν: [11] ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀμαρυγκεὺς ἄλλως μὲν ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ οἱ πατὴρ Πυττίος Θεσσαλὸς τὰ ἄνωθεν ἦν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλειαν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας. Ἀμαρυγκεῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐν Ἥλειᾳ μετέδωκεν ὁ Αὐγέας, Ἄκτορι δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ γένος τε ἦν ἐπιχώριον βασιλείας τε μετὴν σφισιν: Ἄκτῳ γὰρ πατὴρς μὲν Φόρβαντος ἦν τοῦ Λαπίθου, μητὴρ δὲ Ὑρμίνης τῆς Ἑπειοῦ, καὶ ᾤκισεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἄκτῳ πόλιν Ὑρμίναν ἐν τῇ Ἥλειᾳ.

2. τῷ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγέαν πολεμοῦντι οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀποδείκνυσθαι λαμπρόν: ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις τοῦ Ἄκτορος τῶν παίδων ἀκμαζόντων, ἐτρέπετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰεὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐς ὃ Ἰσθμικὰς σπονδὰς Κορινθίων ἐπαγγειλάντων καὶ θεωρῶν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐρχομένων τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ἄκτορος ἀπέκτεινε σφᾶς λοχήσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Κλεωναῖς. ἀφανοὺς δὲ ὄντος τοῦ εἰργασμένου τὸν φόνον μάλιστα ἐποιεῖτο ἡ Μολίνη σπουδὴν τῶν παίδων τὸν αὐτόχειρα ἐξευρεῖν. [2] ὥς δὲ ἔμαθεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἥλαιοι δίκας τοῦ φόνου παρὰ Ἀργείων ἀπήτουν: τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἔτυχεν Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκῶν. μὴ διδόντων δὲ σφισι δίκας τῶν Ἀργείων, οἱ δὲ δεύτερα ἐνέκειντο Κορινθίοις ἔκσπονδον τὸ Ἀργολικὸν πᾶν τοῦ ἀγῶνος γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἡμάρτανον καὶ τούτου, Μολίνην θέσθαι φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολίταις κατάρας, ἦν Ἰσθμίων μὴ θέλωσιν εἴργεσθαι. φυλάσσουσι δὲ τῆς Μολίνης καὶ ἐς τότε ἐτι τὰς κατάρας, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σώματα ἀσκοῦσιν Ἥλειων, οὗ σφισιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν καθέστηκε τὸν Ἰσθμικόν. [3] διάφοροι δὲ τῷ εἰρημένῳ δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόγοι. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Κύψελον τὸν τυραννήσαντα Κορινθίων φησὶν ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διὶ

χρυσούν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, προαποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιγράψαι τὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς Κορινθίους παρὰ Ἡλείων αἰτεῖν δοῦναι σφισιν ἐπιγράψαι δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι, οὐ τυχόντας δὲ ὀργῇ τε ἐς τοὺς Ἡλείους χρῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν σφισιν Ἰσθμίων εἵργεσθαι. πῶς ἂν οὖν Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀγῶνος μετὴν τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, εἰ δὴ ἄκοντάς γε Ἡλείους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσθμίων εἵργον; [4] ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει τῶν λόγων Προλάῳ παῖδας ἀνδρὶ παρὰ Ἡλείοις δοκίμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσίππῃ Φίλανθον καὶ Λάμπον γενέσθαι: τούτους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων παγκρατιάσοντας ἐν παισὶ, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν παλαίοντα, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν, ἀποπνιγῆναι σφᾶς ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διαχρησθῆναι: καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡλείοις, ἣν Ἰσθμίων μὴ ἐκόντες εἵργονται, Λυσίππης ἀρὰς εἶναι. δείκνυνται δὲ καὶ ὁδε εὐήθης ὢν ὁ λόγος. [5] Τίμωνι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Ἡλείῳ γεγόνاسι πεντάθλου νῖκαι τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισιν ἀγώνων, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκὼν ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἐλεγεῖον, στεφάνους τε ὀπόσους ἀνείλετο ὁ Τίμων λέγον καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰτίαν δι' ἣντινα Ἰσθμικῆς οὐ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ νίκης: καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἐλεγεῖον: "Σισυφίαν δὲ μολεῖν χθόν' ἐκώλυνεν ἀνέρα νείκη

ἀμφὶ Μολιονιδᾶν οὐλομένῳ θανάτῳ.

“

τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐξητάσθω:

3. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶλεν ὕστερον καὶ ἐπόρθησεν Ἥλιν, στρατιὰν παρὰ τε Ἀργείων καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ Ἀρκάδας: ἤμυναν δὲ καὶ Ἡλείοις οἱ ἐκ Πύλου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ καὶ οἱ Πισαῖοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πισαίους στρατείας αὐτὸν χρησιμὸς ἐπέσχεεν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἔχων οὕτω: "πατρὶ μέλει Πίσης, Πυθοῦς δέ μοι ἐν γυάλοισι.

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ σωτηρία Πισαίοις τὸ μάντευμα ἐγένετο: Φυλεῖ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν τε χώραν ἀνέδωκε τὴν Ἠλείαν καὶ τᾶλλα, αἰδοῖ τοῦ Φυλέως μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως: τὰ τε γὰρ αἰχμάλωτα ἐφίησιν ἔχειν αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐγέαν μὴ ὑποσχεῖν δίκην. [2] τῶν δὲ Ἠλείων αἱ γυναῖκες, ἅτε τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ σφίσιν ἡρημωμένης τῆς χώρας, εὐξασθαι τῇ Αθηνᾷ λέγονται κυῆσαι παραυτίκα, ἐπειδὴν μυχθῶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι: καὶ ἢ τε εὐχή σφισιν ἐτελέσθη καὶ Αθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Μητρὸς ιδρύσαντο. ὑπερησθέντες δὲ ἀμφοτέρωι τῇ μίξει καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἔνθα συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις πρῶτον, αὐτὸ τε τὸ χωρίον Βαδὺ ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν ῥέοντα ἐνταῦθα ὕδωρ Βαδὺ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ. [3] Φυλέως δέ, ὥς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι κατεστήσατο, αὐθις ἐς Δουλίχιον ἀποχωρήσαντος, Αὐγέαν μὲν τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβε προήκοντα ἐς γῆρας, βασιλείαν δὲ τὴν Ἠλείων Ἀγασθένης ἔσχεεν ὁ Αὐγέου καὶ Ἀμφίμαχος τε καὶ Θάλπιος: Ἄκτορος γὰρ τοῖς παισὶν ἀδελφὰς ἐσαγαγομένοις διδύμας ἐς τὸν οἶκον, Δεξαμενοῦ θυγατέρας ἐν Ὡλένῳ βασιλεύοντος, τῷ μὲν ἐκ Θηρονίκης Ἀμφίμαχος, Εὐρύτῳ δὲ ἐκ Θηραιφόνης ἐγεγόνει Θάλπιος.

[4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀμαρυγκεύς οὔτε αὐτὸς διέμεινεν ἰδιωτεύων οὔτε Διώρης ὁ Ἀμαρυγκεύς. ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὀμηρος παρεδήλωσεν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἠλείων, τὸν μὲν σύμπαντα αὐτῶν στόλον ποιήσας τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι νεῶν, τούτων δὲ τὰς ἡμισείας ὑπὸ Ἀμφίμαχῳ τετάχθαι καὶ Θαλπίῳ, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ εἴκοσι δέκα

μὲν ναυσὶ Διῶρην τὸν Ἀμαρυγκέως ἡγεῖσθαι, τοσαύταις δὲ ἐτέραις Πολύξενον τὸν Ἀγασθένους. Πολυξένῳ δὲ ἀνασωθέντι ἐκ Τροίας ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀμφίμαχος — τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ παιδί ἔθετο ὁ Πολύξενος κατὰ φιλίαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρὸς Ἀμφίμαχον τὸν Κτεάτου τελευτήσαντα ἐν Ἰλίῳ —, Ἀμφιμάχου δὲ Ἡλείος: [5] καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡλείου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἡλιδι, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Δωριέων στόλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστομάχου παισὶν ἠθροίζετο ἐπὶ καθόδῳ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον. γίνεται δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν λόγιον τότε, ἡγεμόνα τῆς καθόδου ποιεῖσθαι τὸν τριόφθαλμον. ἀποροῦσι δὲ σφισιν ὅ τι ὁ χρησμὸς ἐθέλοι συνέτυχεν ἐλαύνων ἀνὴρ ἡμίονον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος διέφθαρτο τῷ ἡμίονῳ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν: [6] Κρεσφόντου δὲ συμφρονήσαντος ὥς ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔχοι τὸ μάντευμα, οὕτως ὤκειώσαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Δωριεῖς. ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιέναι μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πειρᾶσθαι. ταῦτά τε δὴ παρήνεσε καὶ ἅμα τὸν ἐς Μολύκριον ἐκ Ναυπάκτου πλοῦν καθηγήσατο αὐτοῖς: οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου δεηθέντι τὴν Ἡλείαν γῆν συνέθεντο αὐτῷ δώσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἦν Ὁξύλος Αἴμονος τοῦ Θόαντος: Θόας δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὃς καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρέως παισὶν ἀρχὴν συγκαθεῖλε τὴν Πριάμου, γενεαὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Θόαντος ἀνήκουσιν ἕξ ἐς Αἰτωλὸν τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνος. [7] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι συγγενεῖς καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ἀδελφαὶ Θόαντι τῷ Ἀνδραίμονος καὶ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἦσαν αἱ μητέρες. συνεπεπτώκει δὲ τῷ Ὁξύλῳ φυγάδι ἐξ Αἰτωλίας εἶναι: δισκεύοντα γάρ φασιν ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι φόνον ἀκούσιον, τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δίσκου τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ὁξύλου Θέρμιον, οἱ δὲ Ἀλκιδόκον τὸν Σκοπίου.

4. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐπὶ τῷ Ὁξύλῳ τοιόνδε, ὥς τοὺς παῖδας ὑποπτεύσειε τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, μὴ τὴν Ἡλείαν τε ἰδόντες ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν καὶ ἐξειργασμένην διὰ πάσης οὐκ ἐθελήσωσιν ἔτι αὐτῷ διδόναι τὴν γῆν, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα διὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς Ἡλείας τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἡγήσατο. Ὁξύλῳ δὲ σπεύσαντι ἁμαχεῖ λαβεῖν τὴν Ἡλείων ἀρχὴν Δίος οὐκ εἴκε, πρόκλησιν δὲ ἐποιεῖτο μὴ σφᾶς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ διακινδυνεῦσαι, προκριθῆναι δὲ ἀφ' ἐκατέρων στρατιώτην ἓνα ἐς τὴν μάχην: [2] καὶ πῶς συνήρесе ταῦτα ἀμφοτέροις, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔργον προταχθέντες Δέγμενός τε Ἡλείος ἦν τοξότης καὶ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Πυραίχμης σφενδόνην δεδιδαγμένος. κρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυραίχμου τὴν τε βασιλείαν ἔσχεν Ὁξύλος καὶ Ἐπειοὺς τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶασεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν μένειν, συνοίκους δὲ σφισι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπεισήγαγε. καὶ Δίῳ τε ἀπένειμε γέρα καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐφύλαξε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ Αὐγέα τὰ ἐς τὸν ἐναγισμὸν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ καθεστηκότα. [3] λέγεται δὲ ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ὅσοι τοῦ τείχους οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστήκεσαν, κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πληθεῖ τε οἰκητόρων καὶ μείζονα καὶ εὐδαιμονεστέραν ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἥλιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμὸς, τὸν Πελοπίδην ἐπάγεσθαι συνοικιστήν: Ὁξύλος δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῇ καὶ ἀναζητῶν εὗρεν Ἀγῶριον τὸν Δαμασίου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὁρέστου, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀγῶρίῳ μοῖραν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάγετο οὐ πολλήν. [4] τῷ δὲ Ὁξύλῳ Πιερίαν μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ ὄνομα εἶναι

λέγουσι, πέρα δὲ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μνημονεύουσιν. Ὁξύλου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας φασιν Αἰτωλὸν καὶ Λαΐαν· προαποθανόντος δὲ Αἰτωλοῦ θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ γονεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι τῇ πύλῃ τὸ μνήμα, ἥτις ἐπ' Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄγει τοῦ Διός· ἔθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτω κατὰ μαντείαν, ὥς μήτε ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως μήτε ἐντὸς γένοιτο ὁ νεκρός. ἐναγίζει δὲ ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τῷ Αἰτωλῷ. [5] μετὰ δὲ Ὁξυλον Λαΐας ἔσχεν ὁ Ὁξύλου τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντας εὗρισκον, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιστάμενος ὁμῶς παρήμι· οὐ γάρ τί μοι καταβῆναι τὸν λόγον ἠθέλησα ἐς ἄνδρας ἰδιώτας. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἴφιτος, γένος μὲν ὦν ἀπὸ Ὁξύλου, ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν γράψαντα Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους, τὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πανήγυριν τε Ὀλυμπικὴν αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν κατεστήσατο, ἐκλιπόντα ἐπὶ χρόνον ὁπόσος δὴ οὗτος ἦν· αἰτίαν δὲ δι' ἣντινα ἐξέλιπε τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω.

[6] τῷ δὲ Ἰφίτῳ, φθειρομένης τότε δὴ μάλιστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίων στάσεων καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους, ἐπῆλθεν αἰτήσαι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν λύσιν τῶν κακῶν· καὶ οἱ προσταχθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὥς αὐτόν τε Ἴφιτον δέοι καὶ Ἥλειους τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεώσασθαι. ἔπεισε δὲ Ἥλειους Ἴφιτος καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν, τὸ πρὸ τούτου πολέμιόν σφισιν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι νομίζοντας. τὸν δὲ Ἴφιτον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησὶν Αἴμονος παῖδα εἶναι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ Πραξωνίδου καὶ οὐχ Αἴμονος εἶναι φασί· τὰ δὲ Ἥλειων γράμματα ἀρχαῖα ἐς πατέρα ὁμώνυμον ἀνήγε τὸν Ἴφιτον. [7] Ἥλειοις δὲ μέτεστι μὲν πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλῖν, μέτεστι δὲ καὶ ἔργων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μήδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔφοδον. ὑπερβάντων δὲ ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο κίνδυνοι πρὸς Πισαίους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, συνεσέβαλον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκουσίως ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων, συνέστησαν δὲ μετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους Μαντινεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργείοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν.

[8] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄγιδος ἐπιστρατείαν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν τὴν Ξενίου μάχῃ μὲν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν νικῶσιν οἱ Ἥλαιοι καὶ τροπὴν ἐργασάμενοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου σφᾶς ἐξήλασαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπαύθη σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἃς ἐγὼ πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδήλωσα. [9] Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου οὐκ ἐθέλοντος ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἥλαιοι στάσει κακωθέντες ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, μαχεσθῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐναντία ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ· τῆς δὲ ἐφόδου Φιλίππῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετέσχον κατὰ ἔχθος ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόσι καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπολέμησαν.

5. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀριστότιμος ὁ Δαμαρέτου τοῦ Ἐτύμονος τυραννίδα ἔσχεν ἐν Ἠλείᾳ, συμπαρασκευάσαντος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιθεσιν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστότιμον μῆνας τυραννήσαντα ἐξ καταλύουσιν ἐπαναστάντες Χίλων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Λάμπις τε καὶ Κύλων, οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτοχειρία τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ

Κύλων ἐπὶ Διὸς Σωτήρος βωμὸν καταφυγόντα ἰκέτην.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς πόλεμον τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχεν Ἥλείοις, ὥς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπαριθμῆσαι μετρίως· [2] θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἥλείᾳ τὴν τε βύσσον, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐντὸς τῆς χώρας αἱ ἵπποι σφίσιν ἐκύϊσκον ἐκ τῶν ὄνων. καὶ τούτου μὲν κατάραν τινὰ ἐλέγετο γενέσθαι τὸ αἴτιον· ἡ δὲ βύσσος ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἥλείᾳ λεπτότητος μὲν ἔνεκα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ τῆς Ἑβραίων, ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ξανθή. [3] ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥλείας χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθήκον, ὃ ὀνομάζεται μὲν Σαμικόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἡ τε Τριφυλία καλουμένη καὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ Λέπρεος. ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἥλείων κατήκοοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες· καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκησαν, Ἥλείους ἐκ Λεπρέου σφᾶς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνείπε. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐποίησεν ὥς Λέπρεος εἶη πόλισμα Ἥλείων. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Λέπρεον ἀπὸ μὲν Σαμικοῦ τὸν Ἄνιγρον ποταμὸν ἀφέντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἐτέρα δὲ ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας, τρίτη δὲ ἐξ Ἥλιδος· ἡμερήσιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ μακροτάτη.

[4] τεθῆναι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Λεπρέου τοῦ Πυργέως. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὥς πρὸς Ἡρακλέα ἐρίσειεν ὁ Λεπρέος μὴ ἀποδεῖν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐσθίων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκάτερος βοῦν αὐτῶν ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ καιρῷ κατέσφαξε καὶ εὐτρέπισεν ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ καὶ ὑφίστατο ὁ Λεπρέος φαγεῖν οὐκ ἀδυνατώτερος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐτόλμησε τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο προσκαλέσασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅπλων αὐτόν. καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε Λεπρέον κρατηθέντα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φιγαλέων ταφῇναι λέγουσιν· οὐ μὴν εἶχόν γε οἱ Φιγαλεῖς ἀποφῆναι Λεπρέου μνήμα. [5] ἥδη δὲ ἤκουσα θυγατρὶ τοῦ Πυργέως Λεπρέᾳ προσποιούντων τὸν οἰκισμὸν· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πρῶτον οἰκήσασιν ἐν τῇ γῇ νόσον φασὶν ἐπιγενέσθαι λέπραν καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὄνομα λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῇ συμφορᾷ. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεῖται σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ναὸν καὶ Λυκούργου τάφον τοῦ Ἀλέου καὶ ἄλλον Καύκωνος· τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἄνδρα ἐπεῖναι λύραν ἔχοντα. [6] κατὰ δὲ ἐμὲ οὔτε μνήμα ἐπίσημον οὔτε ἱερὸν ἦν θεῶν σφισιν οὐδενὸς πλήν γε Δήμητρος· πλίνθου δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεποιήτο ὠμῆς καὶ οὐδὲν παρείχετο ἄγαλμα. Λεπρεατῶν δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως Ἀρήνη καλουμένη πηγὴ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφαρέως γυναικὸς τεθῆναι λέγουσι τῇ πηγῇ. [7] ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμικόν καὶ διοδεύοντι τὸ χωρίον, Ἄνιγρος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν. τούτου τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις ἀνείργουσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι βίαιοι πνέοντες· φοροῦντες γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν τὴν θῖνα ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπέχουσι τοῦ πρόσω τὸ ὕδωρ. ὁπότε οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡ ψάμμος ὑπὸ τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβροχος γένοιτο, ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐζώνῳ καταδύναι κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐς αὐτήν.

[8] ὁ δὲ Ἄνιγρος οὗτος ἐξ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μὲν κάτεισιν ὄρους Λαπίθου, παρέχεται δὲ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ὕδωρ οὐκ εὐῶδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσοσμον δεινῶς. πρὶν δὲ ἡ καταδέξασθαι τὸν Ἀκίδαντα καλούμενον δηλὸς ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τρέφων ἰχθύς· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐσβαλόντα ὅσοι τῶν ἰχθύων ὁμοῦ τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ κατίασιν ἐς τὸν Ἄνιγρον, οὐ σφᾶς ἔτι ἐδωδίμους ἔχουσιν

ἄνθρωποι, τὰ πρότερα, ἦν ἐντὸς ἀλῶσι τοῦ Ἀκίδαντος, ἐδωδίμους ὄντας. [9] ὅτι δὲ τῷ Ἀκίδαντι ὄνομα Ἰάρδανος ἦν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδαμόθεν συνεβαλόμην, ἀκούσας δὲ ἀνδρὸς Ἐφεσίου λέγω τὸν λόγον. τῷ δὲ Ἀνίγρῳ τὸ ἄτοπον εἶναι τῆς ὁσμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πείθομαι δι' ἧς ἄνεισι τὸ ὕδωρ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίας ἐστὶν ὕδασι τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτιον, ὁπόσων ἢ ἀτμῖς ὀλέθριος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ. [10] Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ μὲν Χίρωνα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλον Κένταυρον Πυλὴγορα τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ φυγόντα τραυματίαν φασιν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἀπολοῦσαι τούτῳ τὸ ἔλκος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕδρας τοῦ ἰοῦ γενέσθαι δυσχερῇ τῷ Ἀνίγρῳ τὴν ὁσμὴν: οἱ δὲ ἐς Μελάμποδα τὸν Ἀμυθάωνος καὶ ἐς τῶν Προΐτου θυγατέρων τὰ καθάρσια ἐμβληθέντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνάγουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ παθήματος. [11] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Σαμικῷ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καλούμενον Ἀνιγρίδων νυμφῶν. ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ἀλφὸν ἢ λεύκην ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσέλθῃ, πρῶτα μὲν ταῖς νύμφαις εὗξασθαι καθέστηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι θυσίαν ὁποῖαν δὴ τινα, μετὰ δὲ ἀποσμήχει τὰ νοσοῦντα τοῦ σώματος: διανηξάμενος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ὄνειδος μὲν ἐκεῖνο κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ, ὃ δὲ ὑγίης τε ἄνεισι καὶ ὁμόχρως.

6. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθεῖαν διαβάντι τὸν Ἀνιγρον καὶ ἰόντι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἔστιν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον τε ὑψηλὸν καὶ πόλις Σαμία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Σαμικοῦ. ταύτῃ τῇ Σαμικῷ

Πολυσπέρχοντά φασιν ἄνδρα Αἰτωλὸν ἐπιτειχίσματι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας χρήσασθαι.

[2] τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια τὰ Ἀρήνης σαφῶς μὲν οὔτε Μεσσηνίων εἶχεν οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἡλείων ἀποφῆναί μοι: διάφορα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα πάρεστι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάξειν, πιθανώτατα δὲ ἐφαίνοντό μοι λέγειν οἱ τὸ Σαμικὸν τὰ παλαιότερα ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων Ἀρήνην καλεῖσθαι νομίζοντες. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἔπη τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔλεγον: “ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήιος εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων

ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης.

“Hom. II.

11.722-3

[3] τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια ταῦτα πλησιαίτατά ἐστι τοῦ Ἀνίγρου. καὶ Ἀρήνην μὲν ἀμφισβητοῖς ἂν μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ Σαμικόν, τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ Ἀνίγρῳ Μινυήιον τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὠμολογήκασιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ὅρον δὲ Ἡλείους πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν τῆς Νέδας τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσση γενέσθαι τις πείθοιτο ἂν ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδῳ. [4] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀνιγρον ὁδεύσαντι ἐπὶ μακρότερον διὰ χωρίου τὰ πλείονα ὑποψάμμου καὶ ἔχοντος δένδρα πίτυς ἀγρίας, ὀπίσω ἐς ἀριστερὰ Σκυλλοῦντος ὄψει ἐρείπια. τῶν μὲν δὴ πόλεων ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ καὶ Σκυλλοῦς: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἡλείους ἐπίκουροί τε Πισαίων οἱ Σκυλλοῦντιοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τούτων ἕνεκα ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους.

[5] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὕστερον Σκυλλοῦντα ἀποτεμόμενοι τῆς Ἡλείας Ξενοφῶντι ἔδοσαν τῷ Γρύλῳ, φυγάδι ἤδη γεγονότι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. ἐδιώχθη δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὥς ἐπὶ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν σφίσιν εὖνουν ὄντα στρατείας μετασχὼν Κύρῳ πολεμιωτάτῳ τοῦ δήμου: καθήμενος γὰρ ἐν

Σάρδεσιν ὁ Κῦρος Λυσάνδρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκρίτῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρήματα ἀνήλπισκεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Ξενοφῶντι ἐγένετο φυγή, κατοικήσας δὲ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τέμενός τε καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὠκοδομήσατο Ἐφεσία. [6] παρέχεται δὲ ὁ Σκιλλοῦς καὶ ἄγρας θηρίων, ὕδωρ τε ἀγρίων καὶ ἐλάφων· καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκιλλουντίαν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς διέξεισιν. οἱ δὲ Ἥλειον ἐξηγηταὶ κομίσασθαι τε αὐθις Σκιλλοῦντα Ἥλείους ἔλεγον, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ὅτι ἔλαβε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν γῆν, κριθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ βουλῇ, τυχόντα δὲ παρὰ Ἥλειων συγγνώμης ἀδεῶς ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι οἰκῆσαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ μνημῆα τε ἐδείκνυτο καὶ τῆς Πεντελῆσιν ἐστὶ λιθοτομίας εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ξενοφῶντος λέγουσιν οἱ προσοικοῦντες. [7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδόν, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἔστιν ὄρος ἐκ Σκιλλοῦντος ἐρχομένῳ πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς ἀπότομον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ Τυπαῖον τὸ ὄρος. κατὰ τούτου τὰς γυναῖκας Ἥλείους ἐστὶν ὠθεῖν νόμος, ἣν φωραθῶσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθοῦσαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἢ καὶ ὅλως ἐν ταῖς ἀπειρημέναις σφίσιν ἡμέραις διαβᾶσαι τὸν Ἀλφειόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀλῶναι λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν, ὅτι μὴ Καλλιπάτειραν μόνην· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην Φερενίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιπάτειραν καλοῦσιν.

[8] αὕτη προαποθανόντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐξεικάσασα αὐτὴν τὰ πάντα ἀνδρὶ γυμναστῇ, ἥγαγεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν υἱὸν μαχοῦμενον· νικῶντος δὲ τοῦ Πεισιρόδου, τὸ ἔρυμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμναστὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπειλημένους, τοῦτο ὑπερπηδῶσα ἢ Καλλιπάτειρα ἐγυμνώθη. φωραθείσης δὲ ὅτι εἶη γυνή, ταύτην ἀφίᾳσιν ἀξίμιον καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ παιδί αἰδῶ νέμοντες — ὑπῆρχον δὴ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι — , ἐποίησαν δὲ νόμον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνασταῖς γυμνοὺς σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσέρχεσθαι.

7. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνταῦθα ἤδη τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ πλήθει τε πολὺ ἰδόντι καὶ ἥδιστον, ἅτε ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίων ἐπτά ἐς αὐτὸν ρέοντων. διὰ Μεγάλης μὲν γε πόλεως Ἐλισσῶν ἐρχόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Βρενθεάτης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν γῆς, παρὰ δὲ Γόρτυναν ἔνθα ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, παρὰ δὴ ταῦτα Γορτύνιος ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ Μελαινέων Βουφάγος τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος μεταξὺ καὶ Ἡραιΐτιδος χώρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κλειτορίων Λάδων, ἐκ δὲ Ἐρυμάνθου τοῦ ὄρους ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει. οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας κατίαςιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Κλάδεος δὲ ἐρχόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἥλειας συμμίσγει οἱ τὸ ῥέυμα· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων τῷ Ἀλφειῷ καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἥλειας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαί. [2] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὥς ἀνὴρ εἶη θηρευτής, ἐρασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀρεθούσης, κυνηγετεῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν μὲν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένην γήμασθαι περαιωθῆναι φασιν ἐς νῆσον τὴν κατὰ Συρακούσας, καλουμένην δὲ Ὀρτυγίαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι πηγὴν· συμβῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀλφειῷ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν. [3] ταῦτα μὲν λόγου τοῦ ἐς Ἀλφειὸν ἥξας τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν ἥ· τὸ δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰόντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνακοινοῦσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀπιστήσω, τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστάμενος τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁμολογοῦντά σφισιν, ὃς Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐς τὸν Συρακουσῶν ἀποστέλλων οἰκισμὸν καὶ τάδε εἶπε τὰ ἔπη·”Ὀρτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ,

Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἴν' Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει.

μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν ἑυρρείτης Ἀρεθούσης.

“κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ὅτι τῇ Ἀρεθούσῃ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ μίσγεται, καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τὴν φήμην τῷ ποταμῷ πείθομαι γενέσθαι. [4] ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Αἰγυπτίων ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Σύνης καὶ ἐς Μερὸν Αἰθιόπων πόλιν ἀναβέβηκασι, λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐσιόντα ἐς λίμνην καὶ δι' αὐτῆς διεξιόντα ὥσπερ ἐκ χέρσου, μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη δι' Αἰθιοπίας τῆς κάτω καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ρέυσαντα ἐπὶ Φάρον καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν κατέρχεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ ποταμὸν τῇ Ἑβραίων Ἰάρδανον καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδα λίμνην Τιβεριάδα ὀνομαζομένην διοδεύοντα, ἐς δὲ λίμνην ἑτέραν καλουμένην θάλασσαν Νεκράν, ἐς ταύτην ἐσιόντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης αὐτὸν ἀναλούμενον. [5] ἡ δὲ θάλασσα ἢ Νεκρά πάσχει παντὶ ὕδατι ἄλλω τὰ ἐναντία: ἐν ἧ γε τὰ μὲν ζῶντα πέφυκεν οὐ νηχόμενα ἐποχεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ θνήσκοντα ἐς βυθὸν χωρεῖν. ταύτη ἄκαρπος καὶ ἰχθύων ἡ λίμνη: ἅτε ἀπὸ τοῦ φανερωτάτου κινδύνου ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναφεύγουσιν ὀπίσω τὸ οἰκεῖον. τῷ δὲ Ἀλφειῷ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει καὶ ὕδωρ ἄλλο ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ: τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος πηγὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει, διεξελθὼν δὲ θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ ἄνευσιν αὐθις κατὰ Βραγχίδας πρὸς λιμένι ὀνομαζομένῳ Πανόρμῳ. [6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον: ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν λέγουσιν Ἠλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες Κρόνον τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ σχεῖν βασιλείαν πρῶτον καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ποιηθῆναι Κρόνῳ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ὠνομάζοντο χρυσοῦν γένος: Διὸς δὲ τεχθέντος ἐπιτρέψαι Ῥεάν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν φρουρὰν τοῖς Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις, καλουμένοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ Κούρησιν: ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἰδης τῆς Κρητικῆς, πρὸς Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ Ἐπιμήδην καὶ Ἰάσιόν τε καὶ Ἴδαν:

[7] τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα παίζοντα — εἶναι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν πρεσβύτατον ἡλικίᾳ — συμβαλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐς ἄμιλλαν δρόμου καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα ἐξ αὐτῶν κλάδῳ στεφανῶσαι κοτίνου: παρεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς πολὺν δὴ τι οὕτω τὸν κότινον ὥς τὰ χλωρὰ ἔτι τῶν φύλλων ὑπεστρώσθαι σφᾶς καθεύδοντας. κομισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ὑπερβορέων γῆς τὸν κότινόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς Ἑλληνας, εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνεμον οἰκοῦσι τὸν Βορέαν. [8] πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιῖαν ἐποίησεν Ὡλὴν Λύκιος ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαιῖαν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων τούτων: ἔπειτα δὲ ᾠδὴν Μελάνωπος Κυμαῖος ἐς Ὡπιν καὶ Ἐκαέργην ἦσεν, ὥς ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καὶ αὗται πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Ἀχαιῖας ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐς Δῆλον: [9] Ἀριστεάς δὲ γὰρ ὁ Προκονήσιος — μνήμην γὰρ ἐποίησατο Ὑπερβορέων καὶ οὗτος — τάχα τι καὶ πλεον περὶ αὐτῶν πεπυσμένος ἂν εἴη παρὰ Ἰσσηδόνων, ἐς οὓς ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. Ἡρακλεῖ οὖν πρόσσεσι τῷ Ἰδαίῳ δόξα τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι πρῶτῳ καὶ Ὀλύμπια ὄνομα θέσθαι: διὰ πέμπτου οὖν ἔτους αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο ἄγεσθαι, ὅτι αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἦσαν ἀριθμόν. [10] Δία δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα παλαῖσαι καὶ αὐτῷ Κρόνῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ κατειργασμένῳ ἀγωνοθετησαί φασιν αὐτόν: νικήσαι δὲ ἄλλοι τε λέγονται καὶ ὅτι Ἀπόλλων παραδράμοι μὲν ἐρίζοντα Ἑρμῆν, κρατῆσαι δὲ Ἄρεως πυγμῇ. τούτου δὲ ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ αὐλῆμα τὸ Πυθικόν φασι τῷ πηδήματι ἐπεισαχθῆναι

τῶν πεντάθλων, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ αὐλήμα ὄν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἀνηρημένον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας.

8. τούτων δὲ ὕστερον Κλύμενον τὸν Κάρδου, πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἐπομβρίαν ἐλθόντα ἐκ Κρήτης, γένος ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὄντα τοῦ Ἰδαίου, τόν τε ἀγῶνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεῖναι καὶ Κούρησι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ προγόνῳ λέγουσιν ἰδρύσασθαι βωμόν, Παραστάτην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ θέμενον. Ἐνδυμίων δὲ ὁ Ἀεθλίου Κλύμενόν τε ἔπαυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δρόμου τοῖς υἱοῖς ἄθλα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔθηκε. [2] Πέλοψ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ μάλιστα μετὰ Ἐνδυμίωνα τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἐποίησεν ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Πέλοπος δὲ τῶν παίδων σκεδασθέντων ἐξ Ἥλιδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, Ἀμυθάων ὁ Κρηθέως Ἐνδυμίωνι ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός — εἶναι γάρ φασι καὶ Ἀέθλιον Αἰόλου, Διὸς δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν —, ἔθηκεν ὁ Ἀμυθάων τὰ Ὀλύμπια, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Πελίας τε καὶ Νηλεὺς ἐν κοινῷ. [3] ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Αὐγέας καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐλὼν Ἥλιν: ὁπόσους δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν οὗτος νικῶντας, ἔστιν Ἰόλαος ταῖς Ἡρακλέους δραμῶν ἵπποις. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστηκὸς ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ἀλλοτρίαις ἵπποις: Ὅμηρος γοῦν ἐν ἄθλοις τεθεῖσιν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ πεποίηκεν ὥς Μενέλαος Αἴθῃ τῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ χρήσαιο τῶν ἵππων οἰκείῳ. [4] ἡνίοχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Ἰόλαος Ἡρακλεῖ τὰς ἵππους: αὐτός τε οὖν ἄρματι καὶ Ἰάσιος ἀνὴρ Ἀρκὰς κέλῃτος ἐνίκησεν ἵππου δρόμῳ, Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὁ μὲν δρόμῳ, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυκτεύων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλέα ὥς πάλης τε ἀνέλοιτο καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας. [5] μετὰ δὲ Ὁξυλον — διέθηκε γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Ὁξυλος —, μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα ἐξέλιπεν ἄχρι Ἰφίτου τὰ Ὀλύμπια. Ἰφίτου δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεωσαμένου κατὰ τὰ ἤδη μοι λελεγμένα, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔτι ὑπῆρχε τῶν ἀρχαίων λήθη: καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἤρχοντο αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁπότε τι ἀναμνησθεῖεν, ἐποιοῦντο τῷ ἀγῶνι προσθήκην.

[6] δῆλον δέ: ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστί, δρόμου μὲν ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον, καὶ Ἥλειος Κόροιβος ἐνίκα: εἰκὼν μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ Κοροίβου, τάφος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασιν τῆς Ἥλειας. Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ὕστερον τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ προσετέθη σφίσι διάυλος: Ὑπηνος δὲ ἀνὴρ Πισαῖος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ τῷ διαύλῳ τὸν κότινον, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δολίχῳ Ἀκανθος Λακεδαιμόνιος. [7] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ δεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάθλου καὶ πάλης ἀφίκοντο ἐς μνήμην: καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λάμπιδι ὑπῆρξεν, Εὐρυβάτῳ δὲ ἡ νίκη τῆς πάλης, Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τούτοις. τρίτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῆς ἄθλα ἀπέδωσαν: Ὀνόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελούσης ἡδὴ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἰῶνας. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκοσι κατεδέξαντο ἵππων τελείων δρόμον, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη Θηβαῖος Παγώνδας κρατῶν ἄρματι. [8] ὀγδῷ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐδέξαντο παγκρατιαστήν τε ἄνδρα καὶ ἵππον κέλῃτα: ἵππος μὲν δὴ Κρανωνίου Κραυξίδα παρέφθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον ὁ Λύγδαμις κατειργάσατο Συρακούσιος. τούτῳ πρὸς ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἐστὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις μνῆμα: εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Θηβαίῳ μέγεθος παρισούτο ὁ Λύγδαμις, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἐστί. [9] τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐς μὲν τῶν

παλαιότερων οὐδεμίαν ἤκει μνήμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀρέσαν σφίσι κατεστήσαντο Ἥλαιοι. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παισὶν ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς

Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ Ἴπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλην, Πολυνείκης δὲ τὸν δρόμον ἐνίκησεν Ἥλειος. πρώτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἐσεκάλεσαν παῖδας, καὶ περιῆν τῶν ἐσελθόντων Συβαρίτης Φιλύτας. ^[10] τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος ἐδοκιμάσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς, μελέτης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς τὰ πολεμικά: τοὺς δὲ δραμόντας ἀσπίσιν ὁμοῦ πρῶτος Δαμάρετος ἐκράτησεν Ἡραιεύς. δρόμος δὲ δύο ἵππων τελείων συνωρίς κληθεῖσα τρίτη μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτέθη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνενήκοντα, Εὐαγόρας δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἥλειος. ἐνάτη δὲ ἤρυσεν Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ πῶλων ἄρμασιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι: Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ Συβαριάδης τὸν στέφανον τῶν πῶλων ἔσχε τοῦ ἄρματος. ^[11] προσέθεσαν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνωρίδα πῶλων καὶ πῶλον κέλῃτα: ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῇ συνωρίδι Βελιστίχην ἐκ Μακεδονίας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ γυναῖκα, Τληπόλεμον δὲ Λύκιον ἀναγορευθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κέλῃτι, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ τριακοστῆς τε καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς δὲ Βελιστίχης τὴν συνωρίδα Ὀλυμπιάδι πρὸ ταύτης τρίτη. πέμπτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄθλα ἐτέθη παγκρατίου παισὶ, καὶ ἐνίκα Φαίδιμος Αἰολεὺς ἐκ πόλεως Τρωάδος.

9. κατελύθη δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπία καὶ ἀγωνίσματα, μεταδόξαν μηκέτι ἄγειν αὐτὰ Ἥλαιοις. πένταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν κότινον Εὐτελίδα

Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ Ἥλαιοις ἦν πεντάθλους ἐσέρχεσθαι παῖδας. τῆς δὲ ἀπῆνης καὶ κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, τὸν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδι νομισθέντα ἐβδομηκοστῇ, τὸν δὲ τῆς κάλπης τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, κήρυγμα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐποιήσαντο ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς μήτε κάλπης τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε ἀπῆνης ἔσεσθαι δρόμον. ὅτε δὲ ἐτέθη πρῶτον, Θερσίου μὲν ἀπῆνη Θεσσαλοῦ, Παταίκου δὲ Ἀχαιοῦ τῶν ἐκ Δύμης ἐνίκησεν ἢ κάλπη. ^[2] ἦν δὲ ἢ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον οἱ ἀναβάται ταῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλινῶν, καθὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἀναβάται καλούμενοι: διάφορα δὲ τοῖς ἀναβάταις ἐς τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον τά τε σημεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ ἄρσενές σφισιν ὄντες οἱ ἵπποι. ἀπῆνη δὲ οὔτε τῷ ἀνευρήματι οὐδὲν ἀρχαῖον οὔτε εὐπρέπεια αὐτῇ προσῆν, ἐπάρατόν τε Ἥλαιοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ ζῶον: ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἀπῆνη κατὰ τὴν συνωρίδα ἡμιόνους ἀντὶ ἵππων ἔχουσα. ^[3] ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὥς θύεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα πεντάθλου μὲν καὶ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων ὕστερα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρότερα ἀγωνισμάτων, οὗτος κατέστη σφίσιν ὁ κόσμος Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐβδόμῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα: τὰ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἦγον τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἵππων ἀγῶνα. τότε δὲ προήχθησαν ἐς νύκτα οἱ παγκρατιάζοντες ἅτε οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐσκληθέντες, αἵτιοι δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ τε ἵπποι καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἔτι ἢ τῶν πεντάθλων ἄμιλλα: καὶ ἐκράτει μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας τοὺς παγκρατιάσαντας, ἐμπόδιον δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλε παγκρατίῳ τοῦ

λοιποῦ τὸ πένταθλον οὐδὲ οἱ ἵπποι γενήσεσθαι.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἃ καθεστηκότα ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἴφιτος μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς μόνος, καὶ μετὰ Ἴφιτον ἐτίθεσαν ὡσαύτως οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου: πεντηκοστῇ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀνδράσι δύο ἐξ ἀπάντων λαχοῦσιν Ἠλείων ἐπετράπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου διέμεινε τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν δύο.

[5] πέμπτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ ἐννέα ἐλλανοδίκας κατέστησαν: τρισὶ μὲν δὴ ἐπετέτραπτο ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ δρόμος τῶν ἵππων, τοσοῦτοις δὲ ἑτέροις ἐπόπταις εἶναι τοῦ πεντάθλου, τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοις τὰ λοιπὰ ἔμελε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων. δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Ὀλυμπιάδι προσετέθη καὶ ὁ δέκατος ἀθλοθέτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς φυλαί τε Ἠλείοις δώδεκα καὶ εἷς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἐγένετο Ἑλλανοδίκης. [6] πιεσθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων πολέμῳ μοῖραν τε ἀπέβαλον τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν δήμων ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἀποτμηθείσῃ χώρᾳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐς ὅκτῳ τε ἀριθμὸν φυλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνεστάλησαν Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς καὶ Ἑλλανοδίκαι σφίσιν ἴσοι ταῖς φυλαῖς ἡρέθησαν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπανῆλθον αὐθις ἐς ἀνδρῶν δέκα ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἥδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου διαμεμένηκεν ἐς ἡμᾶς.

10. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν Ἑλλήσι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι θαύματος ἄξια: μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἑλευσίνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος.

τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς παραποιήσαντες τὸ ὄνομα Ἄλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι: καὶ δὴ καὶ Πινδάρῳ ποιήσαντι ἐς ἄνδρα Ὀλυμπιονίκην ἄσμα Ἄλτις ἐπωνόμασται τὸ χωρίον. [2] ἐποιήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἡνίκα Πίσαν οἱ Ἠλείοι καὶ ὅσον τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθεῖλον. Φειδίαν δὲ τὸν ἐργασάμενον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γεγραμμένον τοῖς ποσὶ: "Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε.

"τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ Δώριος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐργασία, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς περίστυλός ἐστι: [3] πεποιήται δὲ ἐπιχωρίου πάρου. ὕψος μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἀετὸν ἀνήκον, εἰσὶν οἱ ὅκτῳ πόδες καὶ ἐξήκοντα, εὖρος δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐς μῆκος τριάκοντά τε καὶ διακόσιοι: τέκτων δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Λίβων ἐπιχώριος. κέραμος δὲ οὐ γῆς ὀπτῆς ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ κεράμου τρόπον λίθος ὁ Πεντελῆσιν εἰργασμένος: τὸ δὲ εὖρημα ἀνδρὸς Ναξίου λέγουσιν εἶναι Βύζου, οὗ φασιν ἐν Νάξῳ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι "Νάξιος Εὐεργὸς με γένει Λητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεω

παῖς, ὃς πρῶτιστος τεῦξε λίθου κέραμον.

"ἡλικίαν δὲ ὁ Βύζης οὗτος κατὰ Ἀλυάττην ἦν τὸν Λυδὸν καὶ Ἀστυάγην τὸν Κυαζάρου βασιλεύοντα ἐν Μήδοις. [4] ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ λέβης ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ ἐπὶ ἐκάστῳ τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι ἐπικείται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἔστηκε τὸν ἀετὸν, ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ αὕτη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀσπίς ἀνάκειται χρυσῇ, Μέδουσαν τὴν Γοργόνα ἔχουσα ἐπειργασμένην. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τοὺς τε ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ καὶ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀνέθεσαν: λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω: "ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας

τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν
δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων,
τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ.

“ταύτης τῆς μάχης μνήμην καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐποιησάμην συγγραφῇ, τὰ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπεξίων μνήματα. [5] τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κίωνων περιθεούσης ζώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι μία καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμόν, ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων Μομμίου κρατήσαντος Ἀχαιῶν πολέμῳ καὶ Κόρινθόν τε ἐλόντος καὶ Κορινθίους τοὺς Δωριέας ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους. [6] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἵτοις, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἡ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἄμιλλα ἐτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν αἵτόν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἀτλαντος: Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλανε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἄρμα, κάθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων, οἱ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀριθμόν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο: ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου. [7] πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατάκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἠλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἱπποδάμεια καὶ ὁ τε ἡνίοχος ἔστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἱπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ αἵτὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροϊζηνίων ἔστιν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἔφασκεν ὃ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κίλλαν εἶναι. [8] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς αἵτοις ἔστι Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θρακίας, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν Ἀλκαμένους, ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἵτοις ἔστιν αὐτῷ Λαπιθῶν ἐν τῷ Πειρίθου γάμῳ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἡ μάχη. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ αἵτου τὸ μέσον Πειρίθους ἔστιν: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν Εὐρυτίων ἡρπακῶς τὴν γυναῖκα ἔστι τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ ἀμύνων Καινεὺς τῷ Πειρίθῳ, τῇ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους: Κένταυρος δὲ ὁ μὲν παρθένον, ὁ δὲ παῖδα ἡρπακῶς ἔστιν ὥραϊον. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλκαμένης, Πειρίθουν τε εἶναι Διὸς ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς Ὀμήρου δεδιδαγμένος καὶ Θησεῖα ἐπιστάμενος ὥς εἴη τέταρτος ἀπὸ Πέλοπος. [9] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέους τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων. ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ πεποιήται τῶν θυρῶν ἡ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἄγρα τοῦ υἱὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς Διομήδην τὸν Θρᾶκα καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθείᾳ πρὸς Γηρυνήν, καὶ Ἀτλαντός τε τὸ φόρημα ἐκδέχεσθαι μέλλων καὶ τῆς κόπρου καθαίρων τὴν γῆν ἔστιν Ἠλείοις: ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν ὁ τοῦ ζωστήρος τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἔστιν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον καὶ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ ταῦρον καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφήλῳ καὶ ἐς ὕδραν τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀργεῖᾳ λέοντα.

[10] τὰς θύρας δὲ ἐσιόντι τὰς χαλκᾶς, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρὸ τοῦ κίονος Ἴφιτος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς στεφανούμενος Ἐκεχειρίας, ὥς τὸ ἐλεγείον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φησιν. ἐστήκασιν δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες, καὶ στοαὶ τε ἔνδον ὑπερῷοι καὶ πρόσδοδος δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαλμὰ ἔστι. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν

ὄροφον σκολιά.

11. καθέζεται μὲν δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐν θρόνῳ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐλέφαντος: στέφανος δὲ ἐπικείται οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεμιμημένος ἐλαίας κλῶνας. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρει Νίκην ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ταύτην καὶ χρυσοῦ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον: τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἔνεστι σκῆπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἠνθισμένον, ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ καθήμενος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀετός. χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον ὡσαύτως ἐστί: τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῳδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιημένα. [2] ὁ δὲ θρόνος ποικίλος μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθοις, ποικίλος δὲ καὶ ἐβένῳ τε καὶ ἐλέφαντί ἐστι: καὶ ζῳᾶ τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν εἰργασμένα. Νῖκαι μὲν δὴ τέσσαρες χορευουσῶν παρεχόμεναι σχῆμα κατὰ ἕκαστον τοῦ θρόνου τὸν πόδα, δύο δὲ εἰσὶν ἄλλαι πρὸς ἐκάστου πῆξιν ποδός. τῶν ποδῶν δὲ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν παῖδες τε ἐπικεῖνται Θηβαίων ὑπὸ σφιγγῶν ἠρπασμένοι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς σφίγγας Νιόβης τοὺς παῖδας Ἀπόλλων κατατοξεύουσι καὶ Ἄρτεμις. [3] τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου μεταξὺ ποδῶν τέσσαρες κανόνες εἰσὶν, ἐκ ποδός ἐς πόδα ἕτερον διήκων ἕκαστος. τῷ μὲν δὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς ἐσόδου κανόνι, ἐπτά ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὸ γὰρ ὄγδοον ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἴσασι τρόπον ὄντινα ἐγένετο ἀφανές: εἴη δ' ἂν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀρχαίων ταῦτα μιμήματα, οὐ γάρ πω τὰ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἡλικίας ἤδη καθειστήκει τῆς Φειδίου. τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενον εὐοικεῖναι τὸ εἶδος Παντάρκει λέγουσι, μειράκιον δὲ Ἥλειον τὸν Παντάρκη παιδικὰ εἶναι τοῦ Φειδίου: ἀνείλετο δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν ὁ Παντάρκης πάλης νίκην Ὀλυμπιάδι ἔκτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κανόνων τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁ λόχος ἐστὶν ὁ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἀμαζόνες: ἀριθμὸς μὲν δὴ συναμφοτέρων ἐς ἐννέα ἐστὶ καὶ εἴκοσι, τέτακται δὲ καὶ Θησεὺς ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. ἀνέχουσι δὲ οὐχ οἱ πόδες μόνον τὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κίονες ἴσοι τοῖς ποσὶ μεταξὺ ἐστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν. ὑπελθεῖν δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ θρόνου παρερχόμεθα: ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ δὲ ἀπείργοντά ἐστι. [5] τούτων τῶν

ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστὶν, ἀλήλιπται κυανῷ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίνου γραφάς. ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς ἐστὶ μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἄτλας ἀνέχων, παρέστηκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ ἄχθος ἐθέλων τοῦ Ἄτλαντος, ἔτι δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Σαλαμὶς ἔχουσα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραις ποιοῦμενον κόσμον, Ἡρακλέους τε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ τὸ ἐς Κασσάνδραν παρανόμημα Αἴαντος, [6] Ἱπποδάμειά τε ἡ Οἰνομάου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Προμηθεὺς ἔτι ἐχόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἦρται: λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὥς ἀποκτείνειν μὲν τὸν ἀετὸν ὃς ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ τὸν Προμηθεῖα ἐλύπει, ἐξέλοιτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθεῖα ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν. τελευταῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Πενθεσίλειά τε ἀφιεῖσα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνέχων ἐστὶν αὐτήν: καὶ Ἑσπερίδες δύο φέρουσι τὰ μῆλα ὧν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγονται τὴν φρουράν. Πάναινος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ἀδελφός τε ἦν Φειδίου καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Ποικίλῃ τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον. [7] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνωτάτῳ τοῦ θρόνου πεποίηκεν ὁ Φειδίας ὑπὲρ

τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦτο μὲν Χάριτας, τοῦτο δὲ Ὠρας, τρεῖς ἑκατέρας. εἶναι γὰρ θυγατέρας Διὸς καὶ ταύτας ἐν ἔπεσιν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα: Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησε τὰς Ὠρας καὶ ἐπιτετράφθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καθάπερ τινὰς φύλακας βασιλέως αὐλῆς. τὸ ὑπόθημα δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσίν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καλούμενον θρανίων, λέοντάς τε χρυσοὺς καὶ Θησέως ἐπειργασμένην ἔχει μάχην τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας, τὸ Ἀθηναίων πρῶτον ἀνδραγαθήμα ἐς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους. [8] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου τοῦ τὸν θρόνον τε ἀνέχοντος καὶ ὅσος ἄλλος κόσμος περὶ τὸν Δία, ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάθρου χρυσᾶ ποιήματα, ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ἄρμα Ἥλιος καὶ Ζεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἥρα, ἔτι δὲ Ἥφαιστος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Χάρις: ταύτης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἔχεται, τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ Ἑστία: μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν Ἑρως ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀφροδίτην ἀνιούσαν ὑποδεχόμενος, τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην στεφανοῖ Πειθώ: ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων σὺν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ βάθρου πρὸς τῷ πέρατι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν Σελήνη τε ἵππον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐλαύνουσα. τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένα ἐφ' ἡμιόνου τὴν θεὸν ὀχεῖσθαι καὶ οὐχ ἵππου, καὶ λόγον γέ τινα ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμιόνῳ λέγουσιν εὐήθη. [9] μέτρα δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἐπιστάμενος γεγραμμένα οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ θήσομαι τοὺς μετρήσαντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα αὐτοῖς μέτρα πολὺ τι ἀποδέοντά ἐστιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδοῦσι παρέστηκεν ἐς τὸ ἄγαλμα δόξα, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα ἐς τοῦ Φειδίου τὴν τέχνην γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐκτετελεσμένον ἤδη τὸ ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἠῤῥατο ὁ Φειδίας ἐπισημῆναι τὸν θεὸν εἰ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ κατὰ γνώμην: αὐτίκα δ' ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ ἐδάφους κατασκῆψαι κεραυνὸν φασιν, ἔνθα ὕδρία καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπίθημα ἦν ἡ χαλκῆ.

[10] ὅσον δὲ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ

ἀγάλματος, τοῦτο οὐ λευκῷ, μέλανι δὲ κατεσκευάσται τῷ λίθῳ: περιθεῖ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν μέλανα λίθου Παρίου κρηπὶς, ἔρυμα εἶναι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἐκχεομένῳ. ἔλαιον γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον, καὶ ἔλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπεῖργον μὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ ἐλέφαντι βλάβος διὰ τὸ ἐλῶδες τῆς Ἄλτεως. ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἀθηναίων τὴν καλουμένην Παρθένον οὐκ ἔλαιον, ὕδωρ δὲ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἐλέφαντα ὠφελοῦν ἐστὶν: ἅτε γὰρ αὐχμηρᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οὔσης διὰ τὸ ἄγαν ὑψηλόν, τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένον ὕδωρ καὶ δρόσον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ποθεῖ.

[11] ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ δὲ ἐρομένου μου καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν οὔτε ὕδωρ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ σφισιν οὔτε ἔλαιόν ἐστιν ἐγγεόμενον, ἐδίδασκόν με οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐπὶ φρέατι εἶη πεποιημένα.

12. ὅσοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὰ διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐλέφασιν ἐξίσχοντα ὀδόντας τῶν θηρίων εἶναι καὶ οὐ κέρατα ἡγῆνται, τούτοις ἐστὶν ἀπιδεῖν μὲν ἐς τὰς ἄλκας, τὸ ἐν Κελτικῇ θηρίον, ἀπιδεῖν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπικοὺς ταύρους: ἄλκαι μὲν γὰρ κέρατα ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀφρύσιν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄρρενες, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ οὐ φύει τὸ παράπαν: οἱ δὲ Αἰθιοπικοὶ ταῦροι τὰ κέρατα φύουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ρινί. τίς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαιτο ἔτι ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι διὰ στόματος ζῶν κέρατα ἐκφῶναι; [2] πάρεστι δὲ ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε ἔτι: κέρατα γὰρ κατὰ ἐτῶν περίοδον ἀπογίνεται καὶ αὐθις ἐκβλαστάνει ζῶις, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαφοι τε καὶ δορκάδες, ὡσάυτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πεπόνθασιν. ὁδοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὄτῳ

δεύτερα παρέσται ζῶν τῶν γε ἤδη τελείων· εἰ δὲ ὀδόντες τὰ διὰ στόματος ἐξίσχοντα καὶ μὴ κέρατα ἦσαν, πῶς ἂν καὶ ἀνεφύοντο αὐθις; οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἴκειν πυρὶ ἔχουσιν ὀδόντες φύσιν· κέρατα δὲ καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐς ὁμαλές τε ἐκ περιφεροῦς καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἄγεται σχήματα. ποταμίους γε μὴν ἵπποις καὶ ὑσὶν ἢ κάτωθεν γένυς τοὺς χαυλιόδοντας φέρει, κέρατα δὲ ἀναφυόμενα οὐχ ὀρῶμεν ἐκ γενύων· [3] ἐλέφαντι οὖν τὰ κέρατα ἴστω τις διὰ κροτάφων κατερχόμενα ἄνωθεν καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐπιστρέφοντα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκοὴν γράφω, θεασάμενος δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐν γῇ τῇ Καμπανῶν κρανίον ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ· σταδίους δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα Καπύης τὸ ἱερόν, αὕτη δὲ ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστὶν ἡ Καπύη τῶν Καμπανῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐλέφας παρὰ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα διάφορον καὶ τὴν ἔκφυσιν παρέχεται τῶν κεράτων, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶδος οὐδὲν ἐοικότα ἐτέρῳ θηρίῳ· φιλότιμοι δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστά μοι καὶ ἐς θεῶν τιμὴν οὐ φειδωλοὶ χρημάτων γενέσθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἷς γε παρὰ Ἰνδῶν ἦγετο καὶ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἐλέφας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων. [4] ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπία παραπέτασμα ἐρεοῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῇ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ αἰγὶς ἡ χρυσεὴ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Γοργώ ἐστιν ἀναθήματα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀνέλκουσι, καλωδίους δὲ ἐπιχαλῶντες

καθιᾶσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος.

[5] ἀναθήματα δὲ ὁπόσα ἔνδον ἢ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ κεῖται, θρόνος ἐστὶν Ἀρμινήστου βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Τυρσηνοῖς, ὃς πρῶτος βαρβάρων ἀναθήματι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπία Δία ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ ἵπποι Κυνίσκας χαλκοῖ, σημεῖα Ὀλυμπικῆς νίκης· οὗτοι μέγεθος μὲν ἀποδέουσιν ἵππων, ἐστήκασιν δὲ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τοῖς ἐσιοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. κεῖται δὲ καὶ τρίπους ἐπίχαλκος, ἐφ' οὗ πρὶν ἢ τὴν τράπεζαν ποιηθῆναι προετίθεντο τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. [6] βασιλέων δὲ ἀνδριάντας, Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν αἰ ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν τελοῦσαι πόλεις ἀνέθεσαν Παρίου λίθου, Τραϊανοῦ δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες. οὗτος προσεκτήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θράκης Ὀσρόη τε τῷ ἀπογόνῳ τῷ Ἀρσάκου καὶ Πάρθοις ἐπολέμησεν· ὁπόσα δὲ ἐς ἔργων ἔχει οἱ κατασκευὴν, ἀξιολογώτατά ἐστι λουτρά ἐπώνυμα αὐτοῦ καὶ θέατρον μέγα κυκλοτερές πανταχόθεν καὶ οἰκοδόμημα ἐς ἵππων δρόμους προῆκον καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίων μῆκος, καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰ κόσμου τε ἔνεκα τοῦ λοιποῦ θέας ἀξία καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ὄροφον χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον. [7] αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες αἱ τοῖς κατασκευάσμασι τοῖς περιφερέσιν ἐγκείμεναι, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἡλέκτρον βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν Αὐγούστου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος βασιλέως Νικομήδους ἐλέγετο εἶναι Βιθυνῶν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεων μετεβλήθη τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀστακῶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου καλουμένη· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῇ Ζυποίτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστής, Θραξ γένος εἰκάζοντί γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος. τὸ δὲ ἡλεκτρον τοῦτο οὗ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πεποιήνται τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅσον μὲν αὐτόματον ἐν τοῦ Ἡριδανοῦ ταῖς ψάμμοις εὐρίσκεται, σπανίζεται τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνθρώπων τίμιον πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἔνεκα· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡλεκτρον ἀναμεμιγμένος ἐστὶν ἀργύρῳ χρυσός. [8] ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπία ναῷ Νέρωνος ἀναθήματα τρεῖς μὲν ἐς

κοτίνου φύλλα στέφανοι, τέταρτος δὲ ἐς δρυὸς ἐστὶ μεμιμημένος· κείνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀσπίδες χαλκαῖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς ὀπλιτεύουσιν εἶναι φορήματα ἐς τὸν δρόμον. στήλαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἐστήκασι καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ Μαντινέας ἔχουσα ὄρκον παρὰ Ἑλείων ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐτὼν ἑκατόν.

13. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως καὶ Πέλοπι ἀποτετμημένον τέμενος· ἡρώων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοσοῦτον προτετμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ἑλείων ὅσον Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ δεξιὰν τῆς ἐσόδου πρὸς ἄνεμον Βορέαν τὸ Πελόπιον, ἀφεστηκὸς μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τοσοῦτον ὥς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄλλα ἀνακεῖσθαι, παρήκει δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπὸ μέσου μάλιστα ἀρξάμενον τοῦ ναοῦ· καὶ λίθων τε θριγκῶ περιέχεται καὶ δένδρα ἐντὸς πεφυκότα καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἀνακεῖμενοι, [2] ἔσδοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς δυσμῶν ἐστὶν ἡλίου. τοῦτο ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ Πέλοπι Ἡρακλεῖς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος λέγεται· τέταρτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπόγονος καὶ οὗτος ἦν Πέλοπος, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἔθυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπι. θύουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ κατὰ ἔτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες· τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖόν ἐστι κριὸς μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ γίνεται τῷ μάντει μοῖρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ μόνον δίδοσθαι τοῦ κριοῦ καθέστηκε τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ ξυλεῖ. [3] ἔστι δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόσκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ιδιώτῃ· τὰ δὲ λεύκης μόνης ξύλα καὶ ἄλλου δένδρου ἐστὶν οὐδενός· ὃς δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Ἑλείων ἢ ξένων τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Πέλοπι ἱερείου φάγη τῶν κρεῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν οἱ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν Δία. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περιγᾶμφ τῇ ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Καΐκου πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Τηλέφῳ θύοντες· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτοις ἀναβῆναι πρὸ λουτροῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν. [4] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτον· μηχανομένου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλῖω πολέμου τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, προαγορευσαὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τοὺς μάντις ὥς αἰρήσουσιν οὐ πρότερον τὴν πόλιν, πρὶν ἂν τὰ Ἡρακλέους τόξα καὶ ὅστουν ἐπαγάγωνται Πέλοπος. οὕτω δὴ μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν Φιλοκτήτην φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀχθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁστῶν ὠμοπλάτην σφίσιν ἐκ Πίσσης τῶν Πέλοπος· ὥς δὲ οἵκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἀπόλλυται περὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ ἡ ναὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ τὸ ὅστουν φέρουσα τὸ Πέλοπος. [5] ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου Δαμάρμενον ἀλιέα ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀφέντα δίκτυον ἐς θάλασσαν τὸ ὅστουν ἐλκύσαι, θαυμάσαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἔχειν ἀποκρύναντα ὑπὸ τὴν ψάμμον. τέλος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὅτου τε ἀνδρὸς τὸ ὅστουν εἶη καὶ ὃ τι χρηστέον αὐτῷ διδαχθῆναι δεησόμενον. [6] καὶ πῶς κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ τηνικαῦτα πρεσβεία παρῆν Ἑλείων ἐπανόρθωμα αἰτούντων νόσου

λοιμώδους· ἀνεῖπεν οὖν σφισιν ἡ Πυθία, τοῖς μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι Πέλοπος τὰ ὁστὰ, Δαμαρμένῳ δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ εὐρημένα αὐτῷ Ἑλείοις. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι ἄλλα τε ἀντέδοσαν Ἑλεῖοι καὶ Δαμάρμενόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπογόνους τοὺς ἐκείνου φύλακας σφᾶς εἶναι τοῦ ὁστοῦ. ἡ δὲ ὠμοπλάτη τοῦ Πέλοπος ἠφάνιστο ἤδη κατ' ἐμέ, ὅτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐκέκρυπτο ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ προσέκαμνεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. [7] Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε

λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἑρμῶν ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαλμα ἐν Τήμῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμη, προῖλασκόμενόν τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον. [8] ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμὸς ἴσον μὲν μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπέχων, προκείμενος μέντοι καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων· κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἡρώων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενεαῖς δύο ὕστερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. πεποιήται δὲ ἱερείων τῶν θυομένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ· τέφρας γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Σαμίᾳ βωμὸς οὐδὲν τι ἐπιφανέστερος ἢ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὡς αὐτοσχεδίας

Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἐσχάρας.

[9] τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρηπιδὸς μὲν τῆς πρώτης, προθύσεως καλουμένης, πόδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ περίοδος, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ προθύσει περίμετρος ἐπακτοῦ πόδες δύο καὶ τριάκοντα· τὸ δὲ ὕψος τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν ἐς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνήκει πόδας. αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν μέρει τῷ κάτω, τῇ προθύσει, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς θύειν· τοὺς μηροὺς δὲ ἀναφέροντες ἐς τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ ὑψηλέστατον καθαγίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα. [10] ἀναβασμοὶ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν πρόθυσιν ἀνάγουσιν ἐξ ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς λίθου πεποιημένοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προθύσεως ἐς τὸ ἄνω τοῦ βωμοῦ τέφρας παρέχεται καὶ ἀναβασμούς. ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς προθύσεως ἔστιν ἀναβῆναι καὶ παρθένοις καὶ ὡσαύτως γυναιξίν, ἐπειδὴν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας μὴ ἐξείργωνται· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ βωμοῦ μόνοις ἔστιν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελθεῖν. θύεται δὲ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς πανηγύρεως ὑπὸ τε ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων. [11] κατ' ἔτος δὲ ἕκαστον φυλάξαντες οἱ μάντιες τὴν ἐνάτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἐλαφίου μηνὸς κομίζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τὴν τέφραν, φυράσαντες δὲ τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ κονιῶσιν οὕτω τὸν βωμόν. ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλου τὴν τέφραν ὕδατος ποιηθῆναι πηλὸν οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐγγένηται· καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ὁ Ἀλφειὸς νενόμισται τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ποταμῶν δὴ μάλιστα εἶναι φίλος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις τῶν Μιλησίων βωμός, ἐποιήθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Θηβαίου, καθὰ οἱ Μιλήσιοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων τοῦ αἵματος· ἐς δὲ τὰ ὕστερα τὸ αἶμα τῶν θυμάτων οὐκ ἐς ὑπέρογκον ἠϋξήκεν αὐτὸν μέγεθος.

14. ὁ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βωμὸς παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε ἐς θαῦμα· οἱ γὰρ ἱκτῖνες πεφυκότες ἀρπάξιν μάλιστα ὀρνίθων ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς θύοντας· ἦν δὲ ἀρπάγη ποτὲ ἱκτίνος ἦτοι σπλάγχνα ἢ τῶν κρεῶν, νενόμισται τῷ θύοντι οὐκ αἴσιον εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον. φασὶ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης θύοντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δι' ὄχλου μάλιστα γενέσθαι τὰς μυίας· ἐξευρόντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου διδαχθέντα Ἀπομυῖῳ θῦσαι Δίῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἀποτραπῆναι τὰς μυίας πέραν τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ. λέγονται δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ἡλείοι θύειν τῷ Ἀπομυῖῳ Δίῃ, ἐξελαύνοντες τῆς Ἡλείας Ὀλυμπίας τὰς μυίας. [2] τῆς δὲ λεύκης μόνης τοῖς ξύλοις ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δένδρου τῶν ἄλλων οἱ Ἡλείοι χρῆσθαι νομίζουσι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν

προτιμῶντες ἑμοὶ δοκεῖν τὴν λεύκη, ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκόμισεν αὐτὴν ἐς Ἑλληνας ἐκ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος χώρας. καὶ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐφαίνετο, ἡνίκα τῷ Διὶ ἔθυνεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τῶν ἱερείων τὰ μηρία ἐπὶ λεύκης καῦσαι ξύλων: τὴν δὲ λεύκην ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πεφυκυῖαν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα εὗρε τὸν ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ ποταμόν, καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκά φασιν αὐτὴν Ἀχερωίδα ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου καλεῖσθαι.

[3] εἶχον δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐς τότε ἔχουσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεῖως πρὸς γένεσιν πόας τε καὶ δένδρων: ἀλλὰ πλεῖσται μὲν ὑπὸ Μαϊάνδρου μυρῖκαι καὶ μάλιστα αὖξονται, Ἀσωπὸς δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος βαθυτάτας πέφυκεν ἐκτρέφειν τὰς σχοίνους, τὸ δένδρον δὲ ἡ περσεῖα μόνου χαίρει τοῦ Νεῖλου τῷ ὕδατι. οὕτω καὶ τὴν λεύκην θαῦμα οὐδὲν καὶ αἰγερὸν τε καὶ κότινον, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀχέροντι ἀναφῦναι πρῶτῳ, κότινον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ, τὴν δὲ αἰγειρον γῆς τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ θρέμμα εἶναι. [4] φέρε δὴ, ἐποησάμεθα γὰρ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μνήμην, ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς βωμούς: ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἣντινα Ἥλαιοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι. θύουσι δὲ Ἑστία μὲν πρῶτῃ, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, τρίτῃ δὲ Λαοίτῃ Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Λαοίτῃ: ἐπὶ ἐνὸς βωμοῦ καὶ αὕτη καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία.

[5] τέταρτα καὶ πέμπτα Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι καὶ Ληϊτίδι Ἀθηνᾶ, ἕκτα Ἐργάνῃ: ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ φαίδρυνται, γέρας παρὰ Ἥλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὗτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρχονται. ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος παρ' αὐτὸν τετράγωνος ἀνήκων ἡρέμα ἐς ὕψος. [6] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κατειλεγμένους Ἀλφειῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἐνὸς βωμοῦ: τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου παρεδήλωσε μὲν πού καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾧδῃ, γράφομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς Λετριναίοις. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καὶ ἄλλος τῷ Ἀλφειῷ βωμὸς πεποιήται, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου: τοῦ δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὸν βωμὸν εἰσιν Ἥλείων οἱ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀρείου Διός: λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμαος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύει τῷ Ἀρείῳ Διὶ, ὁπότε τῶν Ἱπποδαμείας μνηστήρων καθίστασθαι μέλλοι τινὶ ἐς ἵππων ἄμιλλαν. [7] μετὰ τοῦτον πεποιήται μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ βωμὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Παραστάτῃ, πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἐπιμήδει καὶ Ἴδα καὶ Παιωνίῳ τε καὶ Ἰάσῳ: τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἰδα βωμὸν Ἀκεσίδα ὑπὸ ἐτέρων οἶδα καλούμενον. ἐνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμέλια ἐστὶ τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταῦθά εἰσι βωμοί, Διὸς τε Ἐρκείου — τοῦτον ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐφαίνετο αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσασθαι —, τῷ δὲ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ὕστερον ἐποιήσαντο ἑμοὶ δοκεῖν βωμὸν, ὅτ' ἐς τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηψεν ὁ κεραυνός. [8] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν μέγαν βωμὸν ὀλίγῳ μὲν τι ἡμῖν πρότερόν ἐστιν εἰρημένα, καλεῖται δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διός: πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαρσίου Διὸς καὶ Νίκης καὶ αὖθις Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Χθονίου. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων βωμοὶ καὶ Ἥρας ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ὀλυμπίας, πεποιημένος τέφρας καὶ οὗτος: Κλυμένου δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀνάθημα εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ,

διότι Ἑρμῆν λύρας, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ εὐρέτην εἶναι κιθάρας Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος. [9] ἐφεξῆς δὲ Ὀμονοίας βωμὸς καὶ αὐθις Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν. τῆς ἐσόδου δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον εἰσὶν ἐγγύτατα βωμοὶ δύο: τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Ἑρμοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἐναγωνίου, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Καιροῦ. Ἴωνι δὲ οἶδα τῷ Χίῳ καὶ ὕμνον πεπονημένον Καιροῦ: γενεαλογεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ νεώτατον παίδων Διὸς Καιρὸν εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Σικυωνίων θησαυροῦ ἦτοι Κουρήτων ἢ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους: λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω. [10] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλουμένῳ, βωμὸς ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γῆς, τέφρας καὶ οὗτος: τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα καὶ μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς αὐτόθι εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Στομίῳ Θέμιδι ὁ βωμὸς πεποιήται. τοῦ δὲ Καταιβάτου Διὸς προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα, ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. μεμνήσθω δὲ τις οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον τῆς ἰδρύσεως ἀριθμουμένους τοὺς βωμούς, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῇ Ἡλείων ἐς τὰς θυσίας συμπερινοστοῦντα ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον. πρὸς δὲ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος Διονύσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων ἐν κοινῷ, μεταξὺ δὲ αὐτῶν Μουσῶν καὶ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ βωμός.

15. ἔστι δὲ οἶκημα ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως, καλεῖται δὲ ἐργαστήριον Φειδίου, καὶ ὁ Φειδίας καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζετο: ἔστιν οὖν βωμὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ. ὀπίσω δὲ ἀναστρέψαντι αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Λεωνίδαίου — [2] τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ Λεωνίδαίον, τῶν δὲ ἐσόδων πεποιήται τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν, ἢ μόνη τοῖς πομπεύουσιν ἐστὶν ὁδός: τοῦτο δὲ ἀνδρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Λεωνίδου, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐσφικίζοντο οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύοντες: διέστηκε δὲ ἀγυιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς πομπικῆς, τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλουμένους στενωποὺς ἀγυῖας ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι — [3] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τοῦ Λεωνίδαίου περᾶν μέλλοντι ἐς ἀριστερὰν Ἀφροδίτης βωμὸς καὶ Ὠρῶν μετ' αὐτόν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ πεφυκὼς κότινος: καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαία Καλλιστέφανος, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια καθέστηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς δίδοσθαι τοὺς στεφάνους. τούτου πλησίον τοῦ κοτίνου πεποιήται Νύμφαις βωμός: [4] Καλλιστεφάνους ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ταύτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγοραίας βωμός, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Λεωνίδαίου, πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Δεσποίναις — τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσιν Δέσποιναν διδάξει μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας — , μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔστιν Ἀγοραίου Διὸς βωμός, πρὸ δὲ τῆς καλουμένης Προεδρίας Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπωνυμίαν Πυθίου καὶ μετ' αὐτόν Διονύσου: τοῦτον οὔτε πάλαι τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι λέγουσιν. [5] ἰόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεςιν τῶν ἵππων ἔστι βωμός, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα: δηλαδὴ οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἶναι Διὸς ὅς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν, ὅσα διδόασιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωταί σφισι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστὶν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψίστου: ἐν δὲ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἀφέσει ἐν μὲν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ, τῆς ἀφέσεως κατὰ μέσον που μάλιστα, Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἡρας εἰσὶν Ἰππίας βωμοί, πρὸς δὲ τῷ κίονι Διοσκούρων. [6] τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἐμβολον καλούμενον ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Ἀρεως Ἰππίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας

βωμός, ἐς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἑμβολὸν ἐσελθόντων Τύχης ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς βωμός καὶ Πανός τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἐνδοτάτῳ δὲ τοῦ Ἑμβόλου Νυμφῶν ὡς Ἀκμηνὰς καλοῦσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ἦν οἱ Ἥλαιοι καλοῦσιν Ἀγνάπτου, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπονομάζοντες τῷ οἰκοδομήματι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπανιόντι ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμός Ἀρτέμιδος. [7] ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὐθις διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν, εἰσὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου Κλαδέου τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοί, ὁ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κοκκῶκας, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος Θερμίου. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἥλαιοις Θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο εἰκάζειν ὡς κατὰ Ἀτθίδα γλῶσσαν εἶη θέσμιος· ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ Ἀρτεμιν ἐπονομάζουσι Κοκκῶκαν, οὐχ οἶα τε ἦν μοι διδαχθῆναι. [8] ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Θεηκολεῶνος οἴκημα· τούτου δὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τοῦ οἰκήματος Πανὸς ἵδρυται βωμός. τὸ πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἥλαιοις ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀλτεως ἐντός, πεποιήται δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἣ ἐστὶ τοῦ γυμνασίου πέραν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ τε δρόμοι τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσιν αἱ παλαιστραι. τοῦ πρυτανείου δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῶν θυρῶν βωμός ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας· [9] ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανείῳ παριόντων ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἔνθα σφίσιν ἡ ἐστία, Πανός ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου βωμός. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ ἐστία τέφρας καὶ αὕτη πεποιημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὡσαύτως καίεται· ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐστίας τὴν τέφραν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμόν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς μέγεθος συντελεῖ τῷ βωμῷ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἐπιφορούμενον. [10] ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνὸς θύουσιν ἐπὶ πάντων Ἥλαιοι τῶν κατειλεγμένων βωμῶν. θύουσι δὲ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον· λιβανωτὸν γὰρ ὁμοῦ πυροῖς μεμαγμένοις μέλιτι θυμῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, τιθέασιν δὲ καὶ κλῶνας ἐλαίας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἶνω χρῶνται σπονδῇ. μόναις δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσποίταις σπένδουσιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν. μέλει δὲ τὰ ἐς θυσίας θεηκόλῳ τε, ὃς ἐπὶ μηνὶ ἐκάστῳ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχει, καὶ μάντεσι καὶ σπονδοφόροις, ἔτι δὲ ἐξηγητῇ τε καὶ αὐλητῇ καὶ τῷ ξυλεῖ.

[11] ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς λέγειν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καθέστηκεν, ἥ καὶ ὕμνους ὁποίους ᾄδουσιν, οὗ με ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπεισαγαγέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν λόγον. θεοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ σπένδουσιν καὶ Ἥρα τε Ἀμμωνία καὶ Παράμμωνι· Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ κλησίς ἐστιν ὁ Παράμμων. φαίνονται δὲ χρώμενοι ἐκ παλαιστοτάτου τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντεῖῳ, καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἥλειων ἐν Ἀμμωνός εἰσι βωμοί· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὅσα τε ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἥλαιοι καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμωνα ἦλθον ἐξ Ἥλιδος. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμμωνος· [12] Ἥλαιοι δὲ καὶ ἥρωσι καὶ γυναιξὶ σπένδουσιν ἡρώων, ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἠλείᾳ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν. ὅποσα δὲ ᾄδουσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ, φωνὴ μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ Δῶριος, ὅστις δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἦν τὰ ἄσματα, οὐ λέγουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐστιατόριον Ἥλαιοις· καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ἐντός τοῦ πρυτανείου, τοῦ οἰκήματος τοῦ τῆς ἐστίας ἀπαντικρῶ, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ὀλύμπια νικῶντας ἐστιῶσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι.

16. λείπεται δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς τε Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρόποντα ἐς συγγραφὴν. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἥλειων ὡς Σκυλλούντιοι τῶν

ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ πόλεων εἰσιν οἱ κατασκευασάμενοι τὸν ναὸν ὁκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ἐν Ἑλιδι ἐκτίησαν Ὁξύλοιοι. ἐργασία μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ Δῶριος, κίονες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκησιν αὐτόν: ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ δρυὸς ὁ ἕτερος τῶν κίωνων ἐστὶ. μῆκος δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες ἐννέα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ τρεῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῶν πεντήκοντα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ: τὸν δὲ ἀρχιτέκτονα ὅστις ἐγένετο οὐ μνημονεύουσι. [2] διὰ πέμπτου δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἑρᾷ πέπλον αἱ ἑξ καὶ δέκα γυναῖκες: αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τιθέασιν καὶ ἀγῶνα Ἑραῖα. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν ἄμιλλα δρόμου παρθένους: οὗτοι ποὺ πᾶσαι ἡλικίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶται μὲν αἱ νεώταται, μετὰ ταύτας δὲ αἱ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ δευτέραι, τελευταῖαι δὲ θέουσιν ὅσαι πρεσβυτάται τῶν παρθένων εἰσὶ. [3] θέουσι δὲ οὕτω: καθεῖται σφισιν ἡ κόμη, χιτῶν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ γόνατος καθήκει, τὸν ὦμον ἄχρι τοῦ στήθους φαίνουσι τὸν δεξιόν. ἀποδεδειγμένον μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνά ἐστι καὶ ταύταις τὸ Ὀλυμπικὸν στάδιον, ἀφαιροῦσι δὲ αὐταῖς ἐς τὸν

δρόμον τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ἕκτον μάλιστα: ταῖς δὲ νικώσαις ἐλαίας τε διδόασιν στεφάνους καὶ βοῶς μοῖραν τεθυμένης τῇ Ἑρᾷ, καὶ δὴ ἀναθεῖναι σφισιν ἔστι γραψαμέναις εἰκόνας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ διακονούμεναι ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα κατὰ ταῦτά ταῖς ἀγωνοθετούσαις γυναῖκες. [4] ἐπανάγουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν παρθένων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα, Ἱπποδάμειαν τῇ Ἑρᾷ τῶν γάμων τῶν Πέλοπος ἐκτίνουσιν χάριν τὰς τε ἑκκαίδεκα ἀθροῖσαι γυναῖκας λέγοντες καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς διαθεῖναι πρῶτην τὰ Ἑραῖα: μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅτι Χλῶρις νικήσειεν Ἀμφίονος θυγάτηρ μόνῃ λειψθεῖσα τοῦ οἴκου. σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἓνα περιγενέσθαι φασὶ τῶν ἀρσένων: ἃ δὲ ἐς τοὺς Νιόβης παῖδας παρίστατο αὐτῷ μοι γινώσκειν, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς Ἀργεῖους ἐδήλωσα. [5] ἐς δὲ τὰς ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκας καὶ ἄλλον τοιόνδε λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ λόγον. Δαμοφῶντά φασιν τυραννοῦντα ἐν Πίσῃ πολλά τε ἐργάσασθαι καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἑλείους: ὥς δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Δαμοφῶν — οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἱ Πισαῖοι συνεχώρουν μετέχειν δημοσίᾳ τοῦ τυράννου τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ πῶς ἀρεστὰ καὶ Ἑλείους ἐγένετο καταλύεσθαι τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα — , οὕτως ἑκκαίδεκα οἰκουμένων τηνικαῦτα ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ πόλεων γυναῖκα ἅφ' ἐκάστης εἵλοντο διαλύειν τὰ διάφορα σφισιν, ἣτις ἡλικία τε ἦν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἀξιώματι καὶ δόξῃ τῶν γυναικῶν προεῖχεν. [6] αἱ πόλεις δὲ ἅφ' ὧν τὰς γυναῖκας εἵλοντο, ἦσαν Ἑλῖς * * *. ἀπὸ τούτων μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες οὖσαι τῶν πόλεων Πισαίοις διαλλαγὰς πρὸς Ἑλείους ἐποίησαν: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπετράπησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὰ Ἑραῖα καὶ ὑφήνασθαι τῇ Ἑρᾷ τὸν πέπλον. αἱ δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες καὶ χοροὺς δύο ἰστάσι καὶ τὸν μὲν Φυσκόας τῶν χορῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἱπποδαμείας καλοῦσι: τὴν Φυσκόαν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλιδος τῆς Κοίλης, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ ἔνθα ὄκησεν ὄνομα μὲν Ὀρθίαν εἶναι. [7] ταύτῃ τῇ Φυσκόᾳ Διόνυσον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι, Φυσκόαν δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου τεκεῖν παῖδα Ναρκαῖον: τοῦτον, ὥς ἠϋξήθη, πολεμεῖν τοῖς προσοίκοις καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθῆναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Ναρκαΐας αὐτὸν ἰδρύσασθαι: Διονύσῳ τε τιμὰς λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ναρκαίου καὶ Φυσκόας δοθῆναι πρώτων. Φυσκόας μὲν δὴ γέρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χορὸς ἐπώνυμος παρὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα γυναικῶν, φυλάσσουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσπον Ἠλεῖοι καὶ τᾶλλα καταλυθειῶν ὅμως τῶν

πόλεων: νενεμημένοι γὰρ ἐς ὅκτῳ φυλάς ἀφ' ἐκάστης αἰροῦνται γυναῖκας δύο. [8] ὅποσα δὲ ἦ ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα γυναιξίν ἢ τοῖς ἔλλανοδικοῦσιν Ἥλειων δρᾶν καθέστηκεν, οὐ πρότερον δρῶσι πρὶν ἢ χοίρῳ τε ἐπιτηδεῖω πρὸς καθαρμὸν καὶ ὕδατι ἀποκαθίρωνται. γίνεται δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ Πιέρα τὰ καθάρσια: ἐκ δὲ Ὀλυμπίας τὴν πεδιάδα ἐς Ἥλιν ἐρχομένῳ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Πιέραν ἔστι.

17. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα: τῆς Ἥρας δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ: παρέστηκε δὲ γένειά τε ἔχων καὶ ἐπικείμενος κυνὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἔργα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπλᾶ. τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τούτων καθημένας ἐπὶ θρόνων Ὠρας ἐποίησεν Αἰγινήτης Σμῖλις. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὰς Θέμιδος ἅτε μητρὸς τῶν Ὠρῶν ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε Δορυκλείδου τέχνη, γένος μὲν Λακεδαιμονίου, μαθητοῦ δὲ Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος. [2] τὰς δὲ Ἑσπερίδας πέντε ἀριθμὸν Θεοκλῆς ἐποίησε, Λακεδαιμόνιος μὲν καὶ οὗτος, πατρὸς Ἠγύλου, φοιτῆσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Σκύλλιν καὶ Δίποινον λέγεται. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν κράνος ἐπικειμένην καὶ δόρυ καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔχουσιν Λακεδαιμονίου λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι Μέδοντος, τοῦτον δὲ ἀδελφόν τε εἶναι Δορυκλείδου καὶ παρὰ ἀνδράσι διδαχθῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς. [3] Κόρη δὲ καὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις, αἱ μὲν ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καθήμεναι, Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐναντίος ἐστώσῃ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἔστηκεν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Αἰητὴ Τύχη τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ ἔχουσα Νίκη πτερά: τοὺς δὲ εἰργασμένους αὐτὰ οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι, φαίνεται δὲ εἶναι μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατελεγμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον: Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δὲ ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλους, καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ χαλκῇ Κλέωνος ἔργον Σικυωνίου. [4] τούτου δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Κλέωνος, ὄνομα Ἀντιφάνης, ἐκ φοιτήσεως Περικλύτου, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητῆς ὁ Περικλύτος. παιδίον δὲ ἐπίχρυσον κάθηται γυμνὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης: Βοηθὸς δὲ ἐτόρευσε αὐτὸ Καλχηδόnius. μετεκομίσθη δὲ αὐτόσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Φιλίππειου, χρυσοῦ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Εὐρυδίκη τε ἡ Ἀριδαίου γυνὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπίας ἡ Φιλίππου. [5] λάρναξ δὲ κέδρου μὲν πεποιῆται, ζῶδια δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα τῆς κέδρου: ἐς ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα Κύψελον τὸν Κορίνθου τυραννήσαντα ἀπέκρυσεν ἡ μήτηρ, ἡνίκα τεχθέντα ἀνευρεῖν αὐτὸν σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο οἱ Βακχίδαι. τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τὴν λάρνακα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε ἐκάλουν Κορίνθιοι κυφέλας: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Κύψελον τῷ παιδί θέσθαι λέγουσι.

[6] τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα ἔπεστι τοῖς πλείοσι, γράμμασι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γεγραμμένα: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχήματα δὲ ἄλλα τῶν γραμμάτων βουστροφηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τοιόνδε: ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεῦτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐλιγμοῖς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποῖς. ἀρξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάτωθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ τῆς λάρνακος ἡ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα. [7] Οἰνόμαος διώκων Πέλοπᾶ ἐστὶν ἔχοντα

Ἰπποδάμειαν: ἐκατέρῳ μὲν δὴ δύο αὐτῶν εἰσιν ἵπποι, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐστὶ πεφυκότα καὶ περὰ. ἐξῆς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου τε ἡ οἰκία πεποιήται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον φέρει νήπιον πρεσβύτες ἧτις δὴ: πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὄρμον ἔχουσα ἔστηκε, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη καὶ Δημόνασσα, καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς γυμνός. [8] Ἄσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀλκμήνην ἐποίησε θυγατέρα Ἀμφιαράου καὶ Ἐριφύλης εἶναι. Βάτων δέ, ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ, τὰς τε ἡνίας τῶν ἵπων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέρᾳ λόγχην. Ἀμφιαράῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιβέβηκεν ἤδη τοῦ ἄρματος, τὸ ξίφος δὲ ἔχει γυμνὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἐστὶν ἐπεστραμμένος ἐξαγόμενός τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὥς μόλις ἐκείνης ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι. [9] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. πεποιήται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν θρόνῳ καθημένος καὶ ὀπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ: ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἄεστιν ἧτις ἐστί, Φρυγίοις δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς αὐλοῖς. ἡνιοχῶντες δὲ συνωρίδα Πίσός ἐστιν ὁ Περιήρους καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομήτου, πλεῦσαι καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, καὶ Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Ἄδμητος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐφημος, Ποσειδῶνός τε ὢν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον καὶ Ἰάσονι ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ μετεσχηκώς: οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῇ συνωρίδι ὁ νικῶν ἐστὶν. [10] οἱ δὲ ἀποτετολμηκότες πυκτεῦειν Ἄδμητος καὶ Μόψος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄμπυκος: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἐστηκώς ἐπαυλεῖ, καθότι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλματι αὐλεῖν τῶν πεντάθλων νομίζουσιν. Ἰάσονι δὲ καὶ Πηλεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς πάλης ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκε. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Εὐρυβάτας ἀφιεῖς δίσκον, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δίσκῳ φήμην ἔχων. οἱ δ' ἐς ἄμιλλαν δρόμου καθεστηκότες Μελανίων ἐστί καὶ Νεοθεὺς καὶ Φαλαρεὺς, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἴφικλος πέμπτος: τούτῳ δὲ νικῶντι ὀρέγει τὸν στέφανον ὁ Ἄκαστος: εἶη δ' ἂν ὁ Πρωτεσιλάου πατὴρ τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἴλιον. [11] κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τρίποδες, ἄθλα δὴ τοῖς νικῶσι, καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσὶν αἱ Πελίου: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλκήστιδι γέγραπται μόνη. Ἰόλαος δέ, ὃς ἐθελοντῆς μετεῖχεν Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἔργων, ἐστὶν ἵπων ἄρματι ἀννηρημένος νίκη. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀγὼν μὲν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία πέπανται, τὴν ὕδραν δέ, τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῇ Ἀμυμώνῃ θηρίον, Ἡρακλεῖ τοξεύοντι Ἀθηνᾶ παρέστηκεν: ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὄντος οὐκ ἀγνώστου τοῦ τε ἄθλου χάριν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι, τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον. Φινεύς τε ὁ Θραῶς ἐστί, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Βορέου τὰς Ἀρπυίας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώκουσιν.

18. τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γίνοιτο ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιόδου, πεποιήται δὲ γυνὴ παῖδα λευκὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα καθεύδοντι ἐοικότα, ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας. δηλοῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐστὶ Θάνατόν τε εἶναι σφᾶς καὶ Ὑπνον καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τροφόν. [2] γυνὴ δὲ εὐειδῆς γυναῖκα αἰσχροὺς κολάζουσα καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀπάγχουσα αὐτήν, τῇ δὲ ῥάβδῳ παίουσα, Δίκη ταῦτα Ἀδικίαν δρῶσά ἐστι: δύο δὲ ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐς ὅλους καθικνουμένας ὑπέροις, φάρμακα εἰδέναι σφᾶς νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτάς ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα ἐπομένην αὐτῷ τὰ ἔπη δηλοῖ τὰ ἐξάμετρα: λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως: “Ἴδας Μάρπησσαν καλλίσφυρον, ἂν

οἱ Ἀπόλλων

ἄρπασε, τὰν Εὐανοῦ ἄγει πάλιν οὐκ ἀέκουσαν.

“ [3] χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνδεδυκῶς ἀνὴρ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κύλικα, τῇ δὲ ἔχων ἐστὶν ὄρμον, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλκμήνη: πεποιῖται δὲ ἐς τὸν λόγον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς συγγένοιτο Ἀλκμήνῃ Ζεὺς Ἀμφιτρύωνι εἰκασθεῖς. Μενέλαος δὲ θώρακά τε ἐνδεδυκῶς καὶ ἔχων ξίφος ἐπεισιν Ἑλένην ἀποκτεῖναι, δηλαδὴ ὡς ἀλικομένης Ἰλίου. Μηδείας δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενης Ἰάσων ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέστηκε: γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς:”Μήδειαν Ἰάσων γαμέει, κέλεται δ’ Ἀφροδίτα.

“ [4] πεποιῖνται δὲ καὶ ἄδουσαι Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐξάρχων τῆς ᾠδῆς, καὶ σφισιν ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται:”Λατοῖδας οὗτος τάχ’ ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων:

Μοῦσαι δ’ ἅμφ’ αὐτόν, χαρίεις χορός, αἴσι κατάρχει.

“Ἀτλας δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὥμων κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐρανὸν τε ἀνέχει καὶ γῆν, φέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑσπερίδων μῆλα. ὅστις δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔχων τὸ ξίφος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντα ἐρχόμενος, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν οὐδέν, δηλαδὴ ἐς ἅπαντας Ἡρακλέα εἶναι. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις:”Ἀτλας οὐρανὸν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα μεθήσει.

“ [5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης ὅπλα ἐνδεδυκῶς, Ἀφροδίτην ἄγων: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ἐνυάλιος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. πεποιῖται δὲ καὶ Θέτις παρθένος, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πηλεὺς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς Θέτιδος ὄφιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πηλέα ἐστὶν ὄρμων. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ Μεδούσης ἔχουσαι πτερὰ πετόμενον Περσέα εἰσὶ διώκουσαι: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ Περσεῖ γέγραπται μόνῳ. [6] στρατιωτικά δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρα τῆς λάρνακος: τὸ μὲν πολὺ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοί, πεποιῖνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἱππεῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐστὶν εἰκάζειν συνιέναι μὲν σφᾶς ἐς μάχην, συνιέναι δὲ καὶ ἀσπασομένους τε καὶ ἀναγνωριοῦντας ἀλλήλους. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀμρότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐστὶν εἰρημένον Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς μετὰ Ὀξύλου καὶ Ἡλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχαίους, ἀπαντὰν δὲ σφᾶς γένους τε μνήμη τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἐς ἀλλήλους: οἱ δὲ συνιέναι φασὶν ἐς ἀγῶνα τὰ στρατιωτικά, Πυλίου δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἀρκάδας παρὰ τε Φειὰν πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν μαχομένους Ἰάρδανον.

[7] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀποδέξαιτο ἂν τις, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρόγονος Κορίνθιος τε ὢν καὶ τὴν λάρνακα αὐτῷ ποιούμενος κτῆμα, ὅποσα μὲν Κορινθίοις ἦν ἐπιχώρια, ἐκὼν ὑπερέβαινε, ἃ δὲ ξενικά τε καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἦκοντα ἐς δόξαν, ἐτεχνάτο ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι: αὐτῷ μέντοι παρίστατο ἐμοὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζειν. Κυψέλω καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἐκ τῶνδε Γονούσης ἦν γένος ἐξ ἀρχῆς γονούσης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος, καὶ πρόγονός σφισιν ἦν Μέλας ὁ Ἀντάσου: [8] Μέλανα δὲ καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα μοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ οὐκ ἤθελεν Ἀλήτης συνοίκους δέξασθαι, γεγονός οἱ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ὑφορώμενος, ἐς ὃ θεραπείᾳ τε τῇ πάσῃ χρώμενον καὶ Μέλανα καὶ ὅποτε ἀπελασθεῖν σὺν δεήσει ἐπανιόντα αὐθις ἐδέξατο καὶ ἄκων Ἀλήτης. τοῦτο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τεκμαίροιο ἂν τις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι εἰργασμένους εἶναι.

19. τέταρτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς περιόντι Βορέας ἐστὶν

ἥρπакὼς Ὠρεΐθυιαν — οὐραὶ δὲ ὄφεων ἀντὶ ποδῶν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ — καὶ Ἡρακλέους ὁ πρὸς Γηρυόνην ἀγών: τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες Γηρυόνης εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι. Θησεὺς δὲ ἔχων λύραν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀριάδνη κατέχουσά ἐστι στέφανον. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ καὶ Μένμονι μαχομένοις παρεστήκασιν αἱ μητέρες: [2] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μελανίων καὶ Ἀταλάντη παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχουσα ἐλάφου νεβρόν. μονομαχοῦντος δὲ Αἴαντι Ἑκτορος κατὰ τὴν πρόκλησιν, μεταξὺ ἔστηκεν αὐτῶν Ἑρὶς αἰσχίστη τὸ εἶδος εοικυῖα: πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ Καλλιφῶν Σάμιος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑφεσίας ἐποίησεν Ἑριν, τὴν μάχην γράψας τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι Διόσκουροι, ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, μέση δὲ αὐτῶν Ἑλένη: [3] Αἶθρα δὲ ἡ Πιτθέως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς ἑδάφος καταβεβλημένη μέλαιναν ἔχουσά ἐστιν ἐσθῆτα, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπος τε ἐξάμετρον καὶ ὀνόματός ἐστιν ἐνὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξαμέτρῳ προσθήκη: “Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἶθραν δ' ἔλκετον

Ἀθάναθεν.

“ [4] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔπος οὕτω πεποιήται: Ἰφιδάμαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κειμένου μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κῶνον ἐστὶ: Φόβος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἔπεστιν, ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντος. ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἰφιδάμαντος νεκροῦ, “Ἰφιδάμας οὗτός τε Κῶνον περιμάρνεται αὐτοῦ:

“τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι, [5] “οὗτος μὲν Φόβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὁ δ' ἔχων Ἀγαμέμνων.

“ἄγει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου τὰς θεὰς κριθησομένας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τούτοις:” Ἑρμείας ὁδ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δείκνυσι διαιτῇν

τοῦ εἵδους Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθάναν καὶ Ἀφροδίταν.

“Ἄρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας ἔχουσά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδραν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος Αἴας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔλκων, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν:” Αἴας Κασσάνδραν ἀπ' Ἀθαναίας Λοκρὸς ἔλκει.

“ [6] τῶν δὲ Οἰδίποδος παίδων Πολυνεῖκει πεπτωκότη ἐς γόνυ ἔπεισιν Ἑτεοκλῆς. τοῦ Πολυνεῖκους δὲ ὀπισθεν γυνὴ ἔστηκεν ὀδόντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν ἡμερωτέρους θηρίου καὶ οἱ τῶν χειρῶν εἰσὶν ἐπικαμπεῖς οἱ ὄνυχες: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἶναι φησι Κῆρα, ὡς τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπτωμένου τὸν Πολυνεῖκην ἀπαχθέντα, Ἑτεοκλεῖ δὲ γενομένης καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς τελευτῆς. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ κατακείμενος, γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν, ἐνδεδυκὼς ἐστὶ ποδῆρη χιτῶνα: δένδρα δὲ ἄμπελοι περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ μυῖαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ῥόαι. [7] ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτω χώρα — πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμόν εἰσι — παρέχεται μὲν ἐπίγραμμα οὐδέν, λείπεται δὲ εἰκάζειν ἐς τὰ ἐπειρασμένα. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐν σπηλαίῳ γυνὴ καθεύδουσα σὺν ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλίνῃ, καὶ σφᾶς Ὀδυσσεά εἶναι καὶ Κίρκην ἐδοξάζομεν ἀριθμῷ τε τῶν θεραπειῶν, αἱ εἰσι πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, καὶ τοῖς ποιουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν: τέσσαρές τε γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐργάζονται τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος εἶρηκε. Κένταυρος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πάντας ἵππου πόδας, τοὺς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνδρός ἐστιν.

[8] ἐξῆς καὶ ἵππων συνωρίδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἰσὶν

20. ἔστι δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, κλίνη τε μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη, τὰ πολλὰ ἐλέφαντι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ὁ Ἰφίτου δίσκος καὶ τράπεζα ἐφ' ἧς προτίθενται τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ἱπποδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι παίγιον· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκχειρίαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσιν Ἡλεῖοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλου σχῆμα περίεσιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα.

[5] καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπαναβαίνοντες ἡμύνοντο οἱ Ἥλαιοι. οὗτος δ' οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἡμῖν ὑποδῦναι μὲν ἐνταῦθα λιποψυχήσας ὑπὸ τραυμάτων· ὥς δὲ ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄρα οὔτε πνίγος θέρους οὔτε ἐν χειμῶνι κρυμὸς ἔσεσθαι τῷ νεκρῷ βλάβος ἅτε ἐν σκέπῃ πάσῃ κειμένῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τότε ἔτι ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, ὥς ἐκκομίσαιτο ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ὁμοῦ

τοῖς ὅλοις γῆ κρύψαιεν. [6] ἦν δὲ καλοῦσιν Οἰνομάου κίονα καὶ οἱ Ἥλαιοι καλοῦσιν, ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ: τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κίονες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφος, πεποιήνται δὲ ἔρυμα εἶναι ξυλίνῳ κίονι πεπονηκότι ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ δεσμῶν συνεχομένῳ. οὗτος ὁ κίων ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, καθὰ λέγουσιν, εἰστήκει: κεραυνώσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἠφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐξ ἀπάσης μόνον.

[7] πινάκιον δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦν ἐλεγεία ἔχει γεγραμμένα: “καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κεινῶν εἴμ' ὃ ξένη λείψανον οἴκων,

στυλὶς ἐν Οἰνομάου πρὶν ποτ' εἶδ' ἑοῦσα δόμοις:

νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδην κεῖμαι τάδ' ἔχουσα τὰ δεσμὰ

τίμιος: οὐδ' ὀλοὴ δαίσατο φλόξ με πυρός.

“συνέβη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο κατ' ἐμὲ τοιόνδε. [8] ἀνὴρ βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην: ἐθέλων δὲ ὑπολιπέσθαι τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημα χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σὺν ἐπιγράμματι, ὥρυσσεν ἐς ποίησιν βάθρου: καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο ἐγγύτατα τὸ ὄρυγμα αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ Οἰνομάου κίονος, ἐνταῦθα εὗρισκον οἱ ὀρύσσοντες καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χαλινῶν καὶ ψαλίων θραύματα. [9] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς ἐώρων ὀρυσσόμενα: ναὸν δὲ μεγέθει οὐ μέγαν καὶ ἐργασία Δώριον Μητρῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καλοῦσιν ἔτι, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ διασώζοντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον: κεῖται δὲ οὐκ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ θεῶν Μητρός, βασιλέων δὲ ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες Ῥωμαίων. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως τό τε Μητρῶν καὶ οἴκημα περιφερὲς ὀνομαζόμενον Φιλιππεῖον: ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Φιλιππείου μῆκων χαλκῇ σύνδεσμος ταῖς δοκοῖς.

[10] τοῦτο τὸ οἶκημα ἔστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πεποιήται δὲ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου, κίονες δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστήκασιν: Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν. κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι Φιλίππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατήρ: ἔργα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρους ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες.

21. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἔς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν. ἀναμῖξαι δὲ οὐκ ἄρεστὰ ἦν μοι τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον. ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὅποσα ἄλλα, τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀλτεῖ τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκεινται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικάντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἀνδριάντων ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην: ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις. [2] ἰόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρώου, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρητὶς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς: πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρητῖδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾷ. ταῦτα ἐποιήθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες.

[3] πρῶτοι δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἑξ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ἔστησαν καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος: Εὐπωλος γὰρ Θεσσαλὸς χρήμασι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν πυκτῶν, Ἀγήτορα Ἀρκάδα καὶ Πρύτανιν Κυζικηνόν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ

Φορμίωνα Ἀλικαρνασσέα μὲν γένος, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης κρατήσαντα. τοῦτο ἐξ ἀθλητῶν ἀδίκημα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ πρῶτοι χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλείων Εὐπώλου καὶ οἱ δεξάμενοι δῶρα παρὰ Εὐπώλου. δύο μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔργα Κλέωνος Σικυωνίου: τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τέσσαρα ὅστις ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἴσμεν. [4] τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τούτων

παρέντι τρίτον τε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τέταρτον, γεγραμμένα ἐλεγεία ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐλεγείων δηλοῦν ὥς οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ ὠκύτητι τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος σώματος Ὀλυμπικὴν ἐστὶν εὐρέσθαι νίκην, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὥς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστηκε τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας τῆς Ἑλείων καὶ ἀθληταῖς παρανομοῦσιν εἶναι δέος: πέμπτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕκτῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος γνώμη τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς ἔπαινον Ἑλείων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῇ ζημίᾳ τῶν πυκτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὑπολοίπῳ διδασκαλίαν πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδένα ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπικῇ νίκῃ διδόναι χρήματα. [5] Εὐπώλου δὲ ὕστερόν φασιν Ἀθηναῖον Κάλλιππον ἀθλήσαντα πένταθλον ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιζομένους χρήμασι, δευτέραν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα τε καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι ταύτην. ἐπιβληθείσης δὲ τῷ Καλλίπῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισαμένοις ζημίας ὑπὸ Ἑλείων, ἀποστέλλουσιν Ὑπερείδην Ἀθηναῖοι πείσοντα Ἑλείους ἀφεῖναι σφισι τὴν ζημίαν: ἀπειπόντων δὲ Ἑλείων τὴν χάριν, ἐχρῶντο ὑπεροψία τοιαύτη ἐς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε ἀποδιδόντες τὰ χρήματα καὶ Ὀλυμπίων εἰργόμενοι, πρὶν ἢ σφισιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς οὐ πρότερον ἔφησεν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὴν ζημίαν ἀποδοῖεν Ἑλείοις.

[6] οὕτω δὴ ἀποδόντων ἐποιήθη τῷ Διὶ ἀγάλματα, ἔξ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία οὐδέν τι δεξιώτερα ἐς ποίησιν ἢ τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν ζημίαν τὴν Εὐπώλου. γινῶμαι δὲ εἰσι τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνατεθῆναι τὰ ἀγάλματα μαντεία τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήσαντος τὰ ἐς τοὺς πεντάθλους δόξαντα Ἑλείοις, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ Ἑλείους ἐπαινοῦντά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν πεντάθλων τῇ ζημίᾳ: [7] τὸ τέταρτον δὲ ἐθέλει λέγειν τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα ἀρετῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐ χρημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ τε καὶ ἕκτῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν δηλοῖ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀνετέθη τὰ ἀγάλματα, τὸ δὲ ἀναμνησκει τοῦ χρησιμοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν. [8] τῶν δὲ κατευλεγμένων τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν ἐστὶν ἀριθμόν, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐπιτεθείσης παλαισταῖς ἀνδράσι ζημίας: οἵτινες δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, ἐμέ γε ἢ τοὺς Ἑλείων λέληθεν ἐξηγητάς. ἐπιγράμματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔπεστι, λέγει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ὥς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ Ῥόδιοι χρήματα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίας ἐκτίσαιεν παλαιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ δώροις παλαισάντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων χρημάτων αὐτοῖς γένοιτο τὸ ἄγαλμα.

[9] τὰ δὲ ἐπίλοιπα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητάς τούτους οἱ ἐξηγῆται λέγουσιν οἱ Ἑλείων, ὀγδόην μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι, λαβεῖν δὲ Εὐδηλον παρὰ Φιλοστράτου χρήματα, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Φιλόστρατον Ῥόδιον. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διάφορα ὄντα εὕρισκον τὰ Ἑλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα: ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τούτοις Στράτωνα

Ἀλεξανδρέα Ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδόῃ μετὰ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἀνελέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης νίκην. Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Κανωβικῷ τοῦ Νείλου στόματι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο ὁ Φιλίππου, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι πόλισμα Αἰγυπτίων ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγα εἶναι Ῥακῶνιν· [10] Στράτωνος δὲ τούτου τρεῖς μὲν ἡλικία πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτόν εἰσι δῆλοι τὸν κότινον παγκρατίου τε ἄθλα εἰληφότες καὶ πάλης, Κάπρος μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἥλιδος, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν πέραν Αἰγαίου Ῥοδῖος τε Ἀριστομένης καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Στράτωνος Μαρίων τε πόλεως ἐκείνῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ Στρατονικεὺς Ἀριστέας — τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἢ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσασορίς — , ἔβδομος δὲ Νικόστρατος ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Κιλικῶν, οὐδὲν τοῖς Κίλιξιν αὐτοῦ μετὸν εἰ μὴ ὅσα τῷ λόγῳ. [11] τοῦτον τὸν Νικόστρατον νήπιον παῖδα ἔτι ἐκ Πρυμνησοῦ λησται τῆς Φρυγῶν ἤρπασαν, οἰκίας ὄντα οὐκ ἀφανοῦς· κομισθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἰγέας ὠνήσατο ὅστις δὴ, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ ὄνειρον γίνεται· λέοντος δὲ ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκίμποδι κατακεῖσθαι σκύμνον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν ὁ Νικόστρατος. Νικοστράτῳ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ηὔξηθη, καὶ ἄλλαι νῖκαι καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐγένοντο παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης. [12] χρήμασι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἑτεροὶ τε ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐξημῶθη πύκτης Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς διακοσίαις ὀγδόῃ τε καὶ δεκάτῃ. ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ζημιωθέντι Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ ἦν Ῥάντης· καὶ πως καὶ ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐστίν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀδικοῦν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων κατεγνώσθη πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων·

[13] κατεγνώσθη δὲ οὐ δοῦναι χρήματα ἢ λαβεῖν αὐτός, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε ἄλλο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξυβρίσαι. ἀφίκετο οὐκ ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον καιρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων πειθομένων τῷ νόμῳ ἐλείπετο τοῦ ἀγῶνος εἵργεσθαι· τὴν γάρ οἱ πρόφασιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κατείχετο ἐναντίων, Ἡρακλείδης γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἤλεγχεν ἀπάτην οὖσαν· ὑστερηῆσαι γὰρ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτὸν ἐκλέγοντα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ. [14] οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἦκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν τῶν πυκτῶν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Ἡλείοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπελαύνουσι, τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ τὸν στέφανον παριᾷσιν ἀκονιτί· ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατεσκευάσατό τε τοῖς ἱμάσιν ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐσδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἤπτετο ἐπικειμένου τε ἤδη τὸν κότινον καὶ καταπεφευγὸς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ἔμελλε τὸ κοῦφον τοῦ νοῦ βλάβος μέγα ἔσεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ καὶ [15] ἄλλα δύο τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ἕκτη γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ διακοσίαις Ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἄνδρας, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένους τῆς νίκης, ἐφώρασαν συνθεμένους ὑπὲρ λήμματος. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν ἐγένετο ζημία· ποιηθέντων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων Διὸς τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐσόδου, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἔστηκεν ἐν δεξιᾷ. τοῖς δὲ πύκταις τούτοις Δίδας τε ὄνομα ἦν καὶ τῷ τὰ χρήματα δόντι αὐτῶν Σαραπάμμων· νομοῦ δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, νεωτάτου τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καλουμένου δὲ Ἀρσινοῦτου. [16] θαῦμα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν οὐδενὸς λόγῳ τὸν θεὸν θέσθαι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ δέξασθαι τινα ἢ δοῦναι δῶρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι· μερίζονος δὲ ἔτι θαύματος, εἴ γε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἡδη τις Ἡλείων. λέγεται δὲ ὡς Δαμόνικος τολμήσειεν Ἡλεῖος δευτέρᾳ πρὸς ταῖς

ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι: συνεστηκέναι μὲν γὰρ παλαίοντας ἐπὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τὸν τε τοῦ Δαμονίκου παῖδα Πολύκτορα καὶ Σώσανδρον γένος Σμυρναῖον, ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί: Δαμόνικον δέ, ἅτε περισσῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντα γενέσθαι τῷ παιδί τὴν νίκην, δοῦναι τοῦ Σωσάνδρου τῷ πατρί χρήματα. [17] ὥς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πραχθέντα ἔκπυστα, ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι ζημίαν, ἐπιβάλλουσι δὲ οὐ τοῖς παισίν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τοὺς πατέρας ἔτρεψαν τὴν ὀργήν: οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡδίκουν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ζημίας ἀγάλατα ἐποιήθη: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἥλειῳ ἀνάκειται γυμνασίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλτεως πρὸ τῆς Ποικίλης στοᾶς καλουμένης, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων γραφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν στοᾶν ταύτην καὶ Ἥχοὺς ὀνομάζουσι: βοήσαντι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἐπτάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ἡχοῦς ἢ φωνῇ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἀποδίδονται. [18] παγκρατιαστὴν δὲ φασιν Ἀλεξάνδρεα, ὄνομα δὲ εἶναι οἱ Σαραπίωνα, τοῦτον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ τὰς διακοσίας ἐς τοσοῦτο δεῖσαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὥστε ἡμέρα μιᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐσκληθήσεσθαι τὸ παγκράτιον ἔμελλεν ἀποδράντα οἴχεσθαι. τοῦτον ζημιωθέντα ἐπὶ δειλία μόνον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσιν Αἰγυπτίῳν.

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατελεγμένα ἐπὶ αἰτίαις τοιαῖσδε ποιηθέντα εὑρισκον:

22. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Διὸς δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀνατεθέντα ἰδιωτῶν. ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀλτεῖ τῆς ἐσόδου πλησίον τῆς ἀγούσης ἐς τὸ στάδιον: ἐπὶ τούτου θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ θύουσιν Ἥλαιοι, σαλπικταῖς δὲ ἐφεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς κήρυξιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι καθέστηκε. παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν βωμὸν βάθρον τε πεποιήται χαλκοῦν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Διός, μέγεθος μὲν ὅσον ἑξήκεις, κεραυνὸν δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει: ἀνέθεσαν δὲ αὐτὸ Κυναίθαεῖς. ὁ δὲ περικείμενός τε τὸν ὄρμον καὶ ἡλικίαν παῖς ἔτι ἀνάθημα ἀνδρός ἐστι Φλιασίου Κλεόλα.

[2] παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἱπποδάμιον καλούμενον λίθου τε βάθρον ἐστὶ κύκλος ἡμισὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς καὶ Θέτις τε καὶ Ἡμέρα τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἱκετεύουσαι. ταῦτα ἐπὶ μέσῳ τῷ βάθρῳ: οἱ δὲ ἤδη σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένων ὃ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς παρέχεται καὶ ὁ Μένων ἐπὶ ἐκατέρῳ τοῦ βάθρου τῷ πέρατι ἐκάτερος. ἀνθεστήκασιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληνι, Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν Ἑλένῳ, ὅτι οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ δόξαν ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι εἰλήφεσαν, Μενελάῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀλέξανδρος, Διομήδει δὲ Αἰνείας καὶ τῷ Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντι Διήφοβος.

[3] ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἔργα μὲν Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιάται δὲ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλεγείων γράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσὶ: “μνάματ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ

Ἰονίῳ Φοῖβος ὄκισ' ἀκερσεκόμας:

οἱ γὰς τέρμαθ' ἐλόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα

ἔστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρονίου δεκάταν.

“ἡ δὲ Ἀβαντίς καλουμένη χώρα καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ Θρόνιον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἦσαν ἡλείου κατὰ ὄρη τὰ Κεραύνια. [4] σκεδασθεισῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήσιν, ὥς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῶν νεῶν, Λοκροὶ τε ἐκ Θρονίου τῆς ἐπὶ Βοαγρίῳ ποταμῷ καὶ Ἀβαντες ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας ναυσὶν ὀκτὼ συναμφοτέροι πρὸς

τὰ ὄρη κατηνέχθησαν τὰ Κεραυνία. οἰκίσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαντες Θρόνιον, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνέμοντο Ἀβαντίδος ὄνομα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου θέμενοι, ἐκτίπτουσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν ὁμόρων κρατηθέντες πολέμῳ. ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων εἶναι φασιν ἀποικίαν, οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι λαφύρων. [5] προελθόντι δὲ ὀλίγον Ζεὺς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένος τὸν ἥλιον, ἀετὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν κεραυνόν· ἐπικείται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἄνθη τὰ ἡρινά. Μεταποντίνων δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα, Αἰγινήτου δὲ ἔργον Ἀριστόνου· τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόνου τούτου διδάσκαλον, ἢ καθ' ὄντινα χρόνον ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἴσμεν.

[6] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Φλιάσιοι Δία καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς Ἀσωποῦ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀσωπόν, διακεκόσμηται δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. Νεμέα μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ζεὺς λαμβανόμενός ἐστιν Αἰγίνης, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰγιναν ἔστηκεν Ἄρπινα — ταύτῃ τῷ Ἥλείων καὶ Φλιασίων λόγῳ συνεγένετο Ἄρης, καὶ Οἰνομάῳ δὲ μήτηρ τῷ περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν βασιλεύσαντί ἐστιν Ἄρπινα —, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Κόρκυρά τε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Θήβῃ, τελευταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀσωπός. λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν Κόρκυραν ὡς μιχθείη Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ· τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα ἦσε Πίνδαρος ἐς Θήβην τε καὶ ἐς Δία. [7] ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἄνδρες Λεοντῖνοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Δία ἀνέστησαν· μέγεθος μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος πήχεις εἰσὶν ἐπτὰ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν αἰτός τέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ βέλος τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν λόγους. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἰππαγόρας τε καὶ Φρύνων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος, ὃν ἄλλον πού τινα Αἰνεσίδημον δοκῶ καὶ οὐ τὸν τυραννήσαντα εἶναι Λεοντίνων.

23. παρεξίοντι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔσοδον Ζεὺς τε ἔστηκεν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχων οὐδὲν καὶ αὐθις ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέψαντι ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διός· τοῦτο τέτραπται μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Μαρδονίου τε καὶ Μήδων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐγγεγραμμένοι κατὰ τοῦ βάθρου τὰ δεξιὰ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις τοῦ ἔργου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, τρίτοι δὲ γεγραμμένοι καὶ τέταρτοι Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι,

[2] πέμπτοι δὲ Αἰγινήται, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐπιδάυριοι, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Τεγεᾶται τε καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅσοι Φλιοῦντα καὶ Τροίζηνα καὶ Ἑρμιόνα οἰκοῦσιν, ἐκ δὲ χώρας τῆς Ἀργείας Τιρύνθιοι, Πλαταιεῖς δὲ μόνον Βοιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀργείων οἱ Μυκήνας ἔχοντες, νησιῶται δὲ Κεῖοι καὶ Μήλιοι, Ἀμβρακιῶται δὲ ἐξ ἡπείρου τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, Τήνιοι τε καὶ Λεπρεᾶται, Λεπρεᾶται μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας μόνον, ἐκ δὲ Αἰγαίου καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐ Τήνιοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Νάξιοι καὶ Κύθιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας Στυρεῖς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἥλαιοι καὶ Ποτιδαιᾶται καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι, τελευταῖοι δὲ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ. [3] τούτων τῶν πόλεων τοσαῖδε ἦσαν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι· Μυκηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Τιρύνθιοι ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἀνάστατοι· Ἀμβρακιώτας δὲ καὶ Ἀνακτορίους ἀποίκους Κορινθίων ὄντας ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐς Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ· Ποτιδαιάτας δὲ δις μὲν ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τε γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ

Ἀθηναίων, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος κατήγαγε μὲν Ποτιδαίαιτας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία, ὄνομα δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῇ πόλει, Κασσάνδρεια δὲ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ ἀνατεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν Ἀναξαγόρας Αἰγινήτης· τοῦτον οἱ συγγράψαντες τὰ ἐς Πλαταιὰς παριᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. [4] ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου στήλη χαλκῇ, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων συνθήκας ἔχουσα εἰρήνης ἐς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. ταύτας ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι παρασησάμενοι τὸ δεύτερον Εὐβοίαν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς τρίτης πρὸς τὰς ὀγδοήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τόδε εἰρημένον, εἰρήνης μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ Ἀργείων μὴ μετεῖναι πόλει, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους, ἣν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. αὗται μὲν λέγουσι τοιαῦτα αἱ συνθήκαι, Διὸς δὲ ἄλλο ἄγαλμα παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα

[5] ἀνάκειται τὸ Κλεοσθένους· τούτου μὲν δὴ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ἔσται μνήμη, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Μεγαρέων μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα, ἀδελφοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ Ψύλακός τε καὶ Ὀναιθος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τούτων εἰργάσαντο· ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἢ πατρίδα ἢ παρ' ᾧ τινι ἐδιδάχθησαν, οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι. [6] πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἄρματι τῷ Γέλωνος Ζεὺς ἔστηκεν ἀρχαῖος ἔχων σκῆπτρον, Ὑβλαίων δὲ φασιν εἶναι ἀνάθημα· αἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ὑβλαι, ἡ μὲν Γερεᾶτις ἐπὶ κλησιν, τὴν δὲ — ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν — ἐκάλουν Μείζονα. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔρημος ἐς ἅπαν, ἡ δὲ κόμη τε Καταναίων ἢ Γερεᾶτις καὶ ἱερὸν σφισιν Ὑβλαίας ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν ἔχον τιμάς. παρὰ τούτων δὲ κομισθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἡγοῦμαι· τεράτων γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ ἐνυπνίων Φίλιστος ὁ Ἀρχομενίδου φησὶν ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα εὐσεβεῖα τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ βαρβάρων προσκεῖσθαι. [7] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ὑβλαίων ἀναθήματος βάθρον τε πεποιήται

χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς· τοῦτον ὀκτὼ μάλιστα εἶναι ποδῶν καὶ δέκα εἰκάζομεν. οἵτινες δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὄντινών ἐστιν ἔργον, ἐλεγείον γεγραμμένον σημαίνει· “Κλειτόριοι τόδ' ἄγαλμα θεῷ δεκάταν ἀνέθηκαν,

πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.

†καίμετρετ Αρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας

αὐτοκασίγητοι καλὰ Λάκωνες ἔθεν.

“τούτους οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπιφανεῖς νομίζω γενέσθαι· εἶχον γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ Ἥλειοι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν, καὶ πλεόνα ἔτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιτῶν γε ὄντων.

24. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Λαοίτα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Λαοίτα δὲ, παρὰ τούτων τὸν βωμὸν Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ βάθρου δῶρον μὲν τοῦ Κορινθίων δήμου, Μούσου δὲ ἐστὶ ποίημα, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μοῦσος. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐρχομένῳ τὸν μέγαν ἔστιν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Διὸς, ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ οἷα δὴ ἄνθεσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κεραυνὸς πεποιήται. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀσκάρου τέχνη Θηβαίου, διδαχθέντος παρὰ τῷ Σικυωνίῳ Κανάχῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δεκάτην ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου Φωκέων καὶ Θεσσαλῶν φησὶν εἶναι. [2] εἰ δὲ Φωκεῦσιν ἐς πόλεμόν τινα οὗτοι κατέστησαν καὶ ἔστιν ἀπὸ Φωκέων αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ἂν ὁ γε ἱερὸς καλούμενος εἴη πόλεμος, ὃν δὲ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπολέμησαν πρὶν ἢ Μήδους καὶ

βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβῆναι. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ζεὺς ἐστίν, ὄντινα ἀναθεῖναι Ψωφιδίους ἐπὶ πολέμου κατορθώματι τὸ ἔπος τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον δηλοῖ. [3] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστίν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζεὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου, μέγεθος μὲν δυόδεκα ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἡνίκα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δευτέρα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν: ἔπεστι δὲ καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, "Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα

ἰλάω θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

“

[4] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οὔτε ἄνδρα ιδιώτην οὔτε ὁπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς οὐδένα Μομμίου πρότερον ἀνάθημα ἴσμεν ἐς ἱερὸν ἀναθέντα Ἑλληνικόν, Μόμμιος δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας Δία ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν: οὗτος ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναθήματος, παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον ταύτη τοῦ ναοῦ κίονα. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει μέγιστον τῶν χαλκῶν ἐστίν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Διός, ἀνετέθη μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν Ἡλείων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πολέμου, μέγεθος δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν ἐστί.

[5] παρὰ δὲ τῷ Πελοπίῳ κίων τε οὐχ ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διὸς ἐστίν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μικρόν, τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν χειρῶν προτεῖνον. τούτου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχου, ὥς δὲ αὐτως Διὸς καὶ Γανυμήδους ἀγάλματα: ἔστι δὲ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ὥς ἀρπασθεῖν τε ὑπὸ θεῶν Γανυμήδης οἰνοχοεῖν Διὶ καὶ ὥς Τρωὶ δῶρα ἵπποι δοθεῖεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο ἀνέθηκε μὲν Γνάθις Θεσσαλός, ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς μαθητὴς τε καὶ υἱὸς Κλεοίτα. [6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῖς Μικύθου. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μίκυθον, γένος τε ὁποῖον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν, ὁ ἐφεξῆς μοι λόγος δηλώσει. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ εἰρημένου προελθόντι ὀλίγον κατ' εὐθείαν ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διὸς οὐκ ἔχον γένεια οὐδὲ αὐτό, Ἑλαϊτῶν δὲ ἀνάθημα, οἱ καταβάντι ἐκ Καῖκου πεδίου ἐς θάλασσαν πρῶτοι ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι οἰκοῦσι. [7] τούτου δὲ αὐθις ἄλλο ἄγαλμα ἔχεται Διός, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν Κνίδῳ Χερρονησίους ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀναθεῖναι πολεμίων φησίν: ἀνέθεσαν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὸν Δία Πέλοπά τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ποταμόν. Κνιδίοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἐν τῇ ἡλείῳ πεπόλισται τῇ Καρικῇ, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ καλουμένη Χερρόνησός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡλείῳ κειμένη νῆσος γεφύρα διαβατὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς: [8] καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Διὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντες, ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως οἱ ἔχοντες τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κόρησον ἀνάθημα φαῖεν ἰδίᾳ τι ἀναθεῖναι τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινού. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῆς Ἄλτεως Ζεὺς ἐπὶ ἡλίου τετραμμένος δυσμᾶς, ἐπίγραμμα οὐδὲν παρεχόμενος: ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ οὗτος Μομμίου τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν εἶναι πολέμου. [9] ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὅποσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς μάλιστα ἐς ἑκπληξίν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποίηται: ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν Ὀρκίος ἐστίν αὐτῷ, ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ κεραυνὸν χειρὶ. παρὰ τούτῳ καθέστηκε τοῖς ἀθληταῖς καὶ πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, ἔτι δὲ γυμνασταῖς ἐπὶ κάπρου κατόμνυσθαι τομίον, μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα ἔσσεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν κακούργημα. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀθληταὶ καὶ τότε ἔτι

προσκατόμυννται, δέκα ἐφεξῆς μηνῶν ἀπηκριβῶσθαί σφισι τὰ πάντα ἐς ἄσκησιν. [10] ὁμνύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πῶλους κρίνουσιν, ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἄνευ δώρων ποιεῖσθαι κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενόν τε καὶ μὴ, φυλάξειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. τῷ κάπρῳ δὲ ὅ τῃ χρῆσθαί σφισι μετὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸν ὄρκον καθέστηκεν, οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα ἐπερέσθαι, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις ἐπὶ ἱερεῖα ἦν καθεστηκός, ἐφ' ᾧ τις ὄρκον ἐποίησατο, μηδὲ ἐδώδιμον εἶναι τοῦτο ἔτι ἀνθρώπῳ. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ Ὅμηρος: [11] τὸν γοῦν κάπρον καθ' ὅτου τῶν τομίῶν Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπώμοσεν ἢ μὴν εἶναι τὴν Βρισηίδα ἐαυτοῦ τῆς εὐνῆς ἀπείρατον, τοῦτον τὸν κάπρον ἀφιέμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐποίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν: “ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ σφάραγον κάπρου τάμε νηλέϊ χαλκῷ.

τὸν μὲν Ταλθύβιος πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἐς μέγα λαῖτμα

ρίψ' ἐπιδινήσας, βόσιν ἰχθύσιν.

“Hom. II.

19.266-268 οὗτω μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνόμιζον: ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Ὀρκίου πινάκιον χαλκοῦν, ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, δεῖμα ἐθέλοντα τοῖς ἐπιπορκοῦσι παριστάναι.

25. τοσαῦτα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως ἀγάλματα εἶναι Διὸς ἀνηριθμησάμεθα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον. τὸ ἀνάθημα γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου τεθέν, Κορινθίων δὲ οὐ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀλλ' οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν εἰληφότες τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάθημα Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν ὁ Φιλίππου, Διὶ εἰκασμένος δῆθεν. ὁπόσα δὲ ἄλλοῖα καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἐστὶ Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων: εἰκόνας δὲ οὐ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, τῇ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς χάριτι ἀνατεθείσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λόγῳ σφᾶς τῷ ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίξομεν. [2] Μεσσηνίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κατὰ ἔθος δὴ τι ἀρχαῖον πέμποντας ἐς Ῥήγιον χορὸν παίδων πέντε ἀριθμὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ διδάσκαλόν τε ὁμοῦ τῷ χορῷ καὶ ἄνδρα αὐλητὴν ἐς ἐορτὴν τινα ἐπιχώριον Ῥηγίων, κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ποτε συμφορά, μηδένα ὀπίσω τῶν ἀποσταλέντων σφίσιν ἀποσωθῆναι: ἀλλὰ ἡ ναὺς ἡ ἄγουσα τοὺς παῖδας ἠφανίσθη σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον θάλασσα τὸν πορθμὸν θαλάσσης χειμεριωτάτη πάσης:

[3] οἱ τε γὰρ ἄνεμοι ταράσσουσιν αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸ κύμα ἐπάγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρου πελάγους ὃ καλεῖται Τυρσηνόν, ἦν τε καὶ ἀνέμων ἀπὴ πνεύματα, ὃ δὲ καὶ τηνικαῦτα ὁ πορθμὸς κίνησιν βιαιοτάτην αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρὰς παρέχεται παλιρροίας: θηρία τε τοσαῦτα ἐς αὐτὸν τὰ ἀθροιζόμενά ἐστιν, ὥς καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀναπύμπλασθαι τῶν θηρίων τῆς ὁσμῆς, ὥς σωτηρίας γε ἐκ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μηδὲ ἐλπίδος τι ὑπολείπεσθαι ναυαγῷ. εἰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα συνέπεσε καὶ Ὀδυσσεὶ διαφθαρῆναι τὴν ναῦν, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἂν τις πείθοιτο ἐκνήξασθαι ζῶντα ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτόν: τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐργάζεται ραστώνην.

[4] τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν παίδων οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ πένθος ἤγον, καὶ ἄλλα τέ σφισιν ἐς τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἐξευρέθη καὶ εἰκόνας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν χαλκᾶς, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐδήλου τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναθήματα εἶναι τῶν ἐν πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων:

χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰππίας ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων γενέσθαι σοφὸς τὰ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίησεν. ἔργα δὲ εἰσιν Ἥλειου Κάλλωνος αἱ εἰκόνες. [5] ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τετραμμένην ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ Νότου, καλουμένην δὲ Πάχυνον, Μοτύη πόλις· οἰκοῦσι δὲ Λίβυες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Φοίνικες. τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύῃ βαρβάροις Ἀκραγαντίνοι καταστάντες ἐς πόλεμον καὶ λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοὺς χαλκοῦς, προτείνοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ. κεῖνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἀλτεως· Καλάμιδος δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς ἔργα ἐγὼ τε εἶκαζον καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.

[6] Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσάδε οἰκεῖ, Σικανοὶ τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβηκότες ἐς αὐτήν, Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρωάδος· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καὶ Λίβυες στόλῳ

ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν νῆσον κοινῷ καὶ ἄποικοι Καρχηδονίων εἰσι. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βάρβαρα· Ἑλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς τε ἔχουσιν αὐτήν καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ γένους ἑκατέρου μοῖρα οὐ πολλή. [7] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τείχους τὰ τε Ἀκραγαντίων ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἡρακλέους δύο εἰσὶν ἀνδριάντες γυμνοί, παῖδες ἡλικίαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοξεύοντι ἔοικε λέοντα. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν λέοντα Ταραντίνος ἀνέθηκεν Ἰπποτίων, Νικοδάμου δὲ ἐστὶ Μαιναλίου τέχνη· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἕτερον Ἀναξίππου μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Μενδαίου, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Ἥλείων· τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι, ἣ ἄγει μὲν ἐξ Ἥλιδος ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καλεῖται δὲ Ἰερά.

[8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, ὅσοι προκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἐς μονομαχίαν ἄνδρα Ἑλλήνα τὸν κλῆρον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπέμειναν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐστήκασιν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πλησίον, δόρασι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὀπλισμένοι· ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐτέρου βάθρου πεποιήται Νέστωρ, τὸν ἐκάστου κλῆρον ἐσβεβληκῶς ἐς τὴν κυνὴν. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑκτορι κληρουμένων ἀριθμὸν ὄντων ὀκτώ — τὸν γὰρ ἕνατον αὐτῶν, τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεως εἰκόνα, Νέρωνα κομίσαι λέγουσιν ἐς Ῥώμην — , τῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ τούτων ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι [9] Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν. ὅτου δὲ ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐστὶν ἐπίθημα τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἰδομενεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπόγονος Μίνω· τῷ δὲ Ἰδομενεῖ γένος ἀπὸ Ἥλίου τοῦ πατρὸς Πασιφάης, Ἥλίου δὲ ἱερόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ ἀγγέλλειν ἀνιέναι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. [10] γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ· τῷ Διὶ τ' Ἀχαιοὶ τ' ἀγάλματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκαν,

ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Τανταλίδα Πέλοπος.

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· ὁ δὲ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ὅστις ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰδομενεως γέγραπται τῇ ἀσπίδι·” πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφοῦ ποιήματα καὶ τόδ' Ὀνάτα

ἔργον Αἰγινήτεω, τὸν γείνατο παῖδα Μίκων.

“ [11] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναθήματος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζωστήρος μαχόμενος πρὸς τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἔφιππον γυναῖκα· τοῦτον Εὐαγόρας μὲν γένος Ζαγκλαῖος ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησε δὲ Κυδωνιάτης Ἀριστοκλῆς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαίοις καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα ἔστι· καὶ σαφῶς

μὲν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἔχει τις ἂν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ, δῆλα δὲ ὡς πρότερον ἔτι ἐγένετο πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλῃ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μεσσήνην.

[12] Θάσιοι δέ, Φοίνικες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες καὶ ἐκ Τύρου καὶ Φοινίκης τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοῦ Θάσῳ τῷ Ἀγήνωρος κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐκπλεῖσαντες τὴν Εὐρώπης, ἀνέθεσαν Ἡρακλέα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, τὸ βάθρον χαλκοῦν ὁμοίως τῷ ἀγάλματι: μέγεθος μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀγάλματος εἰσι πήχεις δέκα, ρόπαλον δὲ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἔχει τόξον. ἤκουσα δὲ ἐν Θάσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν σφᾶς Ἡρακλέα ὄν καὶ Τύριοι σέβεσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ ἤδη τελοῦντας ἐς Ἑλληνας νομίσαι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος νέμειν τιμὰς.

[13] τῷ δὲ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Θασίων ἔπεστιν ἐλεγείον: "υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσε

αὐτὸς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δώματα ναιετάων.

"τὸν δὲ Ὀνάταν τοῦτον ὅμως, καὶ τέχνης ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄντα Αἰγιναίας, οὐδενὸς ὕστερον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

26. Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων οἱ Ναύπακτόν ποτε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν: τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίου Παιωνίου, πεποιήται δὲ ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων, ὅτε Ἀκαρναῖσι καὶ Οἰνιάδαις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐπολέμησαν. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημά σφισιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πραχθέντος εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολεμίων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δέματι, ἐπεὶ Οἰνιαδῶν γε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον. [2] τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα Μικύθου πολλὰ τε ἀριθμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ὄντα εὗρισκον, ἀλλὰ Ἰφίτου μὲν τοῦ Ἥλείου καὶ Ἐκχειρίας στεφανούσης τὸν Ἴφιτον, τούτων μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων ἔχεται τὸσάδε ἀναθήματα τῶν Μικύθου, Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ἑστία: Γλαῦκος δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖος. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλευρὰν ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλα, Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Γανυμήδην τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, ποιητῶν δὲ Ὀμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον, καὶ θεοὺς αὖθις Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγίαν.

[3] Ἀγὼν τε ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐστὶ τοῖς Μικύθου φέρων ἀλτῆρας, οἱ δὲ ἀλτῆρες οὗτοι παρέχονται σχῆμα τοιόνδε: κύκλου παραμικεστέρου καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιφεροῦς εἰσιν ἡμῖς, πεποιήται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν χειρῶν διενέαι καθάπερ δι' ὀχάνων ἀσπίδος. τούτων μὲν δὴ σχῆμά ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον: παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγῶνος τὴν εἰκόνα Διόνυσος καὶ ὁ Θρᾶξ ἐστὶν Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διός, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην. ταῦτα ἔργα ἐστὶν Ἀργείου Διονυσίου: τεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μικύθου καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῦ τούτοις λέγουσι, Νέρωνα δὲ ἀφελέσθαι φασὶ καὶ ταῦτα. [4] τοῖς δὲ ἐργασαμένοις αὐτά, γένος οὗσιν Ἀργείοις, Διονυσίῳ τε καὶ Γλαύκῳ, διδάσκαλόν σφισιν οὐδένα ἐπιλέγουσιν: ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰ ἔργα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀναθεὶς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ Μίκυθος. τὸν γὰρ δὴ Μίκυθον τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος ἔφη ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δοῦλος καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων ὕστερον τούτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλα. [5] τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ πατέρα Μικύθῳ Χοῖρον καὶ Ἑλληνίδας αὐτῷ πόλεις Ῥηγίων

τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν: οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέα φησιν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εὐχὴν τινα ἐκτελῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παιδὸς νοσήσαντος νόσον φθινάδα. [6] πλησίον δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀναθημάτων Μικύθου, τέχνης δὲ τοῦ Ἀργείου Γλαύκου, Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε κράνος ἐπικειμένη καὶ αἰγίδα ἐνδεδυκυῖα: Νικόδαμος μὲν εἰργάσατο ὁ Μαινάλιος, Ἥλειών δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν πεποιήται Νίκη: ταύτην Μαντινεῖς ἀνέθεσαν, τὸν πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δηλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι: Κάλαμις δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσιν περὰ ποιῆσαι λέγεται ἀπομιμούμενος τὸ Ἀθήνησι τῆς Ἀπτέρου καλουμένης ζῶανον.

[7] πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐλάσσοσιν ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Μικύθου, ποιηθεῖσι δὲ ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, πρὸς τούτοις Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ τῶν ἔργων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ ὕδραν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἄιδου καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐρυμάνθῳ ποταμῷ κάπρον: ἐκόμισαν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἡρακλεῶται Μαριανδυνῶν ὁμόρων βαρβάρων καταδραμόντες τὴν χώραν. ἡ δὲ Ἡράκλεια πεπόλισται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, ἀπωκίσθη δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων: μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ.

27. τούτων δὲ ἀντικρὺ τῶν κατελειγμένων ἔστιν ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχῳ, τετραμμένα μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τοῦ τεμένους δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὁ τῷ Πέλοπι ἀνεῖται. ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιναλίου Φόρμιδος, ὃς ἐκ Μαινάλου διαβὰς ἐς Σικελίαν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένους καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰέρωνι ὕστερον ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀποδεικνύμενος λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐς τοσοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐδαιμονίας, ὥς ἀναθεῖναι μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἄλλα ἐς Δελφούς. [2] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν δύο τέ εἰσιν ἵπποι καὶ ἡνίοχοι δύο, ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ἵππων παρεστὼς ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος: ὁ μὲν δὴ πρότερος τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀργείου, τὰ δευτέρα δὲ ἔργα ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου Σίμωνος. τῷ προτέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν ἐπὶ τῇ πλευρᾷ, τὰ πρῶτα οὐ σὺν μέτρῳ: λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω: "Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν

Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

"[3] οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ ἵππος ὅτῳ καὶ τὸ ἵππομανὲς λόγῳ τῷ Ἥλειών ἔγκειται: δῆλα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς μάγου σοφία γενέσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῷ ἵππῳ. μέγεθος μὲν ἢ εἶδος ἵππων ἀποδοεῖ πολλῷ, ὅσοι τῆς Ἀλτεως ἐντός ἐστήκασιν, πρὸς δὲ ἀποκέκοπται τε τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ τοιῷδε ἔτι αἰσχίων: οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ἄρσενες οὔτι πού τοῦ ἥρος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῶσιν ἡμέραν. [4] καὶ γὰρ ἐσθέουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ἀπορρηγνύοντες τὰ δεσμὰ ἢ καὶ ἐκφεύγοντες τοὺς ἄγοντας καὶ ἐπιτηδῶσιν αὐτῷ πολλῷ δὴ τι ἐμμανέστερον ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν καλλίστην ἵππον ζῶσάν τε καὶ ἠθάδα ἀναβαίνεσθαι: ἀπολισθάνουσί τε δὴ αὐτοῖς αἱ ὀπλὰι καὶ ὁμως οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσι χρεμετίζοντές τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτηδῶντες μετὰ βιαιοτέρας τῆς ὀρμῆς, πρὶν ἂν ὑπὸ μαστίγων καὶ ἀνάγκης ἰσχυρᾶς ἀφελκυσθῶσι: πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγὴ σφισιν οὐδεμία ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. [5] καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Λυδία θεασάμενος οἶδα διάφορον μὲν θαῦμα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Φόρμιδος, μάγων μέντοι σοφίας οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ἀπηλλαγμένον. ἔστι γὰρ Λυδοῖς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Περσικοῖς ἱερὰ ἔν τε

Ἱεροκαίσαρεια καλουμένη πόλει καὶ ἐν Ὑπαίποις, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκημὰ τε καὶ ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ τέφρα: χροὰ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τέφραν ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄλλην. [6] ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἀνὴρ μάγος καὶ ξύλα ἐπιφορήσας αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν πρῶτα μὲν τιάραν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶν ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἐπάδει βάρβαρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ Ἕλλησιν: ἐπάδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου: ἄνευ τε δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἀφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα καὶ περιφανῇ φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι. [7] τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φόρμις ἀνδρὶ ἀνθεστηκῶς πολεμίῳ, καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ γε αὐθις μάχεται. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν στρατιώτην μὲν τὸν μαχόμενον Φόρμιν εἶναι τὸν Μαινάλιον, τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Συρακόσιον Λυκόρταν: δηλαδὲ ὡς οὗτος ὁ Λυκόρτας κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναθείη τοῦ Φόρμιδος. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα τοῦ Λυκόρτα καλεῖται Φόρμιδος καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων.

[8] ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ὁ τὸν κριὸν φέρων ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυνὴν καὶ χιτῶνά τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκῶς οὐ τῶν Φόρμιδος ἔτι ἀναθημάτων ἐστίν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Φενεοῦ δέδοται τῷ θεῷ: Ὀνάταν δὲ τὸν Αἰγινήτην, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Καλλιτέλῃν ἐργάσασθαι λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, δοκεῖν δέ μοι τοῦ Ὀνάτα μαθητῆς ἢ παῖς ὁ Καλλιτέλης ἦν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Φενεατῶν ἀναθήματος ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα, κηρυκεῖον Ἑρμῆς ἔχων: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γλαυκίαν ἀναθεῖναι γένος Ῥηγῖνον, ποιῆσαι δὲ Κάλλωνα Ἥλειον. [9] βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἑρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἑρετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου: καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου μὲν οἱ Κορκυραῖοι τὸν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἕτερον βοῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φωκέας τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν αὐτῶν ἀναθήματι συμβῆναι τοιόνδε ἦκουσα. [10] παῖς μικρὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καθήμενος τῷ βοὶ ἐς τὸ κάτω νενευκῶς ἐπαίξεν: ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἐξαίφνης τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεάγει τε αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπέθανεν οὐ πολλαῖς. Ἥλειοι μὲν δὴ τὸν βοῦν ἅτε αἵματι ἔνοχον ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκκομίσαι τῆς Ἄλτεως: ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατὰ χώραν εἶαν τὸ ἀνάθημα καθάρσια ἔχρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένους, ὅποσα Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ νομίζουσιν. [11] ἔστι δὲ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πλατάνοις κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα πού τὸν περίβολον τρόπαιον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἥλειους ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναστήσαι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπέλαβεν ἐκείνον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὃς τοῦ Ἡραίου τῆς ὀροφῆς κατ' ἐμὲ ἀνασκευαζομένης ἐνταῦθα ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὄπλοις εὐρέθῃ κείμενος.

[12] τῶν δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατησαί με ὥς ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν εἶη πεντάθλου: καὶ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἥλειον Ἀναυχίδαν, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτῆρας ἀρχαίους. ἐλεγείον δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ: “Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκαν

Μενδαῖοι, Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασάμενοι.

“τὸ μὲν δὴ Θράκιόν τι εἶναι τεῖχος καὶ πόλις ἔοικεν, ἢ Σίπτη: Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνῳ πόλει.

BOOK VI.

Ἡλιακῶν Β

1. ἔπεται δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἵππων ἀγωνιστῶν μνήμην καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὁμοίως. τῶν δὲ νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίασιν οὐχ ἀπάντων εἰσὶν ἐστηκότες ἀνδριάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὰ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἔργοις, ὅμως οὐ τετυχήκασιν εἰκόνων: [2] τούτους ἐκέλευσεν ἀφεῖναί με ὁ λόγος, ὅτι οὐ κατάλογός ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν ὁπόσοις γεγόνασιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, ἀναθημάτων δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ εἰκόνων συγγραφή. οὐδὲ ὁπόσων ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπέξειμι, ἐπιστάμενος ὅσοι τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος ἀνείλοντο ἤδη τὸν κότινον: ὁπόσοις δὲ ἢ αὐτοῖς τι εἶχεν ἐς δόξαν ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἄμεινον ἐτέρων πεποιῆσθαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς μνησθήσομαι. [3] ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν παλαιστοῦ, γένος δὲ ἦν Ἥλειος, Σύμμαχος Αἰσχύλου: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Φενεοῦ τῆς Ἀρκάδων Νεολαΐδας Προξένου, πυγμῆς ἐν παισὶν ἀνηρημένος νίκην: ἐφεξῆς δὲ Ἀρχέδαμος Ξενίου, καταβαλὼν καὶ οὗτος παλαιστὰς παῖδας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἥλειος. τούτων τῶν κατεिलεγμένων εἰργάσατο Ἄλυπος τὰς εἰκόνας Σικυώνιος, Ναυκύδους τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητής.

[4] Κλεογένην δὲ Σιληνοῦ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐκ δὲ ἀγέλης αὐτὸν οἰκειὰς ἵππῳ κρατῆσαι κέλητι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Κλεογένους Δεινόλοχος τε κεῖται Πύρρου τε καὶ Τρωίλος Ἀλκίνου. τούτοις γένος μὲν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἐξ Ἥλιδος, γεγόνασι δὲ σφισιν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά αἱ νῖκαι: ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἑλλανοδικεῖν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἵππων ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελέσθαι νίκας τῷ Τρωίλῳ δὲ τελεία τε συνωρίδι καὶ πῶλων ἄρματι — Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ἐκράτει δευτέρᾳ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, [5] ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ νόμος ἐγένετο Ἥλείοις μηδὲ ἵππους τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἑλλανοδικούντων καθιέναι μηδένα —, τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε Λύσιππος: ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δεινολόχου μήτηρ εἶδεν ὅσιν ὄνειρατος ὥς ἔχοιτο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τοῖς κόλποις ἐστεφανωμένου, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁ Δεινόλοχος ἡσκήθη καὶ τοὺς παῖδας παρέθει τρέχων. Σικυωνίου δὲ Κλέωνός ἐστιν ἡ εἰκὼν. [6] ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου Κυνίσκαν, ἐς τὸ γένος τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπικαῖς νίκαις, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ ἐς τοὺς

βασιλέας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχουσι: πεποιήται δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Τρωίλου λίθου κρητὶς καὶ ἄρμα τε ἵππων καὶ ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος καὶ αὐτῆς Κυνίσκας εἰκὼν, Ἀπελλοῦ τέχνη, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐς τὴν Κυνίσκαν ἔχοντα. [7] εἰσὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀνακεῖμενοι τῇ Κυνίσκᾳ, ἵππων νῖκαι γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς: Ἀνάξανδρος μὲν ἄρματι ἀνηγορεύθη πρῶτος, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα φησι τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου πρότερον ἔτι στεφανωθῆναι τὸν πατέρα πεντάθλῳ. οὗτος μὲν δὴ εἰσὶν εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, Πολυκλῆς δὲ ἐπὶ κλῆσιν λαβὼν Πολύχαλκος τεθρίπῳ μὲν καὶ οὗτος ἐκράτησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει οἱ τῇ δεξιᾷ ταινίαν: [8] παρὰ

δὲ αὐτῷ παιδία δύο τὸ μὲν τροχὸν κατέχει, τὸ δὲ αἰτεῖ τὴν ταινίαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Πολυκλῆς ἵπποις, ὥς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγει, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ τε καὶ Νεμέα.

2. παγκρατιαστοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο Λύσιππος· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ παγκρατίῳ νίκην τῶν ἄλλων τε Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς Στράτου πρῶτος Ξενάρκης τε ἐκαλεῖτο Φιλανδρίδου. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄρα μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου διετέθησαν πάντων φιλοτιμώτατα Ἑλλήνων πρὸς ἵππων τροφάς. χωρὶς γὰρ ἡ ὅσους αὐτῶν κατέλεξα ἤδη, τοσοῖδε ἄλλοι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἵπποτρόφων μετὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνάκεινται τοῦ Ἀκαρνᾶνος ἀθλητοῦ, Ξενάρκης καὶ Λυκῖνος Ἀρκεσίλαός τε καὶ ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου Λίχας. [2] Ξενάρκει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἀργεῖ τε ὑπῆρξε καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ προσανελέσθαι νίκας· Λυκῖνος δὲ ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν πώλους, καὶ οὐ δοκιμασθέντος ἐνὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν, καθῆκεν ἐς τῶν ἵππων τὸν δρόμον τῶν τελείων τοὺς πώλους καὶ ἐνίκα δι' αὐτῶν, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας δύο ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ποιήματα. τῷ δὲ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ καὶ Λίχᾳ τῷ παιδί, τῷ μὲν αὐτῶν γεγόνασι δύο Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, Λίχας δὲ εἰργομένων τηνικαῦτα τοῦ ἀγῶνος Λακεδαιμονίων καθῆκεν ἐπὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θηβαίων δήμου τὸ ἄρμα, τὸν δὲ ἥνιοχον νικήσαντα ἀνέδησεν αὐτὸς ταινία· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μαστιγοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι, καὶ διὰ τὸν Λίχαν τοῦτον ἢ κατὰ [3] Ἄγιν βασιλέα ἐπιστρατεία Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἡλείους καὶ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως μάχη. καταπαυσθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα ἐνταῦθα ἔστησε, τὰ δὲ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας καὶ γράμματα οὐ Λίχαν, Θηβαίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἔχει νενικηκότα. [4] τοῦ δὲ Λίχα πλησίον μάντις ἔστηκεν Ἡλείος Θρασύβουλος Αἰνέου τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν, ὃς καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ἐμαντεύσατο ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀγίδος τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλέως· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἐπέξειμι. τοῦ Θρασυβούλου δὲ τῇ εἰκόνι γαλεώτης πρὸς τὸν ὦμον προσέρπων ἐστὶ τὸν δεξιόν, καὶ κύων ἱερεῖον δὴ παρ' αὐτῷ κεῖται διατετμημένος τε δίχα καὶ φαίνων τὸ ἦπαρ.

[5] μαντικὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν δι' ἐρίφων καὶ ἄρνων τε καὶ μόσχων ἐκ παλαιοῦ δῆλη καθεστῶσα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, Κύπριοι δὲ ὥς καὶ ὑσὶν ἐπεξευρόντες ἐσσι μαντεύεσθαι, κυσὶ δὲ οὐδένες ἐπὶ γε μαντικῆς νομίζουσιν οὐδὲν χρᾶσθαι· ἔοικεν οὖν ἰδίαν τινὰ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἐπὶ σπλάγχων μαντικὴν κυνεῖων καταστήσασθαι. οἱ δ' Ἰαμίδαι καλούμενοι μάντις γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ Ἰάμου· τὸν δὲ εἶναι παῖδα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ λαβεῖν μαντικὴν φησὶν ἐν ἄσματι Πίνδαρος. [6] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Θρασυβούλου τὴν εἰκόνα Τιμοσθένης τε Ἡλείος ἔστηκε σταδίου νίκην ἐν παισὶν εἰληφώς καὶ Μιλήσιος Ἀντίπατρος Κλεινοπάτρου παῖδας κατειργασμένος πύκτας. Συρακοσίων δὲ ἄνδρες, ἄγοντες ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν παρὰ Διονυσίου θυσίαν, τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου χρήμασιν ἀναπειθουσιν ἀναγορευθῆναί οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Συρακουσῶν· Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ τοῦ τυράννου τὰ δῶρα ἡγούμενος ἀνεῖπεν αὐτὸν Μιλήσιον καὶ ἀνέγραψε τῇ εἰκόνι ὥς γένος τε εἶη Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἰώνων ἀναθείη πρῶτος ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνα.

[7] τούτου μὲν δὴ Πολύκλειτος τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο, τὸν δὲ

Τιμοσθένην Εὐτυχίδης Σικυώνιος παρὰ Λυσίπῳ δεδιδαγμένος· ὁ δὲ Εὐτυχίδης οὗτος καὶ Σύροις τοῖς ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ Τύχῃς ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα, μεγάλας παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔχον τιμὰς. [8] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιμοσθένους ἀνδριάντα ἀνάκειται Τίμων καὶ ὁ παῖς τοῦ Τίμωνος Αἴσυπος, παιδίον ἐπὶ ἵπῳ καθήμενον· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡ νίκη τῷ παιδί ἵππου κέλῃτος, ὁ Τίμων δὲ ἐπὶ ἄρματι ἀνηγορεύθη. τῷ δὲ Τίμωνι εἰργάσατο καὶ τῷ παιδί τὰς εἰκόνας Δαίδαλος Σικυώνιος, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ

Λακωνικῇ νίκη τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τρόπαιον ἐποίησεν Ἥλείους.

[9] ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαμίῳ πύκτῃ τὸν ἀναθέντα μὲν ὅτι ὁ παιδοτρίβης εἶη Μύκων καὶ ὅτι Σάμιοι τὰ ἐς ἀθλητὰς καὶ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαις εἰσὶν Ἰώνων ἄριστοι, τάδε μὲν λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ἐς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν πύκτην ἐσήμαινεν οὐδέν. [10] παρὰ δὲ Μεσσήνιος Δαμίσκος, ὃς δύο γεγωνὼς ἔτη καὶ δέκα ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. θαῦμα δὲ εἴπερ ἄλλο τι καὶ τότε ἐποιησάμην· Μεσσηνίους γὰρ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας ἐπέλιπεν ἡ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν. ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Λεοντίσκος καὶ Σύμμαχος τῶν ἐπὶ πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων, ἄλλος γε οὐδεὶς Μεσσήνιος οὔτε Σικελιώτης οὔτ' ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δῆλός ἐστιν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνηρημένος νίκην· εἶναι δὲ οἱ Σικελιώται καὶ τούτους τῶν ἀρχαίων Ζαγκλαίων καὶ οὐ Μεσσηνίους φασί. [11] συγκατῆλθε μέντοι Μεσσηνίοις ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν· ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ ὕστερον τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσήνης ἀγόντων Ὀλύμπια Ἥλείων ἐνίκα στάδιον παῖδας ὁ Δαμίσκος οὗτος, καὶ οἱ καὶ πενταθλήσαντι ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ἐν Νεμέᾳ τε νῖκαι καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ.

3. Δαμίσκου δὲ ἐγγύτατα ἔσθηκεν ἀνὴρ ὅστις δὴ, τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα οὐ λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστι τοῦ Λάγου· Μακεδόνα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ἐκάλεσε, βασιλεύων ὅμως Αἰγύπτου. Χαιρέα δὲ Σικωνίῳ πύκτῃ παιδί ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ὡς νικήσειεν ἡλικίαν νέος καὶ ὡς πατὴρ εἶη Χαιρήμονος, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργασμένος Ἀστερίων Αἰσχύλου. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χαιρέαν Μεσσήνιος τε παῖς Σόφιος καὶ ἀνὴρ Ἥλειος ἀνάκειται Στόμιος, καὶ τῷ μὲν τοὺς συνθέοντας τῶν παίδων παρελθεῖν, Στομίῳ δὲ πενταθλοῦντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ τρεῖς ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελέσθαι νίκας. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγει, τῆς ἵππου τε Ἥλείους αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἀναστῆσαι τρόπαια καὶ ἄνδρα τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατηγοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Στομίου, μονομαχήσαντά οἱ κατὰ πρόκλησιν· [3] εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Σικυῶνος οἱ Ἥλαιοί φασι καὶ ἄρχειν Σικωνίων, στρατεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα αὐτοὶ φιλία Θηβαίων ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐκ Βοιωτίας δυνάμει. φαίνοιτο ἂν οὖν ἡ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα Ἥλείων καὶ Θηβαίων στρατεία γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις. [4] ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἀνάκειται μὲν πύκτης ἐκ Λεπρέου τοῦ Ἥλείων, Λάβαξ Εὐφρονος, ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἥλιδος παλαιστής ἀνὴρ Ἀριστοδήμος Θράσιδος· γεγόνاسι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ δύο νῖκαι, ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τέχνη Αἰδαίου τοῦ Σικωνίου, μαθητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Πατροκλέους.

[5] Ἴππον δὲ Ἥλειον πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα ἐποίησε Δαμόκριτος Σικυώνιος, ὃς ἐς πέμπτον διδάσκαλον ἀνήγει τὸν Ἀττικὸν Κριτίαν· Πτόλιχος μὲν γὰρ ἔμαθεν ὁ Κορκυραῖος παρ' αὐτῷ Κριτία, Πτολίχου δὲ ἦν μαθητὴς

Ἀμφίων, Πίσων δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐκ Καλαυρείας ἐδιδάχθη παρ' Ἀμφίονι, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ Πίσωνι Δαμόκριτος. [6] Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐξ Αἰγείρας τῆς Ἀχαιῶν τότε ἐγένετο κάλλιστος τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σὺν τέχνῃ μάλιστα ἐπάλαισε, καταπαλαίσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας προσαναστήσαι καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην ὑπὸ Ἥλειων ἐδόθη: τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε Σικυώνιος Κάνθαρος, Ἀλέξιδος μὲν πατρός, διδασκάλου δὲ ὦν Εὐτυχίδου. [7] Εὐπολέμου δὲ Ἥλείου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα Σικυώνιος εἵργασται Δαίδαλος: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μὴνύει σταδίου μὲν ἀνδρῶν Ὀλυμπίασι νίκην ἀνελέσθαι τὸν Εὐπόλεμον, εἶναι δὲ καὶ δύο Πυθικοὺς αὐτῷ πεντάθλου στεφάνους καὶ ἄλλον Νεμείων. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐπολέμῳ καὶ τάδε, ὥς ἐφεστήκοιεν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ τῷ πέρατι Ἑλλανοδίκαι, νικᾶν δὲ τῷ μὲν Εὐπολέμῳ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν δοίεν, ὁ τρίτος δὲ Ἀμβρακιώτῃ Λέοντι, καὶ ὥς χρημάτων καταδικάσαιτο ὁ Λέων ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς βουλῆς ἐκατέρου τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν οἱ νικᾶν τὸν Εὐπόλεμον ἔγνωσαν.

[8] Οἰβώτα δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα Ἀχαιοὶ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Απόλλωνος ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος ὀδοηκοστῆς: ἡ δὲ τοῦ σταδίου νίκη τῷ Οἰβώτῃ γέγονεν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτη. πῶς ἂν οὖν τὴν γε ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην μεμαχημένος ὁ Οἰβώτας εἴη μετὰ Ἑλλήνων; πέμπτη γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑβδομηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι τὸ παῖσμα ἐγένετο τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Μαρδονίῳ καὶ Μήδοις. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενα ἀνάγκη, πείθεσθαι δὲ πᾶσιν οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅποια τὰ συμβάντα ἦν ἐς τὸν Οἰβώταν, τῇ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς προσέσται μοι συγγραφῇ.

[9] Ἀντιόχου δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε μὲν Νικόδαμος, γένος δὲ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἦν ἐκ Λεπρέου: παγκρατίῳ δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν Ὀλυμπία μὲν ἐκράτησεν ἅπαξ, ἐν Ἰσθμῷ δὲ καὶ Νεμέᾳ δις πεντάθλῳ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι. οὐ γάρ τι Ἰσθμίων Λεπρεάταις δεῖμα ὥσπερ γε αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν Ἥλειοις, ἐπεὶ Ὑσμῶνι γε τῷ Ἥλειῳ — πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ὑσμῶν οὗτος ἔστηκε — τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθλήσαντι πένταθλον ἢ τε Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ Νεμείων γέγονεν ἡ ἑτέρα, Ἰσθμίων δὲ δῆλα ὥς καὶ οὗτος κατὰ ταῦτα Ἥλειοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἵργετο.

[10] λέγεται δὲ παιδὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῷ Ὑσμῶνι κατασκήψαι ῥεῦμα ἐς τὰ νεῦρα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μελετῆσαι πένταθλον, ἵνα δὴ ἐκ τῶν πόνων ὑγιῆς τε καὶ ἄνοσος ἀνὴρ εἴη: τῷ δὲ ἄρα τὸ μάθημα καὶ νίκας ἔμελλεν ἐπιφανεῖς οὕτω παρασκευάσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνδριάς αὐτῷ Κλέωνος μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτῆρας ἀρχαίους. [11] μετὰ δὲ Ὑσμῶνα παλαιστῆς παῖς ἐξ Ἡραίας ἀνάκειται τῆς Ἀρκάδων, Νικόστρατος Ξενοκλείδου: Παντίας δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Σικυωνίου καταριθμουμένῳ τοὺς διδασθέντας ἑβδομος ἀπὸ τούτου ἦν μαθητῆς.

Δίκων δὲ ὁ Καλλιβρότου πέντε μὲν Πυθοὶ δρόμου νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀνείλετο Ἰσθμίων, τέσσαρας δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ, καὶ Ὀλυμπικάς μίαν μὲν ἐν παισί, δύο δὲ ἄλλας ἀνδρῶν: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἀνδριάντες ἴσοι ταῖς νίκαις εἰσὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπία. παιδὶ μὲν δὴ ὄντι αὐτῷ Καυλωνιάτῃ, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ὑπῆρξεν ἀναγορευθῆναι: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Συρακούσιον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ χρήμασι. [12] Καυλωνία δὲ ἀποκίσθη μὲν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, οἰκιστῆς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Τύφων Αἰγυεύς: Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Αἰακίδου καὶ Ταραντίνων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους

πόλεμον καταστάντων ἄλλαι τε τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐγένοντο αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἀνάστατοι, κατέλαβε δὲ ἐς ἅπαν ἐρημωθῆναι καὶ τὴν Καυλωνίαν ἀλοῦσαν ὑπὸ Καμπανῶν, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοις μεγίστη τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ μοῖρα ἦσαν. [13] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Δίκωνι ἀνάκειται μὲν Ξενοφῶν Μενεφύλου παγκρατιαστῆς ἀνὴρ ἐξ Αἰγίου τῆς Ἀχαιῶν, ἀνάκειται δὲ Πυριλάμπης Ἐφέσιος λαβὼν δολίχου νίκη. τοῦ μὲν δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν Ὀλυμπος, Πυριλάμπει δὲ ὁμώνυμος καὶ ὁ πλάστης, γένος δὲ οὐ Σικυώνιος, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Μεσσήνης τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ.

[14] Λύσανδρον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοκρίτου Σπαρτιάτην ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Σάμιοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν πρότερον τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐστὶν “ἐν πολυθαίτῳ τεμένει Διὸς ὑψιμέδοντος

ἔστηκ’ ἀνθέντων δημοσίᾳ Σαμίων:

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοὺς τὸ ἀνάθημα ἀναθέντας μνηύει, τὸ δ’ ἐφεξῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ἑπαινὸς ἐστὶ Λύσανδρον:” ἀθάνατον πάτρα καὶ Ἀριστοκρίτῳ κλέος ἔργων,

Λύσανδρ’, ἐκτελέσας δόξαν ἔχεις ἀρετᾶς.

“δῆλοι οὖν εἰσιν οἱ τε Σάμιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες,

[15] κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ἴωνων, τοὺς τοίχους τοὺς δύο ἐπαλείφοντες. Ἀλκιβιάδου μὲν γε τριήρεσιν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ἰωνίαν ἰσχύοντος ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν Ἴωνων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ εἰκὼν Ἀλκιβιάδου χαλκῇ παρὰ τῇ Ἡρᾷ τῇ Σαμίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα: ὥς δὲ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἐάλωσαν αἱ ναῦς αἱ Ἀττικαί, Σάμιοι μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν Λύσανδρον, Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνέτιθεσαν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Λύσανδρόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐτεόνικον καὶ Φάρακα καὶ ἄλλους Σπαρτιατῶν ἥκιστα ἕς γε τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γνωρίμους. [16] μεταπεσόντων δὲ αὐθις τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ Κόνωνος κεκρατηκότος τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Κνίδον καὶ ὄρος τὸ Δώριον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὕτω μετεβάλλοντο οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ Κόνωνα ἀνακείμενον χαλκοῦν καὶ Τιμόθεον ἐν Σάμῳ τε ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τῇ Ἡρᾷ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παρὰ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔχοντα οὕτω τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, καὶ Ἴωσιν ὡσαύτως οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπεύουσι τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τῇ ἰσχύι.

4. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τῆς εἰκόνης Ἐφέσιός τε πύκτης τοὺς ἐλθόντας κρατήσας τῶν παίδων — ὄνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Ἀθήναιος — καὶ Σικυώνιος Σώστρατος παγκρατιαστῆς ἀνὴρ, ἐπίκλησις δὲ ἦν Ἀκροχερσίτης αὐτῷ: παραλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἄκρων τοῦ ἀνταγωνιζομένου τῶν χειρῶν ἔκλα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνίει πρὶν ἢ αἰσθοῖτο ἀπαγορεύσαντος. [2] γεγόνاسι δὲ αὐτῷ Νεμεῖων μὲν νῖκαι καὶ Ἰσθμίων ἀναμιξὶς δυόδεκα, Ὀλυμπίᾳσι δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, τῇ μὲν δύο, τρεῖς δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. τὴν τετάρτην δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν — πρώτην γὰρ δὴ ἐνίκησεν ὁ Σώστρατος ταύτην — οὐκ

ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, διότι μὴ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Πισαῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἔθεσαν ἀντ’ αὐτῶν. [3] παρὰ δὲ τὸν Σώστρατον παλαιστῆς ἀνὴρ πεποίηται Λεοντίσκος, ἐκ Σικελίας τε ὦν γένος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνης: στεφανωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ δις ὑπὸ Ἡλείων, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ λέγεται τὴν πάλην καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὸ παγκράτιον τῷ Σικυώνιῳ Σωστράτῳ: καὶ γὰρ τὸν Λεοντίσκον καταβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς παλαίοντας, νικᾶν δὲ αὐτὸν κλῶντα τοὺς δακτύλους. [4] τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα

Πυθαγόρας ἐποίησεν ὁ Ῥηγῖνος, εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς πλαστικήν. διδαχθῆναι δὲ παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ φασὶν αὐτόν, Ῥηγίνῳ μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ, μαθητῇ δὲ Εὐχείρῳ: τὸν δὲ Εὐχείρῳ εἶναι Κορίνθιον, φοιτῆσαι δὲ ὡς Συάδραν τε καὶ Χάρταν Σπαρτιάτας. [5] ὁ δὲ παῖς ὁ ἀναδούμενος ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπεισίχθῳ μοι καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν λόγον Φειδίου τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Φειδίου σοφίας, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅτου τὴν εἰκόνα ὁ Φειδίας ἐποίησε. Σάτυρος δὲ Ἥλειος Λυσιάνακτος πατρός, γένους δὲ τοῦ Ἰαμιδῶν, ἐν Νεμέᾳ πεντάκις ἐνίκησε πυκτεύων καὶ Πυθοῖ τε δις καὶ δις ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: τέχνη δὲ Ἀθηναίου Σιλανίωνος ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐστι. πλάστης δὲ ἄλλος τῶν Ἀττικῶν Πολυκλῆς, Σταδιέως μαθητῆς Ἀθηναίου, πεποίηκε παῖδα Ἐφέσιον παγκρατιαστήν, Ἀμύνταν Ἑλλανίκου.

[6] Χίλῳνι δὲ Ἀχαιῷ Πατρὲι δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι πάλης ἀνδρῶν, μία δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Δελφοῖς, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ καὶ Νεμείων τρεῖς: ἐτάφη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ οἱ καὶ τοῦ βίου συνέπεσεν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν τελευτὴν γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: "μουνοπάλης νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθιά τ' ἄνδρας,

τρὶς Νεμέα, τετράκις δ' Ἰσθμῷ ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ,

Χίλῳν Χίλωνος Πατρεύς, ὃν λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν

ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον θάψ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

"τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν:

[7] εἰ δὲ Λυσίππου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα τεκμαιρόμενον τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συμβαλέσθαι δεῖ με τὸν πόλεμον ἔνθα ὁ Χίλῳν ἔπεσεν, ἥτοι ἐς Χαϊρώνειαν Ἀχαιοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ στρατεύσασθαι ἢ ἰδίᾳ κατ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ τόλμαν Ἀχαιῶν μόνος Ἀντιπάτρου μοι καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ Λάμιαν φαίνεται τὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. [8] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τοῦ Χίλωνος δύο ἀνάκεινται: τῷ μὲν Μολπίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα, στεφανωθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἐπίγραμμά φησιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἥλειων: τὸν δὲ ἕτερον, ὅτῳ μὴδὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα, μνημονεύουσιν ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τῶν Θρακίων Σταγείρων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἥτοι μαθητῆς ἢ καὶ στρατιωτικὸς ἀνέθηκεν ἀνὴρ ἅτε παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ πρότερον ἰσχύσαντα παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

[9] Σωδάμας δὲ ἐξ Ἀσσοῦ τῆς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι, κειμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ, πρῶτος Αἰολέων τῶν ταύτῃ στάδιον Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐνίκησεν ἐν παισίν. παρὰ δὲ Σωδάμαν Ἀρχίδαμος ἔστηκεν ὁ Ἀγησιλάου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου βασιλέως εἰκόνα οὐδενὸς ἔν γε τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναθέντας εὕρισκον: Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα ἀνδριάντα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅτι ἐν βαρβάρῳ τε ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν καὶ βασιλέων μόνος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἀμαρτῶν τάφου. [10] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτιατικοῖς λόγοις ἐς πλεον ἡμῖν δεδῆλωται: Εὐάνθει δὲ Κυζικηνῷ γεγόνᾳσι πυγμῆς νῖκαι, μία μὲν ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικῇ, Νεμείων δὲ ἐν παισὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίων. πεποίηται δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐάνθην ἀνὴρ τε ἵπποτρόφος καὶ τὸ ἄρμα, ἀναβεβηκυῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα παῖς παρθένος: ὄνομα μὲν Λάμπος τῷ ἀνδρί, πατρίς δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων, καλουμένη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου. [11] Κυνίσκῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Μαντινείας πύκτῃ παιδὶ ἐποίησε Πολύκλειτος

τὴν εἰκόνα. Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοὶ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμείων ἀνηρημένους, οὐχ Ἱμεραῖος εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησι, Κρῆς δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνώσσιος· ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ ἐς Ἱμέραν ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε καὶ πολλὰ εὗρετο ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν. ἔμελλεν οὖν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς Ἱμεραῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀναγορευθῆσθαι.

5. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τῷ ὑψηλᾷ Λυσίππου μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, μέγιστος δὲ ἀπάντων ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων πλὴν τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἦν πρὸ τῶν ἡρώων θνητὸν γένος· ἀνθρώπων δὲ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μέγιστος Πουλυδάμας Νικίου. [2] Σκοτοῦσσα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντας πατρίς οὐκ ὤκειτο ἔτι ἐφ' ἡμῶν· Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Φεραίων τυραννίσας κατέλαβεν ἐν σπονδαῖς, καὶ Σκοτουσσαίων τούς τε ἐς τὸ θέατρον συνειλεγμένους — ἔτυχε γάρ σφισι καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ τηνικαῦτα οὔσα — τούτους τε ἅπαντας κατηκόντισε, πελτασταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περισχὼν καὶ τοξόταις, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ὅσον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ κατεφόνευσε, γυναῖκας δὲ ἀπέδοτο καὶ παῖδας, μισθὸν εἶναι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς ξένοις. [3] αὕτη Σκοτουσσαίοις ἡ συμφορὰ Φρασικλείδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἐγένετο ἄρχοντας, δευτέρᾳ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἦν Δάμων Θούριος ἐνίκα τὸ δεύτερον, ταύτης ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ ὀλίγον τε ἔμενε τὸ διαφυγὼν τῶν Σκοτουσσαίων καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ἐξέλειπον καὶ οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι προσπταῖσαι δευτέρα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μακεδόνας πολέμῳ παρεσκεύασεν ὁ δαίμων. [4] παγκρατίου μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεῖς νῖκαι· Πουλυδάμαντι δὲ τάδε ἄλλοιᾶ παρὰ τούς ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ στεφάνους ὑπάρχοντά ἐστιν. ἡ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Θράκης, ἡ ἔνδον Νέστου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ρέοντος διὰ τῆς Ἀβδηριτῶν, καὶ ἄλλα θηρία, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρέχεται καὶ λέοντας, οἱ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐπιθέμενοι τῷ Ξέρξῳ τὰς ἀγούσας καμήλους τὰ σιτία ἐλυμήναντο.

[5] οὗτοι πολλάκις οἱ λέοντες καὶ ἐς τὴν περὶ τὸν

Ὀλυμπον πλανῶνται χώραν· τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὄρους ἡ μὲν ἐς Μακεδονίαν πλευρά, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τέτραπται τὸν Πηνειόν· ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πουλυδάμας λέοντα ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ, μέγα καὶ ἄλκιμον θηρίον, κατειργάσατο οὐδενὶ ἐσκευασμένος ὄπλῳ. προήχθη δὲ ἐς τὸ τόλμημα φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα, ὅτι καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἔχει λόγος κρατῆσαι τοῦ ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέοντος. [6] ἕτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαῦμα ὑπελπίετο ὁ Πουλυδάμας ἐς μνήμην· ἐς ἀγέλην ἐσελθὼν βοῶν τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ταῦρον λαβὼν τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὀπισθεν ποδῶν τὰς χηλὰς κατεῖχεν ἄκρας, καὶ πηδῶντα καὶ ἐπειγόμενον οὐκ ἀνίει, πρὶν γε δὴ ὁ ταῦρος ὡς ποτε καὶ ἐς ἅπαν ἀφικόμενος βίας ἀπέφυγεν ἀφείς ταύτῃ τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι τὰς χηλὰς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρα ἡνίοχον ἐλαύνοντα σπουδῇ τὸ ἄρμα ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσω· λαβόμενος γὰρ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ὀπισθε τοῦ ἅρματος, ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον εἶχε. [7] Δαρεῖος δὲ Ἀρταξέρξῳ παῖς νόθος, ὃς ὁμοῦ τῷ Περσῶν καὶ δῆμῳ Σόγδιον καταπαύσας παῖδα Ἀρταξέρξου γνήσιον ἔσχεν ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχήν, οὗτος ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Δαρεῖος — ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὰ ἔργα — , πέμπων ἀγγέλους

ὑπισχνόμενος δῶρα ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐς Σοῦσά τε καὶ ἐς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ. ἔνθα δὴ κατὰ πρόκλησιν Περσῶν ἄνδρας τῶν καλουμένων ἀθανάτων ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς ἄθροους οἱ μονομαχήσαντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔργων δὲ τῶν κατελεγμένων οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ βάρβῳ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ δηλούμενά ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος. [8] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα τὸ ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου προθεσπισθὲν ἄλλους τε τῶν φρονησάντων ἐπὶ ἰσχύι καὶ Πουλυδάμαντα ἐπιλήψεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ῥώμης ἔμελλεν ἀπολεῖσθαι καὶ οὗτος. ἐς σπήλαιον γὰρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι τῶν συμποτῶν καὶ ὁ Πουλυδάμας ἐσῆλθεν ὥρα θέρους, καὶ πῶς οὐ κατὰ τινα ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα ἢ κορυφὴν τηνικαῦτα τοῦ σπηλαίου κατερρήγνυτο, καὶ δῆλα ἦν ὡς αὐτίκα ἐμπεσεῖσθαι καὶ χρόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἔμελλεν ἀνθέξειν: [9] γενομένης δὲ αἰσθήσεως τοῦ ἐπιόντος κακοῦ καὶ τρεπομένων ἐς φυγὴν τῶν λοιπῶν παρέστη καταμεῖναι τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι, καὶ ἀνέσχε τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἐπιπίπτοντι ἀνθέζων τῷ σπηλαίῳ καὶ οὐ βιασθισόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους.

6. τούτῳ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐγένετο ἡ τελευτή: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα δύο τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀττικῆς ὁ τρίτος ἔστηκεν ἀθλητῆς. τὸν μὲν δὴ Μαντινέα Πρωτόλαον Διαλκοῦς πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα ὁ Ῥηγῖνος Πυθαγόρας, Ναρυκίδαν δὲ τὸν Δαμαρέτου παλαιστὴν ἄνδρα ἐκ Φιγαλίας Σικυώνιος Δαίδαλος, Καλλιὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ παγκρατιαστῇ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Μίκων ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος. Νικοδάμου δὲ ἔργον τοῦ Μαιναλίου παγκρατιαστῆς ἐστὶν ἐκ Μαινάλου, δύο νίκας ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος, Ἀνδροσθένης Λοχαῖου. [2] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Εὐκλῆς ἀνάκειται Καλλιάνακτος, γένος μὲν Ῥόδιος, οἴκου δὲ τοῦ Διαγοριδῶν: θυγατρὸς γὰρ Διαγόρου παῖς ἦν, ἐν δὲ ἀνδράσι πυγμῆς ἔσχεν Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην. τούτου μὲν δὴ ἡ εἰκὼν Ναυκύδους ἐστὶν ἔργον: Πολύκλειτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος, οὐχ ὁ τῆς Ἥρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας, μαθητῆς δὲ Ναυκύδους, παλαιστὴν παῖδα εἰργάσατο Θηβαῖον Ἀγήνορα. ἀνετέθη δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φωκέων κοινοῦ: Θεόπομπος γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Ἀγήνορος πρόξενος τοῦ ἔθνους ἦν αὐτῶν. [3] Νικόδαμος δὲ ὁ πλάστης ὁ ἐκ Μαινάλου Δαμοξενίδαν ἄνδρα πύκτην ἐποίησεν ἐκ Μαινάλου. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Λαστρατίδα παιδὸς εἰκὼν Ἥλειου, πάλης ἀνελομένου στέφανον: ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νεμείων ἐν τε παισὶ καὶ ἀγενοῖν ἐτέρα νίκη. Παραβάλλοντι δὲ τῷ Λαστρατίδᾳ πατρὶ ὑπῆρξε μὲν διαύλου παρελθεῖν δρόμῳ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα φιλοτιμίαν, τῶν νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίᾳσι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀναγράψας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. [4] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τούτους εἶχεν οὕτω: τὰ δὲ ἐς Εὐθυμον τὸν πύκτην, οὐ με εἰκὸς ὑπερβαίνειν ἢ τὰ ἐς τὰς νίκας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ὑπάρχοντα τὴν ἄλλην. γένος μὲν δὴ ἦν ὁ Εὐθυμος ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λοκρῶν, οἱ χώραν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ζεφυρίῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ νέμονται, πατρὸς δὲ ἑκαλεῖτο Ἀστυκλέους: εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ τούτου, ποταμοῦ δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦ Καικίνου φασίν, ὃς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Ῥηγίνην ὀρίζων τὸ ἐς τοὺς τέττιγας παρέχεται θαῦμα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τέττιγες οἱ ἐντὸς τῆς Λοκρίδος ἄχρι τοῦ Καικίνου κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέττιξιν ἄδουσι: διαβάντων δὲ τὸν Καικίνην οὐδεμίαν ἔτι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥηγίνῃ τέττιγες ἀφίασι τὴν φωνήν.

[5] τούτου μὲν δὴ παῖδα εἶναι λέγεται τὸν

Εὐθυμον: ἀνελομένῳ δέ οἱ πυγμῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκην τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔμελλε χωρήσειν: Θεαγένης γὰρ ὁ Θάσιος Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐθέλων τῇ αὐτῇ πυγμῆς τε ἀνελέσθαι καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας ὑπερεβάλετο πυκτεύων τὸν Εὐθυμον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Θεαγένης ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθη τὸν κότινον ἅτε προκατεργασθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τὸν Εὐθυμον. [6] ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι τῷ Θεαγένει τάλαντον μὲν ἱερὰν ἐς τὸν θεὸν ζημίαν, τάλαντον δὲ βλάβης τῆς ἐς Εὐθυμον, ὅτι ἐπηρεῖα τῇ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἐδόκει σφίσιν ἐπανελέσθαι τὸ ἀγώνισμα τῆς πυγμῆς: τούτων ἔνεκα καταδικάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκτίσαι καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῷ Εὐθύμῳ χρήματα. ἔκτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα τὸ μὲν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἀργυρίου γινόμενον ἐξέτισεν ὁ Θεαγένης, * * καὶ ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐσήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν πυγμὴν: καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην Ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ στέφανον ἀνείλετο ὁ Εὐθυμος. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδριάς τέχνη τέ ἐστι Πυθαγόρου καὶ θεάς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος. [7] ἐπ' ἀνήκων δὲ ἐς Ἰταλίαν τότε δὴ ἐμαχέσατο πρὸς τὸν Ἥρω: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχεν οὕτως. Ὀδυσσεά πλανώμενον μετὰ ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἰλίου κατενεχθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἕς τε ἄλλας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ πόλεων, ἀφικέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐς Τεμέσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ναυσί: μεθυσθέντα οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἓνα τῶν ναυτῶν παρθένον βιάσασθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀντὶ τούτου καταλευσθῆναι τοῦ ἀδικήματος. [8] Ὀδυσσεά μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θέμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀποπλέοντα οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ καταλευσθέντος δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα οὐδένα ἀνιέναι καιρὸν ἀποκτείνοντά τε ὁμοίως τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεμέσῃ καὶ ἐπεξερχόμενον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν, ἐς ὃ ἡ Πυθία τὸ παράπαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ὠρμημένους φεύγειν Τεμέσαν μὲν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐκ εἶα, τὸν δὲ Ἥρω σφᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἰλάσκεσθαι τέμενός τε ἀποτεμομένους οἰκοδομήσασθαι ναόν, διδόναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν Τεμέσῃ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην. [9] τοῖς μὲν δὴ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προστεταγμένα ὑπουργοῦσι δεῖμα ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐς τᾶλλα ἦν οὐδέν: Εὐθυμος δὲ — ἀφίκετο γὰρ ἐς τὴν Τεμέσαν, καὶ πῶς τηνικαῦτα τὸ ἔθος ἐποιεῖτο τῷ δαίμονι — πυνθάνεται τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἐσελθὼν θεάσασθαι. ὥς δὲ εἶδε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς οἶκτον, δευτέρα δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτῆς: καὶ ἡ παῖς τε συνοικήσειν κατόμνυτο αὐτῷ σώσαντι αὐτήν καὶ ὁ Εὐθυμος ἐνεσκευασμένος ἔμενε τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ δαίμονος. [10] ἐνῖκα τε δὴ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ — ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς — ὁ Ἥρωσ ἀφανίζεται τε καταδύς ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ γάμος τε ἐπιφανῆς Εὐθύμῳ καὶ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐλευθερία τοῦ λοιποῦ σφισιν ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔτι ἐς τὸν Εὐθυμον, ὥς γήρως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀφίκοιτο καὶ ὥς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφυγὼν αὐθις ἕτερόν τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλον ἀπέλθοι τρόπον: οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν Τεμέσαν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα πλεύσαντος κατὰ ἐμπορίαν. [11] τόδε μὲν ἤκουσα, γραφῇ δὲ τοιαύδε ἐπιτυχὼν οἶδα: ἦν δὲ αὕτη γραφῆς μίμημα ἀρχαίας. νεανίσκος Σύβαρις καὶ Κάλαβρός τε ποταμὸς καὶ Λύκα πηγὴ, πρὸς δὲ ἡρῶν τε καὶ Τεμέσα ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἐν δὲ σφισι καὶ δαίμων ὄντινα ἐξέβαλεν ὁ Εὐθυμος, χρόαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερός, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχετο δέρμα ἐσθῆτα: ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα

Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ γράμματα.

7. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο εἰρήσθω· μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Εὐθύμου Πύθαρχός τε ἔστηκε Μαντινεὺς σταδιοδρόμος καὶ πύκτης Ἥλειος Χαρμίδης, λαβόντες νίκας ἐπὶ παισὶ. θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀθλητῶν ἀφίξη τὰς εἰκόνας, Διαγόραν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος· οἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τοιῷδε ἀνέκειντο, Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν λαβὼν πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον, Δωριεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισί. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ Δωριέως ἐκράτησε καὶ Δαμάγητος τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸ παγκράτιον. [2] οὗτοι μὲν ἀδελφοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ Διαγόρου παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς κείται καὶ ὁ Διαγόρας, πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος νίκην· τοῦ Διαγόρου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα Μεγαρεὺς εἰργάσατο Καλλικλῆς Θεοκόσμου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Μεγάροις τοῦ Διός. Διαγόρου δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θυγατέρων παῖδες πύξ τε ἤσκησαν καὶ ἔσχον Ὀλυμπικάς νίκας, ἐν μὲν ἀνδράσιν Εὐκλῆς Καλλιάνακτός τε ὦν καὶ Καλλπατείρας τῆς Διαγόρου, Πεισίροδος δὲ ἐν παισίν, ὃν ἡ μήτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιθεμένη γυμναστοῦ σχῆμα ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων αὐτὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤγαγεν· [3] οὗτος δὲ ὁ Πεισίροδος καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔστηκε. Διαγόραν δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς παισὶν Ἀκουσίλαῳ καὶ Δαμαγίτῳ λέγουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι διὰ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὸν πατέρα ἔφερον βαλλόμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄνθεσι καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ καλούμενον. γένος δὲ ὁ Διαγόρας τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μεσσήνιος πρὸς γυναικῶν ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστομένους ἐγγόνει θυγατρὸς. [4] Δωριεὺς δὲ τῷ Διαγόρου παρὲξ ἡ Ὀλυμπίασιν Ἰσθμίων μὲν γεγόνασιν ὀκτὼ νῖκαι, Νεμείων δὲ ἀποδέουσαι μιᾶς ἐς τὰς ὀκτὼ· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἀκονιτί. ἀνηγορεύοντο δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ὁ Πεισίροδος Θουρίοι, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ Θουρίους ἀπελθόντες. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατῆλθεν ὁ Δωριεὺς ἐς Ῥόδον· καὶ φανερώτατα δὴ ἀπάντων ἀνὴρ εἰς φρονήσας οὗτος τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φαίνεται, ὥστε καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν ἐναντία Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν οἰκείαις, ἐς ὃ τριήρων ἀλούς Ἀττικῶν ἀνήχθη ζῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους. [5] οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὶν μὲν ἢ Δωριέα παρὰ σφᾶς ἀναχθῆναι θυμῷ τε ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρῶντο· ὥς δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθόντες ἄνδρα οὕτω μέγαν καὶ δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκοντα ἐθέασαντο ἐν σχήματι αἰχμαλώτου, μεταπίπτει σφίσιν ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἀφίᾳσιν οὐδὲ ἔργον οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργάζονται, παρόν σφισι πολλὰ τε καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ δρᾶσαι. [6] τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Δωριέως τὴν τελευτὴν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀθίδι Ἀνδροτίῳ εἰρημένα, εἶναι μὲν τῆνικαῦτα ἐν Καύνῳ τὸ βασιλέως ναυτικὸν καὶ Κόνωνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ στρατηγόν, Ῥοδίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μεταβαλέσθαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βασιλέως καὶ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν, Δωριέα δὲ ἀποδημεῖν μὲν τότε ἐκ Ῥόδου περὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου χωρία, συλληφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναχθέντα ἐς Σπάρτην ἀδικεῖν τε ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καταγνωσθῆναι καὶ ἐπιβληθῆναι οἱ θάνατον ζημίαν. [7] εἰ δὲ τὸν ὄντα εἶπεν Ἀνδροτίῳ λόγον, ἐθέλειν μοι φαίνεται Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἔτι Ἀθηναίοις καταστήσαι, ὅτι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοις ἐς Θράσυλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ὁμοῦ τῷ Θρασύλλῳ

στρατηγήσαντας προπετείας ἐστὶν ἐγκλημα.

Διαγόρας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκοντο: [8] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαινέτῳ τῷ Θεάντου Λεπρεάτῃ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι. αὐτὸς μὲν γε πυκτεύων ὁ Ἀλκαίνετος ἐν τε ἀνδράσι καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπεκράτησεν ἐν παισίν: Ἑλλάνικον δὲ τὸν Ἀλκαίνετου καὶ Θεάντον ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων ἀναγορευθῆναι τὸν μὲν ἐνάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ συνέβη τὸν Θεάντον: καὶ σφισιν ἀνδριάντες ἅπασιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κεῖνται. [9] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκαίνετου τοῖς υἱοῖς Γνάθων τε Διπαιεὺς τῆς Μαιναλέων χώρας καὶ Λυκῖνος ἔσθηκεν Ἥλειος: κρατῆσαι δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳσι πυγμῇ παῖδας ὑπῆρξε καὶ τούτοις. Γνάθωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνίκησεν, εἶναι νέον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησί: Καλλικλέους δὲ τοῦ Μεγαρέως ποίημα ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐστιν. [10] ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐκ Στυμφήλου Δρομεὺς ὄνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπὶ δολίχῳ παρεσχημένος, δύο μὲν ἔσχεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμίων τε τρεῖς καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ πέντε. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ κρέας ἐσθίειν ἐπινοήσῃσι: τέως δὲ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς σιτία τυρὸν ἐκ τῶν ταλάρων εἶναι. τούτου μὲν δὴ Πυθαγόρας τὴν εἰκόνα, τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, πένταθλον Ἥλειον Πυθοκλέα, Πολύκλειτός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος.

8. Σωκράτους δὲ Πελληνέως δρόμου νίκην ἐν παισὶν εἰληφότος καὶ Ἥλειου Ἀμέρτου καταπαλαίσαντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παῖδας, καταπαλαίσαντος δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῦ μὲν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ λέγουσι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἀμέρτου Φράδμων ἐποίησεν Ἀργεῖος. Εὐανορίδα δὲ Ἥλειῳ πάλης ἐν παισὶν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τε Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ νίκη: γενόμενος δὲ Ἑλλανδοίκης ἔγραψε καὶ οὗτος τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῶν νενικηκότων. [2] ἐς δὲ πύκτην ἄνδρα, γένος μὲν Ἀρκάδα ἐκ Παρρασίων, Δάμαρχον δὲ ὄνομα, οὗ μοι πιστὰ ἦν πέρα γε τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκης ὅποσα ἄλλα ἀνδρῶν ἀλαζόνων ἐστὶν εἰρημένα, ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου μεταβάλοι τὸ εἶδος ἐς λύκον ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διός, καὶ ὡς ὕστερον τούτων ἔτει δεκάτῳ γένοιτο αὐθις ἄνθρωπος. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λέγεσθαι μοι τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο ἐς αὐτόν, ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: ἔχει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως: "υἱὸς Δινύτα Δάμαρχος τάνδ' ἀνέθηκεν

εἰκόν' ἀπ' Ἀркаδίας Παρράσιος γενεάν.

"τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο πεποίηται:

[3] Εὐβώτας δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ἅτε τὴν ἐσομένην οἱ δρόμου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ προπευσμένος, τὴν τε εἰκόνα ἐπεποίητο πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνηγορεύθη τε νικήσας καὶ ἀνέθηκε τὴν εἰκόνα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς κρατήσῃσι καὶ ἄρματι ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος ταύτης ἢ λόγῳ τῷ Ἥλειῳ ἐστὶ κίβδηλος τῶν ἀγωνοθετησάντων Ἀρκάδων ἔνεκα. [4] Κλεωναῖφ δὲ Τιμάνθει παγκρατίου λαβόντι ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον καὶ Τροιζηνίῳ Βαύκιδι παλαιστάς καταβαλόντι ἄνδρας, τῷ μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Μύρωνος, Βαύκιδι δὲ Ναυκύδους ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδριάς ἔργον. τῷ δὲ Τιμάνθει τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου συμβῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιαύδε. πεπαῦσθαι μὲν ἀθλοῦντα, ἀποπειραῖσθαι δὲ ὅμως αὐτόν ἔτι τῆς ἰσχύος, τόξον μέγα ἐπὶ ἐκάστης τείνοντα τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀποδημῆσαι τε δὴ αὐτόν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τόξῳ τηνικαῦτα ἐκλειφθῆναι

οὐκ ἔτι τὴν μελέτην· ὥς δὲ ἐπανήκων οὐχ οἷός τε ἔτι τείναι τὸ τόξον ἐγένετο, πῦρ ἀνακαύσας ἀφίησι ζῶντα ἐς τὴν πυρὰν αὐτόν. ὁπόσα δὲ ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ καὶ ὑστερόν ποτε ἔσται, μανία μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρία νομίζοιτο ἂν κατὰ γε ἐμὴν γνώμην.

[5] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαύκιδᾶ εἰσιν ἀθλητῶν Ἀρκάδων

εἰκόνες, Εὐθυμένης τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Μαινάλου, νίκας τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν πάλης, τὴν δ' ἔτι πρότερον ἐν παισὶν εἰληφώς, καὶ Ἀζᾶν ἐκ Πελλάνας Φίλιππος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας, καὶ Κριτόδαμος ἐκ Κλείτορος, ἐπὶ πυγμῇ καὶ οὗτος ἀναγορευθεὶς παῖδων· τὰς δὲ σφισιν εἰκόνας, τὴν μὲν ἐν παισὶ τοῦ Εὐθυμένους Ἄλυπος, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Δαμοκρίτου Κλέων, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀζᾶνος Μύρων τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε. τὰ δὲ ἐς Πρόμαχον τὸν Δρύωνος παγκρατιαστὴν Πελληνέα προσέσται μοι καὶ ταῦτα τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς λόγῳ.

[6] Προμάχου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Τιμασίθεος ἀνάκειται γένος Δελφός, Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἔργον τοῦ Ἀργείου, παγκρατίου δὲ δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀννηρημένος Πυθοῖ. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶν ἔργα τῇ τε τόλμῃ λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέοντα τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ τελευταίου· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ θάνατον τὸ ἐγχείρημα ἥνεγκεν. Ἰσαγόρα γὰρ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων καταλαβόντι ἐπὶ τυραννίδι μετασχὼν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ὁ Τιμασίθεος — ἐγένετο γὰρ τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει — θάνατον ζημίαν εὔρετο εὔρετο δὲ τοῦ ἀδικήματος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων.

9. Θεογνήτῳ δὲ Αἰγινήτῃ πάλης μὲν στέφανον λαβεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν παισὶ, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα οἱ Πτόλιχος ἐποίησεν Αἰγινήτης. διδάσκαλοι δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν Πτολίχῳ μὲν Συνοῶν ὁ πατήρ, ἐκείνῳ δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς Σικυώνιος, ἀδελφός τε Κανάχου καὶ οὐ πολὺ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐλασσούμενος. ἐφ' ὧν δὲ ὁ Θεογνήτος πίτυος τῆς γ' ἡμέρου καὶ ροιᾶς φέρει καρπὸν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ οἷά τε ἦν συμβαλέσθαι, τάχα δ' ἂν Αἰγινήταις τισὶν ἐπιχώριος ἐς αὐτὰ ἂν εἴη λόγος. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃν Ἥλειοί φασιν οὐ γραφῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι ἐπὶ κάλπῃς ἀνηγορεύθη δρόμῳ, μετὰ τούτου τὴν εἰκόνα Ξενοκλῆς τε Μαινάλιος ἔσθηκε παλαιστὰς καταβαλὼν παῖδας καὶ Ἄλκετος Ἀλκίνου κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας, Ἀρκὰς καὶ οὗτος ἐκ Κλείτορος· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Κλέων, Ξενοκλέους δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα Πολύκλειτός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος. [3] Ἀριστεὺς δὲ Ἀργεῖος δολίχου μὲν νίκην ἔσχεν αὐτός, πάλης δὲ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ Ἀριστεύου Χεῖμων· ἐστήκασιν μὲν δὴ ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, ἐποίησε δὲ τὸν μὲν Παντίας Χίος παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ δεδιδαγμένος Σωστράτῳ, αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες τοῦ Χεῖμωνος ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν δοκιμωτάτων Ναυκύδους, ἢ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἢ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Εἰρήνης τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομισθεῖσα ἐξ Ἀργεῶς. λέγεται δὲ ὡς Ταυροσθένην καταπαλαίσειεν ὁ Χεῖμων τὸν Αἰγινήτην καὶ ὡς Ταυροσθένης τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ ἐφεξῆς καταβάλῃ τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὴν πάλην καὶ ὡς ἐοικὸς Ταυροσθένι φάσμα ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν Αἰγίνῃ φανέν ἀπαγγεῖλειε τὴν νίκην. [4] Φύλλην δὲ Ἥλειον κρατήσαντα παῖδας πάλη Σπαρτιάτης Κρατῖνος ἐποίησε.

τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄρμα τὸ Γέλωνος οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα δοξάζειν ἐμοὶ τε παρίστατο καὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ εἰρηκόσιν, οἱ Γέλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυραννήσαντός φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι τὸ ἄρμα. ἐπίγραμμα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ

Γέλωνα Δεινομένους ἀναθεῖναι Γελῶν, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τούτῳ τῷ Γέλωνί ἐστι τῆς νίκης τρίτη πρὸς τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδας: [5] Γέλων δὲ ὁ Σικελίας τυραννήσας Συρακούσας ἔσχεν Ὑβριλίδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν Τιδικράτης ἐνίκα Κροτωνιάτης στάδιον. δηλαδὴ οὖν ὡς Συρακούσιον ἤδη καὶ οὐ Γελῶν ἀναγορεύειν αὐτὸν ἐμελλεν: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ιδιώτης εἶη ἂν τις ὁ Γέλων οὗτος, πατρός τε ὁμώνυμου τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμώνυμος. Γλαυκίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης τό τε ἄρμα καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Γέλωνι ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα. [6] τῇ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρὸ ταύτης Κλεομήδην φασὶν Ἀστυपालαίᾳ ὡς Ἴκκῳ πυκτεύων ἀνδρὶ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ τὸν Ἴκκον ἀποκτείνειεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν ἄδικα εἰργάσθαι καὶ ἀφηρημένος τὴν νίκην ἔκφρων ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἀνέστρεψε μὲν ἐς Ἀστυπάλαιαν, διδασκαλείῳ δ' ἐπιστάς ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἀριθμὸν παίδων ἀνατρέπει τὸν κίονα ὃς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνεῖχεν.

[7] ἐμπεσόντος δὲ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῖς παισὶ, καταλιθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν κατέφυγεν ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν: ἐσβάντος δὲ ἐς κιβωτὸν κειμένην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐφελκυσταμένου τὸ ἐπίθημα, κάματον ἐς ἀνωφελὲς οἱ Ἀστυपालαεῖς ἔκαμνον ἀνοίγειν τὴν κιβωτὸν πειρώμενοι: τέλος δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῆς κιβωτοῦ καταρρήξαντες, ὡς οὔτε ζῶντα Κλεομήδην οὔτε τεθνεῶτα εὔρισκον, ἀποστέλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησομένους ὅποια ἐς Κλεομήδην τὰ συμβάντα ἦν. [8] τούτοις χρῆσαι τὴν Πυθίαν φασίν: ὕστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυपालαεὺς,

ὃν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ' ἅτε μηκέτι θνητὸν ἔοντα.

“Κλεομήδει μὲν οὖν Ἀστυपालαεῖς ἀπὸ τούτου τιμᾶς ὡς ἥρωι νέμουσι: [9] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Γέλωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνάκειται Φίλων, τέχνη τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Γλαυκίου. τούτῳ τῷ Φίλωνι Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπους ἐλεγείῳ δεξιώτατον ἐποίησε: “πατρίς μὲν Κόρκυρα, Φίλων δ' ὄνομα: εἰμὶ δὲ Γλαύκου υἱὸς καὶ νικῶ πῶς δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδας.

“ἀνάκειται καὶ Μαντινεὺς Ἀγαμήτωρ, κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας.

10. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατεिलεγμένοις ἔστηκεν ὁ Καρύστιος Γλαῦκος: εἶναι δὲ φασιν ἐξ Ἀνθηδόνης τῆς Βοιωτῶν τὸ ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν γένος ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ δαίμονος. πατρός δὲ οὗτος ὁ Καρύστιος ἦν Δημύλου, καὶ γῆν φασιν αὐτὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐργάζεσθαι: ἐκπεσοῦσαν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρότρου τὴν ὕνιν πρὸς τὸ ἄροτρον καθήρμοσε τῇ χειρὶ ἀντὶ σφύρας χρώμενος, καὶ πῶς [2] ἐθεάσατο ὁ Δημύλος τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ποιούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πυκτεύσοντα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγεν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γλαῦκος ἅτε οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἔχων τῆς μάχης ἐπιτρώσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιζομένων, καὶ ἡνίκα πρὸς τὸν λειπόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπύκτευνεν, ἀπαγορεύειν ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν τραυμάτων ἐνομίζετο: καὶ οἱ τὸν πατέρα βοῆσαι φασιν ‘ὦ παῖ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρότρου’. οὕτω γε δὴ βιαιότεραν ἐς τὸν ἀνταγωνιζόμενον ἐνεγκὼν τὴν πληγὴν αὐτίκα εἶχε τὴν νίκην. [3] στεφάνους δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἄλλους Πύθια μὲν δις λαβεῖν, Νεμεῖων δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμίων ὀκτάκις ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἀγῶνι. τοῦ

Γλαύκου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκε μὲν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ, Γλαυκίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε: σκιαμαχοῦντος δὲ ὁ ἀνδριάς παρέχεται σχῆμα, ὅτι ὁ Γλαῦκος ἦν

ἐπιτηδειότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν χειρονομήσαι πεφυκώς. ἀποθανόντα δὲ οἱ Καρύστιοι ταφῆναι φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν νήσῳ καλουμένῃ Γλαύκου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι.
[4] Δαμαρέτῳ δὲ Ἑραιεῖ υἱῷ τε τοῦ Δαμαρέτου καὶ υἱονῶ δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπία γεγόνασιν ἐκάστῳ νῖκαι, Δαμαρέτῳ μὲν πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι, ὅτε ἐνομίσθη πρῶτον ὁ τοῦ ὀπλίτου δρόμος, καὶ ὡσαύτως τῇ ἐφεξῆς — πεποιήται ὁ ἀνδριάς ἀσπίδα τε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχων τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ κράνος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ κνημίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσί: ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ τε Ἥλειων καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἄλλων ἀφηρέθη τοῦ δρόμου — , Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τῷ Δαμαρέτου καὶ αὐθις ἐκείνου παιδί ὁμωνύμῳ ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ πάλῃς ἐγένοντο αἱ νῖκαι.

[5] τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα Θεοπόμπου μὲν τοῦ παλαίσαντος τὸν ποιήσαντα οὐκ ἴσμεν, τὰς δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάππου φησί τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Εὐτελίδας τε εἶναι καὶ Χρυσοθέμιδος Ἀργείων: οὐ μὴν παρ' ὅτῳ γε ἐδιδάχθησαν δεδήλωκεν, ἔχει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως: "Εὐτελίδας καὶ Χρυσόθεμις τάδε ἔργα τέλεσσαν

Ἀργεῖοι, τέχνην εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων.

“

Ἴκκος δὲ ὁ Νικολαΐδας Ταραντῖνος τὸν τε Ὀλυμπικὸν στέφανον ἔσχεν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ καὶ ὕστερον γυμναστὴς ἄριστος λέγεται τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι: [6] μετὰ δὲ Ἴκκον καταπαλαίσας παῖδας Παντάρκης ἔστηκεν Ἥλειος ὁ ἐρώμενος Φειδίου. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Παντάρκει Κλεοσθένους ἐστὶν ἄρμα ἀνδρὸς Ἐπιδαμνίου: τοῦτο ἔργον μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀγελάδα, ἔστηκε δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. ἐνίκα μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔκτῃν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν ὁ Κλεοσθένης, ἀνέθηκε δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ τε εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον. [7] ἐπιέγραπται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵπων τὰ ὀνόματα Φοῖνιξ καὶ Κόραξ, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ οἱ παρὰ τὸ ζυγόν, κατὰ μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ Κνακίας, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Σάμος: καὶ ἐλεγείον τόδε ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι: "Κλεοσθένης μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου,

νικήσας ἵπποις καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός.

“ [8] τῶν δὲ ἵπποτροφησάντων ἐν Ἑλλήσι πρῶτος ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Κλεοσθένης οὗτος. τὰ γὰρ Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου καὶ Εὐαγόρου τοῦ Λάκωνος ἀναθήματα, τοῦ μὲν ἄρματά ἐστιν, οὐ μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν Εὐαγόρας: τὰ Μιλτιάδου δέ, ὅποια ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθηκεν, ἐτέρωθι δὴ δηλώσω τοῦ λόγου. Ἐπιδάμνιοι δὲ χώραν μὲν ἦν περ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πόλιν δὲ οὐ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ἔχουσιν, ἐκείνης δὲ ἀφεστηκυῖαν ὀλίγον: ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει τῇ νῦν Δυρράχιον ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ. [9] Λυκῖνον δὲ Ἑραιέα καὶ Ἐπικράδιον Μαντινέα καὶ Τέλλωνα Ὀρεσθάσιον καὶ Ἥλειον Ἀγιάδαν ἐν παισὶν ἀνελομένους νίκας, Λυκῖνον μὲν δρόμου, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατελεγμένους πυγμῆς, Ἐπικράδιον μὲν καὶ Ἀγιάδαν, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Πτόλιχος Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ Ἀγιάδαν Σήραμβος, γένος καὶ οὗτος Αἰγινήτης: Λυκῖνον δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδριάς Κλέωνος τέχνη: τὸν δὲ Τέλλωνα ὅστις εἰργάσατο, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν.

11. ἐφεξῆς τούτων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν Ἥλειων, Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ Σέλευκος τε καὶ Ἀντίγονος: τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐφ'

ἵππων, Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ ἀνὴρ πεζὸς ἐστὶν ἢ εἰκὼν.

[2] τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν εἰρημένων ἔστηκεν οὐ πόρρῳ Θεαγένῃς ὁ Τιμοσθένους Θάσιος· Θάσιοι δὲ οὐ Τιμοσθένους παῖδα εἶναι Θεαγένῃν φασίν, ἀλλὰ ἱερᾶσθαι μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Τιμοσθένῃν Θασίῳ, τοῦ Θεαγένους δὲ τῇ μητρὶ Ἡρακλέους συγγενέσθαι φάσμα ἐοικὸς Τιμοσθένει. ἑνατὸν τε δὴ ἔτος εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων φασίν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμενον ἄγαλμα ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦν — χαίρειν γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτόν — , ἀνασπάσαι τε δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὤμων ἀναθέμενον ἐνεγκεῖν παρ' αὐτόν.

[3] ἐχόντων δὲ ὀργὴν ἐς αὐτόν ἐπὶ τῷ πεπονημένῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀνὴρ τις αὐτῶν δόκιμος καὶ ἡλικία προήκων ἀποκτείνει μὲν σφᾶς τὸν παῖδα οὐκ ἔῃ, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὖθις κομίσει τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν· ὥς δὲ ἤνεγκε, μέγα αὐτίκα ἦν κλέος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ ἰσχύι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐβεβόητο τὴν Ἑλλάδα. [4] ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἔργων τῶν Θεαγένους ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἦκει τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν, προεδίηλωση ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὰ δοκιμώτατα ἐξ αὐτῶν, Εὐθυμόν τε ὡς κατεμαχέσατο τὸν Πύκτην καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἐπεβλήθη τῷ Θεαγένει ζημία. τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ παγκρατίου τὴν νίκην ἀνὴρ ἐκ Μαντινείας Δρομεὺς ὄνομα πρῶτος ὢν ἴσμεν ἀκονεῖν λέγεται λαβεῖν· τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ παγκρατιάζων ὁ Θεαγένῃς ἐκράτει. [5] γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ νῖκαι τρεῖς, αὗται μὲν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ, Νεμείων δὲ ἐννέα καὶ Ἰσθμίων δέκα παγκρατίου τε ἀναμιξὶ καὶ πυγμῇς. ἐν Φθίᾳ δὲ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν πυγμῇς μὲν ἡ παγκρατίου παρήκε τὴν σπουδὴν, ἐφρόντιζε δὲ ὅπως καὶ ἐπὶ δρόμῳ ἐμφανὴς ἐν Ἑλλήσιν εἴη, καὶ τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸν δόλιχον ἐκράτησεν· ἦν δέ οἱ πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ φιλοτίμημα, ἐν πατρίδι τοῦ ὠκίστου τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἀνελέσθαι δρόμου νίκην. τοὺς δὲ σύμπαντας στεφάνους τετρακοσίους τε ἔσχε καὶ χιλίους. [6] ὥς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνὴρ τῶν τις ἀπηχθιμένων ζῶντι αὐτῷ παρεγίνετο ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἐμαστίγου τὸν χαλκὸν ἅτε αὐτῷ Θεαγένει λυμαινόμενος· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐμπεσὼν ὕβρεως παύει, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τῇ εἰκόνι ἐπεξήρσαν φόνου. καὶ οἱ Θάσιοι καταποντοῦσι τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπακολουθήσαντες γνώμῃ τῇ Δράκοντος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις θεσμοὺς γράψας φονικοὺς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, εἶγε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον. [7] ἀνὰ χρόνον δέ, ὡς τοῖς Θασίοις οὐδένα ἀπεδίδου καρπὸν ἢ γῆ, θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δεδιωγμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καταδεχθέντες οὐδὲν τῆς ἀκαρπίας παρέρχοντο ἴαμα· δεῦτερα οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Πυθίαν ἔρχονται, λέγοντες ὡς καὶ ποιήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὰ χρησθέντα διαμένοι τὸ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν μήνιμα. [8] ἐνταῦθα ἀπεκρίνατό σφισιν ἡ Πυθία· “Θεαγένῃν δ' ἄμνηστον ἀφήκατε τὸν μέγαν ὕμεων.

“ἀπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὅποιά μηχανῇ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνασώσωνται, φασίν ἀλίεας ἀναχθέντας ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ ἰχθύων θήραν περισχεῖν τῷ δικτύῳ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν αὖθις ἐς τὴν γῆν· Θάσιοι δὲ ἀναθέντες, ἔνθα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκειτο, νομίζουσιν ἅτε θεῷ θύειν. [9] πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἐν τε Ἑλλήσιν οἶδα καὶ παρὰ βαρβάρους ἀγάλματα ἰδρυμένα

Θεαγένους καὶ νοσήματά τε αὐτὸν ἰώμενον καὶ ἔχοντα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τιμάς. ὁ δὲ ἀνδριάς τοῦ Θεαγένους ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει, τέχνη τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Γλαυκίου.

12. πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλητες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔστηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες: ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐπὶ νίκαις Ὀλυμπिकाῖς ἐστὶν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένους τυραννήσαντος Συρακουσίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ Ἰέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰέρωνος, ἔργα δὲ τὸ μὲν Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα, Καλάμιδος δὲ οἱ ἵπποι τε οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ παῖδες. [2] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινομένους καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ οὗτος τυραννήσας, Ἰέρων δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἰεροκλέους: μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ πρότερον τυραννήσαντος τελευταίην Συρακουσίοις αὐθις ἀναπεφύκει τύραννος ὁ Ἰέρων οὗτος, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἣν Κυρηναῖος στάδιον ἐνίκησεν Ἰδαῖος.

[3] οὗτος ὁ Ἰέρων ξενίαν πρὸς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ ξενίᾳ καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποιήσατο, Γέλωνι τῷ παιδί Νηρηίδα ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Πύρρου. Ῥωμαίων δὲ περὶ Σικελίας ἐς τὴν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον καταστάντων εἶχον μὲν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς νήσου πλέον ἢ ἡμῖς, Ἰέρωνι δὲ συνιόντων μὲν ἄρτι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλέσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἥρεσε, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ δυνάμει τε εἶναι νομίζον τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐχυρώτερα καὶ βεβαιότερα ἅμα ἐς φιλίαν μετεβάλετο ὥς τούτους. [4] τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν τελευταίην ὑπὸ Δεινομένους, γένος μὲν Συρακουσίου, δυσμενέστατα δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐς τυραννίδα ἔχοντος, ὃς καὶ ὕστερον τούτων Ἰπποκράτει τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπικύδους ἐξ Ἐρβησοῦ παρεληλυθότι ἄρτι ἐς Συρακούσας καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ποιεῖσθαι λόγους ἀρχομένῳ ἐπέδραμεν ὥς ἀποκτενῶν τὸν Ἰπποκράτην: τοῦ δὲ οἱ ἀντιστάντος, κρατήσαντες τῶν δορυφόρων ἄλλοι διαφθείρουσι τὸν Δεινομένην. τοὺς ἀνδριάντας δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, ἐφ' ἵππου τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν πεζόν, ἀνέθεσαν μὲν τοῦ Ἰέρωνος οἱ παῖδες, ἐποίησε δὲ Μίκων Νικηράτου Συρακούσιος. [5] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἄρατος ἔστηκεν ὁ Κλεινίου, καὶ αὐθις ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐστὶν Ἀρεὺς ἵππον. ἀνάθημα δὲ ὁ μὲν Κορινθίων ὁ Ἄρατος, Ἀρεὺς δὲ Ἡλείων ἐστί: καί μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ πρότερα οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἄρατον οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἀρέα ἀμνημόνως ἔσχεν, Ἄρατος δὲ καὶ ἄρματι ἀνηγορεύθη νικῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

[6] Τίμωνι δὲ τῷ Αἰσύπου καθέντι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἵππους ἀνδρὶ Ἡλείῳ * * ἐστὶ τοῦτο χαλκοῦν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναβέβηκε παρθένος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Νίκη. Κάλλωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀρμοδίου καὶ τὸν Μοσχίωνος Ἰππόμαχον, γένος τε Ἡλείους καὶ πυγμῇ κρατήσαντας ἐν παισί, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐποίησε Δάιππος, Ἰππομάχου δὲ ὅστις μὲν τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο οὐκ ἴσμεν, καταμαχέσασθαι δὲ τρεῖς φασιν ἀνταγωνιστὰς αὐτὸν οὔτε πληγὴν ἀποδεξάμενον οὔτε τι τρωθέντα τοῦ σώματος. [7] Θεόχρηστον δὲ Κυρηναῖον ἱπποτροφήσαντα κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον τοῖς Λίβυσι καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τὸν ὁμώνυμόν τε αὐτῷ

καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πατέρα, τούτους μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἵππων νίκας, ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ τοῦ Θεοχρήστου λαβεῖν τὸν πατέρα, τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι. [8] Ἀγῆσαρχον δὲ τὸν Αἰμοστράτου Τριταῖα κρατῆσαι μὲν πύκτας ἄνδρας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐλεγείον, Ἀρκάδας δὲ τοὺς Τριταεῖς εἶναι τοῦ ἐλεγείου λέγοντος οὐκ ἀληθεύοντα εὑρισκον. πόλεων γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ταῖς μὲν ἐπειλημμέναις δόξης οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς οἰκιστάς ἐστιν ἄγνωστα, τὰς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ἀφανεστέρας καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἀνοικισθείσας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν, οὐ περιέχει σφᾶς γενόμενον τότε ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινοῦ δόγμα; [9] οὐδέ τινα ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλήσει Τρίτειαν πόλιν ἄλλην γε ἢ τὴν Ἀχαιῶν εὐρεῖν. τῆνικαῦτα γοῦν ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἡγοῖτο ἂν τις συντελέσαι τοὺς Τριταεῖς, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι Ἀρκάδων αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ ἐς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν τελοῦντες. τοῦ Ἀγῆσαρχου δὲ ἐστιν ἡ εἰκὼν τέχνη τῶν Πολυκλέους παίδων. τούτων μὲν δὴ ποιησόμεθα μνήμην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις τοῦ λόγου:

13. Ἀστύλος δὲ Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγόρου μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, τρεῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς Ὀλυμπιάσι σταδίου τε καὶ διαύλου νίκας ἔσχεν. ὅτι δὲ ἐν δύο ταῖς ὑστέραις ἐς χάριν τὴν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένου ἀνηγόρευσε αὐτὸν Συρακούσιον, τούτων ἕνεκα οἱ Κροτωνιάται τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ δεσποτήριον εἶναι κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα καθεῖλον παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Λακινίᾳ κειμένην. [2] ἀνάκειται δὲ τῇ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ στήλῃ λέγουσα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Χιόνιδος τὰς νίκας. εὐθειας μὲν δὴ μετέχουσι καὶ ὅσοι Χίονιν αὐτὸν ἀναθεῖναι τὴν στήλην, ἀλλ' οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγῆνται τὸ δημόσιον: ἔστω γὰρ δήπου, ὥς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ, οὐκ εἶναι πω τοῦ ὄπλου τὸν δρόμον: πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐπίστατο ὁ Χίονις εἰ αὐθὶς ποτε προσνομοθετήσουσιν Ἥλαιοι; τούτων δὲ ἔτι ἐς πλέον ἡκουσιν εὐθειας οἱ τὸν ἐσθηκὸτα ἀνδριάντα παρὰ τῇ στήλῃ φασὶν εἰκόνα εἶναι Χιόνιδος, ἔργον ὄντα τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Μύρωνος.

[3] εἰκότα δὲ Χιόνιδι τὰ ἐς δόξαν καὶ ἀνὴρ Λύκιος παρέσχετο Ἑρμογένης Ξάνθιος, ὃς τὸν κότινον ἐν τρισὶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀνείλετο ὀκτάκις ἐπὶ κλησὶν τε ἔσχεν Ἴππος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων: ποιήσαιο δ' ἂν καὶ Πολίτην ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι. ὁ Πολίτης δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐκ Κεράμου τῆς ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ Καρίᾳ, ἀνέφηνε δὲ ἀρετὴν ποδῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πᾶσαν: ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ μηκίστου καὶ διαρκεστάτου δι' ὀλιγίστου δὴ καιροῦ μεθιρμόσατο ἐπὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ὁμοῦ καὶ ὥκιστον, καὶ δολίχου τε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ παραυτίκα σταδίου λαβὼν νίκην προσέθηκε δὲ διαύλου σφίσι τὴν τρίτην.

[4] Πολίτης μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας * * * καὶ τέσσαρας, ὥς ἂν ἕκαστοι συνταχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀφιασιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον: οἱ δ' ἂν ἐν ἐκάστῃ τάξει κρατήσωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αὐθὶς θέουσι τῶν ἄθλων: καὶ οὕτω σταδίου δύο ὁ στεφανούμενος ἀναιρήσεται νίκας. τὰ μέντοι ἐπιφανέστατα ἐς δρόμον Λεωνίδα Ῥοδίῳ ἐστίν: ἐπὶ γὰρ τέσσαρας Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀκμάζων τε τῇ ὥκυτῃ ἀντήρκεσε, καὶ γεγόνασιν αὐτῷ δρόμου νῖκαι δύο ἀριθμὸν καὶ δέκα. [5] Χιόνιδος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήλης Σκαῖος ἔστηκεν ὁ Δούριος Σάμιος, κρατήσας πυγμῇ παίδας: τέχνη δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ μὲν Ἰππίου τοῦ * *, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, νικῆσαι Σκαῖον ἡνίκα ὁ Σαμίων δῆμος ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν * * * ἐπὶ τὰ

οἰκεῖα τὸν δῆμον.

[6] παρὰ δὲ τὸν τύραννον Διάλλος ὁ Πόλλιδος ἀνάκειται, γένος μὲν Σμυρναῖος, Ἰώνων δὲ πρῶτος λαβεῖν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησὶν οὗτος ὁ Διάλλος παγκρατίου στέφανον ἐν παισίν. Θερσίλοχον δὲ Κορκυραῖον καὶ Ἀριστίωνα Θεοφίλους Ἐπιδαύριον, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν πυγμῆς, Θερσίλοχον δὲ λαβόντα ἐν παισὶ στέφανον, Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε σφᾶς ὁ Ἀργεῖος. [7] Βύκελος δέ, ὃς Σικυωνίων πρῶτος πύξ ἐκράτησεν ἐν παισίν, ἔστιν ἔργον Σικυωνίου Κανάχου παρὰ τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ Πολυκλείτῳ διδασχθέντος. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Βύκελον ὀπλίτης ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λίβυς Μνασέας Κυρηναῖος ἔστηκε: Πυθαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα. Κυζικηνῶ δὲ Ἀγεμάχῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου * * * γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μνηύει. [8] Νάξου δὲ οἰκισθείσης ποτὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Εὐρίπῳ, τῆς πόλεως μὲν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἐλείπετο ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, ὄνομα δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα εἶναι τῆς Νάξου Τίσανδρος ὁ Κλεοκρίτου μάλιστα αἰτίαν ἐχέτω: τετράκις γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἀνδράσι κατεμαχέσατο ὁ Τίσανδρος πύκτας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τοσαῦται δὲ καὶ Πυθοὶ γεγόνασιν αὐτῷ νῖκαι, καὶ Κορινθίοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν πῶς τῆνικαῦτα οὐδὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς ἅπαντας ὑπομνήματα τοὺς Νέμεια καὶ Ἰσθμια νικήσαντας. [9] ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἡ τοῦ Κορινθίου Φειδώλα ὄνομα μὲν, ὥς οἱ Κορίνθιοι μνημονεύουσιν, ἔχει Αὖρα, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ δρόμου συνέπεσεν ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτήν: καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν θέουσα ἐν κόσμῳ περὶ τε τὴν νύσσαν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν, ἐπετάχυνεν ἐς πλεόν τὸν δρόμον, φθάνει τε δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας ἀφικομένη καὶ νικῶσα ἔγνω καὶ παύεται τοῦ δρόμου. Ἠλείοι δὲ ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τὸν Φειδῶλαν καὶ ἀναθεῖναι οἱ τὴν ἵππον ταύτην ἐφιδᾶσιν.

[10] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φειδώλα τοῖς παισίν ἐπὶ κέλῃτι ἵπῳ νίκη, καὶ ὁ τε ἵππος ἐπὶ στήλῃ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ: "ὠκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἰσθμὶ" ἅπαξ, δύο δ' ἐνθάδε νίκαις

Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους.

"οὐ μὴν τῷ γε ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὰ Ἠλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας ὁμολογεῖ γράμματα: ὀγδοὴ γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ οὐ πέρα ταύτης ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἠλείων γράμμασιν ἡ νίκη τῶν Φειδώλα παίδων: [11] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα ἴστω τις: Ἠλείοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν Ἀγαθίνῳ τε τῷ Θρασυβούλου καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ, Τηλεμάχῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων νίκη γέγονεν ἡ εἰκὼν, Ἀγαθῖνον δὲ ἀνέθεσαν Ἀχαιοὶ Πελληνεῖς. ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος Ἀριστοφῶντα Λυσίνου, παγκρατιαστάς ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρατήσαντα ἄνδρας.

14. Φερίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης — οὗτος γὰρ δὴ παρὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀριστοφῶντα ἀνάκειται — ὀγδοὴ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι κομιδῇ τε ἔδοξεν εἶναι νέος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός πῶς νομισθεὶς παλαίειν ἀπληάθῃ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς — κατεδέχθη γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα ἐς τοὺς παῖδας — ἐνίκα παλαίων. τῷ δὲ Φερίᾳ τούτῳ διάφορον καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἑοικυῖαν ἔσχεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τύχην Νικασύλος Ῥόδιος. [2] ὀγδοὺν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι γεγωνῶς μὴ παλαῖσαι μὲν ἐν παισίν ὑπὸ Ἠλείων ἀπληάθῃ, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐνίκησεν: ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσθμῷ. γεγονότα δὲ εἰκοσαετὴ τὸ χρεῶν ἐπιλαμβάνει, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον

αὐτὸν οἴκαδε ἀναστρέψαι. τὸ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ Ῥοδίου παλαιστοῦ τόλμημα Ἀρτεμίδωρος γένος Τραλλιανὸς ὑπερεβάλετο κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν. Ἀρτεμίδωρος γὰρ ἁμαρτεῖν μὲν Ὀλυμπίων συνέβη παγκρατιάζοντι ἐν παισίν, αἰτία δέ οἱ ἐγένετο τῆς διαμαρτίας τὸ ἄγαν νέον: [3] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἀγῶνος καιρὸς ὃν Σμυρναῖοι Ἰώνων ἄγουσιν, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἄρα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπηύξητο ὥς κρατῆσαι παγκρατιάζοντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς τοὺς τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἀνταγωνιστὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισίν οὓς ἀγενεῖους καλοῦσι καὶ τρίτα δὴ ὃ τι ἄριστον ἦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. γενέσθαι δέ οἱ τὴν ἄμιλλαν πρὸς ἀγενεῖους τε καὶ ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐκ γυμναστοῦ παρακλήσεώς φασι, τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς παγκρατιαστοῦ λιοδορίας. ἀνείλετο δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην δευτέρᾳ καὶ δεκάτῃ πρὸς διακοσίαις Ὀλυμπιάδι. [4] Νικασύλου δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης ἵππος τε οὐ μέγας ἔχεται χαλκοῦς, ὃν Κρόκων Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνέθηκεν ἀνελόμενος κέλητι ἵππῳ στέφανον, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ ἵππου Τελέστας ἐστὶ Μεσσήνιος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας: Σιλανίωνος δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ὁ Τελέστας. [5] Μίλωνα δὲ τὸν Διοτίμου πεποίηκε μὲν Δαμέας ἐκ Κρότωνος καὶ οὗτος: ἐγένοντο δὲ τῷ Μίλῳ ἐξ μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πάλης νίκαι, μία δὲ ἐν παισίν ἐξ αὐτῶν, Πυθοῖ δὲ ἓν τε ἀνδράσιν ἐξ καὶ μία ἐνταῦθα ἐν παισίν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἔβδομον παλαίσων ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγένετο οἷός τε καταπαλαῖσαι Τιμασίθεον πολίτην τε ὄντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἡλικία νέον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ σύνεγγυς οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἴστασθαι.

[6] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐσκομίσειεν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ὁ Μίλων, λέγεται δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ῥοιᾷ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ: ῥοιὰν μὲν δὴ οὕτω κατεῖχεν ὥς μήτε ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι βιαζομένῳ μήτε αὐτὸς λυμήνασθαι πιάζων, ἰστάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ἀηλημιμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ γέλῳτα ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντάς τε καὶ ὠθοῦντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου. παρείχετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. [7] περιέδει τῷ μετώπῳ χορδὴν κατὰ ταῦτά δὴ καὶ εἰ ταινίαν περιθεῖτο ἢ στέφανον: κατέχων δὲ ἐντὸς χειλῶν τὸ ἄσθμα καὶ ἐμπιπλὰς αἵματος τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ φλέβας, διερρηγγυνεν ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τῶν φλεβῶν τὴν χορδὴν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τὸ μὲν ἐς τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐκ τοῦ ὦμου παρ' αὐτὴν καθίει τὴν πλευράν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἔτεινεν ἐς εὐθύ, τῶν δακτύλων τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφων τὸν ἀντίχειρα ἐς τὸ ἄνω, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικειμένων κατὰ στοῖχον: τὸν ἐλάχιστον οὖν τῶν δακτύλων κάτω γινόμενον οὐκ ἀπεκίνησεν ἂν τις βιαζόμενος. [8] ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ θηρίων φασὶν αὐτόν: ἐπιτυχεῖν γὰρ αὐτόν ἐν τῇ Κροτωνιάτιδι αὐαινομένῳ ξύλῳ, σφῆνες δὲ ἐγκείμενοι διίστασαν τὸ ξύλον: ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ φρονήματος ὁ Μίλων καθίησι τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ ξύλον, ὀλισθάνουσί τε δὴ οἱ σφῆνες καὶ ἐχόμενος ὁ Μίλων ὑπὸ τοῦ ξύλου λύκοις ἐγίνετο εὖρημα. μάλιστα δὲ πῶς τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Κροτωνιάτιδι πολὺ τε νέμεται καὶ ἄφθονον. [9] Μίλῳ μὲν δὴ τοιόνδε τέλος ἐπηκολούθησε: Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Αἰακίδου βασιλεύσαντα ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ἠπεῖρω καὶ ἔργα πολλὰ ἐργασάμενον καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, ἃ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐδήλωσα, τοῦτον ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ἀνέθηκε Θρασύβουλος Ἡλείος. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Πύρρον ἀνὴρ μικρὸς αὐλοῦς ἔχων ἐστὶν ἐκτετυπωμένος ἐπὶ στήλῃ. τοῦτῳ Πυθικαὶ νίκαι γεγόνασιν τῷ ἀνδρὶ δευτέρῳ μετὰ Σακάδαν τὸν Ἀργεῖον:

[10] Σακάδας μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τεθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων οὐκ ὄντα πω στεφανίτην καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ στεφανίτας δύο ἐνίκησε, Πυθόκριτος δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος τὰς ἐφεξῆς τούτων πυθιάδας ἔξ, μόνος δὴ οὗτος αὐλητής· δηλαδὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐπηύλησεν ἐξάκις τῷ πεντάθλῳ. Πυθοκρίτῳ μὲν γέγονεν ἀντὶ τούτων ἢ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήλη καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, "Πυθοκρίτου

τοῦ Καλλινίκου μνᾶμα ταύλητᾶ τάδε:

"ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Αἰτωλῶν Κύλωνα, ὃς [11] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστοτίμου τυραννίδος ἡλευθέρωσεν Ἥλείους. Γόργον δὲ τὸν Εὐκλήτου Μεσσήνιον ἀνελόμενον πεντάθλου νίκην καὶ Δαμάρετον καὶ τοῦτον Μεσσήνιον κρατήσαντα πυγμῇ παιδας, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Βοιώτιος Θήρων, Δαμαρέτου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα Ἀθηναῖος Σιλανίων ἐποίησεν. Ἀναυχίδας δὲ ὁ Φίλος Ἥλειος πάλης ἔσχεν ἐν παισὶ στέφανον καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὕστερον· τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ὅστις ὁ εἰργασμένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν, Ἄνοχος δὲ ὁ Ἀδαμάτα Ταραντῖνος, σταδίου λαβὼν καὶ διαύλου νίκην, ἐστὶν Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. [12] παῖδα δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενον καὶ ἐστηκότα ἄνδρα παρὰ τὸν ἵππον φησὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι Ξενόμβροτον ἐκ Κῶ τῆς Μεροπίδος, ἐπὶ ἵππου νίκη κεκηρυγμένον, Ξενόδικον δὲ ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων ἀναγορευθέντα· τὸν μὲν Παντίας αὐτῶν, Ξενόμβροτον δὲ Φιλότιμος Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε. Πύθου δὲ τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου, γένος ἀνδρὸς ἐξ Ἀβδήρων, ἐποίησε μὲν Λύσιππος, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται δύο εἰκόνας· εἶναι δὲ ἡγεμῶν τις ξένων ἢ καὶ ἄλλως τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Πύθης ἔοικε. [13] κείνται δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν εἰληφότες δρόμου νίκας Μενεπτόλεμος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλῳ καὶ Κορκυραῖος Φίλων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰερώνυμος Ἄνδριος, ὃς τὸν Ἥλειον Τισαμενὸν πενταθλοῦντα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κατεπάλαψε τὸν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐναντία Μαρδονίου καὶ Μήδων Πλαταιᾶσι μαντευσάμενον. οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ Ἰερώνυμος ἀνάκειται καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν παλαιστής παῖς, Ἄνδριος καὶ οὗτος, Προκλῆς ὁ Λυκαστίδα· τοῖς πλάσταις δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐποίησαν, τῷ μὲν Στόμιός ἐστιν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ τὸν Προκλέα εἰργασμένῳ Σῶμις. Αἰσχίνη δὲ Ἥλείῳ νικαί τε δύο ἐγένοντο πεντάθλου καὶ ἴσαι ταῖς νίκαις αἱ εἰκόνες.

15. Ἀρχίπῳ δὲ Μιτυληναίῳ τοὺς ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν ἐσελθόντας κρατήσαντι ἄνδρας ἄλλο τοιόνδε προσποιοῦσιν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι ἐς δόξαν, ὥς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Ἰσθμῷ λάβοι στέφανον ἡλικίαν οὐ πρόσω γεγυνώς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι. τὸν δὲ παῖδα σταδιοδρόμον Ξένωνα Καλλιτέλους ἐν Λεπρέου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ Πυριλάμπης Μεσσήνιος, Κλεινόμαχον δὲ Ἥλειον ὅστις ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν· ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ὁ Κλεινόμαχος ἐπὶ νίκη πεντάθλου.

[2] Παντάρκην δὲ Ἥλειον Ἀχαιῶν ἀνάθημα εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησιν· εἰρήνην τε γὰρ Ἀχαιοῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ Ἥλείοις αὐτόν, καὶ ὅσοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολεμοῦντων ἐάλωκεσαν, ἄφεςιν καὶ τούτοις γενέσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτόν. οὗτος ἀνείλετο καὶ κέλῃτι ἵπῳ νίκην ὁ Παντάρκης, καὶ οἱ καὶ τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημά ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Ὀλίδαν δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Ἥλειον τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Αἰτωλῶν, Χαρίνος δὲ Ἥλειος ἐπὶ διαύλου τε ἀνάκειται καὶ ὅπλου νίκη· παρὰ

δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀγέλης Χῖος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας, Θεομνήστου Σαρδιανὸς τέχνη. [3] Κλειτομάχου δὲ Θηβαίου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκεν Ἑρμοκράτης ὁ τοῦ Κλειτομάχου πατήρ, τὰ δὲ οἱ ἐς δόξαν ἦν τοιάδε. ἐν Ἴσθμῳ παλαιστὰς κατεπάλαισεν ἄνδρας καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς τοὺς τε ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸ παγκράτιον ἐσελθόντας ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ: αἱ δὲ Πυθοῖ νῖκαι παγκρατίου μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι, τρεῖς δὲ ἀριθμόν: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ δευτέρος ὁ Κλειτόμαχος οὗτος μετὰ τὸν Θάσιον Θεαγένην ἐπὶ παγκρατίῳ τε ἀνηγορεύθη καὶ πυγμῇ.

[4] παγκρατίου μὲν οὖν μιᾷ πρὸς ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἔφθανεν ἀνηρημένος νίκη: ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς ἡ ἐφεξῆς εἶχε μὲν τὸν Κλειτόμαχον τοῦτον παγκρατίου καὶ πυγμῆς ἀγωνιστὴν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ Ἥλειον Κάπρον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς παλαῖσαι τε ὁμοῦ καὶ παγκρατιάσαι προθυμούμενον. [5] γεγονυίας δὲ ἤδη τῷ Κάπρῳ νίκης ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ, ἀνεδίδασκεν ὁ Κλειτόμαχος τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας γενήσεσθαι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ σφίσιν, εἰ τὸ παγκράτιον ἐσκαλέσαιντο πρὶν ἢ πυκτεῦσαντα αὐτὸν λαβεῖν τραύματα: λέγει τε δὴ εἰκότα καὶ οὕτως ἐσκληθέντος τοῦ παγκρατίου κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάπρου ὅμως ἐχρήσατο ἐς τοὺς πύκτας θυμῷ τε ἐρρωμένῳ καὶ ἀκμῇτι τῷ σώματι. [6] Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ οἱ Ἴωνες Ἐπιθήρσῃν τὸν Μητροδώρου, δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυγμῆς, δις δὲ Πυθοῖ νίκας καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ ἐν Ἴσθμῳ λαβόντα, οὗτοι μὲν τὸν Ἐπιθήρσῃν τοῦτον, Συρακούσιοι δὲ δύο μὲν Ἰέρωνος εἰκόνας τὸ δημόσιον, τρίτην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν οἱ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος παῖδες: ἐδήλωσα δὲ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον ὥς ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινομένους ὁ Ἰέρων οὗτος καὶ Συρακουσῶν εἶη κατὰ ταῦτά ἐκείνῳ τύραννος.

[7] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἥλειον ἄνδρα Τιμόπτολιν Λάμπιδος Παλεῖς, ἡ τετάρτη Κεφαλλήνων μοῖρα: οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Παλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο Δουλιχιεῖς τὰ ἀρχαιότερα. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἀνὴρ ὅστις δὴ θηρεύοντος παρεχόμενος σχῆμα. Δημήτριον δὲ τὸν ἐλάσαντα ἐπὶ Σέλευκον στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀλόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου τὸν παῖδα Ἀντίγονον ἀναθήματα ἴσω τις Βυζαντίων ὄντας.

[8] Σπαρτιάτῃ δὲ Εὐτελίδᾳ γεγόνασιν ἐν παισὶ νῖκαι δύο ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τριακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος πάλης, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πεντάθλου: πρῶτον γὰρ δὴ τότε οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὕστατον πενταθλήσοντες ἐσεκλήθησαν: ἔστι δὲ ἡ τε εἰκὼν ἀρχαία τοῦ Εὐτελίδᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ γράμματα ἀμυδρὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. [9] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὐτελίδαν Ἀρεὺς τε αὖθις ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἥλειος παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνάκειται Γόργος. μόνῳ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἄχρι ἐμοῦ τῷ Γόργῳ τέσσαρες μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ γεγόνασιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, διαύλου δὲ καὶ ὄπλου μία ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ νίκη. [10] ὅτῳ δὲ παρεστήκασιν οἱ παῖδες, τοῦτον μὲν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου φασὶν εἶναι: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνδριάντες δύο ἀνδρός εἰσιν Ἥλειου Κάπρου τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, πάλης τε εἰληφότος καὶ παγκρατίου στέφανον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς: πρῶτῳ δὲ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων αἱ δύο νῖκαι τῷ Κάπρῳ τούτῳ. τὸν μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου καταγωνισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδῆλωκεν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι: παλαίων δὲ κατέβαλεν Ἥλειον

Παϊάνιον Ὀλυμπιάδα πάλη τὴν προτέραν ἀνηρημένον καὶ Πύθια παίδων τε πυγμῇ καὶ αὖθις ἐν ἀνδράσι πάλη τε καὶ πυγμῇ στεφανωθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς

αὐτῆς.

16. Κάπρω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων πόνων καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς ταλαιπωρίας ἐγένοντο αἱ νῖκαι· εἰσὶ δὲ εἰκόνες ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἀναυχίδᾳ καὶ Φερενίκῳ, γένος μὲν Ἥλείοις, πάλης δὲ ἐν παισὶν ἀνελομένοις στεφάνους. Πλείσταινον δὲ τὸν Εὐρυδάμου τοῦ ἐναντία Γαλατῶν στρατηγήσαντος Αἰτωλοῖς Θεσπιεῖς εἰσιν οἱ ἀναθέντες.

[2] Τυδεὺς δὲ Ἥλειος Ἀντίγονόν τε τὸν Δημητρίου πατέρα καὶ Σέλευκον ἀνέθηκε· Σελεύκου δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας ἦρθη τὸ ὄνομα ἀνθρώπους ἄλλων τε ἔνεκα καὶ διὰ τὴν Δημητρίου μάλιστα ἄλωσιν. Τίμωνι δὲ ἀγώνων τε νῖκαι τῶν ἐν Ἑλλῆσιν ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ πλὴν τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ — τούτου δὲ τῷ μὴ ἀγωνιστῆς γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἥλείοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴργετο — καὶ τάδε ἄλλα φησὶ τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα, Αἰτωλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατείας μετασχεῖν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ φιλία γενέσθαι τῇ ἐς Αἰτωλοῦς. [3] Τίμωνος δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς εἰκόνος Ἑλλάς τε δὴ καὶ Ἥλις παρὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἡ μὲν Ἀντίγονον τὸν ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν Φίλιππον στεφανοῦσα αὐτόν, ἡ δὲ Ἥλις Δημήτριον τὸν στρατεύσαντα ἐπὶ Σέλευκον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου στεφανοῦσά ἐστιν. [4] Ἀριστείδῃ δὲ Ἥλείῳ γενέσθαι μὲν ὅπλου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ διαύλου Πυθοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δηλοῖ Νεμείων τε ἐν παισὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἵππῳ δρόμῳ. δρόμου δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ἵππου μῆκος μὲν δίαυλοι δύο, ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ἐκ Νεμείων τε καὶ Ἰσθμίων αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐς Νεμείων ἀγῶνα τῶν χειμερινῶν ἀπέδωκεν Ἀργείοις.

[5] τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστείδου ἐγγύτατα Μενάλκης ἔστηκεν Ἥλειος, ἀναγορευθεὶς Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, καὶ Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου, γένος μὲν ἐκ Χερρονήσου τῆς Κρητῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἡμεροδρόμος τοῦ Φιλίππου. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Βριμίας ἐστὶν Ἥλειος, κρατήσας ἄνδρας πυγμῇ, Λεωνίδας τε ἐκ Νάξου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, Ψωφιδίων ἀνάθημα Ἀρκάδων, Ἀσάμωνός τε εἰκὼν ἐν ἀνδράσι πυγμῇ νενικηκός, ἡ δὲ Νικάνδρου, διαύλου μὲν δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, Νεμείων δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμίων ἀναμιξὲς ἐπὶ δρόμῳ νίκας ἐξ ἀνηρημένου. ὁ δὲ Ἀσάμων καὶ ὁ Νικάνδρος Ἥλειοι μὲν ἦσαν, πεποίηκε δὲ τῷ μὲν Δάιππος τὴν εἰκόνα, Ἀσάμωνι δὲ Πυριλάμπης Μεσσήνιος.

[6] Εὐαλκίδᾳ δὲ Ἥλείῳ καὶ Σελεάδᾳ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐν παισὶν ἐγένοντο πυγμῆς νῖκαι, Σελεάδᾳ δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάλης. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄρμα οὐ μέγα ἀνάκειται Πολυπείθους Λάκωνος καὶ ἐπὶ στήλης τῆς αὐτῆς Καλλιτέλης ὁ τοῦ Πολυπείθους πατὴρ, παλαιστῆς ἀνὴρ· νῖκαι δὲ σφισι τῷ μὲν ἵπποις, Καλλιτέλει δὲ παλαίσαντί εἰσιν. [7] ιδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας Ἥλειους Λάμπον Ἀρνίσκου καὶ * * * Ἀριστάρχου Ψωφίδιοι προξένους ὄντας σφίσιν ἀνέθεσαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας εὐνοίαν· μέσος δὲ ἔστηκεν αὐτῶν Λύσιππος Ἥλειος καταπαλαίσας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας τῶν παίδων, Ἀνδρέας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐποίησε τοῦ Λυσίππου τὴν εἰκόνα. [8] Λακεδαιμονίῳ δὲ Δεινοσθένει σταδίου τε ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ στήλην ἐν τῇ Ἀλτεῖ παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Δεινοσθένης· ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐπὶ ἐτέραν στήλην τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέτρα φησὶν εἶναι σταδίους ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίους. Θεόδωρον δὲ λαβόντα ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ νίκην καὶ

Πύτταλον Λάμπιδος πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα καὶ Νεολαΐδαν σταδίου τε ἀνελόμενον καὶ ὄπλου στέφανον, Ἥλειους σφᾶς ὄντας ἴστω τις: ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Πυττάλῳ καὶ τάδε ἔτι λέγουσιν, ὥς γενομένης πρὸς Ἀρκάδας Ἥλαιοις ἀμφισβητήσεως περὶ γῆς ὅρων εἶπεν οὗτος ὁ Πύτταλος τὴν δίκην: ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδριάς ἔργον ἐστὶν Ὀλυνθίου Σθέννιδος.

[9] ἐφεξῆς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τέ ἐστιν ἀναβεβηκὼς ἵππον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἥλειος ἀθλητῆς Παιάνιος ὁ Δαματρίου πάλης τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὰς δύο Πυθικὰς ἀνηρημένος νίκας. Κλεάρετός τέ ἐστιν Ἥλειος πεντάθλου λαβὼν στέφανον καὶ ἄρμα ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους: ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ὁ Γλαύκων οὗτος ἐπὶ ἄρματος τελείου δρόμῳ.

17. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνδρὶ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει κατὰ τὰ ἡμῖν εἰρημένα: εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ θελήσειας, τοσάδε ἔστι σοι τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐς μνήμην. Δημοκράτης Τενέδιος καὶ Ἥλειος Κριάννιος, οὗτος μὲν ὄπλου λαβὼν νίκην, Δημοκράτης δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάλης: ἀνδριάντας δὲ τοῦ μὲν Μιλήσιος Διονυσικλῆς, τοῦ δὲ Κριαννίου Μακεδὼν Λῦσός ἐστιν ὁ ἐργασάμενος. [2] Κλαζομενίου δὲ Ἡροδότου καὶ Φιλίνου τοῦ Ἠγεπόλιδος Κῶφι ἀνέθεσαν τὰς εἰκόνας αἱ πόλεις, Κλαζομενιοὶ μὲν ὅτι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κλαζομενίων πρῶτος ἀνηγορεύθη νικῶν Ἡρόδοτος, ἡ δὲ οἱ νίκη σταδίου γέγονεν ἐν παισὶ, Φιλῖνον δὲ οἱ Κῶφι δόξης ἔνεκα ἀνέθεσαν: ἐν μὲν γε Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου γεγόνασιν αὐτῷ νῖκαι πέντε, τέσσαρες δὲ Πυθοῖ καὶ ἴσαι Νεμείων, ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ μία ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα. [3] Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου Ἀριστόλαος ἀνέθηκε Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ πύκτης κρατήσας ἐν παισὶ Βούτας Πολυνεῖκους Μιλήσιος, καὶ Καλλικράτης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Μαγνησίας ἐπὶ τῷ ὀπλίτῃ δρόμῳ στεφάνους δύο ἀνηρημένοι: Λυσίππου δὲ ἔργον ἢ τοῦ Καλλικράτους ἐστὶν εἰκὼν. [4] Ἐνατίωνι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξιβίῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐν παισὶ σταδίου, Ἀλεξιβίῳ δὲ πεντάθλου γέγονε νίκη, καὶ Ἡραία τε Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πατρίς καὶ Ἀκέστωρ ὁ τὴν εἰκόνα εἰργασμένος: Ἐνατίωνα δὲ ἥστινος ἦν οὐ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὅτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἦν ἔθνος δηλοῖ. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ Ἑρμησιάναξ Ἀγονέου καὶ Εἰκάσιος Λυκίνου τε ὧν καὶ τῆς Ἑρμησιάνακτος θυγατρὸς κατεπάλαισαν μὲν παῖδας ἀμφοτέρω, Ἑρμησιάνακτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Κολοφωνίων ὑπῆρξεν ἀνατεθῆναι τὴν εἰκόνα. [5] τούτων δὲ εἰσιν Ἥλαιοι πλησίον πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντες, ὁ μὲν Σθέννιδος ἔργον τοῦ Ὀλυνθίου Χοιρίλος, Θεότιμος δὲ Δαιτώνδα Σικωνίου: παῖς δὲ ὁ Θεότιμος ἦν Μοσχίωνος, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον καὶ Πέρσας στρατείας μετασχόντος. δύο δὲ αὖθις ἐξ Ἡλιδος, Ἀρχίδαμος τεθρίπῳ νενικηκὼς καὶ Ἐπέραστός ἐστιν ὁ Θεογόνου ὄπλου νίκην ἀνηρημένος:

[6] εἶναι δὲ καὶ μάντις ὁ Ἐπέραστος τοῦ Κλυτιδῶν γένους φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τῇ τελευτῇ, "τῶν δ' ἱερογλώσσων Κλυτιδᾶν γένος εὖχομαι εἶναι μάντις, ἀπ' ἰσοθέων αἶμα Μελαμποδιδᾶν.

“Μελάμποδος γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Ἀμυθάωνος Μάντιος, τοῦ δὲ Οἰκλῆς, Κλυτίος δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ Οἰκλέους: ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμαίῳ ὁ Κλυτίος ἐκ τῆς Φηγέως θυγατρὸς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλιν μετέφκησε, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς εἶναι τῆς μητρὸς σύνοικος φεύγων, ἅτε τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος ἐπιστάμενος σφᾶς

εἰργασμένους τὸν φόνον. [7] ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμειγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἄγαν ἀναθήμασιν Ἀλεξίνικόν τε Ἥλειον, τέχνην τοῦ Σικυωνίου Κανθάρου, πάλης ἐν παισὶν ἀνηρημένον νίκην, καὶ τὸν Λεοντῖνον Γοργίαν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν: ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὐμολπος ἀπόγονος τρίτος Δηκράτους συνοικήσαντος ἀδελφῇ τῇ Γοργίου.

[8] οὗτος ὁ Γοργίας πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Χαρμαντίδου, λέγεται δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος ἡμελημένην τε ἐς ἅπαν καὶ ἐς λήθην ὀλίγου δεῖν ἤκουσαν ἀνθρώποις: εὐδοκιμῆσαι δὲ Γοργίαν λόγων ἔνεκα ἐν τε πανηγύρει τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ φασὶ καὶ

ἀφικόμενον κατὰ πρεσβείαν ὁμοῦ Τισία παρ' Ἀθηναίους. καίτοι ἄλλα τε Τισίας ἐς λόγους ἐσηνέγκατο καὶ πιθανώτατα τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν γυναικὶ Συρακουσία χρημάτων ἔγραψεν ἀμφισβήτησιν: [9] ἀλλὰ γε ἐκείνου τε ἐς πλεόν τιμῆς ἀφίκετο ὁ Γοργίας παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ Ἰάσων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τυραννήσας Πολυκράτους, οὐ τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνεγκαμένον διδασκαλείου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐποίησατο. βῶναι δὲ ἔτη Γοργίαν πέντε φασὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατόν: Λεοντῖνων δὲ ἐρημωθεῖσάν ποτε ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐμὲ αὖθις συνέβαιναν οἰκεῖσθαι.

18. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κυρηναίου Κρατισθένους χαλκοῦν ἄρμα, καὶ Νίκη τε ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ ἄρματος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κρατισθένης. δῆλα μὲν δὴ ὅτι ἵππων γέγονεν αὐτῷ νίκη: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Μνασέου τοῦ δρομέως, ἐπικληθέντος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Λίβυος, εἶη παῖς ὁ Κρατισθένης. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔστι τοῦ Ῥηγίνου Πυθαγόρου τέχνη. [2] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀναξιμένους οἶδα εἰκόνα ἀνευρών, ὃς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἀρχαῖα, καὶ ὅσα Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλέξανδρος εἰργάσατο, συνέγραψεν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα: ἡ δὲ οἱ τιμὴ γέγονεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν τοῦ δήμου. ὑπελίπετο δὲ Ἀναξιμένης τὸσάδε ἐς μνήμην: βασιλέα γὰρ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἥπιον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα θυμῷ χρώμενον, Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, τέχνη περιῆλθε τοιαῦδε.

[3] Λαμψακηνῶν τὰ βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν φρονησάντων ἢ καὶ αἰτίαν φρονῆσαι λαβόντων, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἅτε ὑπερζέων ἐς αὐτοὺς τῇ ὀργῇ κακῶν ἠπεῖλει τὰ μέγιστα ἐργάσασθαι: οἱ δὲ ἅτε θέοντες περὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων καὶ αὐτῆς πατρίδος ἀποστέλλουσιν Ἀναξιμένην ἱκετεύειν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι Φιλίππῳ πρότερον γεγονότα ἐν γνώσει. προσῆι τε ὁ Ἀναξιμένης, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, πεπυσμένον καθ' ἡντινα αἰτίαν ἦκοι, κατομόσασθαι φασὶ ἐπονομάζοντα θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων ἢ μὴν αὐτοῦ ταῖς δεήσεσιν ὅποσα ἔστιν ἐναντία ἐργάσασθαι. [4] ἐνθα δὴ εἶπεν Ἀναξιμένης: 'χαρίσασθαι μοι τήνδε ὧ βασιλεῦ τὴν χάριν, ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα Λαμψακηνῶν, καταβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν, τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν σφισιν ἐμπρῆσαι'. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὸ σόφισμα ἀντιμνηχανήσασθαι τι εὐρίσκων καὶ ἐνεχόμενος τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ ὅρκου συγγνώμην ἔνεμεν οὐκ ἐθέλων Λαμψακηνοῖς. [5] φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ὁ Ἀναξιμένης ἐχθρόν οὐκ ἀμαθέστατα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιφθονώτατα ἀμυνάμενος. ἐπεφύκει μὲν αὐτὸς σοφιστῆς καὶ σοφιστῶν λόγους μιμεῖσθαι: ὥς δὲ οἱ διαφορὰ ἐς Θεόπομπον ἐγεγόνει τὸν Δαμασιστράτου, γράφει βιβλίον ἐς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Θηβαίους συγγραφήν

λοιδορον. ὥς δὲ ἦν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον αὐτῷ μεμιμημένα, ἐπιγράφας τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τὸ ὄνομα τῷ βιβλίῳ διέπεμπεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις: καὶ αὐτὸς τε συγγεγραφῶς ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Θεόπομπον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπηύξητο. [6] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἶπεῖν τις αὐτοσχεδίως Ἀναξιμένους πρότερός ἐστιν εὐρηκῶς: τὰ ἔπη δὲ τὰ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ μοι πιστά ἐστιν Ἀναξιμένην τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι.

Σωτᾶδης δὲ ἐπὶ δολίχου νίκαις Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν ἐνάτῃ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ Κρής, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ἀνερρήθη, τῇ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ λαβὼν χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινοῦ Ἐφεσίοις ἐσεποίησεν αὐτόν: καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φυγῇ ζημιούσιν οἱ Κρήτες. [7] πρῶται δὲ ἀθλητῶν ἀνετέθησαν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνες Πραξιδάμαντός τε Αἰγινήτου νικήσαντος πυγμῇ τὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ Ὀπουντίου Ῥηξιβίου παγκρατιαστάς καταγωνισαμένου μιᾷ πρὸς ταῖς ἐξήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι: αὗται κεῖνται μὲν αἱ εἰκόνες οὐ πρόσω τῆς Οἰνομάου κίονος, ξύλου δὲ εἰσιν εἰργασμένοι, Ῥηξιβίου μὲν συκῆς, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου κυπαρίσσου καὶ ἦσσαν τῆς ἐτέρας πεπονηκυῖα ἐστίν.

19. ἐστὶ δὲ λίθου πωρίνου κρηπὶς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ Ἡραίου, κατὰ νότου δὲ αὐτῆς παρῇκει τὸ Κρόνιον: ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κρηπιδός εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θησαυρούς. ἐστὶ δὲ θησαυρὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Σικυωνίων καλούμενος, Μύρωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα τυραννήσαντος Σικυωνίων:

[2] τοῦτον ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Μύρων νικήσας ἄρματι τὴν τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. ἐν δὲ τῷ θησαυρῷ καὶ θαλάμους δύο ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν Δώριον, τὸν δὲ ἐργασίας τῆς Ἰώνων. χαλκοῦ μὲν δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐώρων εἰργασμένους: εἰ δὲ καὶ Ταρτηήσιος χαλκὸς λόγῳ τῷ Ἥλείων ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδα.

[3] Ταρτηήσιον δὲ εἶναι ποταμὸν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Ἰβήρων λέγουσι στόμασιν ἐς θάλασσαν κατερχόμενον δυσὶ καὶ ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν κειμένην: τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν μέγιστόν τε ὄντα τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἄμπωτιν παρερχόμενον Βαῖτιν ὠνόμασαν οἱ ὕστερον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Καρπῖαν Ἰβήρων πόλιν καλεῖσθαι νομίζουσι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Ταρτηησόν. [4] ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλάσσονί ἐστι τῶν θαλάμων, ἐς μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν σταθμόν, ὅτι πεντακόσια εἴη τάλαντα, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀναθέντας, Μύρωνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν Σικυωνίων δῆμον. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ θησαυρῷ δίσκοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνάκεινται τρεῖς, ὅσους ἐς τοῦ πεντάθλου τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐσκομίζουσι: καὶ ἄσπῖς ἐστὶν ἐπίχαλκος γραφῇ τὰ ἐντὸς πεποικιλμένα καὶ κράνος τε καὶ κνημίδες ὁμοῦ τῇ ἀσπίδι: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀκροθίνιον τῷ Διὶ ὑπὸ Μυᾶνων ἀνατεθῆναι. οἵτινες δὲ οὗτοι ἦσαν, οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ παρίστατο ἅπασιν εἰκάζειν: [5] ἐμὲ δὲ ἐσῆλθεν ἀνάμνησις ὥς Θουκυδίδης ποιήσειεν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Λοκρῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Φωκίδι καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς εἶναι καὶ Μυονέας. οἱ Μυᾶνες οὖν οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι κατὰ γε ἡμετέραν γνώμην ἄνθρωποι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ Μυονεῖς οἱ ἐν τῇ Λοκρίδι ἡπεῖρα: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι γράμματα παρῇκται μὲν ἐπὶ βραχύ, πέπονθε δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦ ἀναθήματος τὸ ἀρχαῖον. [6] κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐνταῦθα ἄξια ἐπιμνησθῆναι, μάχαιρα ἡ Πέλοπος χρυσοῦ τὴν λαβὴν πεποιημένη, καὶ εἰργασμένον ἐλέφαντος κέρας τὸ Ἀμαλθείας, ἀνάθημα Μιλιτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, ὃς τὴν

ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν χειρρονήσῳ τῇ Θρακίᾳ πρῶτος τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ κέρατι ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασι, “Ζηνί μ’ ἄγαλμ’ ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ χειρρονήσου

τείχος ἐλόντες Ἀράτου· ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλιτιάδης σφίν.

“κεῖται δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα πύξινον Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιχρύσου τὴν κεφαλὴν· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Λοκρῶν φησι τῶν πρὸς Ζεφυρίῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ, Πατροκλέα δὲ εἶναι Κατίλλου Κροτωνιάτην τὸν εἰργασμένον. [7] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικυωνίων ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός, Ποθαίου τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλου τε καὶ Μεγακλέους· ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν, Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων Φοίνικας ἥτοι τριήρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων.

[8] ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἀνάθημά ἐστιν Ἐπιδαμνίων * * * ἔχει μὲν πόλον ἀνεχόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀτλαντος, ἔχει δὲ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δένδρον τὸ παρὰ Ἑσπερίσι, τὴν μηλέαν, καὶ περιλειλιγμένον τῇ μηλέᾳ τὸν δράκοντα, κέδρου μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, Θεοκλέους δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Ἡγύλου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδί φησι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου γράμματα. αἱ δὲ Ἑσπερίδες — μετεκινήθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἥλείων — αὗται μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ· τὸν δὲ θησαυρὸν τοῖς Ἐπιδαμνίοις Πύρρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες Λακράτης τε καὶ Ἑρμων ἐποίησαν.

[9] ὠκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ Συβαρίται θησαυρὸν ἐχόμενον τοῦ Βυζαντίων· ὅποσοι δὲ περὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ πόλεων ἐπολυπραγμόνησαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, Λουπίας φασὶ κειμένην Βρεντεσίου τε μεταξὺ καὶ Ὑδροῦντος μεταβεληκέναι τὸ ὄνομα, Σύβαριν οὖσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ταῖς ναυσὶ χειροποίητος καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἔργον.

[10] πρὸς δὲ τῷ Συβαριτῶν Λιβύων ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν Κυρήνῃ θησαυρός· κεῖνται δὲ βασιλεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων. Σικελιώτας δὲ Σελινουντίους ἀνέστησαν μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πολέμῳ· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι σφίσι, θησαυρὸν τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὶ ἐποίησαν. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα πρόσωπον καὶ ἄκρους πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐλέφαντος εἰργασμένος.

[11] ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεταποντίνων θησαυρῷ — προσεχῆς γὰρ τῷ Σελινουντίων ἐστὶν οὗτος — ἐν τούτῳ πεποιημένος ἐστὶν Ἐνδυμίων· πλὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτός ἐστι τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐνδυμίῳ ἐλέφαντος. Μεταποντίνους δὲ ἦτις μὲν ἐπέλαβεν ἀπολέσθαι πρόφασις, οὐκ οἶδα· ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ὅτι μὴ θέατρον καὶ περιβολοὶ τείχους ἄλλο ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν Μεταποντίου.

[12] Μεγαρεῖς δὲ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ θησαυρόν τε ὠκοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν κέδρου ζώδια χρυσῷ διηνητισμένα, τὴν πρὸς Ἀχελῶν Ἡρακλέους μάχην· Ζεὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡ Δηιάνερα καὶ Ἀχελῶος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν, Ἄρης τε τῷ Ἀχελῷ βοηθῶν. εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα ἄτε οὖσα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σύμμαχος· αὕτη παρὰ τὰς Ἑσπερίδας ἀνάκειται νῦν τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ. [13] τοῦ θησαυροῦ δὲ ἐπείργασται τῷ αἰετῷ ὁ γιγάντων καὶ θεῶν πόλεμος· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἀσπίς ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰετοῦ, τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἀπὸ Κορινθίων ἀναθεῖναι τὸν θησαυρὸν λέγουσα. ταύτην Μεγαρεῦσιν ἡγοῦμαι τὴν νίκην Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος γενέσθαι Φόρβαντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου παντός· ἐνιαύσιαι γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν πῶ τότε

Ἀθηναίοις αἱ ἀρχαί, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλείων ἀνεγράφοντό πω τῆνικαῦτα αἱ Ὀλυμπιάδες. [14] λέγονται δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μετασχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἔργου. τὸν δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπία θησαυρὸν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς μάχης ἐποίησαν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς· τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφᾶς ἔχειν εἰκός, ἃ γε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος †Δόντας Διποῖνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος μαθητῆς ἐποίησε. [15] τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν θησαυρῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐστὶν ἤδη τῷ σταδίῳ, Γελῶν δὲ ἀνάθημα τὸν τε θησαυρὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἶναι τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· οὐ μέντοι ἀνακείμενά γε ἔτι ἀγάλματά ἐστιν.

20. τὸ δὲ ὅρος τὸ Κρόνιον κατὰ τὰ ἤδη λελεγμένα μοι παρὰ τὴν κρητῖδα καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρῆκει θησαυροὺς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τῇ κορυφῇ θύουσιν οἱ Βασίλαι καλούμενοι τῷ Κρόνῳ κατὰ ἰσημερίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἥρῃ, Ἐλαφίῳ μηνὶ παρὰ Ἑλλείois. [2] ἐν δὲ τοῖς πέρασιν τοῦ Κρονίου κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ τοῦ ὅρους ἱερὸν Εἰλειθυίας, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Σωσίπολις Ἑλλείois ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἔχει τιμάς. τὴν μὲν δὴ Εἰλειθυίαν ἐπονομάζοντες Ὀλυμπίαν, ἱερασομένην αἰροῦνται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτίς ἡ θεραπεύουσα τὸν Σωσίπολιν νόμῳ τε ἀγιστεύει τῷ Ἑλλείων καὶ αὐτῇ λουτρά τε ἐσφέρει τῷ θεῷ καὶ μάζας κατατίθουσιν αὐτῷ μεμαγμένας μέλιτι. [3] ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ — διπλοῦς γὰρ δὴ πεποιῖται — τῆς τε Εἰλειθυίας βωμὸς καὶ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὸ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς ὁ Σωσίπολις ἔχει τιμάς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τῇ θεραπευούσῃ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφειλκυσμένη ὕφος λευκόν· παρθένου δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ὑπομένουσαι καὶ γυναικες ὕμνον ἄδουσι, καθαγίζουσαι δὲ καὶ θυμιάματα παντοῖα αὐτῷ ἐπισπένδειν οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον. καὶ ὄρκος παρὰ τῷ Σωσιπόλιδι ἐπὶ μεγίστοις καθέστηκεν. [4] λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλείαν ἐσβεβληκότων στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλείων σφίσιν ἀντικαθημένων γυναικα ἀφικομένην παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλείων τοὺς στρατηγούς, νήπιον παῖδα ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῷ, λέγειν ὥς τέκοι μὲν αὐτῇ τὸν παῖδα, διδοίη δὲ ἐξ ὄνειράτων συμμαχίσοντα Ἑλλείois. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς — πιστὰ γὰρ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἡγοῦντο εἰρηκέσαι — τιθέασιν τὸ παιδίον πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος γυμνόν. [5] ἐπήεσαν τε δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνταῦθα ἤδη δράκων ἦν· παραχθεῖσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπέκειντο οἱ Ἑλλεῖοι, καὶ νίκην τε ἐπιφανεστάτην ἀνείλοντο καὶ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ τίθενται Σωσίπολιν. ἔνθα δὲ σφίσιν ὁ δράκων ἔδοξεν ἐσθῶναι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν ἐνταῦθα· σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ σέβεσθαι καὶ τὴν Εἰλειθυίαν ἐνόμισαν, ὅτι τὸν παῖδά σφίσιν ἡ θεὸς αὕτη προήγαγεν ἐς ἀνθρώπους. [6] τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐστὶ τὸ μνήμα ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου διαβάντων τὸν Κλάδεον ὥς ἐπὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐρείπια Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας ἱεροῦ λείπεται, θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν. [7] ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν ἔσοδον Ἴπποδάμειον καλούμενον, ὅσον πλέθρου χωρίον περιεχόμενον θριγκῷ· ἐς τοῦτο ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔστι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἔσοδος, αἱ θύουσι τῇ Ἴπποδαμείᾳ καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν δρῶσιν αὐτῆς. τὴν δὲ Ἴπποδαμειάν φασιν ἐς Μιδεάν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἅτε τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐπὶ τῷ Χρυσίππου θανάτῳ μάλιστα ἐς ἐκείνην ἔχοντος τὴν ὀργήν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ μαντείας

κομίσαι φασὶ τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας τὰ ὅσα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἃ ἐπὶ ζημίαις ἐποιήσαντο ἀθλητῶν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέρατι ἔστιν ἣν Κρυπτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἔσοδον· διὰ δὲ αὐτῆς τοὺς τε Ἑλλανοδικὰς εἰσεῖναι ἐς τὸ στάδιον καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. τὸ μὲν δὴ στάδιον γῆς χῶμά ἐστι, πεποίηται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καθέδρα τοῖς τιθεῖσι τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν βωμὸς λίθου λευκοῦ· [9] ἐπὶ τούτου καθεζομένη τοῦ βωμοῦ θεᾶται γυνὴ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Χαμύνης, τιμὴν ταύτην ἄλλοτε ἄλλην λαμβάνουσα παρὰ Ἑλείων. παρθένους δὲ οὐκ εἵργουσι θεᾶσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τῷ πέρατι, ἣ τοῖς σταδιαδρόμοις ἄφεςις πεποίηται, Ἐνδυμίωνος μνῆμα ἐνταῦθα λόγῳ Ἑλείων ἔστί· [10] ὑπερβάλλοντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σταδίου, καθότι οἱ

Ἑλλανοδικαὶ καθέζονται, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐς τῶν ἵππων ἀνειμένον τοὺς δρόμους καὶ ἡ ἄφεςις ἔστι τῶν ἵππων. παρέχεται μὲν οὖν σχῆμα ἡ ἄφεςις κατὰ πρῶραν νεῶς, τέτραπται δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ἔμβολον ἐς τὸν δρόμον· καθότι δὲ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου στοᾷ προσεχῆς ἔστιν ἡ πρῶρα, κατὰ τοῦτο εὐρεῖα γίνεται, δελφίς δὲ ἐπὶ κανόνος κατὰ ἄκρον μάλιστα τὸ ἔμβολον πεποίηται χαλκοῦς.

[11] ἑκατέρω μὲν δὴ πλευρὰ τῆς ἀφέσεως πλέον ἢ τετρακοσίους πόδας παρέχεται τοῦ μήκους, ὥκοδόμηται δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς οἰκήματα· ταῦτα τὰ κλήρω τὰ οἰκήματα διαλαγχάνουσιν οἱ ἐσιόντες ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ἵππων. πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἢ καὶ ἵππων τῶν κελήτων, διήκει πρὸ αὐτῶν καλῶδιον ἀντὶ ὕσπληγος· βωμὸς δὲ ὦμῃς πλίνθου τὰ ἐκτὸς κεκονιαμένος ἐπὶ ἐκάστης Ὀλυμπιάδος ποιεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν μάλιστα· πού μεσην, ἀετὸς [12] δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χαλκοῦς κεῖται τὰ πτερὰ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτείνων. ἀνακινεῖ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ μηχανήμα ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ· ἀνακινήθεντος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄνω πεποίηται πηδᾶν ὁ ἀετός, ὥς τοῖς ἦκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν γενέσθαι σύνοπτος, ὁ δελφίς δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος πίπτει. [13] πρῶται μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν αἱ πρὸς τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου χαλῶσιν ὕσπληγες, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτας ἐστηκότες ἐκθέουσιν ἵπποι πρῶτοι· θεόντες τε δὴ γίνονται κατὰ τοὺς εἰληχότας ἐστάναι τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν, καὶ τηνικαῦτα χαλῶσιν αἱ ὕσπληγες αἱ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάξει· διὰ πάντων τε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον συμβαίνει τῶν ἵππων, ἔστ' ἂν ἐξισωθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τῆς πρῶρας τὸ ἔμβολον· τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἡδὴ καθέστηκεν ἐπίδειξις ἐπιστήμης τε ἡνιόχων καὶ ἵππων ὠκύτητος. [14] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κλεοίτας ἔστιν ἄφεςιν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ φρονῆσαι γε φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῷ εὐρήματι, ὥς καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἀνδριάντι τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγράψαι “ὅς τὴν ἱππάφεςιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εὗρατο πρῶτος,

τευξέ με Κλεοίτας υἱὸς Ἀριστοκλέους·

“Κλεοίτα δὲ φασιν ὕστερον Ἀριστείδην σοφίαν τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μηχανήμα ἐσενέγκασθαι. [15] παρεχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου παρήκουσαν ἐς πλέον τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν πλευρῶν, ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος πλευρᾶς, οὐσης χώματος, κατὰ τὴν διέξοδον τὴν διὰ τοῦ χώματος τὸ τῶν ἵππων δεῖμα ὁ Ταράξιππος. σχῆμα μὲν βωμοῦ περιφεροῦς ἔστι, παραθέοντας δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἵππους φόβος τε αὐτίκα ἰσχυρὸς ἀπ’ οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως φανερᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου λαμβάνει ταραχή, τὰ τε δὴ ἄρματα καταγνύουσιν ὥς ἐπίπαν καὶ οἱ ἡνιόχοι τιτρώσκονται· καὶ τοῦδε ἡνιόχοι ἔνεκα θυσίας θύουσι καὶ

γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἴλεων εὐχονται τὸν Ταράξιππον.

[16] Ἕλληνες δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ νομίζουσιν ἐς τὸν Ταράξιππον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἶναι τάφον ἀνδρὸς αὐτόχθονος καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὰ ἐς ἵππικὴν — καὶ ὄνομα Ὡλένιον αὐτῷ τίθενται, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὡλενίαν ἐν τῇ Ἥλειᾳ πέτρᾳ φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι — , οἱ δὲ τὸν Φλιοῦντος Δαμέωνα μετασχόντα Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς ἐπὶ Αὐγέαν καὶ Ἥλείους στρατείας αὐτόν τε ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπωχεῖτο ὑπὸ Κτεάτου λέγουσι τοῦ Ἄκτορος, καὶ τὸ μῆμα κοινὸν Δαμέωνι καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ γενέσθαι. [17] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Μυρτίλῳ κενὸν ἐνταῦθα ἡρίον ποιήσῃε Πέλοψ καὶ θύσειέ τε αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ μῆνιμα ἰώμενος καὶ ἐπονομάσαι Ταράξιππον, ὅτι τῷ Οἰνομάῳ διὰ τοῦ Μυρτίλου τῆς τέχνης ἐταράχθησαν αἱ ἵπποι· τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὡς αὐτὸς Οἰνόμαος ὁ τοὺς ἵππευόντας ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ βλάπτων. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Πορθάονος Ἀλκάθουν ἀγόντων τὴν αἰτίαν, ὡς ἐνταῦθα μέρη λάβοι γῆς ὁ Ἀλκάθους ἀποθανὼν ὑπὸ Οἰνομάου τῶν Ἱπποδαμείας γάμων ἔνεκα· ἅτε δὲ ἀτυχήσαντα ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ, βάσκανόν τε εἶναι τοῖς ἵππεύουσι καὶ οὐκ εὐμενῇ δαίμονα. [18] ἀνὴρ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος Πέλοπα ἔφη παρὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου λαβόντα Ἀμφίονος κατορύξαι τι ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα καλοῦσι τὸν Ταράξιππον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κατορωρυγμένου ταραχθῆναι μὲν τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τότε, ταρασσεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς πᾶσι τὰς ἵππους· ἡξίου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος εἶναι μὲν Ἀμφίονα, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Θρᾶκα Ὀρφέα μαγεῦσαι δεινόν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπάδουσι θηρία τε ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐς τὰς τοῦ τείχους οἰκοδομίας τὰς πέτρας. ὁ δὲ πιθανώτατος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν λόγων Ποσειδῶνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰππίου φησίν. [19] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ Ταράξιππος Γλαῦκος ὁ Σισύφου· γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τελευταίην λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅτε Ἄκαστος τὰ ἄθλα ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ. ἐν Νεμέᾳ δὲ τῇ Ἀργείῳ ἥρως μὲν ἦν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἔβλαπτε τοὺς ἵππους· πέτρας δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἵππων τὴν καμπὴν ἀνεστηκυίας χροάν πυρρᾶς, ἡ ἀπ' αὐτῆς αὐγὴ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ πῦρ ἐνεποίει φόβον τοῖς ἵπποις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Ταράξιππος πολὺ δὴ τι ὑπερηρκῶς ἐστὶν ἐς ἵππων φόβον. ἐπὶ δὲ νύσσης μῖας Ἱπποδαμείας ἐστὶν εἰκὼν χαλκῇ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἀναδεῖν τὸν Πέλοπα μέλλουσα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ.

21. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ χῶμα γῆς ἐστὶν, ὄρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν πεποιήται Δήμητρι ἐπὶ κλησὶν Χαμύνῃ· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τὸ ὄνομα ἤγηνται, χανεῖν γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ Ἄιδου καὶ αὐθις μῦσαι· οἱ δὲ Χάμυνον ἄνδρα Πισαῖον Πανταλέοντι ἐναντιούμενον τῷ Ὀμφαλίῳ τυραννοῦντι ἐν Πίσῃ καὶ ἀπόστασιν βουλευόντι ἀπὸ Ἥλειων, ἀποθανεῖν φασὶν αὐτόν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαμύνου τῆς οὐσίας τῇ Δήμητρι οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἱερόν. [2] ἀγάλματα δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Κόρην καὶ Δήμητρα λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης.

ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πεντάθλοις μὲν καθεστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δρομεῦσιν αἱ μελέται, κρητὶς δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου πεποιήται· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τρόπαιον κατὰ Ἀρκάδων ἐπὶ τῇ κρητῖδι εἰστήκει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐλάσσων περίβολος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον, καὶ αἱ παλαιστραὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα· τῆς στοᾶς δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα

ἥλιον τοῦ γυμνασίου προσεχεῖς τῷ τοίχῳ τῶν ἀθλητῶν εἰσιν αἱ οἰκῆσεις, ἐπὶ τε ἄνεμον τετραμμέναι Λίβρα καὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς. [3] διαβάντων δὲ τὸν Κλάδεον τάφος τε Οἰνομάου γῆς χῶμα περιφκοδομημένον λίθοις ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνήματος ἐρείπια οἰκοδομημάτων, ἔνθα τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὰς ἵππους αὐλίζεσθαι λέγουσιν.

ὄροι δὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν παρόντα Ἥλαιοις, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ αὐτοὶ Πισαίοις καθεστήκεσαν ἀνέχοντες κατὰ τάδε. διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν Ἐρύμανθον κατὰ τὴν Σαύρου καλουμένην δειράδα τοῦ Σαύρου τε μνῆμα καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους, ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν· λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ὁδοιπόρους τε καὶ τοὺς προσοικοῦντας ὁ Σαῦρος ἐκακοῦργει, πρὶν ἢ παρὰ Ἡρακλέους τὴν δίκην ἔσχε. [4] κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ληστοῦ δειράδα ποταμὸς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας κατιὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καταντικρὺ τοῦ Ἐρυμάνθου μάλιστα, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν Πισαίαν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας διορίζων, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Διάγων. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαύρου δειράδος προελθόντι στάδια ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, ἐπὶ κλησιν μὲν Δημαινέτου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου, ἐρείπια δὲ καὶ αὐτός· ὠκοδομήθη δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειόν. [5] τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἱερὸν Διονύσου Λευκυανίτου πεποιήται, καὶ ποταμὸς παρέξεισι ταύτῃ Λευκυανίας· ἐκδίδωσι μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, κάτεισι δὲ ἐκ Φολῆς τοῦ ὄρους. διαβῆση τε δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ ἐντὸς γῆς ἔσῃ τῆς Πισαίας. [6] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ λόφος ἐστὶν ἀνήκων ἐς ὄξύ, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πόλεως Φρίξας ἐρείπια καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησιν Κυδωνίας ναός. οὗτος μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐστὶ σῶς, βωμὸς δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι· ἰδρῦσασθαι δὲ τῇ θεῷ τὸ ἱερὸν Κλύμενόν φασιν ἀπόγονον Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, παραγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κυδωνίας τῆς Κρητικῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἰαρδάνου ποταμοῦ. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Πέλοπα οἱ Ἥλαιοι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Κυδωνίᾳ πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα αὐτὸν τῷ Οἰνομάῳ καθίστασθαι.

[7] προϊόντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τό τε ὕδωρ τῆς Παρθενίας ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τάφος ἵππων τῶν Μάρμακος· Ἴπποδαμείας δὲ μνηστήρα ἔχει λόγος ἀφικέσθαι πρῶτον τοῦτον Μάρμακα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἵπποις Παρθενίαν τε εἶναι καὶ Ἐρίφαν — Οἰνόμαον δὲ ἐπικατασφάζει μὲν τὰς ἵππους τῷ Μάρμακι, μεταδοῦναι μέντοι καὶ ταύταις ταφῆναι — , καὶ ὄνομα Παρθενίας τῷ ποταμῷ ἀπὸ ἵππου τῆς Μάρμακος. [8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀρπινάτης καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεως Ἀρπίνης ἄλλα τε ἐρείπια καὶ μάλιστα οἱ βωμοί· οἰκίσαι δὲ Οἰνόμαον τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς λέγουσιν Ἀρπίνης. [9] προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν ὑψηλόν, τῶν μνηστήρων τῶν Ἴπποδαμείας τάφος. Οἰνόμαον μὲν οὖν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων κρύπτειν γῇ φασιν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶς αὐτούς· Πέλοψ δὲ ὕστερον μνῆμα ἐν κοινῷ σφισιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρε τιμῇ τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἴπποδαμείας χάριτι, δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ ὑπόμνημα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὄσων τε καὶ οἷων τὸν Οἰνόμαον κρατήσαντα ἐνίκησεν αὐτός.

[10] ἀπέθανον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου κατὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἥοιās Ἀλκάθους ὁ Πορθάονος, δεύτερος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρμακι, μετὰ δὲ Ἀλκάθουον Εὐρύαλος καὶ Εὐρύμαχος τε καὶ Κρόταλος· τούτων μὲν οὖν γονέας τε καὶ πατρίδας οὐχ οἶά τε ἦν πυθέσθαι μοι, τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἀκρίαν

τεκμαίροιοτο ἂν τις Λακεδαιμόνιον τε εἶναι καὶ οἰκιστὴν Ἀκριῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἀκρίᾳ Κάπετόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου φονευθῆναι καὶ Λυκοῦργον Λάσιόν τε καὶ Χαλκῳδοντα καὶ Τρικόλωνον: ἀπόγονον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ὁμώνυμον Τρικόλωνι τῷ Λυκάονος λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. [11] Τρικόλωνου δὲ ὕστερον ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τὸ χρεὼν Ἀριστόμαχόν τε καὶ Πρίαντα, ἔτι δὲ Πελάγοντα καὶ Αἰόλιόν τε καὶ Κρόνιον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπαριθμοῦσι τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις Ἐρύθραν παῖδα Λεύκωνος τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος — ἀπὸ τούτου Ἐρυθραὶ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Βοιωτῶν — καὶ Ἥιονέα Μάγνητος τοῦ Αἰόλου. τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι τὸ μνῆμα, καὶ τὸν Πέλοπα, ἡνίκα τῶν Πισαίων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, φασὶν ἐναγίζειν αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

22. προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον τε στάδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου σημειᾷ ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ Κορδάκας ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἀκόλουθοι τὰ ἐπινίκια ἡγαγον παρὰ τῇ θεῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ἐπιχώριον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σίπυλον κόρδακα ὄρχησιν. τοῦ ἱεροῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω οἰκημᾷ τε οὐ μέγα καὶ κιβωτός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ χαλκῇ: ὅστᾳ τὰ Πέλοπος ἐν τῇ κιβωτῇ φυλάσσοι. τείχους δὲ ἢ ἄλλου κατασκευάσματος ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν ἔτι,

ἄμπελοι δὲ ἦσαν διὰ τοῦ χωρίου πεφυτευμένοι παντός, ἔνθα ἡ Πίσσα ὤκειτο. [2] οἰκιστὴν μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει Πίσσον τὸν Περιήρους φασὶ τοῦ Αἰόλου: Πισαῖοι δὲ ἐφειλκύσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοι τε Ἥλείους καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἥλείων, οἷγε Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπηγάγοντο Φεῖδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν μάλιστα ὑβρίσαντα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φεῖδωνι, τετάρτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τριακοστῇ στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλέων ὁ Ὀμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροίσαντες ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ Ἥλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια. [3] ταύτας τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ ἑκατοστήν, θεθεῖσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, ἀνολυμπιάδας οἱ Ἥλαιοι καλοῦντες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων γράφουσιν. ὀγδοῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέοντος ὑπόνοια μὲν τινα παρέσχεν Ἥλείους νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλευεῖν, ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν ὅπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε ἀπράκτους ἔπεισε δεήσεσιν τε καὶ ὅρκοις. [4] Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλεύσαντος Πισαῖοι πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἐπανείλοντο Ἥλείους, συναπέστησαν δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ Ἥλείων Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκυλλούντιοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιοίκων Δυσπόντιοι: τούτοις καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς Πισαίους οἰκεῖα ἦν, καὶ οἰκιστὴν Δυσποντέα γενέσθαι σφίσιν Οἰνομάου παῖδα ἐμνημόνευον. Πισαίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πολέμου Πισαίοις μετέσχον, ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἥλείων γενέσθαι: [5] Πύλου δὲ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ δὴλα τὰ ἐρείπια κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐστὶν ἐς Ἥλιν ὀρεινὴν ὁδόν, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ στάδια ἐς Ἥλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πύλου. ταύτην τὴν Πύλον ὤκισε μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἤδη λελεγμένα μοι Μεγαρεὺς ἀνὴρ Πύλων ὁ Κλήσωνος: γενομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀνάστατος καὶ αὐθις ἐπισυνοικισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἥλείων, ἔμελλεν ἀνὰ χρόνον οὐχ ἔξιν οἰκήτορας. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Λάδων κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πηνειόν. [6] λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Ἥλαιοι καὶ ἔπος ἐς τὴν Πύλον ταύτην ἔχειν τῶν Ὀμήρου, “γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῦ

Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅστ' εὐρὺ ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης,

“Hom. II.

5.544καὶ ἐμὲ ἔπειθον λέγοντες· ῥεῖ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ὁ Ἀλφειός, ἐς δὲ ἄλλην Πύλον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὸ ἔπος· Πυλίων γὰρ τῶν ὑπὲρ νήσου τῆς Σφακτηρίας οὐ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴν διοδεύειν τὴν γῆν ὁ Ἀλφειός, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων Πύλον ποτὲ ὀνομασθεῖσαν ἴσμεν πόλιν. [7] ἀπέχει δὲ ὡς πεντήκοντα Ὀλυμπίας σταδίους κόμη τε Ἡλείων Ἡράκλεια καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Κύθηρος ποταμός· πηγὴ δὲ ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. ὀνόματα δὲ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκάστη τῶν νυμφῶν Καλλιφάεια καὶ Συνάλλασις καὶ Πηγαία τε καὶ Ἰασις, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ κλησις Ἰωνίδες. λουομένοις δὲ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ καμάτων τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλγυμάτων παντοίων ἰάματα· καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας ἀπὸ Ἰωνος λέγουσι τοῦ Γαργητοῦ, μετοικήσαντος ἐνταῦθα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.

[8] εἰ δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἥλιν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου θελήσειας, σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς Λετρίνους ἔξεις, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ ἐκ Λετρίνων καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Ἥλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλισμα ἦν οἱ Λετρίνοι, καὶ Λετρεὺς ὁ Πέλοπος ἐγγέγονει σφίσιν οἰκιστής· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ οἰκήματά τε ἐλείπετο ὀλίγα καὶ Ἀλφειαῖας Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ναῷ.

[9] γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῇ θεῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε· ἐρασθῆναι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἐρασθέντα δέ, ὡς ἐπέγνω μὴ γενήσεσθαι οἱ διὰ πειθοῦς καὶ δεήσεως τὸν γάμον, ἐπιτολμᾶν ὡς βιασόμενον τὴν θεόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς παννυχίδα ἐς Λετρίνους ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τε ἀγομένην τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ νυμφῶν αἷς παίζουσα συνῆν αὐτῇ· τὴν δὲ — ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχειν — ἀλείψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ὅσαι τῶν νυμφῶν παρῆσαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὡς ἐσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, ἅτε δὲ οὐ διαγινώσκοντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ ἀπράκτῳ τῷ ἐγχειρήματι. [10] Λετριναῖοι μὲν δὴ Ἀλφειαίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῷ ἐς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι· οἱ δὲ Ἡλεῖοι — φιλία γὰρ σφισιν ὑπῆρχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς Λετριναίους — τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς τιμὴν τῇ Ἐλαφιαίᾳ καθεστηκότα ἐς Λετρίνους τε μετήγαγον καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐνόμισαν τῇ Ἀλφειαίᾳ δρᾶν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν Ἀλφειαίαν θεὸν Ἐλαφιαίαν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξενίκησεν

ὀνομασθῆναι. [11] Ἐλαφιαίαν δὲ ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλάφων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῇ θήρᾳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας ὄνομα εἶναι τὴν Ἐλάφιον καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τραφῆναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν φασι. Λετρίνων δὲ ὅσον τε ἐξ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἀέναιος λίμνη τριῶν πού τὴν διάμετρον σταδίων μάλιστα.

23. ἐν δὲ Ἥλιδι τὰ ἄξια μνήμης γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον· καὶ ὅσα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς πρὶν ἢ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν, ἐν τούτῳ σφίσιν τῷ γυμνασίῳ δρᾶν καθέστηκε. πλάτανοι μὲν ὑψηλαὶ διὰ τῶν δρόμων πεφύκασιν ἐντὸς τοίχου· ὁ σύμπας δὲ οὗτος περίβολος καλεῖται Ξυστός, ὅτι Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐς ἄσκησιν ἐγίνετο, ὅσαι τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἐφύοντο ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ σφᾶς ἀναξύνειν. [2] χωρὶς μὲν δὴ ἐς ἄμυλλαν τῶν δρομέων ἐστὶν ἀποκεκριμένος δρόμος, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱερός, χωρὶς δὲ

ἐνθα ἐπὶ μελέτῃ δρομεῖς καὶ οἱ πένταθλοι θεοῦσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καλούμενον Πλέριον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ συμβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ αὐτῷ διαφέροντας τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι· συμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐπὶ πάλῃ. [3] εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ βωμοί, Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, Παραστάτου δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ Ἔρωτος καὶ ὃν Ἡλείοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ ταῦτα Ἡλείους Ἀντέρωτα ὀνομάζουσι, Δήμητρος τε καὶ τῆς παιδός. Ἀχιλλεὶ δὲ οὐ βωμός, κενὸν δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μνημα ἐκ μαντείας· τῆς πανηγύρεως δὲ ἀρχομένης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥήτῃ περὶ ἀποκλίνοντα ἐς δυσμὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν δρόμον αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Ἡλεῖαι ἄλλα τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως δρῶσιν ἐς τιμὴν καὶ κόπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν αὐτόν. [4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐλάσσων γυμνασίου περίβολος, ὃς ἔχεται μὲν τοῦ μείζονος, τετράγωνον δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι· καὶ παλαιστραὶ τοῖς ἀθλοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦνται, καὶ συμβάλλουσιν αὐτόθι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς οὐ παλαίσοντας ἔτι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἱμάντων τῶν μαλακωτέρων ταῖς πληγαῖς. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸ ἕτερον, ἃ ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ Σωσάνδρου τε τοῦ Σμυρναίου καὶ Ἡλείου Πολύκτορος τῷ Διὶ ἐποιήθη.

[5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτος γυμνασίου περίβολος, ὄνομα μὲν Μαλθῶ τῆς μαλακότητος τοῦ ἐδάφους ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ ἐφήβοις ἀνεῖται τῆς πανηγύρεως τὸν χρόνον πάντα. ἔστι δὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τῆς Μαλθοῦς πρόσωπον Ἡρακλέους ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ἐν τῶν παλαιστρῶν μιᾷ τύπος Ἔρωτα ἔχων ἐπειργασμένον καὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτα· ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν φοίνικος ὁ Ἔρως κλάδον, ὁ δὲ ἀφελέσθαι πειράται τὸν φοίνικα ὁ Ἀντέρως. [6] τῆς ἐσόδου δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ἐς τὴν Μαλθῶ παιδὸς ἔστηκεν εἰκὼν πύκτου· καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν ὁ νομοφύλαξ Ἡλείων γένος μὲν Ἀλεξανδρέα εἶναι τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου τῆς νήσου, Σαραπίωνα δὲ ὄνομα, ἀφικόμενον δὲ ἐς Ἥλιν σπανίζουσι σίτου σφίσι τροφὰς δοῦναι. τούτῳ μὲν αὐτόθι ἀντὶ τούτου γεγόνασιν αἱ τιμαί· χρόνος δὲ στεφάνου τε τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ εὐεργεσίας αὐτῷ τῆς ἐς Ἡλείους Ὀλυμπιάς ἐβδόμη πρὸς ταῖς δέκα τε καὶ διακοσίαις. [7] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ βουλευτήριόν ἐστιν Ἡλείοις, καὶ ἐπιδειξίεις ἐνταῦθα λόγων τε αὐτοσχεδίων καὶ συγγραμμάτων ποιοῦνται παντοίων· καλεῖται δὲ Λαλίχμιον τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπώνυμον. περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἀσπίδες ἀνάκεινται, θεὰς ἕνεκα καὶ οὐκ ἐς ἔργον πολέμου πεποιημέναι. [8] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου πρὸς τὰ λουτρά ἐρχομένη δι' ἀγνιᾶς τε ἢ ὁδὸς Σιωπῆς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Φιλομειράκος ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. τῇ μὲν δὴ θεῇ γέγονεν ἡ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἅτε τοῦ γυμνασίου γείτονι· τῇ ἀγνιᾷ δὲ Σιωπῇ ὄνομα ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τεθῆναι λέγουσιν. ἄνδρες τοῦ Ὀξύλου στρατεύματος ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν Ἥλιδι ἀποπεμφθέντες καὶ ἀλλήλοις διακελευσάμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐπειδὰν πλησίον γίνωνται τοῦ τείχους, φθέγγεσθαι μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι αὐτοί, ἐπακροᾶσθαι δὲ εἴ τι παρὰ τῶν ἐντὸς πυθέσθαι δυνήσονται, οὗτοι λανθάνουσι παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὴν ἀγνιὰν ταύτην καὶ ἐπακούσαντες ὅποσα ἐβούλοντο ἐπανίστασιν αὐθις ἐς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς· καὶ ἡ ἀγνιὰ τὸ ὄνομα εἵληφεν ἀπὸ τῶν κατασκόπων τῆς σιωπῆς.

24. ἑτέρα δὲ ἐξοδος ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου φέρει μὲν ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλανοδικαῖωνα καλούμενον, ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τὸν τάφον· καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδικὰς ἰέναι καθέστηκεν ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον. ἐσίασι δὲ πρὶν μὲν ἡλιον ἀνίσχειν συμβαλοῦντες δρομέας, μεσούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ

πένταθλον καὶ ὅσα βαρέα ἄθλα ὀνομάζουσιν.

[2] ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ τοῖς Ἑλλείοις οὐ κατὰ τὰς Ἰωνῶν καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς Ἰωνία πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων, τρόπῳ δὲ πεποιήται τῷ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ στοαῖς τε ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διεστώσαις καὶ ἀγυαῖς δι' αὐτῶν. ὄνομα δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν Ἰππόδρομος, καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοὺς ἵππους παιδεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τῶν στοῶν δὲ ἡ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐργασίας ἐστὶ τῆς Δωρίου, διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μοίρας τρεῖς οἱ κίονες· ἐν ταύτῃ διημερεῦσιν τὰ πολλὰ οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι.

[3] ποιοῦνται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ βωμοὺς τῷ Δίῃ, καὶ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οἱ βωμοὶ πλῆθος οὐ πολλοί· καταλύονται γὰρ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἅτε αὐτοσχεδίως οἰκοδομοῦμενοι. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στοᾶν ἰόντι ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς στοᾶς ὁ Ἑλλανοδικαίων· ἀγυιὰ δὲ ἡ διείργουσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν αὐτόν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ἑλλανοδικαίῳ οἰκοῦσι δέκα ἐφεξῆς μῆνας οἱ αἰρεθέντες ἑλλανοδικεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ὅσα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα σφᾶς δεῖ ποιεῖν διδάσκονται. [4] τῇ στοᾷ δὲ ἐνθα οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι διημερεῦσιν ἔστιν ἐγγὺς ἄλλη στοά· τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀγυιὰ μία. ταύτην ὀνομάζουσι Κορκυραϊκὴν οἱ Ἑλλεῖοι· ναυσὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν σφετέραν Κορκυραίους ἐλθόντας * * * ἐλάσαι μοῖραν τῆς λείας λέγοντες λαβεῖν τε ἐκ τῆς Κορκυραίων πολλαπλάσια καὶ οἰκοδομήσασθαι τὴν στοᾶν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῆς δεκάτης.

[5] ἔστι δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς στοᾶς Δώριος καὶ διπλῇ, τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὺς κίονας, τῇ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔχουσα· κατὰ μέσον δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ κίονες, ἀλλὰ τοῖχος ὁ ταύτῃ τὸν ὄροφον ἀνέχων ἐστίν, ἀνάκεινται δὲ καὶ εἰκόνες ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ. κατὰ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς τὸ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστηκε Πύρρωνος τοῦ Πιστοκράτους εἰκὼν, σοφιστοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἐς βέβαιον ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καταστάντος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μνημα τῷ Πύρρῳ οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ Ἑλλείων ἄστεως· Πέτρα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγεται δὲ ὥς ἡ Πέτρα δῆμος εἴη τὸ ἀρχαῖον. [6] Ἑλλείοις δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκεσίου· σημαίνει δ' ἂν τὸ ὄνομα οὐδέν τι ἄλλοιον ἢ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλεξίκακος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἑλίῳ πεποιήται καὶ Σελήνῃ λίθου τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ τῆς μὲν κέρατα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τοῦ δὲ αἰ ἀκτῖνες ἀνέχουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Χάρισιν ἱερὸν καὶ ξόανα ἐπίχρυσα τὰ ἐς ἐσθῆτα, πρόσωπα δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ πόδες λίθου λευκοῦ· ἔχουσι δὲ ἡ μὲν αὐτῶν ρόδον, ἀστράγαλον δὲ ἡ μέση, καὶ ἡ τρίτη κλῶνα οὐ μέγαν μυρσίνης. [7] ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε εἰκάζοι τις ἂν τὰ εἰρημένα, ρόδον μὲν καὶ μυρσίνην Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὰ εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖα τῷ ἐς Ἀδωνιν λόγῳ, Χάριτας δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ μάλιστα φίλας εἶναι θεῶν· ἀστράγαλον δὲ μειρακίων τε καὶ παρθένων, οἷς ἄχαρι οὐδέν πω πρόσσεστιν ἐκ γήρως, τούτων εἶναι τὸν ἀστράγαλον παίγνιον. τῶν Χαρίτων δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἔρωτος· ἔστηκε δὲ ἐπὶ βάθρου τοῦ αὐτοῦ. [8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σιληνοῦ ναὸς ἐνταῦθα, ἰδίᾳ τῷ Σιληνῷ καὶ οὐχ ὁμοῦ Διονύσῳ πεποιημένος· Μέθη δὲ οἶνον ἐν ἐκπώματι αὐτῷ δίδωσι. θνητὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ γένος τῶν Σιληνῶν εἰκάσαι τις ἂν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις αὐτῶν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων χώρα Σιληνοῦ μνήμα καὶ ἄλλου Σιληνοῦ Περγαμηνοῖς ἐστίν. [9] Ἑλλείων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε εἶδον, ναοῦ σχῆμα· ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν, καὶ τοῖχοι

μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, τὸν ὄροφον δὲ δρυὸς ἀνέχουσιν εἰργασμένοι κίονες. τοῦτο εἶναι μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μνημα, ὅτου δὲ οὐ μνημονεύουσιν: εἰ δὲ ὁ γέρων ὄντινα ἠρόμην εἶπεν ἀληθῆ λόγον, Ὁξύλου τοῦτο ἂν μνημα εἴη. [10] πεποιήται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν οἰκημα ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα καλουμέναις, ἐνθα τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

ἔχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ναὸς ἀρχαῖος στοαῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περίστυλος, ὁ δὲ ὄροφος κατερρύηκε τῷ ναῷ καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο: βασιλεῦσι δὲ ἀνεῖται Ῥωμαίοις.

25. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ὀπίσω τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῶν ἐκ Κορκύρας Ἀφροδίτης ναός, τὸ δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τέμενος οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ ναῷ καλοῦσιν Οὐρανίαν, ἐλέφαντος δὲ ἔστι καὶ χρυσοῦ, τέχνη Φειδίου, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ποδὶ ἐπὶ χελώνης βέβηκε: τῆς δὲ περιέχεται μὲν τὸ τέμενος θριγκῷ, κρηπὶς δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους πεποιήται καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ τράγῳ κάθηται χαλκῷ: Σκόπα τοῦτο ἔργον, Ἀφροδίτην δὲ Πάνδημον ὀνομάζουσιν. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χελώνῃ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν τράγον παρήμι τοῖς θέλουσιν εἰκάζειν. [2] ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἄιδου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός — ἔστι γὰρ δὴ Ἥλείοις καὶ Ἄιδου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός — ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐφείται πέρα γε τοῦ ἱερωμένου. ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἄιδην Ἥλαιοι κατὰ αἰτίαν τήνδε. Ἡρακλεῖ στρατιὰν ἄγοντι ἐπὶ Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι, παρεῖναί οἱ καὶ Ἀθηναῖν συνεργὸν λέγουσιν: ἀφικέσθαι οὖν καὶ Πυλίοις τὸν Ἄιδην συμμαχήσοντα τῇ ἀπεχθείᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ Πύλῳ τιμάς.

[3] ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρον τῷ λόγῳ μάρτυρα ποιήσαντα ἐν Ἰλιάδι “τλῆ δ’ Αἰδὴς ἐν τοῖσι πελώριοις ὥκυν ὀιστόν,

εὐτέ μιν ὠτὸς ἀνὴρ υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο

ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν:

“Hom. II.

5.395-397 εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἰλιον Ποσειδῶν τῷ Ὀμήρου λόγῳ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπικούρος ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἅπο τοῦ εἰκότος οὐδὲ Ἄιδην εἴη δόξη γε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιητοῦ Πυλίοις ἀμῦναι. Ἥλαιοι δ’ οὖν ὥς σφίσι τε εὖνῃ καὶ ἀπεχθανομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐποιήσαντο τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ: ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ ἀνοίγειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ νομίζουσιν, ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἅπαξ ἡ κάθοδος ἡ ἐς τοῦ Ἄιδου γίνεται. [4] τοῖς δὲ Ἥλείοις καὶ Τύχῃς ἔστιν τὸ ἱερὸν: ἐν στοᾷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεγέθει μέγα ἄγαλμα ἀνάκειται, ξόανον ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν προσώπου καὶ χειρῶν τε ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν, ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἔστι λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἔχει τιμὰς καὶ ὁ Σωσίπολις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς Τύχης, ἐν οἰκῇματι οὐ μεγάλῳ: κατὰ δὲ ὄψιν ὀνειράτος γραφῇ μεμιμημένος ἔστιν ὁ θεός, παῖς μὲν ἡλικίαν, ἀμπέχεται δὲ χλαμύδα ποικίλῃν ὑπὸ ἀστέρων, τῇ χειρὶ δὲ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τὸ κέρας τῆς Ἀμαλθείας. [5] καθότι δὲ Ἥλειων ἡ πόλις πληθύνει μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀνδριάς σφισιν ἀνδρὸς οὐ μείζων μεγάλου χαλκοῦς ἔστιν οὐκ ἔχων πῶ γένεια τόν τε ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιπλέκων τῷ ἐτέρῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐπὶ δόρατι ἡρεισμένος: ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐρεᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ λίνου τε καὶ βύσσου περιβάλλουσι.

[6] τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐλέγετο εἶναι Ποσειδῶνός, ἔχειν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ

Σαμικῶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ τιμᾶς· μετακομισθὲν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἥλιν τιμῆς μὲν καὶ ἐς πλέον ἔτι ἦκει, Σατράπην δὲ καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶνα ὄνομα αὐτῷ τίθενται, μετὰ τὴν Πατρέων προσοίκησιν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σατράπου διδαχθέντες· Κορύβαντός τε ἐπὶ κλησὶς ὁ Σατράπης ἐστί.

26. θέατρον δὲ ἀρχαῖον, μεταξὺ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ θέατρον τε καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ Διονύσου· τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους, θεῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Διόνυσον σέβουσιν Ἥλαιοι καὶ τὸν θεὸν σφισιν ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐς τῶν Θυῖων τὴν ἐορτὴν λέγουσιν. ἀπέχει μὲν γε τῆς πόλεως ὅσον τε ὀκτὼ στάδια ἔνθα τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι Θυῖα ὀνομάζοντες· λέβητας δὲ ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς ἐς οἶκημα ἐσκομίσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς κατατίθενται κενοὺς, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, εἰ τύχοιεν ἐπιδημοῦντες· σφραγίδας δὲ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ἢ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐπιβάλλουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τὰ τε [2] σημεῖα ἐπιγνῶναι ἀρεστί σφισι καὶ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ οἶκημα εὐρίσκουσιν οἴνου πεπλησμένους τοὺς λέβητας. ταῦτα Ἥλείων τε οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ἄνδρες, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ξένοι κατώμνυντο ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐπεὶ αὐτός γε οὐκ ἐς καιρὸν ἀφικόμην τῆς ἐορτῆς· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἄνδριοι παρὰ ἔτος σφίσιν ἐς τοῦ Διονύσου τὴν ἐορτὴν ρεῖν οἶνον αὐτόματον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. εἰ πιστεύειν χρή ταῦτα Ἑλλήσιν, εἰ ἀποδέχοιτο ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ γε τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσα Αἰθιοπες οἱ ὑπὲρ Συήνης ἐς τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν τράπεζαν λέγουσιν. [3] ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἥλείων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ. εἶναι μὲν δὴ Φειδίου φασὶν αὐτήν, πεποίηται δὲ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει, ὅτι οὗτοι προχειρότατα ἔχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες· δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἐργάνης ἱερὸς ὁ ὄρνις νομίζεσθαι.

[4] Κυλλήνη δὲ σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσιν Ἥλιδος καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκε, κεῖται δὲ τετραμμένη τε πρὸς Σικελίαν καὶ ὄρμον παρεχομένη ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον· ἐπίνειον δὲ οὕσα Ἥλείων ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκάδος τὸ ὄνομα εἴληφε. Κυλλήνης δὲ ἐν μὲν Ἥλείων καταλόγῳ λόγον οὐδένα Ὅμηρος ἐποίησατο, ἐν δὲ ἔπεισι τοῖς ὕστερον δεδήλωκεν ὡς πόλισμα οὕσαν καὶ τὴν Κυλλήνην ἐπίσταται:

[5] “Πουλυδάμας δ' ὦτον Κυλλήνιον ἐξενάριξεν,

Φυλείδew ἔταρον, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸν Ἐπειῶν.

“θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστί· τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃν οἱ ταύτῃ περισσῶς σέβουσιν, ὀρθὸν ἐστὶν αἰδοῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου. [6] ἡ δὲ Ἥλεία χώρα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐς καρποὺς καὶ τὴν βύσσον οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκτρέφειν ἀγαθή. τὴν μὲν δὴ κανναβίδα καὶ λίνον καὶ τὴν βύσσον σπεύρουσιν ὅσοις ἡ γῆ τρέφειν ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδειος· οἱ μίτοι δέ, ἀφ' ὧν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ποιοῦσιν οἱ Σῆρες, ἀπὸ οὐδενὸς φλοιοῦ, τρόπον δὲ ἕτερον γίνονται τοιόνδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ ζωύφιόν σφισιν, ὃν σῆρα καλοῦσιν Ἑλλήνες, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῶν Σηρῶν ἄλλο πού τι καὶ οὐ σῆρ ὀνομάζεται:

[7] μέγεθος μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ διπλάσιον ἢ κανθάρων ὁ μέγιστος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἴκασται τοῖς ἀράχλαις, οἱ ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροισιν ὑφαίνουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πόδας ἀριθμὸν ὀκτὼ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχει τοῖς ἀράχλαις. ταῦτα τὰ ζῷα τρέφουσιν οἱ Σῆρες οἴκους κατασκευασάμενοι χειμῶνός τε καὶ θέρους ὥρα ἐπιτηδεῖους· τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν ζῶων κλῶσμα εὐρίσκεται λεπτὸν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν

περιειλιγμένον. [8] τρέφουσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσαρα ἔτη παρέχοντες τροφήν σφισιν ἔλυμον, πέμπτῳ δὲ — οὐ γὰρ πρόσω βιωσόμενα ἴσασι — κάλαμον διδόασιν ἐσθίειν χλωρόν· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡδίστη τροφή πασῶν τῶ ζῳῳ, καὶ ἐμφορηθὲν τοῦ καλάμου ῥήγνυται τε ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς καὶ ἀποθανόντος οὕτω τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρπεδόνης εὐρίσκουσιν ἔνδον. γινώσκεται δὲ ἡ Σηρία νῆσος ἐν μυχῶ θαλάσσης κειμένη τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς. [9] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς οὐχ ἡ Ἐρυθρά, ποταμὸς δὲ ὃν Σῆρα ὀνομάζουσιν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν νῆσον αὐτήν, ὥσπερ καὶ Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ μιᾶς περιέχεσθαι θαλάσσης· τοιαύτην ἑτέραν καὶ τὴν Σηρίαν νῆσον εἶναι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν γένους αὐτοὶ τέ εἰσιν οἱ Σῆρες καὶ ὅσοι τὰς προσεχεῖς αὐτῇ νέμονται νήσους, Ἀβασαν καὶ Σακαίαν· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ Αἰθίοπας, Σκύθας δὲ ἀναμεμιγμένους Ἰνδοῖς φασὶν εἶναι. [10] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ἰόντι ἐξ Ἥλιδος ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ ποταμόν εἰσι Λάρισον, καὶ Ἠλείους ὄροι πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς τῆς χώρας ὁ ποταμὸς ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὁ Λάρισος· τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα ἄκρα σφίσι πρὸς θαλάσση ὄρος ἦν ὁ Ἄραξος.

BOOK VII.

Ἀχαιικά

1. ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἥλειας μέση καὶ Σικυωνίας, καθήκουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑω θάλασσαν, Ἀχαιᾶν δὲ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων, αὐτὴ τε Αἰγιαλὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐκαλοῦντο Αἰγιαλεῖς, λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Σικυωνίων ἀπὸ Αἰγιαλέως βασιλεύσαντος ἐν τῇ νῦν Σικυωνίᾳ, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασιν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας, εἶναι γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς αἰγιαλόν.

[2] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος Ἑλληνος Ξοῦθον οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνος παῖδες διώκουσιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας, ἐπενεγκόντες αἰτίαν ὥς ἰδία χρήματα ὑφελόμενος ἔχοι τῶν πατρῶν: ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας φυγὼν θυγατέρα Ἐρεχθέως ἠξιώθη λαβεῖν καὶ παῖδας Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Ἴωνα ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐρεχθέως τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ δικαστῆς Ξοῦθος ἐγένετο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ — ἔγνω γὰρ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κέκροπα βασιλέα εἶναι — οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως παῖδες

ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτόν: [3] ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ οἰκήσαντι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγένετο ἐνταῦθα ἡ τελευταία, τῶν δὲ οἱ παίδων Ἀχαιὸς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγιαλοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπικούρους κατήλθεν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν καὶ ἔσχε τὴν πατρῶν ἀρχήν, Ἴωνι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγιαλεῖς στρατιὰν καὶ ἐπὶ Σελινούντα τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀθροίζοντι ἀγγέλους ἔπεμπεν ὁ Σελινούς, τὴν θυγατέρα Ἐλίκην, ἥ μόνῃ οἱ παῖς ἦν, γυναῖκα αὐτῷ διδοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν Ἴωνα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ παῖδα ποιοῦμενος. [4] καὶ πῶς ταῦτα τῷ Ἴωνι ἐγένετο οὐκ ἄπο γνώμης, καὶ τῶν Αἰγιαλέων τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἴων ἔσχεν ἀποθανόντος Σελινούντος, καὶ Ἐλίκην τε ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὤκισεν ἐν τῷ Αἰγιαλῷ πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσεν Ἴωνας ἀφ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο οὐ μεταβολὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος, προσθήκη δὲ σφισιν ἐγένετο: Αἰγιαλεῖς γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντο Ἴωνες. τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον διέμεινεν ὄνομα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς: Ὀμήρῳ γοῦν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν μετὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐξήρκεσε τὸ ἀρχαῖον δηλῶσαι τῆς γῆς ὄνομα: “Αἰγιαλὸν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἄμφ' Ἐλίκην εὐρεῖαν.

“Hom. II.

2.575 [5] τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἴωνος βασιλείας πολεμησάντων Ἀθηναίους Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνα ἐπαγαγομένων ἐπὶ ἡγεμονία τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸ χρεὼν ἐπιλαμβάνει, καὶ Ἴωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημα τῷ Ποταμίων ἐστίν: οἱ δὲ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἴωνος τὸ Ἴώνων ἔσχον κράτος, ἐς ὃ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. τοῖς δὲ Ἀχαιοῖς τηνικαῦτα ὑπῆρξε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Ἀργούς ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξεληλάσθαι: [6] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἴωνα καὶ Ἀχαιούς, ὅποσα ἐπράχθη σφίσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐπέξεισιν αὐτίκα ὁ λόγος μοι προδιηγησαμένῳ καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμόνα οἰκοῦσι καὶ Ἄργος πρὸ τῆς τῶν Δωριέων καθόδου μόνοις Πελοποννησίων ὑπῆρξεν Ἀχαιοῖς καλεῖσθαι. Ἀρχανδρος Ἀχαιοῦ καὶ Αρχιτέλης ἐς Ἄργος ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐγένοντο Δαναοῦ γαμβροί, καὶ Αὐτομάτην μὲν Αρχιτέλης, Σκαιὰν δὲ ἔλαβεν Ἀρχανδρος. δηλοῦσι δὲ ἐν Ἄργει καταμείναντες

οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῷδε: Μετανάστην γάρ τῳ παιδί ὄνομα ἔθετο Ἀρχανδρος. [7] δυνηθέντων δὲ ἐν τε Ἀργεὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνι τῶν Ἀχαιοῦ παίδων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξενίκησεν Ἀχαιοὺς κληθῆναι: τοῦτο μὲν σφισιν ὄνομα ἦν ἐν κοινῷ, Δαναοὶ δὲ Ἀργεῖοις ἰδίᾳ. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκπεπωκότες ἐκ τε Ἀργους καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο Ἴωσιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ὀρέστου γενέσθαι σύνοικοι σφισιν ἄνευ πολέμου: τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων τοὺς βασιλέας ὑπῆει δέος, μὴ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναμιχθέντων αὐτοῖς Τισαμενὸν ἐν κοινῷ βασιλέα ἔλονται κατὰ τε ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ γένους δόξαν. [8] Ἰώνων δὲ οὐ προσεμένων τοὺς Ἀχαιῶν λόγους ἀλλὰ ἐπεξελθόντων σὺν ὅπλοις, Τισαμενὸς μὲν ἔπесεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Ἴωνας δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ κρατήσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν καταπεφευγότας ἐς Ἑλίκην καὶ ὕστερον ἀφιάσιν ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους. Τισαμενοῦ δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Ἑλίκῃ θαψάντων, ὕστερον χρόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς σφισιν ἀνειπόντος χρηστηρίου κομίζουσι τὰ ὅσα ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι αὐτῷ τάφος, ἐνθα τὰ δεῖπνα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶ τὰ Φειδίτια καλούμενα. [9] Ἴωνας δὲ ἀφικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μέλανθος Ἀνδροπόμπου συνοίκους ἐξεδέξαντο Ἴωνός τε διὰ ἔνεκα καὶ ἔργων ἃ ἔπραξε πολεμαρχῶν Ἀθηναίοις: λέγεται δὲ ὡς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ποιούμενοι τοὺς Δωριέας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἐθέλωσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἰσχύος μᾶλλον οἰκείας ἔνεκα ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας συνοίκους σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο.

2. ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Μέδων καὶ Νειλεὺς πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐστασίασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νειλεὺς ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν ἕτερον ἦν τῶν ποδῶν χωλός: δόξαν δὲ σφισιν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἢ Πυθίᾳ βασιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων. οὕτω δὲ ὁ Νειλεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐς ἀποικίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστόν σφισιν ἦσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ Ἴωνες. [2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρίτος διὰ οὗτος στόλος ὑπὸ βασιλευσιν ἄλλοις ὄχλοις τε ἄλλοις ἐστάλησαν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιότατα Ἰόλαος Θηβαῖος, ἀδελφιδοὺς ὁ Ἡρακλέους, Ἀθηναίους ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ Θεσπιεῦσιν ἡγήσατο: γενεᾷ δὲ μιᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἴωνες, Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Μινύας τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκ Λήμνου Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος Θηβαῖος ἡγάγεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θήρα τούτου, πρότερον δὲ ὀνομαζομένην Καλλίστην. [3] τρίτον δὲ τότε οἱ Κόδρου παῖδες ἐπετάχθησαν Ἴωσιν ἄρχοντες, οὐδὲν σφισι γένους τοῦ Ἴωνος μετόν, ἀλλὰ Μεσσήνιοι μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τὰ πρὸς Κόδρου καὶ Μελάνθου, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὄντες τὰ πρὸς μητρός. Ἴωσι δὲ τοῦ στόλου μετασχόντες ἦσαν οἶδε Ἑλλήνων, Θηβαῖοι τε οἱ ὁμοῦ Φιλῶτα γεγονότι ἀπογόνῳ Πηνέλεω καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι Μινύαι συγγενεῖα τῶν Κόδρου παίδων: [4] μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Φωκεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Δελφῶν καὶ Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. τοῖς δὲ Φωκεῦσι Φιλογένης καὶ Δάμων οἱ Εὐκτήμενος Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς τε δίδόασιν ἐς τὸν πλοῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες: ὡς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατήραν, ἐπ' ἄλλην ἐτρέποντο ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλεων, Νειλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ μοῖρα ἐς Μίλητον. [5] Μιλήσιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τοιαύτα τὰ ἀρχαιότατα

σπισιν εἶναι λέγουσιν: ἐπὶ γενεὰς μὲν δύο Ἀνακτορίαν καλεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν Ἄνακτός τε αὐτόχθονος καὶ Ἀστερίου βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Ἄνακτος, Μιλήτου δὲ κατάραντος στόλῳ Κρητῶν ἢ τε γῆ τὸ ὄνομα μετέβαλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μιλήτου καὶ ἡ πόλις. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐκ Κρήτης ὁ Μίλητος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς Μίνω τὸν Εὐρώπης φεύγοντες, οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες οἱ πρότερον νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν σύνοικοι τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγένοντο: [6] τότε δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἀρχαίων Μιλησίων οἱ Ἴωνες, τὸ μὲν γένος πᾶν τὸ ἄρσεν ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν ὅσοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλικομένης ἐκδιδράσκουσι, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἐκείνων γαμοῦσι.

τοῦ δὲ Νειλέως ὁ τάφος ἰόντων ἐς Διδύμους ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰώνων ἐσοίκῃσιν, πολλῶ δὲ πρεσβύτερα ἔτι ἢ κατὰ Ἴωνας τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν ἐστίν. [7] οὐ μὴν πάντα γε τὰ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἐπύθετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνas τὸ ἱερὸν ἔφη τοῦτο ιδρύσασθαι στρατευομένας ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησέα. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερωδόντος γυναῖκες ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ, ἅτε ἐπιστάμεναι τε ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ ἡνίκα Ἡρακλέα ἔφυγον, αἱ δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα, ἱκέτιδες ἐνταῦθα ἐλθοῦσαι: οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων γε ιδρύθη, Κόρησος δὲ αὐτόχθων καὶ Ἐφεσος — Καῦστρου δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν Ἐφεσον παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσιν — , οὗτοι τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσιν οἱ ιδρυσάμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφέσου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τῇ πόλει. [8] Λέλεγες δὲ τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα καὶ Λυδῶν τὸ πολλὸν οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἦσαν: ὥκουν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλλοι τε ἱκεσίας ἔνεκα καὶ γυναῖκες τοῦ Ἀμαζόνων γένους. Ἀνδροκλος δὲ ὁ Κόδρου — οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπεδέδεικτο Ἰώνων τῶν ἐς Ἐφεσον πλευσάντων βασιλεὺς — Λέλεγας μὲν καὶ Λυδοὺς τὴν ἅνω πόλιν ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας: τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκοῦσι δεῖμα ἦν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ Ἴωσιν ὄρκους δόντες καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος παρ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἐκτὸς ἦσαν πολέμου. ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ Σάμιον Ἀνδροκλος Σαμίους, καὶ ἔσχον Ἐφέσιοι χρόνον τινὰ Σάμιον καὶ τὰς προσεχεῖς νήσους: [9] Σαμίων δὲ ἤδη κατεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα Πριηνεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κᾶρας ὁ Ἀνδροκλος, καὶ νικῶντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἀνελόμενοι τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου τὸν νεκρὸν ἔθαψαν τῆς σφετέρας ἔνθα δέικνυται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τὸ μνήμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνήτιδας: ἐπίθημα δὲ τῷ μνήματι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὀπλισμένος. [10] οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οἱ Μυοῦντα ἐσοικισάμενοι καὶ Πριήνην, Κᾶρας μὲν καὶ οὗτοι τὰς πόλεις ἀφείλοντο: οἰκιστὰι δὲ Μυοῦντος μὲν Κυάρητος ἐγένετο ὁ Κόδρου, Πριηνεῖς δὲ Ἴωσιν ἀναμειγμένοι Θηβαῖοι Φιλώταν τε τὸν ἀπόγονον Πηνέλεω καὶ Αἴπυτον Νειλέως παῖδα ἔσχον οἰκιστάς. Πριηνεῖς μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Ταβούτου τε τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἰέρωνος ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχωρίου κακωθέντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ὁμῶς τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας: Μυοῦντος δὲ οἱ οἰκήτορες ἐπὶ τύχῃ τοιαύδε ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν.

[11] κατὰ τὴν Μυουσίαν χώραν θαλάσσης κόλπος ἐσεῖχεν οὐ μέγας: τοῦτον λίμνην ὁ ποταμὸς ἐποίησεν ὁ Μαίανδρος, ἀποτεμόμενος τὸν ἔσπλουν τῇ ἰλῷ: ὥς δὲ ἐνόστησε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ οὐκέτι ἦν θάλασσα, οἱ κώνωπες ἄπειρον πληθος

ἐγίνοντο ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, ἐς ὃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάγκασαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ ἐς Μίλητον Μυουσίοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγώγιμα καὶ τῶν θεῶν φερόμενοι τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ ἦν κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐν Μυοῦντι ὅτι μὴ Διονύσου ναὸς λίθου λευκοῦ: Μυουσίοις δέ γε κατέλαβεν εἰκότα καὶ Ἀταρνεΐτας παθεῖν τοὺς ὑπὸ Περγάμῳ.

3. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκ παλαιοτάτου γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν: ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι τὴν γῆν Καρῶν ἀφικέσθαι φασὶν ἐς αὐτὴν πρῶτους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κρήτας, Ῥάκιον καὶ ὅσον εἶπετο ἄλλο τῷ Ῥακίῳ καὶ ὅσον ἔτι πλῆθος, ἔχον τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ ναυσὶν ἰσχυόν: τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐνέμοντο ἔτι οἱ Κᾶρες. Θερσάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πολυνείκους καὶ Ἀργεῖων ἐλόντων Θήβας καὶ ἄλλοι τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ ἡ Μαντῶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Δελφούς: Τειρεσίαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ. [2] ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ σφᾶς ἐς ἀποικίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, περαιοῦνται ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ ὥς κατὰ τὴν Κλάρων ἐγένοντο, ἐπεξίασιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Κρήτες μετὰ ὅπλων καὶ ἀνάγουσιν ὥς τὸν Ῥάκιον: ὁ δὲ — μανθάνει γὰρ παρὰ τῆς Μαντοῦς οἵτινές τε ἀνθρώπων ὄντες καὶ κατὰ αἰτίαν ἦντινα ἤκουσι — λαμβάνει μὲν γυναῖκα τὴν Μαντῶ, ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῇ συνοίκους. Μῶσος δὲ ὁ Ῥακίου καὶ Μαντοῦς καὶ τὸ παράπαν τοὺς Κᾶρας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. [3] Ἴωνες δὲ ὄρκους ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κολοφῶνι Ἑλληνας συνεπολιτεύοντο, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες πλέον: βασιλείαν δὲ Ἰώνων ἡγεμόνες Δαμασίχθων λαμβάνει καὶ Πρόμηθος Κόδρου παῖδες. Πρόμηθος δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Δαμασίχθονα ἀποκτείνας ἔφυγεν ἐς Νάξον, καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν αὐτόθι ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ, τὸν νεκρὸν δὲ οἵκαδε ἀπαχθέντα κατεδέξαντο οἱ Δαμασίχθονοι παῖδες: καὶ ἔνθα ὁ τοῦ Προμήθου τάφος, Πολυτειχίδες ὄνομά ἐστι τῷ χωρίῳ. [4] Κολοφωνίοις δὲ ὅπως μὲν τὴν πόλιν συνέπεσεν ἐρημωθῆναι, προεδίηλώσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Λυσιμάχον: ἐμαχέσαντο δὲ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι Κολοφώνιοι τῶν ἀνοικισθέντων ἐς Ἑφeson μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Κολοφωνίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Συμυρναίων ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος ἰόντι ἐς Κλάρων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ. [5] Λεβεδίοις δὲ ἐποίησε μὲν Λυσιμάχος ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ συντέλεια ἐς μέγεθος τῇ Ἑφέσῳ γένοιτο: χώρα δὲ σφισιν ἔς τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων καὶ λουτρὰ παρέχεται θερμὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ ἥδιστα. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν Λέβεδον ἐνέμοντο οἱ Κᾶρες, ἐς ὃ Ἀνδραίμων σφᾶς ὁ Κόδρου καὶ Ἴωνες ἐλαύνουσι. τῷ δὲ Ἀνδραίμονι ὁ τάφος ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἰόντι ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, διαβάντι τὸν Καλάοντα ποταμόν.

[6] Τέων δὲ ὄκουν μὲν Ὅρχομένιοι Μινύαι σὺν Ἀθάμαντι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντες: λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀθάμας οὗτος ἀπόγονος Ἀθάμαντος εἶναι τοῦ Αἰόλου. ἀναμειγμένοι μὲν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν οἱ Κᾶρες: ἐσήγαγε δὲ Ἴωνας ἐς τὴν Τέων Ἀποικὸς ἀπόγονος Μελάνθου τέταρτος, ὃς τοῖς Ὅρχομενίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς Τηίοις νεώτερον ἐβούλευσεν οὐδέν. ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἀφίκοντο ἄνδρες: ἡγούντο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀττικοῦ Δάμασος καὶ Νάοκλος Κόδρου παῖδες, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν Γέρης Βοιωτός: καὶ σφᾶς συναμφοτέρους ὃ τε Ἀποικὸς καὶ οἱ Τηιοὶ

συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο.

[7] Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν Ἐρύθρῳ τῷ Παδαμάνθυος φασιν ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ οἰκιστὴν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐρυθρον: ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Κρησὶ Λυκίων καὶ Καρῶν τε καὶ Παμφύλων, Λυκίων μὲν κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Κρητῶν — καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἰσιν ἐκ Κρήτης, οἱ Σαρπηδόνη ὁμοῦ ἔφυγον — , Καρῶν δὲ κατὰ φιλίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ πρὸς Μίνῳ, Παμφύλων δὲ ὅτι γένους μέτεστιν Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ τούτοις — εἰσὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ Πάμφυλοι τῶν μετὰ ἄλῳσιν Ἰλίου πλανηθέντων σὺν Κάλχαντι — , τούτων τῶν κατελιγεμένων ἐχόντων Ἐρυθράς, Κλέοπος ὁ Κόδρου συλλέξας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ὅσους δὴ παρὰ ἐκάστων ἐπεισηγάγεν Ἐρυθραίοις συνοίκους.

[8] Κλαζομενίοις δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ἰωνας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ᾤκοῦντο αἱ πόλεις: Ἰώνων δὲ ἀφικομένων μοῖρα ἐξ αὐτῶν πλανωμένη μετετέμψατο ἡγεμόνα παρὰ Κολοφωνίων Πάρφορον, καὶ πόλιν κτίσαντες ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ τὴν μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐπανιόντες δὲ ἐς Ἰωνίαν Σκύππιον τῆς Κολοφωνίας ἔκτισαν.

[9] ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐκουσίως καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κολοφωνίας, οὕτω γῆν τε ἔσχον, ἦν καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, καὶ κατεσκευάσαντο ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Κλαζομενὰς πόλιν: ἐς δὲ τὴν νῆσον διέβησαν δὴ κατὰ τὸ Περσῶν δέος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἔμελλεν ὁ Φιλίππου χερρόνησον Κλαζομενὰς ἐργάσεσθαι χώματι ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου. τούτων τῶν Κλαζομενίων τὸ πολὺ οὐκ Ἴωνες, Κλεωναῖοι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ Φλιοῦντος, ὅσοι Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατελθόντων ἐξέλιπον τὰς πόλεις: [10] οἱ δὲ Φωκαεῖς γένος μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἰσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Παρνασσῷ καλουμένης καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Φωκίδος, οἱ Φιλογένη καὶ Δάμῳνι ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. τὴν χώραν δὲ οὐ πολέμῳ, κατὰ δὲ ὁμολογίαν λαμβάνουσι παρὰ Κυμαίων: Ἰώνων δὲ οὐ δεχομένων σφᾶς ἐς Πανιώνιον πρὶν ἢ τοῦ γένους βασιλέας τοῦ Κοδριδῶν λάβωσιν, οὕτω παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ ἐκ Τέῳ Δεοίτην καὶ Πέρικλον λαμβάνουσι καὶ Ἄβαρτον.

4. αἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις εἰσὶν Ἰώνων πόλεις Σάμος ἢ ὑπὲρ Μυκάλης καὶ Χίος ἢ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Μίμαντος. Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὥς Φοῖνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλεια καὶ Εὐρώπη, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων Λελέγων: Ἀγκαίῳ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου Σαμίαν γενέσθαι Περίλαον καὶ Ἐνουδον καὶ Σάμον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Παρθενόπην, Παρθενόπης δὲ τῆς Ἀγκαίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκομήδην γενέσθαι. [2] Ἄσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐδήλωσε: τότε δὲ οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες ἀνάγκη πλέον ἐδέξαντο ἢ εὐνοία συνοίκους Ἰωνας. ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἰωσι Προκλῆς ὁ Πιτυρέως, αὐτός τε Ἐπιδαύριος καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἦν τὸ πολὺ ἄγων, οἱ ὑπὸ Δηιφόντου καὶ Ἀργεῖων ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν: τούτῳ τῷ Προκλεῖ γένος ἦν ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξούθου. Ἀνδροκλος δὲ καὶ Ἐφέσιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Λεώγορον τὸν Προκλέους, βασιλεύοντα μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐν Σάμῳ, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου Σαμίους: αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπέφερον μετὰ Καρῶν σφᾶς

ἐπιβουλεύειν Ἴωσι. [3] Σαμίων δὲ τῶν φευγόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ νῆσον ὤκησαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῆς ἐνοικήσεως Σαμοθράκην τὴν νῆσον καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Δαρδανίας· οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Λεωγόρῳ περὶ Ἀναίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ πέραν βαλλόμενοι τεῖχος, δέκα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τοὺς τε Ἑφεσίους ἐκβάλλουσι καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν νῆσον. [4] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας εἰσὶν οἱ ἰδρύσασθαι φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοὶ πλέοντας, ἐπάγεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ Ἀργουῶν· Σάμιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τεχθῆναι νομίζουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν θεὸν παρὰ τῷ Ἰμβράσῳ ποταμῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ λύγῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι πεφυκυῖα. εἶναι δ' οὖν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον ὃ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἂν τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι τεκμαίροιο· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον Αἰγινήτου Σμίλιδος τοῦ Εὐκλείδου. οὗτος ὁ Σμίλις ἔστιν ἡλικίαν κατὰ Δαίδαλον, δόξης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἀφίκετο·

[5] Δαιδάλῳ μὲν γὰρ γένους τε Ἀθήνησιν ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῶν καλουμένων Μητιονιδῶν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς πλάνης τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπιφανέστερος ἐγένετο ἐς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους. ἀποκτείνας μὲν ἀδελφῆς παῖδα καὶ ἐπιστάμενος τὰ οἶκοι νόμιμα ἐκουσίως παρὰ Μίνῳ ἔφυγεν ἐς

Κρήτην, καὶ αὐτῷ τε ἀγάλματα Μίνῳ καὶ τοῦ Μίνῳ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐποίησε, καθότι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐδήλωσε· [6] καταγνωσθεῖς δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνῳ καὶ ἐς δεσμοτήριον ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδὶ ἐμβληθεὶς ἐκδιδράσκει τε ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ ἐς Ἴνυκον Σικελῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται παρὰ Κώκαλον, καὶ πολέμου παρέσχε τοῖς Σικελοῖς αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς Κρήτας, ὅτι ἐξαιτοῦντος Μίνῳ μὴ πρόοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ Κώκαλος· καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωκάλου τῶν θυγατέρων ἐσπουδάσθη κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, ὥς καὶ θάνατον τῷ Μίνῳ βουλεύσαι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς χάριν Δαιδάλου. [7] δηλὰ τε ὥς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀφίκετο τοῦ Δαιδάλου τὸ ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Σμίλις, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ Σαμίου καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν, παρ' ἄλλους γε οὐδένας φανερός ἐστιν ἀποδημήσας· ἐς τούτους δὲ ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν οὗτος. [8] * * Ἴωνι δὲ τῷ ποιήσαντι τραγωδίαν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τοιάδε εἰρημένα, Ποσειδῶνα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔρημον οὔσαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νύμφη τε ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ὠδίνας τῆς νύμφης χιόνα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Ποσειδῶνα τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα θέσθαι Χίον· συγγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέρα νύμφη, καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Ἀγελόν τε καὶ Μέλανα· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ καὶ Οἰνοπίωνα ἐς τὴν Χίον κατᾶραι ναυσὶν ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Τάλον καὶ Εὐάνθην καὶ Μέλανα καὶ Σάλαγόν τε καὶ Ἀθάμαντα.

[9] ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Κᾶρες ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνοπίωνος βασιλείας καὶ Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. Οἰνοπίωνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ἔλαβεν ὕστερον Ἀμφικλος τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐξ Ἰστιαίας ὁ Ἀμφικλος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν. Ἐκτὼρ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφίκλου τετάρτη γενεᾷ — βασιλείαν γὰρ ἔσχε καὶ οὗτος — ἐπολέμησεν Ἀβάντων καὶ Καρῶν τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, τοὺς δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ὑποσπόνδους. [10] γενομένης δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίοις, ἀφικέσθαι τῆνικαῦτα ἐς μνήμην Ἐκτορι ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἴωσι δέοι συνθῆναι ἐς Πανιώνιον·

τρίποδα δὲ ἄθλον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθία παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ φησι τοῦ Ἴωνων. τοσαῦτα εἰρηκότα ἐς Χίους Ἴωνα εὕρισκον: οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἶρηκε, καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν Χίοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας.

5. Σμύρναν δὲ ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν οὖσαν Αἰολέων καὶ οἰκουμένην τῆς χώρας, καθ' ἣ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι πόλιν ἦν καλοῦσιν ἀρχαίαν, Ἴωνες ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ὀρμηθέντες ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Αἰολεῖς ἔσχον: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἴωνες μετέδωκαν Σμυρναίοις τοῦ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ συλλόγου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς κατ' ὅπιν ὀνειράτος: [2] Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ θηρεύοντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Πάγῳ, ὡς ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς Νεμέσεων λέγουσιν ἱερὸν, καὶ πηγῇ τε ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ πλατάνῳ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πεφυκυῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ καθεδόντι κελεύειν φασὶν αὐτῷ τὰς Νεμέσεις ἐπιφανείσας πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐς αὐτὴν Σμυρναίους ἀναστήσαντα ἐκ τῆς προτέρας: [3] ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν ἐς Κλάρον θεωροὺς οἱ Σμυρναῖοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἐρησομένους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός: "τρίς μάκαρες κείνοι καὶ τετράκις ἄνδρες ἔσονται,

οἱ Πάγον οἰκήσουσι πέρην ἱεροῖο Μέλητος.

"οὕτω μετῴκισαντο ἐθελονταὶ καὶ δύο Νεμέσεις νομίζουσιν ἀντὶ μιᾶς καὶ μητέρα αὐταῖς φασὶν εἶναι Νύκτα, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι γε τῇ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι θεῷ πατέρα λέγουσιν εἶναι Ὠκεανόν. [4] Ἴωσι δὲ ἔχει μὲν ἐπιτηδειώτατα ὠρῶν κράσεως ἢ χώρα, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρωθι, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἐφεσίας μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ πλούτῳ, δύο δὲ οὐκ ἐξειργασμένα Ἀπόλλωνος, τό τε ἐν Βραγχίδαις τῆς Μιλησίας καὶ ἐν Κλάρῳ τῇ Κολοφωνίων. δύο δὲ ἄλλους ἐν Ἴωνία ναοὺς ἐπέλαβεν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κατακαυθῆναι, τὸν τε ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἦρας καὶ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς: θαῦμα δὲ ὅμως ἦσαν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς λελυμασμένοι.

[5] ἡσθεῖς δ' ἂν καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ ἐν Πριήνῃ ναῷ, τούτῳ μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἔνεκα, Ἡρακλείῳ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς κατὰ ἀρχαιότητα: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὔτε τοῖς καλουμένοις Αἰγίναίοις οὔτε τῶν Ἀττικῶν τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις ἐμφερές, εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο, ἀκριβῶς ἐστὶν Αἰγύπτιον. σχεδία γὰρ ἦν ξύλων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ Τύρου τῆς Φοινίκης ἐξέπλευσε: καθ' ἣντινα δὲ αἰτίαν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι λέγουσιν. [6] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίκετο ἡ σχεδία τὴν Ἰώνων, φασὶν αὐτὴν ὀρμίσασθαι πρὸς ἄκρα καλουμένη Μεσάτη: ἡ δὲ ἔστι μὲν τῆς ἡπείρου, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρυθραίων λιμένος ἐς νῆσον τὴν Χίων πλέουσι τοῦτό ἐστι μεσαίτατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ σχεδία κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἔσχεν, ἐνταῦθα πολὺν μὲν οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι πόνον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ ἔσχον οἱ Χίοι ποιούμενοι σπουδὴν παρὰ σφᾶς καταγαγεῖν ἑκάτεροι τὸ ἄγαλμα: [7] τέλος δὲ Ἐρυθραῖος ἄνθρωπος, ᾧ βίος μὲν ἦν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης γεγωνὺς καὶ ἄγρας ἰχθύων, διέφθαρτο δὲ ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Φορμίων ἦν, οὗτος ὁ ἀλιεὺς εἶδεν ὅπιν ὀνειράτος ὡς τὰς Ἐρυθραίων γυναῖκας ἀποκείρασθαι δέοι τὰς κόμας καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ἄνδρας πλεξαμένους κάλον ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν σχεδίαν παρὰ σφᾶς καταΐειν. αἱ μὲν δὴ ἄσται τῶν γυναικῶν οὐδαμῶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ὀνειράτι ἐβούλοντο: [8] ὁπόσαι δὲ τοῦ Θρακίου γένους ἐδούλευον καὶ οὔσαις σφίσιν ἐλευθέραις ἦν ἐνταῦθα

βίος, ἀποκεῖραι παρέχουσιν αὐτάς: καὶ οὕτως οἱ Ἑρυθραῖοι τὴν σχεδῖαν καθέλκουσιν. ἔσοδός τε δὴ ταῖς Θράσσαις ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειόν ἐστι γυναικῶν μόναις, καὶ τὸ καλῶδιον τὸ ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι φυλάσσουσι: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀλιέα οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἀναβλέψαι τε καὶ ὁρᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου φασίν. [9] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἑρυθραῖς καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Πολιάδος ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ξύλου μεγέθει μέγα καθήμενόν τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἡλακάτην ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πόλον: τοῦτο Ἐνδοίου τέχνην καὶ ἄλλοις ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀρῶντες ἔνδον τοῦ ἀγάλματος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς Χάρισί τε καὶ Ὠραῖς, αἱ πρὶν ἐσελθεῖν ἐστήκασιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ Σμυρναίοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ μεταξὺ Κορυφῆς τε ὄρους καὶ θαλάσσης ἀμιγοῦς ὕδατι ἀλλοίῳ. [10] ἡ δὲ Ἰωνία παρὲς τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος κράσεως παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλα ἐς συγγραφὴν, ἡ μὲν γε Ἐφεσία χώρα τόν τε Κέγγριον ποταμὸν καὶ τοῦ Πίονος τοῦ ὄρους τὴν φύσιν καὶ πηγὴν τὴν Ἀλιταίαν: ἐν δὲ τῇ Μιλησίᾳ πηγὴ τέ ἐστι Βιβλῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐς τῆς Βιβλίδος τὸν ἔρωτα ἄδουσιν: ἐν δὲ τῇ Κολοφωνίων ἄλσος τε τοῦ Απόλλωνος, δένδρα μελῖαι, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἄλσους Ἄλης ποταμὸς ψυχρότατος τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ.

[11] Λεβεδίοις δὲ τὰ λουτρὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ θαῦμα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφέλεια γίνεται: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τηίοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ λουτρὰ τῇ Μακρίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐν πέτρας χηραμῶ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν πλούτου πεποιημένα. Κλαζομενίοις δὲ λουτρά ἐστιν — ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀγαμέμνων ἔχει τιμᾶς — καὶ ἄντρον μητρός σφισι Πύρρου καλούμενον, καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ λέγουσι τῷ ποιμένι: [12] Ἑρυθραίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν χώρα Χαλκίς, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τῶν φυλῶν σφισιν ἡ τρίτη τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος κατατείνουσα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἄκρα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ λουτρά θαλάσσια, μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λουτρῶν ὠφέλιμα ἀνθρώποις. Σμυρναίοις δὲ ποταμὸς Μέλης ὕδωρ ἐστὶ κάλλιστον καὶ σπῆλαιον ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς, ἔνθα Ὅμηρον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπη λέγουσι: [13] Χίους δὲ ὁ τοῦ Οἰνοπίωνος τάφος θεᾶν τε παρέχεται καὶ τινας καὶ λόγους ἐς τοῦ Οἰνοπίωνος τὰ ἔργα: Σαμίοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ Ῥαδίνης καὶ Λεοντίχου μνημῆα ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ ἔρωτος ἀνιωμένοις εὐχεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θαύματα πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐ πολλῶ τινι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀποδεόντά ἐστιν:

6. τότε δὲ ἀπεληλυθότων Ἰώνων τὴν τε γῆν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Ἰώνων διελάγχανον καὶ ἐσφκίζοντο ἐς τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ δύο τε καὶ δέκα ἦσαν ἀριθμόν, ὅποσαι γε καὶ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γνῶριμοι, Δύμη μὲν πρὸς Ἥλιδος πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ὠλενος καὶ Φαραὶ καὶ Τρίτεια καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Κερύνεια καὶ Βοῦρα, ἐπὶ ταύταις δὲ Ἑλίκη καὶ Αἰγαί τε καὶ Αἴγειρα καὶ Πελλήνη πρὸς τῆς Σικυωνίας ἐσχάτη: ἐς ταύτας οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐσφκίζοντο πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἰώνων οἰκουμένας. [2] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔχοντες κράτος οἱ τε Τισαμενοῦ παῖδες Δαῖμένης καὶ Σπάρτων καὶ Τέλλης τε καὶ Λεοντομένης: Κομήτης δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Τισαμενοῦ παίδων πρότερον ἔτι διεβεβήκει ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. οὗτοί τε δὴ τῆνικαῦτα ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδυνάστευον καὶ Δαμασῖας ὁ

Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, τοῖς Τισαμενοῦ παισὶν ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός. ἴσχυον δὲ ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς κατελεγμένοις καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος Πρευνένης καὶ ὁ υἱός, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Πατρεύς· καὶ σφισιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐδόθη κτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρώος ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει. [3] τὰ δὲ ἐς πόλεμον τοιάδε ἦν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐς Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεῖαν Ἀγαμέμνωνος Λακεδαιμόνα ἔτι καὶ Ἄργος οἰκοῦντες μεγίστη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ μοῖρα ἦσαν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ξέρξου καὶ Μήδων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁδὸν οὔτε Λεωνίδα τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς ἐς Θερμοπύλας εἰσὶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ δηλοὶ μετεσχηκότες οὔτε Ἀθηναίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντες, οὐδὲ σφᾶς κατάλογος συμμάχων ἔχει Λακωνικὸς ἢ Ἀττικὸς.

[4] ὑστέρησαν δὲ καὶ ἔργου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσι· δηλὰ γὰρ δὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετὴν ἂν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς γεγράφθαι. δοκεῖν δέ μοι τὰς πατρίδας τε ὑπολειφθέντες ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἔσωζον καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Τροίαν Λακεδαιμονίους Δωριεῖς ἀπηξίουον σφίσιν ἡγεῖσθαι. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνὰ χρόνον· Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον καταστάντων ὕστερον, ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἦσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρόθυμοι Πατρεῦσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἦσσαν εἶχον γνώμην. [5] πολέμων δὲ τῶν πολεμηθέντων ὕστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησι κοινοῦ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φιλίππου τε ἐναντία καὶ Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ μετέσχον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Λαμῖα καλούμενον πόλεμον οὐ φασιν ἐκστρατεύσασθαι, οὐ γὰρ πῶ μετὰ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀνεννηοχένοι τὸ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Πατρεῦσιν ἐξηγητῆς τὸν παλαιστὴν Χίλωνα Ἀχαιῶν μόνον μετασχεῖν ἔφασκε τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ περὶ Λάμειαν. [6] οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα αὐτὸς Λυδὸν Ἀδραστον ἰδίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Λυδῶν ἀμύναντα Ἑλλησι· τοῦ δὲ Ἀδράστου τούτου χαλκὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Λυδοὶ πρὸ ἱεροῦ Περσικῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ἔγραψαν ἐπίγραμμα ὥς τελευτήσειεν ὁ Ἀδραστος ἐναντίον Λεοννάτῳ μαχόμενος ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων. [7] ἡ δὲ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν ἐξοδος καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως παρώφθη Πελοποννησίους· ἅτε γὰρ πλοῖα οὐκ ἐχόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, δεινὸν ἔσεσθαι σφισιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἡλπίζον, εἰ τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς κατὰ Λέχαιον ἀποτείχισειαν ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρέαις θάλασσαν. [8] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Πελοποννησίων ἦν τότε ἀπάντων βούλευμα· ἐπεὶ δὲ Γαλάται ναυσὶν ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον διαβεβήκεσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐνταῦθα εἶχεν οὕτω τὰ Ἑλλήνων. προεστῆκεσαν κατ' ἰσχὺν οὐδένες ἔτι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐν Λεῦκτροις πταῖσμα καὶ ἅμα οἱ τε Ἀρκάδες συνεληλυθότες ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παροικοῦντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν προτέραν ἔτι εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκώλυον· [9] Θηβαίους δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἠρήμωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς καταχθέντας ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου μηδὲ σώζειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀξιώχρεως εἶναι· Ἀθηναίους δὲ εὐνοια μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τῶν ἔργων μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε τῶν ὕστερον, ἀναπαύσασθαι δὲ οὐ ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδόνων πολέμου παρῆν αὐτοῖς.

7. Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐ τασσομένων τηνικαῦτα ἔτι ἐν κοινῷ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐκάστων κατὰ σφᾶς συνισταμένων, οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλιστα ἴσχυον· τυράννων τε γὰρ πλήν Πελλήνης αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα ἀπείρως ἐσχέκεσαν αἱ τε ἐκ

πολέμων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου συμφοραὶ τῆς λοιμώδους οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτο Ἀχαιοὶς ἐφ' ὅσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησι. συνέδριόν τε οὖν Ἀχαιῶν καλούμενον καὶ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου βουλευμάτα τε ἦν Ἀχαιοὶς καὶ τὰ ἔργα. [2] ἀθροίζεσθαι δὲ ἐς Αἰγίον σφισιν ἔδοξεν: αὕτη γὰρ μετὰ Ἑλικὴν ἐπικλυσθεῖσαν πόλεων ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ τῶν ἄλλων δόξη προεῖχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἴσχυεν ἐν τῷ τότε. Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Σικυωνιοὶ συνεδρίου πρῶτοι τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετέσχον, μετὰ δὲ Σικυωνίους ἐσήεσαν ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπισχόντες: τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκτὸς οἰκοῦντας τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ συντελεῖν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔπειθεν, ὅτι ἐς πλεόν ἰσχύος προῖον ἐώρων ἀεὶ τὸ Ἀχαιῶν. [3] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων μόνοι διάφοροί τε Ἀχαιοὶς τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐπῆγον. Πελλήνην μὲν γε Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν Ἄγρις εἶλεν ὁ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεύων ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐξέπεσεν αὐτίκα ἐκ Πελλήνης ὑπὸ Ἀράτου καὶ Σικυωνίων: Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου, βασιλεὺς οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας, ἀντικαθημένους Ἄρατον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς πρὸς Δύμη παρὰ πολὺ τε ἐκράτησεν ἐλθόντας ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ὕστερον Ἀχαιοὶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συνέθετο εἰρήνην. [4] Ἀντίγονος δὲ οὗτος τηνικαῦτα ἀρχὴν τὴν Μακεδόνων εἶχεν, ἐπιτροπεύων Φίλιππον τὸν Δημητρίου παῖδα ἔτι ἡλικίαν ὄντα: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ συνώκει. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ποιησάμενος ὁ Κλεομένης σπονδὰς καὶ αὐτίκα παραβὰς ὅσα ὤμοσεν ἠνδραποδίσατο Ἀρκάδων Μεγάλην πόλιν: Λακεδαιμονίοις τε τὸ ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πταῖσμα πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἀντίγονον Κλεομένους ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιτορκίας τῆς ἐκείνου συνέβη. Κλεομένους μὲν δὴ καὶ αὖθις ἐν λόγοις τοῖς Ἀρκαδιοῖς ἀφιζόμεθα ἐς μνήμην: [5] Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν, ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐς ἄνδρας, παρὰ ἐκόντος Ἀντιγόνου λαβὼν φόβον τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἐνεποίησε, τὰ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, προγόνου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ δεσπότη, τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς θεραπείαν ὅσοις πατρίδας ἀρεστὰ ἦν ἐπ' οἰκείοις προδιδόναι κέρδεσι. προπίνειν δὲ παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ἐπὶ δεξιότητι καὶ φιλίᾳ κύλικας οὐκ οἶνου, φαρμάκων δὲ ἐς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώποις, ἃ δὴ ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμύντου Φίλιππος οὐδ' ἐπενόησεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀρχήν, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ Δημητρίου τὰ φάρμακα τόλμημα ἦν ἐλαφρότατον. [6] κατεῖχε δὲ καὶ τρεῖς πόλεις φρουραῖς ὀρμητήρια εἶναι οἱ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ὠνόμαζε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπεροψίας κλεῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς πόλεις ταύτας: ἐπὶ μὲν γε Πελοποννήσῳ Κόρινθος καὶ ἡ Κορινθίων ἀκρόπολις ἐτετείχιστο, ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτοῖς τε καὶ Φωκεῦσι Χαλκὶς ἢ πρὸς τῷ Εὐρίπῳ, κατὰ δὲ Θεσσαλῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνους Μαγνησίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Πήλιον κατεῖχεν ὁ Φίλιππος. μάλιστα δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν ἐπιστρατείας τε συνεχέσιν ἐπῆζε καὶ ληστῶν καταδρομαῖς: [7] ἐμνημόνευσε δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐν τῇ Ατθίδι συγγραφῇ, ὅσοι τε Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων ἐναντία Φιλίππου συνήραντο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας τῶν συμμάχων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἐπικουρίαν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν κατέφευγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπετόμφεσαν καὶ οὐ πολλῷ τινι ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ μὲν ἐπικουρήσοντας Αἰτωλοῖς ἐναντία Φιλίππου, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ μᾶλλον τι ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν

Μακεδονία πραγμάτων: [8] τότε δὲ ἀποστέλλουσιν Ἀθηναίοις στρατιάν τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα Ὀτίλιον: τοῦτο γάρ οἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἦν τὸ ἐκδηλότατον, ἐπεὶ καλοῦνται γε οὐ πατρόθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ ταυτὰ Ἑλλήσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρία ὁπότε ὀλίγιστα καὶ ἔτι πλέονα ὀνόματα ἐκάστω τίθενται. τῷ δὲ Ὀτίλιῳ προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπείργειν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Αἰτωλικοῦ τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον. [9] Ὀτίλιος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς πράγμασι κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐχρήτο, τάδε δὲ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα: Εὐβοέων γὰρ Ἑστίασαν πόλιν καὶ Ἀντίκυραν τὴν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ἐλὼν, ὑπηκόους κατ' ἀνάγκην οὔσας Φιλίππου, ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους. καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἐπύθετο ἡ βουλή, ἀποστέλλουσιν Ὀτίλιῳ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς Φλαμίνιον.

8. τότε δὲ ἦκων ὁ Φλαμίνιος Ἑρέτριάν τε διήρπασε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας Μακεδόνων μάχῃ νικήσας, καὶ αὐθὺς ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Κόρινθον κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Φιλίππου φρουρᾷ αὐτός τε προσεκάθητο πολιορκῶν καὶ παρὰ Ἀχαιοὺς ἅμα ἀποστέλλων ἐπήγγελλέ σφισιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς Κόρινθον στρατιᾷ, συμμάχους τε ἀξιοθησομένους καλεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἅμα εὐνοία τῇ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. [2] Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἐποιοῦντο μὲν μεγάλως καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν αἰτία Φλαμίνιον καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Ὀτίλιον, οἱ μετεχειρίσαντο ὡμῶς οὕτω πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας καὶ ἀρχαίας, ἀναμαρτήτους τε οὔσας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀρχομένας: προεωρῶντο δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀντὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων Ῥωμαῖοι σφίσι τε ἦκοιεν καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ δεσπόται προστάττειν. ῥηθέντων δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πολλῶν καὶ ἐναντίων ἀλλήλοις, τέλος οἱ εὖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνίκησαν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ Φλαμινίῳ Κόρινθον συνεπολιόρκησαν. [3] Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἐλευθερωθέντες μετέσχον αὐτίκα συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν, μετασχόντες καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε Ἄρατος καὶ Σικυώνιοι φρουρὰν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξήλασαν καὶ ἀπέκτειναν Περσαῖον ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου ταχθέντα ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου σύμμαχοί τε ὠνομάζοντο Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐς τὰ πάντα ἦσαν πρόθυμοι: καὶ σφισιν εἶποντο μὲν ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, μετέσχον δὲ καὶ στρατείας ἐς Αἰτωλοὺς, τρίτα δὲ ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Ἀντιόχου καὶ Σύρων. [4] ὅσα μὲν δὴ Ἀχαιοὶ Μακεδόσιν ἢ στρατιᾷ τῇ Σύρων ἐναντία ἐτάξαντο, φιλία τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔπραξαν: ἐς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφισιν ἦν οἰκεῖα ἐγκλήματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Νάβιδος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τυραννὶς

κατελέλυτο, ἐς πλείστην ὁμότητα ἀνδρὸς ἀφικομένου, τὰ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτίκα ἐνεπεπτόκει:

[5] καὶ σφᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τοῦτον ἐς σύλλογον ὑπάγονται τὸν Ἀχαϊκὸν καὶ δίκας τε ἐδίκαζόν σφισιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ τῆς Σπάρτης καταβάλλουσιν ἐς ἔδαφος, οἰκοδομηθέντα μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἔτι αὐτοσχεδίως καὶ ἐπὶ τε τῆς Δημητρίου καὶ ὕστερον τῆς Πύρρου καὶ Ἡπειρωτῶν στρατείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς Νάβιδος καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ὀχυρωθέντα. τὰ τε οὖν τεῖχῃ τῆς Σπάρτης οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθεῖλον καὶ τὰ ἐς μελέτην τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν Λυκούργου νόμων καταλύσαντες ἐπέταξαν τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἐφήβοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν. [6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐπέξεισιν αὐθὺς μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄτε μεγάλως τοῖς

ἐπιτάγμασιν ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Μετέλλων καὶ ὅσοι σὺν Μετέλλῳ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἦκον ἐκ Ῥώμης. ἀφίκοντο δὲ οὗτοι Φίλιππῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι πόλεμον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπάξοντες ἅτε εἰρήνης πρότερον ἔτι Φίλιππῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμομοσμένης, ὅποσα δὲ ἡ Θεσσαλοῖς ἢ τῶν ἐξ Ἡπείρου τισὶν ἐγκλήματα ἦν ἐς Φίλιππον, ταῦτα ἦκον οἱ ὁμοῦ Μετέλλῳ κρινοῦντες. [7] ἔργῳ μὲν δὴ Φίλιππός τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ Μακεδόνων ἀκμὴ καθήρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων — μαχεσάμενος γὰρ Φλαμίνιου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐναντία Φίλιππος ἐν Κυνὸς καλουμέναις κεφαλαῖς ἐν λόγοις τὸ ἦττον ἠνέγκατο, ἀλλ' ἅτε δὴ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀγωνισάμενος αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ἐκρατήθη τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς στρατιᾶς τε ἦν ἦγεν ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ὅσας εἵλεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολέμῳ παραστησάμενος, ἐξήγαγεν ἐξ ἀπασῶν τὰς φρουράς κατὰ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους — [8] κατὰ μέντοι τοῦ λόγου τὸ εὐπρεπὲς παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὗρητο εἰρήνην δεήσεσιν τε παντοίαις καὶ δαπάναις χρημάτων μεγάλαις. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μακεδόνας δύναμιν τε, ἣν ἐπὶ Φίλιππου περιεβάλοντο τοῦ Ἀμύντου, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ Φίλιππου τοῦ ὑστέρου τὰ πράγματά σφισιν ἐφθάρη, Σίβυλλα οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ προεθέσπισεν: ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ χρησθέντα: [9] “αὐχοῦντες βασιλεῦσι Μακεδόνες Ἀργεάδησιν,

ὁμῖν κοιρανέων ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῆμα Φίλιππος.

ἦτοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεσιν λαοῖσιν τ' ἄνακτας

θήσει: ὁ δ' ὀπλότερος τιμὴν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσει,

δηθηεὶς ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν ἠφίοις τε.

“Ῥωμαῖοί τε δὴ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν νεμόμενοι τῆς Εὐρώπης καθεῖλον τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντων Ἀτταλος τῆς ἐκ Περγάμου συλληχθείσης ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἔτι ἐκ Μυσίας στρατιᾶς: πρὸς δὲ ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον μᾶλλον τι ἢ Μυσία τέτραπται.

9. τότε δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ πρεσβείᾳ μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν Λακεδαιμονίων ἤρεσε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἡξίουں συγκαλέσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἵνα ἐν κοινῷ διδάξωσιν αὐτοὺς ἡπιώτερον μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἀπεκρίναντο μήτε ἐκείνοις Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς σύλλογον μήτε ἄλλῳ συνάξειν, ὅστις μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ποιεῖται τὴν πρόσοδον παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ἔχει δόγμα. Μετέλλος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν περιυβρίσθαι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥώμην, πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἀληθῆ καταγγόρουν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. [2] τούτων δὲ πλείονα ἐνεκάλουν Ἀχαιοῖς Ἀρεὺς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδας, ὥς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ δόκιμοι τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐ δίκαιοι: γενομένους γὰρ ὑπὸ Νάβιδος φυγάδας ὑπεδέξαντο αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ἀποθανόντος Νάβιδος παρὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ δήμου κατάγουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. τότε οὖν ἀναβεβηκότες καὶ οὗτοι παρὰ τὴν βουλήν προθυμότατα ἐνέκειντο Ἀχαιοῖς: Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ σφισιν ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ θάνατον ζημίαν. [3] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἡ βουλὴ πέμπουσιν ἄλλους τε ἄνδρας καὶ Ἀππίον Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τὰ δίκαια ὀρίσαι. Ἀππίος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἔμελλον μὲν οὐδὲ ὀφθέντες Ἀχαιοῖς ἔσεσθαι καθ' ἡδονήν, οἱ Ἀρέα καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδαν ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐπήγοντο ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀχαιοῖς ἐχθίστους: ἐλύπησαν δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν

ἐπελθόντες σὺν ὀργῇ μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο ἢ πειθοῖ τοὺς λόγους. [4] Λυκόρτας δὲ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, οὔτε ἀξιώματι οὐδενὸς Ἀρκάδων ὕστερος καὶ τι καὶ φρόνημα κατὰ φιλίαν προσειληφώς τὴν Φιλοποιέμενος, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δίκαια καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ μέμψιν τινὰ ὑπέτεινε ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Ἄππιος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Λυκόρταν λέγοντα ἐποιοῦντο ἐν χλευασμῷ καὶ Ἀρέως ἀποψηφίζονται καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδα μηδὲν ἀδίκημα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς εἶναι, Λακεδαιμονίοις τε ἀποστεῖλαι πρέσβεις ἐφιασιν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐναντία ἐφίεντες ἢ Ῥωμαίοις συγκείμενα ἦν καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς: Ἀχαιῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶρητο ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν ἀπιέναι πρέσβεις, ἰδία δὲ ἀπείρητο μὴ πρεσβεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετεῖχον. [5] ἀντιπρεσβευσαμένων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ λόγων ῥηθέντων ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐθις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις γενέσθαι καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς δικαστάς, Ἄππιον καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ πρότερον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν κατάγουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ ὅσων πρὸ κρίσεως ἀπελθόντων κατέγνωστο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀδικεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις τιμήματα ἔλυσαν: καὶ συντελείας μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν οὐκ ἀφιασι, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ ξενικά σφισι διδόασιν εἶναι δικαστήρια, ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα, λαμβάνειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ ὑπέχειν τὰς κρίσεις. ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐθις Σπαρτιάταις ὁ κύκλος τοῦ ἄστεως. [6] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ οἱ κατελθόντες, βουλευόντες παντοῖα ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοῖς, λυπήσιν σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε μάλιστα ἥλπιζον. Μεσσηνίους τοὺς Φιλοποιέμενι θανάτου συναιτίους γενέσθαι νομισθέντας καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεπωκότας, τούτους τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀναβῆναι πείθουσιν ἐς Ῥώμην: σὺν δὲ σφισιν ἀνεληλυθότες καὶ αὐτοὶ γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπρασσον κάθοδον. ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Ἀππίου Λακεδαιμονίοις συμπροθυμουμένου μεγάλως, Ἀχαιοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ παντὶ ἀντιβαίνοντος, ἔμελλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς φεύγουσι τὰ βουλευμάτων ἐς δέον χωρήσειν: γράμματά τε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἔς τε Ἀθήνας κατεπέμπετο καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν κατάγειν σφᾶς Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. [7] τοῦτο Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠνίασεν, ὥς οὔτε ἄλλως πάσχοντας δίκαια ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀνωφελές προὔπηργμένων σφίσιν ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Αἰτωλῶν ἐναντία καὶ αὐθις Ἀντιόχου στρατεύσαντες χάριτι τῇ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐγίνοντο ὕστεροι φυγάδων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ καθαρῶν χεῖρας: ὁμως δὲ εἴκειν σφίσιν ἐδόκει.

10. τότε μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐπράχθη: τολμημάτων δὲ τὸ ἀνοσιώτατον, τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἄνδρας προδιδόναι πολίτας ἐπὶ οἰκείους κέρδεσιν, ἔμελλε καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς κακῶν ἄρξειν, οὔποτε ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου παντὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκλιπόν. ἐπὶ μὲν γε Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου βασιλεύοντος Περσῶν Ἴωσι τὰ πράγματα ἐφθάρη Σαμίων πλὴν ἐνός τε καὶ δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἄλλων τριηράρχων τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἴωνων προδόντων: [2] μετὰ δὲ Ἴωνας κεχειρωμένους ἠνδραποδίσαντο καὶ Ἑρέτριαν Μῆδοι, προδόται δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες μάλιστα ἐν Ἑρετρίᾳ Φίλαγρος Κυνέου καὶ Εὐφορβος Ἀλκιμάχου. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλαύνοντι Θεσσαλία τε δι' Ἀλευάδου προεδόθη, Θήβας δὲ Ἀτταγῖνος καὶ Τιμηγενίδας προδιδόασι φερόμενοι τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Θήβαις.

Πελοποννησίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πολεμησάντων Ξενίας Ἥλεις ἐπεχείρησεν Ἥλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἄγιδι προδοῦναι, οἳ τε Λυσάνδρου καλούμενοι ξένοι χρόνον [3] οὐδένα ἀνίσταν πατρίδας ἐγχειρίζοντες Λυσάνδρῳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἀμύντου Λακεδαίμονα πόλεων μόνην οὐ προδοθεῖσαν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλασιν εὖροι τις ἄν: αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ προδοσίας μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ νόσου πρότερον τῆς λοιμώδους ἐφθάρησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Φιλίππου παρέσχεν ἡ εὐτυχία μικρὰ ἀνδρῶν προδοτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου προσδεθῆναι. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐν Λαμῖα πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Ἑλλασιν, Ἀντίπατρος μὲν, ἅτε διαβῆναι ποιούμενος σπουδὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεμον, ἐβούλετο εἰρήνην ἐν τάχει συντίθεσθαι, καὶ οἱ διέφερεν οὐδὲν εἰ Ἀθήνας τε ἐλευθέραν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα ἀφήσει: Δημάδης δὲ καὶ ὅσον προδοτῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἄλλο ἦν, ἀναπειθουσιν Ἀντίπατρον μηδὲν ἐς Ἑλλήνας φρονῆσαι φιλάνθρωπον, ἐκφοβήσαντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων τὸν δῆμον ἐξ τε Ἀθήνας καὶ πόλεων τῶν ἄλλων τὰς πολλὰς ἐγένοντο αἴτιοι Μακεδόνων ἐσαχθῆναι φρουράς. [5] βεβαιοὶ δέ μοι καὶ τότε τὸν λόγον: Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἐγένοντο Φιλίππου κατήκοοι, ἀλόντων μὲν σφισι δισχυλίων, ὥς ἐκρατήθησαν, παρὰ τὸ ἔργον, χυλίων δὲ φονευθέντων: ἐν Λαμῖα δὲ περὶ διακοσίους πεσόντων καὶ οὐ πλέον τι, Μακεδόσιν ἐδουλώθησαν. οὕτω μὲν οὐποτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέλειπον οἱ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ νοσήσαντες: Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιὸς Καλλικράτης τηνικαῦτα ἐς ἅπαν ἐποίει Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχειρίους. ἀρχὴ δὲ σφισιν ἐγένετο κακῶν Περσέως καὶ ἡ Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴ καταλυθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. [6] Περσεῖ τῷ Φιλίππου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἄγοντι εἰρήνην κατὰ συνθήκας, ἃς ὁ πατήρ οἱ Φίλιππος ἐποίησατο, ἐπῆλθεν ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ ἐπὶ τε Σαπαίους καὶ Σαπαίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀβρούπολιν στράτευμα ἀγαγὼν ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους Ῥωμαίον συμμάχους ὄντας: Σαπαίων δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀρχύλοχος ἐν ἰάμβῳ μνήμην ἔσχε.

[7] Μακεδόνων δὲ καὶ Περσέως κεχειρωμένων πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ ἐς Σαπαίους ἀδίκημα, ἄνδρες τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς δέκα ἐπέμφθησαν καταστησόμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον Ῥωμαίοις τὰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἦκοντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπῆρχετο ὁ Καλλικράτης οὔτε ἔργον τῶν ἐς τὴν κολακείαν οὔτε λόγον οὐδένα ἐς αὐτοὺς παριείς: ἕνα δὲ τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα οὐδαμῶς ἐς δικαιοσύνην πρόθυμον, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα προσεποιήσατο ὁ Καλλικράτης ἐς τοσοῦτον ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἔπεισεν. [8] ὁ δὲ ὥς ἐς τὸν σύλλογον ἐσῆλθεν, ἔλεγεν ὡς πολεμοῦντι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Περσεῖ χρήματα οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παράσχοιεν, συνάraito δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα: ἐκέλευσεν οὖν καταγῶναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς θάνατον: εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καταγνοῖεν, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὀνόματα ἐρεῖν ἔφασκε τῶν ἀνδρῶν. λέγειν τε δὴ ἐδόκει παντάπασιν ἄδικα καὶ αὐτὸν ἠξίουσι οἱ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον ἐληλυθότες ἤδη, εἰ Περσεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀχαιῶν τινες ἔπραξαν, ὀνομασθὶ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου μνησθῆναι, πρότερον δὲ οὐ σφᾶς καταγινώσκειν εἰκὸς εἶναι. [9] ἔνθα δὴ ὡς ἠλέγγετο ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς οἱ ἐστρατηγηκότες Ἀχαιῶν ἐνέχονται πάντες τῇ αἰτίᾳ: πάντα γὰρ φρονῆσαι τὰ Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Περσέως. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ διδασκαλίᾳ Καλλικράτους: ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ξένων — ἦν δὲ ὁ Ξένων οὗτος οὐκ ἐλαχίστου λόγου παρὰ Ἀχαιοῖς

—οὕτως· ἔφη ‘κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει ταύτην: ἐστρατήγησα μὲν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐγώ, ἀδικίας δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους οὔτε εὐνοίας μοι μέτεστιν ἐς Περσέα: καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐθέλω μὲν ἐν συνεδρίῳ τῷ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐθέλω δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέχειν κρίσιν.’ ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ συνειδότος ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἀγαθοῦ: [10] ὁ δὲ ἐπελάβετο αὐτίκα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῆς προφάσεως, καὶ ὁπόσοις Καλλικράτης ἐπῆγεν αἰτίαν Περσεῖ σφᾶς φρονῆσαι τὰ αὐτά, ἀνέπεμπεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρίσιν τῷ Ῥωμαίων ὑφέξοντα. ὁ μὴ πω κατελήφει πρότερον Ἑλληνας: οὐδὲ γὰρ παρὰ Μακεδόνων οἱ ἰσχύσαντες μέγιστον, Φίλιππος Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας σφίσιν Ἑλλήνων ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐβιάσαντο ἀποσταλῆναι, διδόναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἀμφικτύουσιν εἶων λόγον. [11] τότε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὄντινα καὶ ἀναίτιον Καλλικράτης ἐθελήσειεν αἰτιάσασθαι, ἀνάγεσθαι πάντα τινὰ ἐκεκύρωτο ἐς Ῥώμην: καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ χιλίους οἱ ἀναχθέντες. τούτους ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προκατεγνώσθαι νομίζοντες ἕς τε Τυρσηνίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐκεῖ διέπεμψαν πόλεις, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρεσβείας τε καὶ ἰκεσίας ἐπιτεμπόντων λόγον ἐποιοῦντο οὐδένα. [12] ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει τριακοσίοις ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσονας, οἱ μόνον περὶ Ἰταλίαν Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐλείποντο, ἀφιασιν, ἀποχρώντως κολασθῆναι σφᾶς ἡγούμενοι. ὅσοι δὲ ἀποδράντες ὄχοντο ἢ εὐθὺς ἡνίκα ἀνήγοντο ἐς Ῥώμην ἢ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς ἃς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέμφθησαν, πρόφασιν οὐδεμίαν ἦν τούτους ἀλόντας μὴ ὑποσχεῖν δίκην.

11. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὖθις ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καταπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα: ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἦν Γάλλος, ἀπέσταλτο δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης γενέσθαι δικαστῆς. οὗτος ὁ Γάλλος ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἔπραξεν ὑπερήφανα, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους τὸ παράπαν ἔθετο ἐν χλευασίᾳ: [2] πόλεις γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡκούσαις ἀξιώματος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν παλαιότερα ἐς οὐκ ἀφανὴ πόλεμον καὶ ἔργα οὕτως ἀφειδῆ προαχθεῖσαις, κριθείσαις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον παρὰ δικαστῇ κοινῇ Φιλίπῳ τῷ Ἀμύντου, αὐτὸς μὲν σφισιν ὁ Γάλλος ἀπηξίωσε δικαστῆς καταστῆναι, Καλλικράτει δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνδρὶ ἀλάστορι ἐπιτρέπει τὴν κρίσιν. [3] ἀφίκοντο δὲ ὥς τὸν Γάλλον καὶ Αἰτωλῶν οἱ Πλευρῶνα οἰκοῦντες, συντελείας τῆς ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐθέλοντες ἄφεσιν εὔρασθαι: καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπετράπη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλλου πρεσβείαν ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀποστεῖλαι, ἐπετράπη δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀποστῆναι. προσεπεστάλη δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ Γάλλῳ πόλεις ὁπόσας ἐστὶν οἶός τε ὥς πλείστας ἀφεῖναι συλλόγου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν. [4] ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐποίει, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἀνάγκη πλέον ἢ ἐκουσίως διαρπάζουσιν Ὠρωπὸν ὑπήκοόν σφισιν οὔσαν: πενίας γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον Ἀθηναῖοι τηνικαῦτα ἦκον ἅτε ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων πολέμῳ πιεσθέντες μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων. καταφεύγουσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν οἱ Ὠρώπιοι: καὶ δόξαντες παθεῖν οὐ δίκαια, καὶ ἐπεστάλη Σικυωνίοις ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιβάλλειν σφᾶς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Ὠρωπίους ζημίαν κατὰ τῆς βλάβης ἣς ἦρξαν τὴν ἀξίαν.

[5] Σικυώνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀφικομένοις ἐς καιρὸν τῆς κρίσεως Ἀθηναίοις

ζημίαν πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἐπιβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἡ βουλὴ δεηθεῖσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἀφήσιν πλὴν ταλάντων ἑκατὸν τὴν ἄλλην ζημίαν: ἐξέτισαν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ δώροις ὑπελθόντες Ὠρωπίους ὑπάγονται σφᾶς ἐς ὁμολογίαν φρουράν τε Ἀθηναίων ἐσελθεῖν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν καὶ ὁμήρους λαβεῖν παρὰ Ὠρωπίων Ἀθηναίους: ἦν δὲ αὖθις ἐς Ἀθηναίους γένηται ἔγκλημα Ὠρωπίοις, τὴν φρουρὰν τότε ἀπάγειν παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ ὀπίσω τοὺς ὁμήρους. [6] χρόνος τε δὴ οὐ πολὺς ὁ μεταξὺ ἦνυστο, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀδικοῦσιν ἄνδρες Ὠρωπίους. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέστελλον ὁμήρους τε ἀπαιτήσοντας καὶ φρουράν σφισιν ἐξάγειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ἐροῦντας: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα ἔφασαν ποιήσιν, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ οὐ τοῦ

Ἀθηναίων δήμου τὸ ἀμάρτημα εἶναι: τοὺς μέντοι αὐτὰ εἰργασμένους ἐπηγγέλλοντο ὑφέξειν δίκην. [7] οἱ δὲ Ὠρώπιοι καταφεύγοντες ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἐδέοντο τιμωρῆσαι σφισιν: Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ἤρεσκε μὴ τιμωρεῖν φιλίᾳ τε καὶ αἰδοῖ τῇ Ἀθηναίων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ὠρώπιοι Μεναλκίδα, Λακεδαιμονίῳ μὲν γένος, στρατηγοῦντι δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀχαιῶν, ὑπισχνοῦνται δέκα ταλάντων δόσιν, ἣν σφισιν ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀχαιοὺς ἄγῃ: ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων μεταδώσειν Καλλικράτει τὸ ἥμισυ ὑπισχνεῖτο, ἰσχύοντι διὰ φιλίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἀχαιοῖς μέγιστον. [8] προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Καλλικράτους πρὸς τὴν Μεναλκίδου γνώμην ἐκεκύρωτο κατὰ Ἀθηναίων ἀμύνειν Ὠρωπίοις. καὶ τις ἐξαγγέλλει ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: οἱ δὲ ὥς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχεν ἐς τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἐλθόντες καὶ αὖθις κατασύραντες εἴ τι ἐν ταῖς προτέραις παρεῖτό σφισιν ἀρπαγαῖς, ἀπάγουσι τὴν φρουράν. Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ὑστερήσαντας τῆς βοηθείας Μεναλκίδας μὲν καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπειθον: ἀνθισταμένων δὲ ἄλλων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα.

12. Ὠρώπιοι δὲ καὶ ὠφελείας σφίσιν οὐ γενομένης τῆς παρὰ Ἀχαιῶν, ὅμως ὑπὸ Μεναλκίδα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεπράχθησαν: ὁ δὲ ὥς τὸ δωροδόκημα εἶχεν ἐν χειρί, ἐποιεῖτο συμφορὰν εἰ καὶ Καλλικράτει μεταδώσει τῶν λημμάτων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀναβολαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις ἐχρήτο ἐς τὴν δόσιν, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐτόλμησεν ἀποστερεῖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος. [2] βεβαιοὶ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ὥς ἄρ' ἦν καὶ πῦρ ἐς πλεόν ἄλλου πυρὸς καῖον καὶ λύκος ἀγριώτερος λύκων ἄλλων καὶ ὠκύτερος ἰέρας ἰέρακος πέτεσθαι, εἶγε καὶ Καλλικράτην ἀνοσιώτατον τῶν τότε Μεναλκίδας μὲν ὑπερῆρεν ἀπιστία, Καλλικράτην, ὃς ἐλάσσων παντοίου λήμματος καὶ ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ οἰκείῳ κέρδει πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀπηχθημένος παυσάμενον μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς Μεναλκίδαν ἐδίωκεν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς θανάτου δίκην: πρεσβεῦσαι τε γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν ἐναντία ἔφασκεν αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενέσθαι πρόθυμον ἐξελέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν. [3] ἐνταῦθα ὥς ἀφικνεῖτο ἐς πᾶν ὁ Μεναλκίδας κινδύνου, μεταδίδωσι τάλαντα τρία τῶν ἐξ Ὠρωποῦ Μεγαλοπολίτῃ Διαιῷ. ἐγεγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχῆς διάδοχος τῆς Ἀχαιῶν ὁ Δίαιος: τότε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λήμματος προθυμούμενος ἔμελλε Μεναλκίδα καὶ ἀκόντων Ἀχαιῶν σωτηρίαν παρέξειν. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἀφέσει τοῦ Μεναλκίδα ἰδία τε ἕκαστος καὶ ἐν κοινῷ Δίαιον ἐποιοῦντο ἐν αἰτία: Δίαιος δὲ σφᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων μετῆγεν ἐς πραγμάτων

ἐλπίδα μειζόνων, προφάσει χρώμενος τοιαῦδε ἐς τὴν ἀπάτην. [4] Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ἀμφισβητήσιμου χώρας καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν: καταφεύγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ἡ βουλή δικάζεσθαι τὰ ἄλλα πλὴν ψυχῆς ἐν συνεδρίῳ τῷ Ἀχαιῶν. ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο: Δίαιος δὲ οὐ τὸν ὄντα ἔλεγεν Ἀχαιοῖς λόγον, ψυχαγωγῶν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων σφίσιν ἐφεῖσθαι βουλῆς καὶ θάνατον ἀνδρὸς καταγνῶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης. [5] οἱ μὲν δὴ δικάζειν Λακεδαιμόνιοις ἡξίουσιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔτε ἀληθῆ συνεχώρουν Δίαιον λέγειν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἤθελον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἀντελαμβάνοντο αὐθις ἄλλου λόγου, πόλεις ὅσαι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς μηδεμίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς καθεστηκέναι κυρίαν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἰδίᾳ πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν. [6] πόλεμος τε δὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων τούτων Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοις ἦρχετο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνιέντες οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς εἶναι πρεσβείαις ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν Δίαιον λόγοις. αἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ αἱ πόλεις ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐ σφισιν ἐξοδὸν ἐπαγγέλλοντος στρατηγοῦ παρακούειν εἶναι νόμον: Δίαιος γὰρ ἦρχε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἔφασκεν οὐ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τοῖς δὲ ταράσσουσιν αὐτὴν πολεμήσων ἀφίξεσθαι. [7] ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν γερόντων ὁπόσους ἡγοῖτο ἀδικεῖν, ἐσπέμπει σφίσι τεσσάρων ὀνόματα ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἴκοσι πρωτευόντων τὰ πάντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ. ἐνταῦθα Ἀγασισθένους ἐνίκησε γνώμη δοκίμου καὶ τὰ πρότερα ὄντος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς παραινέσεως ταύτης προελθόντος καὶ ἐς πλεον δόξης: ὃς τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐθελοντὰς φεύγειν μηδὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἐργάσασθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ πόλεμον, φυγόντας δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην καταχθῆσεσθαι σφᾶς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. [8] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες ὑπήγοντο ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐς δικαστήριον τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἦσαν κατεγνωσμένοι: ἀπεστάλησαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν Καλλικράτης ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ Δίαιος τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀντιδικήσοντες ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Καλλικράτης τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, οὐδὲ οἶδα εἰ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ὠφέλησεν ἂν τι Ἀχαιοὺς ἢ κακῶν σφισιν ἐγένετο μειζόνων ἀρχή: Δίαιος δὲ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν Μεναλκίδα καταστὰς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε, τὰ δὲ ἥκουσεν οὐ σὺν κόσμῳ. [9] καὶ σφισιν ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ βουλή ἀποστέλλειν πρέσβεις, οἱ κρινούσιν ὅσα Λακεδαιμόνιοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς διάφορα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Ῥώμης πρέσβεσι σχολαιτέρᾳ πως ἐγίνετο ἡ ὁδός, ὥστε ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπῆρχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Διαίῳ τε Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Μεναλκίδα Λακεδαιμόνιους: τοὺς μὲν δὴ παρήγεν ὁ Δίαιος ὥς τὰ πάντα ἔπεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς εἰσιν ἐγνωσμένοι, Λακεδαιμόνιους δὲ ὁ Μεναλκίδας ἡπάτα παντελῶς τοῦ συνεδρεῦειν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὺς ἀπηλλάχθαι.

13. αὐθις οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοις ὥρμηντο Ἀχαιοὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἠθροίζετο ὑπὸ Δαμοκρίτου στρατηγεῖν τῆνικαῦτα Ἀχαιῶν ἡρημένου. περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀφίκετο ἐς Μακεδονίαν στρατιά τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Μέτελλος, Ἀνδρίσκῳ τῷ Περσέως τοῦ Φιλίππου πολεμήσοντες ἀφεστηκότι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμος ἔμελλεν ὥς ῥᾶστα κατὰ τὸ

ἐπιτηδεϊότατον Ῥωμαίοις κριθήσεσθαι: [2] Μέτελλος δὲ ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπεσταλμένους βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράγματα ἐκέλευε, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὅπλα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην μὴ ἐπιφέρειν σφίσιν ἀπαγορεύοντας, τὴν δὲ ἐκ Ῥώμης παρουσίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν προεροῦντας μένειν, οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἀπεσταλμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις δικασταὶ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶς γενέσθαι. [3] οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα Δαμοκρίτῳ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶς ἐπήγγελλον ἐφθακόσιν ἔξοδον ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα πεποιῆσθαι καὶ — ἐώρων γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τὴν παραίνεσιν ἀνθεστηκότα τὰ Ἀχαιῶν — ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπὸ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσχύος ἔλαβον μὲν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπεξῆλθον ἀμυνοῦντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ, βιασθέντες δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ, ὅσον μὲν ἐς χιλίους οἱ ἡλικία μάλιστα αὐτῶν καὶ τόλμαις ἀκμάζοντες πίπτουσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατιωτικόν, ὡς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχεν, ἔφευγον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. [4] εἰ δὲ ὁ Δαμόκριτος προθυμίαν ἐποίησατο, τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶς ἐσδραμεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἂν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Σπάρτης εἰς Σπάρτην: νῦν δὲ αὐτίκα τε ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ ἐχρήτο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα καταδρομαῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ἀρπαγαῖς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἢ συντόνῳ πολιορκίᾳ. [5] Δαμοκρίτῳ μὲν οὖν ἀπαγαγόντι ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ζημίαν πεντήκοντα ἄτε ἀνδρὶ προδότῃ τάλαντα, καὶ — οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐκτίσαι — φεύγων ὄχρετο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου: Δίαιος δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μετὰ Δαμόκριτον στρατηγεῖν ἡρημένος ἀποστείλαντι αὐθις Μετέλλῳ πρέσβεις ὁμολόγησε μηδένα ἐπάξειν Λακεδαιμονίοις πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ ἔστ' ἂν ἦκωσιν ἐκ Ῥώμης, ἀναμενεῖν τοὺς διαλλακτάς. [6] στρατήγημα δὲ ἄλλο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους παρεῦρε τοιόνδε: τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Σπάρτης πολίσματα ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγάγετο εὖνοϊαν, ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ φρουράς, ὀρμητήρια ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀχαιοὶς εἶναι. [7] Μεναλκίδας δὲ ἡρητο μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία Διαιῷ στρατηγεῖν: ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν πᾶσαν πολέμου παρασκευὴν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀσθενῶς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς σφίσιν ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας, †διας ὅμως τὰς σπονδὰς ὑπερβῆναι καὶ πόλισμα Ἰασον ἐλὼν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐπόρθησεν, ἐν ὅροις μὲν χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς, Ἀχαιῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε ὑπήκοον. [8] ἐξεγείρας δὲ αὐθις Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοὶς πόλεμον ἐν ἐγκλήμασί τε ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ — οὐ γὰρ τινα ἐκ τοῦ προσδοκωμένου κινδύνου Λακεδαιμονίοις σωτηρίαν εὔρισκεν — ἀφίησιν ἐκουσίως τὴν ψυχὴν πῶν φάρμακον. καὶ Μεκαλκίδα μὲν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ἄρξαντι ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νῶ τότε μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἂν ὁ ἀμαθέστατος στρατηγός, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἀδικώτατος.

14. ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Λακεδαιμονίοις δικασταὶ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶς γενέσθαι, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ὀρέστης: ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔχοντας τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ Δίαιον ἐκάλει παρ' αὐτόν. ἀφικομένοις δὲ ἐνθα ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς ἐσφικισμένος, ἀπεγύμνου τὸν πάντα σφίσιν ἤδη λόγον, ὡς δίκαια ἡγοῖτο ἢ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους τελεῖν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν μήτε αὐτὴν Κόρινθον, ἀφεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Ἡράκλειαν τὴν πρὸς Οἴτῃ καὶ

Ὅρχομενίους Ἀρκάδας συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν: γένους τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετεῖναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰς πόλεις προσχωρῆσαι ταύτας πρὸς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν. [2] ταῦτα Ὁρέστου λέγοντος οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲ τὸν πάντα ὑπομείναντες ἀκοῦσαι λόγον ἔθεον ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἐκάλουν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν: οἱ δὲ ὡς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα ἐπύθοντο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, αὐτίκα ἐτρέποντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας οἱ Κορίνθω τότε ἔτυχον ἐπιδημοῦντες, συνήρπαζον δὲ πάντα τινὰ καὶ ὃν Λακεδαιμόνιον σαφῶς ὄντα ἠπίσταντο καὶ ὅτῳ κούρας ἢ ὑποδημάτων ἔνεκα ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσθῇτι ἢ κατ' ὄνομα προσγένειτο ὑπόνοια: τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ καταφυγεῖν ἔνθα Ὁρέστης ὥκει φθάνοντας ὁμῶς καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐβιάζοντο ἔλκειν. [3] Ὁρέστης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς τε τόλμης ἐπέχειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπειρῶντο καὶ ἐκέλευον μεμνησθαι σφᾶς ὡς ἀδικημάτων καὶ ὕβρεως ἄρχουσιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους. ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλαῖς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσους εἶχον συνειληφότες, κατατίθενται σφᾶς ἐς δεσμοτήριον, τοὺς ξένους δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διακρίνοντας ἠφίεσαν. ἀποστέλλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἄλλους τε Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ Θεαρίδαν: ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλθον, ἐντυχόντες κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεισιν ἐπὶ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὕστερον ἢ Ὁρέστης ἀπεσταλμένοις, ὀπίσω καὶ αὐτοὶ τρέπονται. [4] Διαιῶ δὲ ἐξήκοντος τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς στρατηγεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἠρέθη Κριτόλαος. τοῦτον δριμύς καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸν Κριτόλαον πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔρωσ ἔσχε: καὶ — ἔτυχον γὰρ τότε ἤδη οἱ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦκοντες τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν δικάσαι — ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐν Τεγέα τῇ Ἀρκάδων τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐς λόγους ὁ Κριτόλαος, ἀθροῖσαι δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς σφισιν ἐς κοινὸν σύλλογον οὐδαμῶς ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ ἐς μὲν ἐπήκοον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔπεμπεν ἀγγέλους κελεύων τοὺς συνέδρους καλεῖν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς συνέδροις ἐπέστελλεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπολείπεσθαι σφᾶς τοῦ συλλόγου. [5] ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκοντο οἱ συνεδρεύοντες, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κριτόλαος μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀπάτη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χρώμενος, ὃς ἄλλην ἐκέλευεν ἀναμένειν αὐτοὺς Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον, ἐς μῆνα ἐσομένην ἔκτον: αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ διαλέξεσθαι σφισιν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔφασκε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπεὶ ἀπατῶμενοι συνῆκαν, ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐς Ῥώμην: Κριτόλαος δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον Ἀχαιοὺς ἀθροίσας ἀνέπεισε μὲν ἐπιφέρειν ὅπλα ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην, ἀνέπεισε δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος πόλεμον ἄρασθαι. [6] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄνδρα βασιλέα καὶ πόλιν ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον καὶ μὴ εὐτυχῆσαι συνέβη φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἔκ του δαιμόνων ἢ τοῖς πολεμήσασιν ποιεῖ τὸ ἐγκλημα: θρασύτης δὲ ἢ μετὰ ἀσθενείας μανία ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτυχία καλοῖτο. ὁ δὴ καὶ Κριτόλαος καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἔβλαψε. παρῶξυνε δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς Πυθέας βοιωταρχῶν τηνικαῦτα ἐν Θήβαις, καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεπλήψεσθαι προθύμως ἐπηγγέλλοντο τοῦ πολέμου: [7] ἐαλώκεσαν δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρώτην δίκην Μετέλλου δικάζοντας Φωκεῦσιν ἐκτίσαι ζημίαν, ὅτι ἐσέβαλον σὺν ὅπλοις ἐς γῆν τὴν Φωκίδα, δευτέραν Εὐβοεῦσιν, ἐδήωσαν γὰρ καὶ Εὐβοέων τὴν χώραν, τρίτην δὲ Ἀμφισσεῦσι, τεμόντες καὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ ἀκμὴν σίτου.

15. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν διδαχθέντες οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ Μέτελλος ἐπέστελλεν, ἀδικεῖν Ἀχαιῶν κατέγνωσαν: καὶ ἦν γὰρ Μόμμιός σφισιν ὕπατος τότε ἡρμημένος, τοῦτον ναῦς

τε καὶ στρατιὰν πεζὴν ἐκέλευον ἐπ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἄγειν. Μέτελλος δὲ παραντίκα ἐπέπυστο ὡς Μόμμιος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀφίκοιτο: καὶ ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν, εἰ ἐπιθεῖς αὐτὸς πέρας τῷ πολέμῳ φανῇ πρὶν ἢ Μόμμιον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίχθαι. [2] ἀγγέλους οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπέστελλεν, ἀφιέναι κελεύων σφᾶς συντελείας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πόλεις ἄλλας ὁπόσας εἴρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ προτέρου σφίσιν ἀπειθείας οὐδεμίαν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπισχνεῖτο ὀργὴν γενήσεσθαι. ἅμα τε δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεκηρυκεύετο καὶ ἦλανεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὸν στρατὸν, διὰ Θεσσαλίας τὴν πορείαν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν ποιούμενος κόλπον. Κριτόλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ λόγον μὲν φέροντα εἰς σύμβασιν προσίεντο οὐδένα, Ἡράκλειαν δὲ προσεκάθηντο πολιορκοῦντες οὐ βουλομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν συντελεῖν. [3] τότε δὲ ὡς παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κριτόλαος Μέτελλον καὶ Ῥωμαίους διαβεβηκέναι τὸν Σπερχειόν, ἀπέφευγεν εἰς Σκάρφειαν τὴν Λοκρῶν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τὸ Ἡρακλείας τε μεταξὺ καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τάξας ἐτόλμησεν ὑπομείναι Μέτελλον: ἀλλὰ εἰς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκετο δείματος ὡς μηδὲ αὐτὸ ποιήσασθαι τὸ χωρίον πρὸς ἀμείνωνος ἐλπίδος, ἔνθα ἦν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ εἰς Μήδους, ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τὰ εἰς Γαλάτας οὐδὲν ἀφανέστερα ἐκείνων τολμήματα. [4] ὑποφεύγοντας δὲ Κριτόλαον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς αἰροῦσιν ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Σκαρφείας οἱ ὁμοῦ τῷ Μετέλλῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τε πλήθει πολλοὺς καὶ ἔλαβον ζῶντας ὅσον χιλίους. Κριτόλαος δὲ οὔτε ὥφθη ζῶν μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὔτε ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὐρέθη: εἰ δὲ ἐτόλμησε τῆς πρὸς τῇ Οἴτῃ θαλάσσης εἰς ταύτης καταδύναι τὸ τέλμα, παντάπασιν ἔμελλεν ἄγνωστός τε καὶ ἄπυστος οἰχήσεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ. [5] εἰς μὲν οὖν τὴν Κριτολάου τελευτὴν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν εἰκάζειν: Ἀρκάδων δὲ ἐξεστρατευμένοι λογάδες χίλιοι, οἱ Κριτολάῳ τοῦ ἔργου μετέσχον, προῆλθον μὲν ἄχρι Ἑλατείας τῆς Φωκῆων καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ συγγένειαν δὴ τινα παλαιὰν ἐδέχθησαν: ὡς δὲ τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἢ Κριτολάου συμφορὰ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἀπηγγέλλετο, ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλατείας κελεύουσι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. [6] ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω σφίσιν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Μέτελλος καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐπιφαίνονται: ἔνθα δὴ ἐπελάμβανε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐκ θεῶν δίκη τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, οἱ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἀγωνιζομένους ἐγκαταλιπόντες Ἑλληνας τότε ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. [7] Ἀχαιοὶς δὲ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος παρήει Δίαιος: καὶ δούλους τε εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἠφίει, τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Ἀθηναίων βούλευμα τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μιμούμενος, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν συνέλεγε καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ: ἐγένετο δέ, ἀναμειγμένων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκετῶν, τὸ ἀθροισθὲν εἰς ἑξακοσίους μὲν μάλιστα ἀριθμὸν ἰππεῖς, τὸ δὲ ὀπλιτεῦον τετρακισχίλιοι τε καὶ μύριοι.

[8] ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δίαιος εἰς ἅπαν ἀφίκετο ἀνοίας, ὃς Κριτόλαον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπιστάμενος παρασκευὴν κακῶς οὕτως ἀγωνισαμένην πρὸς Μέτελλον ἀπέλεξεν αὐτὸς ὅσον τετρακισχίλιους: καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔταξεν Ἀλκαμένην. ἀπεστέλλοντο δὲ εἰς Μέγαρον φρουρὰ τε εἶναι Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἄστεως καί, ἣν Μέτελλος ἐπὶ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦ πρόσω σφᾶς κωλύειν.

[9] Μέτελλος δὲ ὡς οἱ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν λογάδες κατέστρωντο οἱ Ἀρκάδων, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμα ἤλανεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· Ἡράκλειάν τε γὰρ ἐπολιόρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἀγῶνος τοῦ πρὸς Σκάρφειαν μετεσχίκεσαν. τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἐκλελοιπότες πᾶσα ἡλικία τὴν πόλιν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰ ἄκρα ἀνέφευγον. [10] Μέτελλος δὲ οὔτε ἱερὰ ἐμπιπράναι θεῶν οὔτε οἰκοδομήματα καθαιρεῖν εἶα, Θηβαίων τε τῶν ἄλλων μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι μηδένα μήτε αἰρεῖν φεύγοντα ἀπηγόρευε· Πυθέαν δὲ ἦν ἔλωσιν, ἀνάγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς αὐτόν· ἐξεύρητό τε δὴ αὐτίκα ὁ Πυθέας καὶ ἀναχθεὶς δίκην εἶχεν. ὡς δὲ πλησίον Μεγάρων ἐγένετο ὁ στρατός, οὔτε ὑπέμειναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκαμένην καὶ αὐτίκα ἐς Κόρινθον παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ὄχοντο φεύγοντες. [11] καὶ Μεγαρεῖς μὲν παραδιδόασιν ἀμαχεὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν, Μέτελλος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο παρὰ τὸν ἰσθμόν, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο καὶ τότε Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμολογίας προκαλούμενος· ἰσχυρὸς γάρ τις ἐνέκειτο αὐτῷ πόθος τὰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἀχαιῶν κατεργασθῆναι δι' αὐτοῦ.

τούτῳ μὲν ταῦτα ἐσπευκότι Δίαιος ἠναντιοῦτο ὑπὸ ἀγνωμοσύνης·

16. Μόμμιος δὲ Ὀρέστην ἅμα ἀγόμενος, τὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων διαφορᾷ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθόντα, ἀφίκετο μὲν περὶ ὄρθρον ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα, ἀποπέμψας δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν Μέτελλον καὶ ὅσον εἶπετο ἐκεῖνω, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀθροισθῆναι παρασκευήν. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἵππικόν μὲν πεντακόσιοι τε καὶ τρισχίλιοι, τοῦ πεζοῦ δὲ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο ἐς μυριάδας δύο προσόντων καὶ τούτοις τρισχιλίων· ἐπῆλθον δὲ καὶ τοξόται Κρήτες καὶ ἐκ Περγάμου τῆς ὑπὲρ Καῖκου Φιλοποίμην στρατιώτας ἄγων παρὰ Ἀττάλου. [2] Μόμμιος μὲν δὴ τῶν τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας τινᾶς καὶ τὰ ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπωτέρω δύο τε καὶ δέκα ἔταξε σταδίοις, πρὸ τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι στρατεύματος φυλακὴν· Ἀχαιοὶ δέ, ἐχόντων ἀφυλακτότερον ὑπὸ φρονήματος τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς ἐπὶ φυλακῆς αὐτοῖς τῆς πρώτης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φονεύουσι, πλείονας δὲ ἔτι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεῖρξαν, καὶ ἀσπίδας ὅσον τε πεντακοσίας εἶλον. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἐπήρθησαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἔξοδον πρότερον πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἄρχειν μάχης· [3] ὡς δὲ ἀντεπῆγε καὶ ὁ Μόμμιος, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἵππικόν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ταχθέντες αὐτίκα ὄχοντο φεύγοντες, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου μηδὲ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον ὑπομείναντες· ὁ δὲ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱπέων τῇ τροπῇ, δεξάμενοι δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βιαζόμενοι τε τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἀπαγορεύοντες τοῖς τραύμασιν ὁμῶς ἀντεῖχον ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, πρὶν γε δὴ Ῥωμαίων λογάδες χίλιοι προσπεσόντες κατὰ τὰ πλάγια ἐς τελέαν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς φυγὴν κατέστησαν. [4] εἰ δὲ ἐτόλμησεν ἐσδραμεῖν μετὰ τὴν μάχην Δίαιος ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι τῷ τείχει τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, κἂν εὕρασθαι τι παρὰ Μομμίου οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐδυνήθησαν, ἐς πολιορκίαν καὶ τριβὴν πολέμου καταστάντες· νῦν δὲ ἀρχομένων ἔτι ἐνδιδόναι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐθὺς Μεγάλῃς πόλεως ἔφευγεν ὁ Δίαιος, οὐδέν τι γενόμενος ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ὅμοιος ἢ καὶ Καλλίστρατος ὁ Ἐμπέδου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. [5] τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἱπαρχήσαντι ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στόλου μετεσχίκεσαν ἀπώλλυντο πρὸς τῷ

ποταμῷ τότε τῷ Ἀσινάρῳ, τούτῳ τότε τῷ Καλλιστράτῳ παρέστη τόλμα διεκπαῖσαι διὰ τῶν πολέμιων ἄγοντι τοὺς ἵππους: ὥς δὲ τὸ πολὺ ἀπέσωσεν αὐτῶν ἐς Κατάνην, ἀνέστρεφεν ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν αὖθις ὁδὸν ἐς Συρακούσας, διαρπάζοντας δὲ ἔτι εὐρὼν τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον καταβάλλει τε ὅσον πέντε ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ τραύματα ἐπικάιρα αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἵππος λαβόντες ἀφιάσι τὴν ψυχὴν. [6] οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν

Ἀθηναίοις καὶ αὐτῷ κτώμενος περιεποίησέ τε ὧν ἤρχε καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως: Δίαιος δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπολωλεκῶς Μεγαλοπολίταις κακῶν τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἦκεν ἄγγελος, ἀποκτείνας δὲ αὐτοχειρὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ γένοιτο αἰχμάλωτος, τελευτᾷ πῶν φάρμακον, εἰκουῖαν μὲν παρασχόμενος Μενελκίδα τὴν ἐς χρήματα πλεονεξίαν, εἰκουῖαν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν θάνατον δειλίαν. [7] Ἀχαιῶν δὲ οἱ ἐς Κόρινθον ἀποσωθέντες μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπεδίδρασκον ὑπὸ νύκτα εὐθύς: ἀπεδίδρασκον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν Κορινθίων οἱ πολλοί. Μόμμιος δὲ τὸ μὲν παραντίκα, ἀναπεπταμένων ὅμως τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεῖχεν ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον παρελθεῖν, ὑποκαθῆσθαι τινα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ὑποπτεῦων ἐνέδραν: τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἦρει τε κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἔκαιε Κόρινθον.

[8] τῶν δὲ ἐγκαταληφθέντων τὸ μὲν πολὺ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φονεύουσι, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἀπέδοτο Μόμμιος: ἀπέδοτο δὲ καὶ οἰκέτας, ὅσοι τῶν ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφεθέντων καὶ μαχεσαμένων μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν μὴ εὐθύς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἔργον ἐτεθνήκεσαν. ἀναθημάτων δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου τὰ μὲν μάλιστα ἀνήκοντα ἐς θαῦμα ἀνήγετο, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνοις οὐχ ὁμοίου λόγου Φιλοποίμενι ὁ Μόμμιος τῷ παρ' Ἀττάλου στρατηγῷ δίδωσι: καὶ ἦν Περγαμηνοῖς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι λάφυρα Κόρινθια. [9] πόλεων δέ, ὅσαι Ῥωμαίων ἐναντία ἐπολέμησαν, τείχη μὲν ὁ Μόμμιος κατέλυε καὶ ὅπλα ἀφηρεῖτο πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμβούλους ἀποσταλῆναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων: ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυε, καθίστα δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς: καὶ φόρος τε ἐτάχθη τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες ἐκωλύοντο ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι: συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος τὰ ἐκάστων, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἢ Βοιωτοῖς ἢ ἐτέρωθί που τῆς Ἑλλάδος, κατελέλυτο ὁμοίως πάντα. [10] ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἔλεον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἐκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι, ἀφήκαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοις ἐπιβεβλήκει Μόμμιος ζημίαν: Βοιωτοὺς τε γὰρ Ἡρακλεώταις καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις διακόσια ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτίσαι. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄφεσιν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὔροντο Ἕλληνες, ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀπεστέλλετο: καλοῦσι δὲ οὐχ Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ Ἀχαΐας ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνας δι' Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προεστηκότων. ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος τέλος Ἀντιθέου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ἐξηκοστῇ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, ἦν ἐνίκα Διόδωρος Σικυώνιος.

17. ἐς ἅπαν δὲ ἀσθενείας τότε μάλιστα κατῆλθεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, λυμανθεῖσα κατὰ μέρη καὶ διαπορθηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. Ἄργος μὲν, ἐς πλεῖστον ἀφικομένην δυνάμεως πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων, ὁμοῦ τῇ

μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Δωριέας ἐπέλιπε τὸ ἐκ τῆς τύχης εὐμένες· [2] τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀττικόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου καὶ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους ἀνενεγκόν τε καὶ αὖθις ἀνανηξάμενον, ἔτεσιν ἔμελλεν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἢ Μακεδόνων ἀκμῇ καθαιρήσιν· κατέσκηψε δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ ἐς τὰς Βοιωτίας Θήβας τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μῆνιμα. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ αὖθις ὁ Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος ἐγένετο· ὅτε δὲ καὶ μόγις, ἅτε ἐκ δένδρου λελωβημένου καὶ αὐοῦ τὰ πλείονα, ἀνεβλάστησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸ Ἀχαικόν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἡ κακία τῶν στρατηγησάντων ἐκόλουσεν ἔτι αὐξανόμενον. [3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐς Νέρωνα ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὁ Νέρων ἀφήσιν ἀπάντων, ἀλλαγὴν πρὸς δῆμον ποιησάμενος τὸν Ῥωμαίων· Σαρδῶ γὰρ τὴν νῆσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐδαίμονα ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος σφίσιν ἀντέδωκεν. ἀπιδόντι οὖν ἐς τοῦτό μοι τοῦ Νέρωνος τὸ ἔργον ὀρθότατα εἰρηκέναι Πλάτων ἐφαίνετο ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ὅποσα ἀδίκηματα μεγέθει καὶ τολμήματί ἐστιν ὑπερηρότα, οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων, ψυχῆς δὲ γενναίας ὑπὸ ἀτόπου παιδείας διεφθαρμένης. [4] οὐ μὴν Ἑλλήσι γε ἐξεγένετο ὄνασθαι τοῦ δώρου· Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ μετὰ Νέρωνα ἄρξαντος ἐς ἐμφύλιον στάσιν προήχθησαν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποτελεῖς τε αὖθις ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἶναι φόρων καὶ ἀκούειν ἐκέλευσεν ἡγεμόνος, ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. [5] τάδε μὲν οὕτω συμβάντα εὗρισκον· Ἀχαιοῖς δὲ ὅροι καὶ Ἥλειοις τῆς χώρας ποταμός τε Λάρισος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ναὸς ἐστὶ Λαρισαίας, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις Δύμη σταδίους ὅσον τε τριάκοντα ἀπέχει τοῦ Λαρίσου. ταύτην Φίλιππος ὁ Δημητρίου πολεμῶν μόνην τῶν Ἀχαικῶν ἔσχεν ὑπήκοον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αἰτία ταύτῃ Σουλπίκιος, ἡγεμὼν καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαίων, ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάσαι τὴν Δύμην· Αὐγουστος δὲ ὕστερον καὶ προσένειμεν αὐτὴν Πατρεῦσιν.

[6] ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότερα Πάλεια· ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι Ἰώνων ὀνομά οἱ μετέθεντο τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, σαφῶς δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας Δύμης εἴτε ἀπὸ Δύμαντος τοῦ Αἰγίμιου. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου τοῦ Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ Οἰβώτα οὐ προαχθεῖν ἂν τις ἐς ἀλογίαν. Οἰβώτα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Δυμαίῳ, σταδίου μὲν ἀνελομένῳ νίκην Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτη, εἰκόνας δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ περὶ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀξιωθέντι, ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγον· [7] “Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὄδ' Ἀχαιὸς

πατρίδα Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν.

“τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ἂν τινι ἀλογίαν παραστήσειεν, εἰ Πάλειαν ἀλλὰ μὴ Δύμην τὸ ἐπίγραμμα καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν· τὰ γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα ὀνόματα ἐς ποιήσιν ἐπάγεσθαι τῶν ὑστέρων καθεστηκός ἐστιν Ἑλλήσι, καὶ Ἀμφιάραόν τε καὶ Ἄδραστον Φορωνείδας καὶ Ἐρεχθείδην ἐπονομάζουσι τὸν Θησέα. [8] ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεώς ἐστὶ τοῦ Δυμαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Σωστράτου· μειράκιον δὲ ἦν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, γενέσθαι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐρώμενόν φασιν αὐτόν, καὶ — ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ τὸν Σώστρατον Ἡρακλέους ἔτι ὄντος μετὰ ἀνθρώπων — οὕτως οἱ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τό τε μῆνιμα αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ποιήσαντα καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν δοῦναι. ἐπίθημα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι

στήλην τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπειργασμένος: ἐλέγето δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ἐναγίζουσι τῷ Σωστράτῳ.

[9] Δυμαίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερόν σφισι Δινδυμήνῃ μητρὶ καὶ Ἄττῃ πεποιημένον. Ἄττης δὲ ὅστις ἦν, οὐδὲν οἴος τε ἦν ἀπόρρητον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμῆσιάνακτι μὲν τῷ τὰ ἐλεγεία γράψαντι πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ὡς υἱὸς τε ἦν Καλαοῦ Φρυγὸς καὶ ὡς οὐ τεκνοποιὸς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τεχθεῖν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ηὔξητο, μετώκησεν ἐς Λυδίαν τῷ Ἑρμῆσιάνακτος λόγῳ καὶ Λυδοῖς ὄργια ἐτέλει Μητρός, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκον παρ' αὐτῇ τιμῆς ὡς Δία αὐτῇ νεμεσήσαντα ὦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιπέμψαι τῶν Λυδῶν.

[10] ἐνταῦθα ἄλλοι τε τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄττης ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱός: καὶ τι ἐπόμενον τούτοις Γαλατῶν δρῶσιν οἱ Πεσσινοῦντα ἔχοντες, ὧν οὐχ ἀπτόμενοι. νομίζουσί γε μὴν οὐχ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄττην, ἀλλὰ ἐπιχώριός ἐστιν ἄλλος σφίσιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, Δία ὑπνωμένον ἀφεῖναι σπέρμα ἐς γῆν, τὴν δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀνεῖναι δαίμονα διπλᾶ ἔχοντα αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἀνδρός, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν γυναικός: ὄνομα δὲ Ἀγδιστὶν αὐτῷ τίθενται. θεοὶ δὲ Ἀγδιστὶν δεισαντες τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ τὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀποκόπτουσιν. [11] ὥς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφῦσα ἀμυγδαλὴ εἶχεν ὠραίον τὸν καρπὸν, θυγατέρα τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ λαβεῖν φασι τοῦ καρποῦ: ἐσθεμένης δὲ ἐς τὸν κόλπον καρπὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτίκα ἀφανής, αὐτῇ δὲ ἐκύει: τεκούσης δὲ τράγος περιεῖπε τὸν παῖδα ἐκκείμενον. ὥς δὲ αὐξανομένῳ κάλλους οἱ μετῆν πλέον ἢ κατὰ εἶδος ἀνθρώπου, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρως ἔσχεν Ἀγδιστὶν. αὐξηθέντα δὲ Ἄττην ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Πεσσινοῦντα οἱ προσήκοντες συνοικήσοντα τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρί: [12] ὑμέναιος δὲ ἦδeto καὶ Ἀγδιστὶς ἐφίσταται καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀπέκοψε μανεῖς ὁ Ἄττης, ἀπέκοψε δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ διδούς: Ἀγδιστὶν δὲ μετάνοια ἔσχεν οἷα Ἄττην ἔδρασε, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Διὸς εὔρετο μήτε σῆπeshai τι Ἄττη τοῦ σώματος μήτε τήκεσθαι. τάδε μὲν ἐς Ἄττην τὰ γνωριμώτατα: [13] ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Δυμαίᾳ καὶ τοῦ δρομέως Οἰβώτα τάφος ἐστὶ: τούτῳ τῷ Οἰβώτᾳ νικήσαντι Ὀλύμπια Ἀχαιῶν πρώτῳ γέρας οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον παρ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο εὔρασθαι: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατάρas ὁ Οἰβώτας ἐποίησατο μηδενὶ Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ — ἦν γάρ τις θεῶν ὃ τοῦ Οἰβώτα τελεῖσθαι τὰς κατάρas οὐκ ἀμελὲς ἦν — διδάσκονται ποτε οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθ' ἡντινα αἰτίαν στεφάνου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἡμάρτανον, διδάσκονται δὲ ἀποστειλάντες ἐς Δελφούς: [14] οὕτω καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν σφισι τοῦ Οἰβώτα ποιήsασι καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀναθεῖσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Σώστρατος Πελλήνευς σταδίου νίκην ἔσχεν ἐν παισί. διαμένει δὲ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐναγίζειν τῷ Οἰβώτᾳ, καὶ ἦν κρατήσωσιν, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανοῦν τοῦ Οἰβώτα τὴν εἰκόνα.

18. σταδίουs δὲ ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα προελθόντι ἐκ Δύμης ποταμὸς Πείρος ἐς θάλατταν κάτεισι, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις ποτὲ Ὠλενος ὤκειτο παρὰ τῷ Πείρῳ. ὅποσοι δὲ ἐς Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πεποιήκασιν, ἔστιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστά σφισι δείγματα τοῦ λόγου Δεξαμενὸς ὁ ἐν Ὠλένῳ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁποῖων Ἡρακλῆς παρ' αὐτῷ ξενίων ἔτυχε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἦν πόλισμα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μικρὸν ἢ Ὠλενος, μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ μου καὶ ἐλεγείῳ ἐς Εὐρυτίωνα Κένταυρον ὑπὸ

Ἐρμησιάνακτος πεπονημένον: ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας φασὶ τὴν Ὠλενον καὶ ἐς Πειράς τε καὶ ἐς Εὐρυτεῖας ἀποχωρῆσαι. [2] τοῦ δὲ Πείρου ποταμοῦ περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ἀφέστηκε σταδίου Πατρέων ἢ πόλις: οὐ πόρρω δὲ αὐτῆς ποταμὸς Γλαῦκος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν. Πατρέων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντές φασιν Εὐμήλον αὐτόχθονα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, βασιλεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐ πολλῶν. Τριπτολέμου δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφικομένου τὸν τε καρπὸν λαμβάνει τὸν ἡμερον καὶ οἰκίσαι διδασχθεὶς πόλιν Ἀρόην ὠνόμασεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ τῆς γῆς.

[3] ὥς δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον ἐτράπετο ὁ Τριπτόλεμος, ἐνταῦθα Ἀνθειαν παῖδα Εὐμήλου τοὺς δράκοντάς φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄρμα ζεύξαντα ἐθελῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸν σπείραι: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν ἐκπεσόντα τοῦ ἄρματος, Τριπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Εὐμήλος Ἀνθειαν πόλιν οἰκίζουσιν ἐν κοινῷ, τοῦ Εὐμήλου παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον. [4] ᾠκίσθη δὲ καὶ τρίτη μετὰ τὴν Ἀνθείας καὶ Ἀρόης Μεσάτις πόλις. ὅποσα δὲ οἱ Πατρεῖς περὶ Διονύσου λέγουσι, τραφῆναι τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Μεσάτει καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ Τιτάνων ἐς παντοῖον ἀφικέσθαι κίνδυνον, οὐκ ἐναντιούμενος τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν τῆς Μεσάτεως τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς σφισιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρήμι. [5] Ἀχαιῶν δὲ ὕστερον ἐκβαλόντων Ἴωνας, Πατρεὺς ὁ Πρευγένους τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἐς μὲν Ἀνθειαν καὶ ἐς Μεσάτιν μὴ ἐνοικίεσθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀπεῖπε, περίβολον δὲ τείχους πρὸς τῇ Ἀρόῃ βαλόμενος μείζονα, ἵνα ἐντός οἱ τοῦ περιβάλλου καὶ ἡ Ἀρόῃ γένηται, ὄνομα ἔθετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πάτρας τῇ πόλει. Ἀγήνωρ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Πρευγένους Ἀρέως παῖς ἦν τοῦ Ἀμπυκος, ὁ δὲ Ἀμπυξ Πελίου τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τοῦ Δηρείτου τοῦ Ἀρπάλου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα τοῦ Λακεδαίμονος. [6] Πατρεῖ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς προγόνους ὑπάρχοντα ἦν: ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον Πατρεῖς διέβησαν ἐς Αἰτωλίαν Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι κατὰ φιλίαν τὴν Αἰτωλῶν, τὸν πόλεμόν σφισι τὸν πρὸς Γαλάτας συνδιοίσοντες. προσπταίσαντες δ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις λόγου μειζόνως καὶ ὑπὸ πενίας ἅμα οἱ πολλοὶ πιεζόμενοι Πάτρας μὲν πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐκλείπουσιν: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ χώραν ὑπὸ φιλεργίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν καὶ πολίσματα παρὲς αὐτὰς Πάτρας τοςάδε ἄλλα ᾤκησαν, Μεσάτιν καὶ Ἀνθειαν καὶ Βολίην καὶ Ἀργυρᾶν τε καὶ Ἀρβαν. [7] Αὐγουστος δὲ ἡ τοῦ παράπλου νομίζων κεῖσθαι καλῶς τὰς Πάτρας ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν ἐπανήγαγεν αὐθις ἐκ τῶν πολισμάτων τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰς Πάτρας, προσσυνώκισε δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ἐκ Ῥυπῶν, καταβαλὼν ἐς ἔδαφος Ῥύπας: καὶ ἔδωκε μὲν ἐλευθέρους Ἀχαιῶν μόνοις τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν εἶναι, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα γέρα σφίσιν, ὅποσα τοῖς ἀποίκις νέμειν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι. [8] Πατρεῦσι δὲ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ πόλει Λαφρίας ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος: ξενικὸν μὲν τῇ θεῷ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐσηγμένον δὲ ἐτέρωθεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Καλυδῶνος γὰρ καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου βασιλέως ἐρημωθείσης διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀκτίου συνοικίεσθαι καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικόν, οὕτω τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Λαφρίας οἱ Πατρεῖς ἔσχον.

[9] ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγάλματα ἐκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν κομισθῆναι, Πατρεῦσι δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος λαφύρων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Λαφρίας ἔδωκε τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐτι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ Πατρέων εἶχε τιμάς.

γενέσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν τῇ θεῷ Λαφρίαν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Φωκέως φασί: Λάφριον γὰρ τὸν Κασταλίου τοῦ Δελφοῦ Καλυδωνίοις ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ μῆνιμα τὸ ^[10] ἐς Οἰνέα ἀνὰ χρόνον τοῖς Καλυδωνίοις ἐλαφρότερον γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ αἰτίαν τῇ θεῷ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι ταύτην. τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος θηρεύουσα ἐστίν, ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποίηται, Ναυπάκτιοι δὲ Μέναιχμος καὶ Σοῦδας εἰργάσαντο: τεκμαίρονται σφᾶς Κανάχου τοῦ Σικυωνίου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος οὐ πολλῶ γενέσθαι τινὶ ἡλικίαν ὑστέρους. ^[11] ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ Λάφρια ἐορτὴν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι οἱ Πατρεῖς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐν ᾗ τρόπος ἐπιχώριος θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. περὶ μὲν τὸν βωμὸν ἐν κύκλῳ ξύλα ἰστᾶσιν ἐτι χλωρὰ καὶ ἐς ἐκκαίδεκα ἕκαστον πήχεις: ἐντὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ αὐότατά σφισι τῶν ξύλων κεῖται. μηχανῶνται δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐορτῆς καὶ ἄνοδον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν λειοτέραν, ἐπιφέροντες γῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοὺς ἀναβασμούς. ^[12] πρῶτα μὲν δὴ πομπὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι πομπεύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος ὁχεῖται τελευταία τῆς πομπῆς ἐπὶ ἐλάφῳ ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα ἐξευγμένων: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τῆνικαῦτα ἤδη δρᾶν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν νομίζουσι, δημοσίᾳ τε ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν οἱ ἰδιῶται φιλοτίμως ἔχουσιν. ἐσβάλλουσι γὰρ ζῶντας ἐς τὸν βωμὸν ὄρνιθας τε τοὺς ἐδωδίμους καὶ ἱερῆα ὁμοίως ἅπαντα, ἔτι δὲ ὕς ἀγρίους καὶ ἐλάφους τε καὶ δορκάδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λύκων καὶ ἄρκτων σκύμνους, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλεια τῶν θηρίων: κατατιθέασι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ δένδρων καρπὸν τῶν ἡμέρων. ^[13] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πῦρ ἐνιαῖσιν ἐς τὰ ξύλα. ἐνταῦθα που καὶ ἄρκτον καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐθεασάμην τῶν ζώων, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ὀρμὴν τοῦ πυρὸς βιαζόμενα ἐς τὸ ἐκτός, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκφεύγοντα ὑπὸ ἰσχύος: ταῦτα οἱ ἐμβαλόντες ἐπανάγουσιν αὐθις ἐς τὴν πυράν. τρωθῆναι δὲ οὐδένα ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων μνημονεύουσιν.

19. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ τε τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ πεποιημένον μνῆμα Εὐρυπύλου. τὰ δὲ ὅστις τε ὢν καὶ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, δηλώσει μοι καὶ ταῦτα ὁ λόγος προδιηγησαμένῳ πρότερον ὅποια ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐρυπύλου τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἦν τὰ παρόντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ἰώνων τοῖς Ἀρόην καὶ Ἀνθειαν καὶ Μεσάτιν οἰκοῦσιν ἦν ἐν κοινῷ τέμενος καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος Τρικλαρίας ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ ἐορτὴν οἱ Ἴωνες αὐτῇ καὶ παννυχίδα ἦγον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ἱερωσύνην δὲ εἶχε τῆς θεοῦ παρθένος, ἐς ᾧ ἀποστέλλεσθαι παρὰ ἄνδρα ἔμελλε. ^[2] λέγουσιν οὖν συμβῆναι ποτε ὡς ἱερᾶσθαι μὲν τῆς θεοῦ Κομαιθῶ τὸ εἶδος καλλίστην παρθένον, τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρῶντα Μελάνιππον, τὰ τε ἄλλα τοὺς ἡλικιώτας καὶ ὄψεως εὐπρεπεῖα μάλιστα ὑπερηρκότα. ὥς δὲ ὁ Μελάνιππος ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῦ ἔρωτος ὑπηγάγετο τὴν παρθένον, ἐμνᾶτο αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἔπεται δὲ πῶς τῷ γήγρᾳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥς τὸ πολὺ ἐναντιοῦσθαι νέοις καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοὺς ἐρῶντας τὸ ἀνάληγον, ὅπου καὶ Μελανίπῳ τότε ἐθέλοντι ἐθέλουσαν ἄγεσθαι Κομαιθῶ οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γονέων οὔτε παρὰ τῶν Κομαιθοῦς ἡμερον ἀπήντησεν οὐδέν. ^[3] ἐπέδειξε δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τε δὴ ἄλλων καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μελανίππου παθήμασιν, ὡς μέτεστιν ἔρωτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων συγγῆαι νόμιμα καὶ ἀνατρέψαι θεῶν τιμὰς, ὅπου καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ

Κομαιθῶ καὶ Μελάνιππος καὶ ἐξέπλησαν τοῦ ἔρωτος τὴν ὁρμήν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔμελλον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἴσα καὶ θαλάμῳ χρῆσεσθαι: τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους αὐτίκα ἐξ Ἀρτέμιδος μήνιμα ἔφθειρε, τῆς τε γῆς καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀποδιδούσης καὶ νόσοι σφίσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν θάνατοι πλείονες ἢ τὰ πρότερα ἐγίνοντο. [4] καταφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἤλεγχεν ἡ Πυθία Μελάνιππον καὶ Κομαιθῶ: καὶ ἐκείνους τε αὐτοὺς μάντευμα ἀφίκετο θῆσαι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος παρθένον καὶ παῖδα οἱ τὸ εἶδος εἶεν κάλλιστοι τῇ θεῷ θύειν. ταύτης μὲν δὴ τῆς θυσίας ἔνεκα ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Τρικλαρίας Ἀμείλιχος ἐκλήθη: [5] τέως δὲ ὄνομα εἶχεν οὐδέν. παίδων δὲ καὶ παρθένων ὅποσοι μὲν ἐς τὴν θεὸν οὐδὲν εἰργασμένοι Μελάνιππου καὶ Κομαιθοῦς ἔνεκα ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοὶ τε οἰκτρότατα καὶ οἱ προσήκοντές σφισιν ἔπασχον, Μελάνιππον δὲ καὶ Κομαιθῶ συμφορᾶς ἐκτὸς γενέσθαι τίθεμαι: μόνον γὰρ δὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἀντάξιον κατορθῶσαί τινα ἔρασθέντα. [6] παύσασθαι δὲ οὕτω λέγονται θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνθρώπους. ἐκέχρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερον ἔτι ἐκ Δελφῶν ὡς βασιλεὺς ξένος παραγενόμενός σφισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ξενικὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος δαίμονα, τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν τῆς Τρικλαρίας παύσει. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Εὐρύπυλος ὁ Εὐαίμονος λαμβάνει λάρνακα: Διονύσου δὲ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῇ λάρνακι, ἔργον μὲν ὥς φασιν Ἥφαιστου, δῶρον δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐδόθη Δαρδάνῳ. [7] λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι λόγοι δύο ἐς αὐτήν, ὡς ὅτε ἔφυγεν Αἰνείας, ἀπολίποι ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα: οἱ δὲ ῥιπῆναί φασιν αὐτήν ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρας συμφορὰν τῷ εὐρόντι Ἑλλήνων. ἦνοιξε δ' οὖν ὁ Εὐρύπυλος τὴν λάρνακα καὶ εἶδε τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ αὐτίκα ἦν ἔκφρων μετὰ τὴν θέαν: τὰ μὲν δὴ πλείονα ἐμαίνετο, ὀλιγάκις δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ. ἅτε δὲ οὕτω διακείμενος οὐκ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε Κίρραν καὶ ἐς τὸν ταύτῃ κόλπον: ἀναβάς δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρᾶτο ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου. [8] καὶ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι μάντευμα, ἔνθα ἂν ἐπιτύχη θύουσιν ἀνθρώποις θυσίαν ξένην, ἐνταῦθα ιδρύσασθαι τε τὴν λάρνακα καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄνεμος τὰς ναῦς τοῦ Εὐρυπύλου κατήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἀρόῃ θάλασσαν: ἐκβὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν καταλαμβάνει παῖδα καὶ παρθένον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Τρικλαρίας ἡγμένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς συνήσειν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν: ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἐς μνήμην καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦ χρησμοῦ, βασιλέα τε ἰδόντες ὃν οὕτω πρότερον ἐωράκεσαν καὶ ἐς τὴν λάρνακα ὑπενόησαν ὡς εἴη τις ἐν αὐτῇ θεός. [9] καὶ οὕτω τῷ Εὐρυπύλῳ τε ἡ νόσος καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπαύσθη, τό τε ὄνομα ἐτέθη τὸ νῦν τῷ ποταμῷ Μείλιχος. ἔγραψαν δὲ ἤδη τινὲς οὐ τῷ Θεσσαλῷ συμβάντα Εὐρυπύλῳ τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλὰ Εὐρύπυλον Δεξαμενοῦ παῖδα τοῦ ἐν Ὠλένῳ βασιλεύσαντος ἐθέλουσιν ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ στρατεύσαντα ἐς Ἴλιον λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὴν λάρνακα: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰρήκασι καὶ οὗτοι. [10] ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε Ἡρακλέα ἀγνοῆσαι τὰ ἐς τὴν λάρνακα εἰ δὴ τοιαῦτα ἦν πείθομαι οὔτε τὰ ἐς αὐτήν ἐπιστάμενος δοκεῖ μοί ποτε ἂν δοῦναι δῶρον συμμαχήσαντι ἀνδρὶ: οὔτε μὴν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἄλλον τινὰ ἢ τὸν Εὐαίμονος ἔχουσιν Εὐρύπυλον ἐν μνήμῃ, καὶ οἱ καὶ ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπειδὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγωσι.

20. τῷ θεῷ δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς τῆς λάρνακος ἐπίκλησις μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰσυμνήτης, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα θεραπεύοντες ἐννέα τέ εἰσιν ἄνδρες, οὓς ἂν ἐκ πάντων ὁ δῆμος προέληται κατ' ἀξίωμα, καὶ ἴσα γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσι. μιᾷ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς φέρει τὴν λάρνακα ὁ ἱερεὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ νύξ γέρας τοῦτο εἴληφε, καταβαίνουσι δὲ καὶ ὀπόσοι δὴ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδες ἐπὶ τὸν Μεῖλιχον ἀστάχυσιν ἐστεφανωμένοι τὰς κεφαλάς· ἐκόσμου δὲ οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οὓς ἄγοιεν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσοντες. [2] τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν στεφάνους μὲν τῶν ἀσταχύων ἀποτίθενται παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, λουσάμενοι δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ αὐθις στεφάνους ἐπιθέμενοι κισσοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἴασι τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου. ταῦτα μὲν σφισιν οὕτω δρᾶν καθέστηκε, τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἐπίκλησιν Παναχαΐδος· ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ. [3] ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄττης ἔχει τιμὰς. τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνουσι· τὸ δὲ τῆς Μητρὸς λίθου πεποίηται. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ναὸς Ὀλυμπίου, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἐστῶσα Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τὸν θρόνον, τῆς τε Ἥρας ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πέραν ἱερὸν τε Απόλλωνος πεποίηται καὶ Απόλλων χαλκοῦς, γυμνὸς ἐσθῆτος· ὑποδήματα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ποδὶ ἐπὶ κρανίου βέβηκε βοός.

[4] βουσί γὰρ χαίρειν μάλιστα Απόλλωνα Ἀλκαῖός τε ἐδήλωσεν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἑρμῆν, γράψας ὥς ὁ Ἑρμῆς βοὺς ὑφέλοιτο τοῦ Απόλλωνος, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἢ Ἀλκαῖον γενέσθαι πεποιημένα ἦν Ὀμήρῳ βοὺς Απόλλωνα Λαομέδοντος ἐπὶ μισθῷ νέμειν· Ποσειδῶνι περιέθηκεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι τὰ ἔπη, [5] “ἦτοι ἐγὼ Τρώεσσι πόλιν πέρι τεῖχος ἔδειμα,

εὐρύ τε καὶ μάλα καλόν, ἵν' ἄρρηκτος πόλις εἴη·

Φοῖβε, σὺ δ' εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοὺς βουκολέεσκες.

“Hom. II.

21.446-448τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ κρανίον τοῦ βοὸς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε ἂν τις εἰκάσειε πεποιῆσθαι· ἔστι δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἄγαλμά τε Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Πατρέως τάφος. [6] ἔχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ Ὠιδεῖον, καὶ Απόλλων ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται θέας ἄξιος· ἐποιήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἤμυναν Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι. κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τὸ Ὠιδεῖον ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι· τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερήρκε κατασκευήν, ἀνὴρ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδης ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρείθη τὸ Ὠιδεῖον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξείργαστό μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἢ ὑπῆρκετο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος.

[7] ἐν Πάτραις δὲ ἰόντι ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἣ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Απόλλωνος, πύλη κατὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἐστὶ ταύτην, καὶ ἐπιθήματα ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι, Πατρεὺς τε καὶ Πρευγένης καὶ Ἀθερίων, οἱ Πατρέως ἡλικίαν παιδὸς ἔχοντος καὶ αὐτοὶ παῖδές εἰσι. τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἄντικρυς κατὰ ταύτην τὴν διέξοδον τέμενός ἐστι Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ναὸς Λιμνάτιδος. [8] ἐχόντων δὲ ἡδὴ Λακεδαιμόνα καὶ Ἄργος Δωριέων, ὑφελέσθαι Πρευγένην τῆς Λιμνάτιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνειράτος λέγουσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος τῶν δούλων τὸν εὐνούστατον. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς

Λακεδαιμόνος τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔχουσιν ἐν Μεσσή, ὅτι καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρευγένους ἐς τοῦτο ἐκομίσθη τὸ χωρίον: ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ Λιμνάτιδι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγῳσι, τῆς θεοῦ τις τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐκ Μεσσήας ἔρχεται τὸ ξόανον κομίζων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει. [9] τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένου ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν ἱερά: πεποιήται δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, ἀλλὰ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν στοῶν ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, πλὴν ἐσθῆτος, λίθου τὰ ἄλλα: Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐλέφαντος εἰργασται καὶ χρυσοῦ. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ Πρευγένους μνημῆα ἐστίν: ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ Πρευγένει κατὰ ἔτος, ὡσαύτω; δὲ καὶ Πατρεῖ, τὴν ἑορτὴν τῇ Λιμνάτιδι ἄγοντες. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ Νεμέσεως ναὸς καὶ ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης: μεγέθει μεγάλα λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα.

21. καὶ Διονύσου κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Καλυδωνίον: μετεκομίσθη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ Καλυδῶνος. ὅτε δὲ ῥέκετο ἔτι Καλυδῶν, ἄλλοι τε Καλυδωνίων ἐγένοντο ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ Κόρεσος, ὃν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα ἐπέλαβεν ἄδικα ἐξ ἔρωτος παθεῖν. ἦρα μὲν Καλλιρόης παρθένου: ὁπόσον δὲ ἐς Καλλιρόην ἔρωτος Κορέσῳ μετῆν, τοσοῦτο εἶχεν ἀπεχθείας ἐς αὐτὸν ἢ παρθένος. [2] ὥς δὲ τοῦ Κορέσου δεήσεις τε ποιούμενου πάσας καὶ δώρων ὑποσχέσεις παντοίας οὐκ ἐνετρέπετο ἢ γνώμη τῆς παρθένου, ἐκομίζετο ἰκέτης ἤδη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα. ὁ δὲ ἤκουσέ τε εὐχομένου τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ οἱ Καλυδώνιοι τὸ παραυτίκα ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μέθης ἐγίνοντο ἔκφρονες καὶ ἡ τελευταῖα σφᾶς παραπλήγας ἐπελάμβανε. καταφεύγουσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ: τοῖς γὰρ τὴν ἡπειρον ταύτην οἰκοῦσι, τοῖς τε Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ τοῖς προσχώροις αὐτῶν Ἀκαρναῖσι καὶ Ἑπειρώταις, αἱ πέλεια καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δρυὸς μαντεύματα μετέχειν μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο ἀληθείας. [3] τότε δὲ τὰ χρησθέντα ἐκ Δωδώνης Διονύσου μὲν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸ μήνιμα, ἔσσεσθαι δὲ οὐ πρότερον λύσιν πρὶν ἢ θύσῃ τῷ Διονύσῳ Κόρεσος ἢ αὐτὴν Καλλιρόην ἢ τὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἀντ' ἐκείνης τολμήσαντα. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς σωτηρίαν εὐρίσκετο ἢ παρθένος, δεύτερα ἐπὶ τοὺς θρεψαμένους καταφεύγει: ἀμαρτάνουσα δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν ἔτι ἢ αὐτὴν φονεῦεσθαι. [4] προεξεργασθέντων δὲ ὁπόσα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἄλλα ἐκ Δωδώνης μεμαντευμένα ἦν, ἡ μὲν ἱερεῖον τρόπον ἤκτο ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, Κόρεσος δὲ ἐφειστήκει μὲν τῇ θυσίᾳ, τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι εἷξας καὶ οὐ τῷ θυμῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ Καλλιρόης διεργάζεται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπέδειξεν ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἴσμεν διατεθεῖς ἐς ἔρωτα ἀπλαστότατα: [5] Καλλιρόη τε ὥς Κόρεσον τεθνεῶτα εἶδεν, μετέπεσε τῇ παιδί ἢ γνώμη, καὶ — ἐσῆει γὰρ αὐτὴν Κορέσου τε ἔλεος καὶ ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν εἰργασται αἰδώς — ἀπέσφαξέ τε αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πηγὴν, τοῦ λιμένος ἢ ἐν Καλυδῶνι ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι Καλλιρόην τὴν πηγὴν καλοῦσι. [6] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἐγγὺς πεποιήται Πατρεῦσι γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τέμενος. Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματα, ἴσοι τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίσμασι καὶ ὁμώνυμοι: Μεσατεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἀνθεὺς τε καὶ Ἀροεὺς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα. ταῦτα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ Διονύσου τῇ ἑορτῇ κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τῆς πόλεως ἐρχομένοις ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ.

[7] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου κατωτέρω ἰόντι ἄλλο ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου:

καλεῖται μὲν Σωτηρίας, ιδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποφυγόντα φασὶ τὴν
μανίαν Εὐρύπυλον. πρὸς δὲ τῇ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνός τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν
ὀρθὸν λίθου. Ποσειδῶνι δὲ παρέξ ἡ ὀπόσα ὀνόματα ποιηταῖς πεποιημένα
ἐστὶν ἐς ἐπῶν κόσμον καὶ ἰδία σφίσιν ἐπιχώρια ὄντα ἕκαστοι τίθενται, τοσαῖδε
ἐς ἅπαντας γεγόνασιν ἐπικλήσεις αὐτῷ, Πελαγαῖος καὶ Ἀσφάλιός τε καὶ
Ἴππιος. [8] ὠνομάσθαι δὲ Ἴππιον τὸν θεὸν πείθοιτο μὲν ἂν τις καὶ ἐπ’ αἰτίαις
ἄλλαις· ἐγὼ δὲ εὐρετὴν ἱππικῆς ὄντα ἀπὸ τούτου σχεῖν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἰκάζω.
Ὅμηρος μὲν γε ἐν ἵππων ἄθλοις Μενελάῳ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πρόκλησιν
περιέθηκεν ὄρκου:”ἵππων ἀψάμενος, γαιήοχον ἐννοσίγαιον

ὄμνυθι μηδὲν ἐκὼν τὸ ἐμὸν δόλω ἄρμα πεδῆσαι.

“Hom. II.

23.584-585 [9] Πάμφως δέ, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους τῶν ὕμνων
ἐποίησεν, εἶναι φησι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα”ἵππων τε δωτῆρα νεῶν τ’ ἰθυκρηδέμων.

“Pamphos, work unknownοὔτω διὰ τὴν ἱππικὴν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ ἐτέρας
προφάσεως τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν. [10] ἐν Πάτραις δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ
Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὰ ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων γενεᾷ
πρότερον ἢ κατ’ ἐμὲ ἀλγεῖς ἄνδρες ἀνείλκυσαν ἐν δικτύῳ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
ἀγάλματα τοῦ λιμένος ἐγγυτάτῳ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἄρεως, τὸ δὲ
Ἀπόλλωνος· καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἧς καὶ πρὸς τῇ λιμένι δὲ ἐστὶ τέμενος, λίθου μὲν
πρόσωπον καὶ ἄκρα χεῖρες καὶ πόδες, ξύλου δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ εἵργασται.

[11] ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ ἄλλος ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, δρόμους τε ἐπιτηδειοτάτους καὶ
ἐς τᾶλλα δίαίταν ἡδεῖαν ὥρα παρεχόμενον θεινῇ. ἐν τούτῳ τῇ ἄλσει καὶ ναοὶ
θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης· πεποιήται λίθου καὶ τούτοις τὰ ἀγάλματα.
τοῦ δὲ ἄλλους ἱερὸν ἔχεται Δήμητρος· αὕτη μὲν καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐστᾶσι, τὸ δὲ
ἄγαλμα τῆς Γῆς ἐστὶ καθήμενον. [12] πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶ
πηγή· ταύτης τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ναοῦ λίθων ἀνέστηκεν αἵμασι, κατὰ δὲ τὸ
ἐκτὸς κάθοδος ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιήται. μαντεῖον δὲ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἀψευδές, οὐ
μὲν ἐπὶ παντὶ γε πράγματι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν καμνόντων. κάτοπτρον καλωδίῳ τῶν
λεπτῶν δῆσαντες καθῆαισι, σταθμώμενοι μὴ πρόσω καθικέσθαι τῆς πηγῆς,
ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐπιψαῦσαι τοῦ ὕδατος τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ κατόπτρου. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν
εὐξάμενοι τῇ θεῷ καὶ θυμιάσαντες ἐς τὸ κάτοπτρον βλέπουσι· τὸ δὲ σφισι τὸν
νοσοῦντα ἦτοι ζῶντα ἢ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐπιδείκνυσι. [13] τούτῳ μὲν τῷ ὕδατι ἐς
τοσοῦτο μέτεστιν ἀληθείας, Κυανέων δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λυκία πλησιαίτατα
χρηστήριον Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Θυρξέως· παρέχεται δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς
Κυανέαις ἔσω ἐνιδόντα τινὰ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν ὁμοίως πάντα ὅποσα θέλει
θεάσασθαι. ἐν Πάτραις δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἄλσει καὶ ἱερὰ δύο ἐστὶ Σαράπιδος· ἐν δὲ
τῷ ἐτέρῳ πεποιήται μῆμα Αἰγύπτου τοῦ Βήλου. φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀρόην οἱ
Πατρεῖς φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς τε ἐς τοὺς παῖδας παθήμασι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτὸ
πεφρικότα τοῦ Ἄργους καὶ ἐς πλεον τοῦ Δαναοῦ δείματι. [14] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν
Πατρεῦσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶν
ἐγγὺς αἰ ἐπὶ Μεσάτιν ἄγουσιν.

αἱ δὲ γυναικὲς εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς Πάτραις ἀριθμὸν μὲν καὶ ἐς δις τῶν ἀνδρῶν·
Ἀφροδίτης δέ, εἵπερ ἄλλαις γυναιξί, μέτεστι καὶ ταύταις. βίος δὲ αὐτῶν ταῖς
πολλαῖς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς βύσσου τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι φουομένης· κεκρυφάλους τε

γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὑφαίνουσι τὴν ἄλλην.

22. Φαραὶ δέ, Ἀχαιῶν πόλις, τελοῦσι μὲν ἐς Πάτρας δόντος Αὐγούστου, ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς Φαρὰς Πατρέων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως στάδιοι πεντήκοντά· εἰσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω πρὸς ἡπειρον περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. ποταμὸς δὲ ρεῖ πλησίον Φαρῶν Πίερος, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὅς καὶ τὰ Ὠλένου παρέξεισιν ἐρείπια, ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση καλούμενος Πεῖρος. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλατάνων ἐστὶν ἄλλος, κοῖλαι τε ὑπὸ παλαιότητος αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ ἤκουσαι μεγέθους ἐς τοσοῦτο ὥστε καὶ ἐστιῶνται τῶν χηραμῶν ἐντός, καὶ ὁπόσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ἦ, καὶ ἐγκαθεύδουσι. [2] περίβολος δὲ ἀγορᾶς μέγας κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἀρχαιότερόν ἐστιν ἐν Φαραῖς, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔχον καὶ γένεια· ἐστήκως δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ παρέχεται μὲν τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα, μεγέθει δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν, ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὸ Μεσσήνιον Σιμύλον· καλεῖται μὲν δὴ Ἀγοραῖος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρηστήριον καθέστηκε. κεῖται δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐστία, λίθου καὶ αὐτῇ, μολίβδῳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέχονται λύχνοι χαλκοὶ. [3] ἀφικόμενος οὖν περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ τῷ θεῷ χρώμενος λιβανωτόν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας θυμῖα καὶ ἐμπλήσας τοὺς λύχνους ἐλαίου καὶ ἐξάψας τίθησιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐν δεξιᾷ νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον — καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα — καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πρὸς τὸ οὗς τὸν θεὸν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐκάστω τὸ ἐρώτημά ἐστι. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἅπεισιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπιφραζάμενος τὰ ὄντα· προελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέσχεεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὧτων, καὶ ἥστινος ἂν ἐπακούσῃ φωνῆς, μάντευμα ἠγεῖται. [4] τοιαύτη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐτέρα περὶ τοῦ Ἄπιδος τὸ ἱερὸν μαντεία καθέστηκεν· ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· Ἑρμοῦ νῆμα μὲν τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα, τοὺς δὲ ἰχθῦς οὐχ αἰροῦσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀνάθημα εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ νομίζοντες. ἐστήκασιν δὲ ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀγάλματος τετράγωνοι λίθοι τριάκοντα μάλιστα ἀριθμόν· τούτους σέβουσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς, ἐκάστω θεοῦ τινὸς ὄνομα ἐπιλέγοντες. τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι. [5] Φαρεῦσι δὲ ὅσον πέντε σταδίους καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἄλλος Διοσκούρων. δάφναι μάλιστα ἐν αὐτῷ πεφύκασιν, ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἀγάλματα· κομισθῆναι δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοί φασιν ἐς Ῥώμην τὰ ἀγάλματα. ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ βωμὸς λίθων λογάδων ἐστὶ. πυθέσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον εἰ ὁ Φάρης ὁ Φυλοδαμείας τῆς Δαναοῦ σφισιν ἢ ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τις ἐγένετο οἰκιστής. [6] Τρίτεια δέ, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ αὕτη πόλις, ἐν μεσογαίῳ μὲν ὥκισται, τελοῦσι δὲ ἐς Πάτρας καὶ αὐτοὶ βασιλέως δόντος· στάδιοι δὲ ἐς Τρίτειαν εἴκοσι τε καὶ ἑκατόν εἰσιν ἐκ Φαρῶν. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, μνημᾶ ἐστὶ λευκοῦ λίθου, θέας καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἄξιον καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς αἱ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου, τέχνη Νικίου· θρόνος τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ γυνὴ νέα καὶ εἶδους εὗ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, θεράπαινα δὲ αὐτῇ προσέστηκε σκιάδιον φέρουσα:

[7] καὶ νεανίσκος ὀρθὸς οὐκ ἔχων πῶ γένειά ἐστι χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπὶ τῷ χιτῶνι φοινικῇν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἰκέτης ἀκόντια ἔχων ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγει κύνας ἐπιτηδεῖας θηρεύουσιν ἀνθρώποις. πυθέσθαι μὲν δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶχομεν· ταφῆναι δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν κοινῷ παρίστατο ἅπασιν εἰκάζειν. [8] Τριτείας δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ μὲν Κελβίδαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν,

ἀφικόμενον δὲ ἐκ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικοῖς· οἱ δὲ ὡς Ἄρης συγγένοιτο Τριτεία θυγατρὶ Τρίτωνος, ἱερᾶσθαι δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν παρθένον, Μελάνιππον δὲ παῖδα Ἄρεως καὶ Τριτείας οἰκίσαι τε ὡς ἠυξήθη τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς. [9] ἐν Τριτεία δὲ ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν καλουμένων Μεγίστων θεῶν, ἀγάλματα δὲ σφισι πηλοῦ πεποιημένα· τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν, οὐδὲν τι ἀλλοίως ἢ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ δρῶσιν Ἕλληνες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναός, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα λίθου τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐς Ῥώμην, καθὰ οἱ Τριταεῖς λέγουσιν, ἐκομίσθη. θύειν δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἄρει καὶ τῇ Τριτεία νομίζουσιν. [10] αἶδε μὲν οὖν θαλάσσης τέ εἰσιν ἀπωτέρω πόλεις καὶ ἡπειρώτιδες βεβαίως· πλέοντι δὲ ἐς Αἴγιον ἐκ Πατρῶν ἄκρα πρῶτόν ἐστιν ὀνομαζομένη Ῥίον, σταδίους δὲ Πατρῶν πεντήκοντα ἀπέχουσα, λιμὴν δὲ ὁ Πάνορμος σταδίοις πέντε καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς ἄκρας. τοσοῦτους δὲ ἀφέστηκεν ἑτέρους ἀπὸ Πανόρμου τὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καλούμενον τεῖχος. ἐς δὲ λιμένα Ἐρινεὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶς τείχους παράπλους ἐνενήκοντά εἰσι στάδιοι, ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἐς Αἴγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ· ὁδὸς δὲ ἡ πεζὴ σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀποδεῖ τὸν εἰρημένον.

[11] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Πατρέων ἄστεως ποταμός τε ὁ Μελίχως καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Τρικλαρίας ἐν ᾧ ἐστίν, ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μελίχου ποταμός ἐστιν ἄλλος· ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ποταμῷ Χάραδρος, ὥρα δὲ ἥρος πίνοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ βοσκήματα ὀφείλει τίκτειν ἄρρενα ὡς τὰ πλείω συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οἱ νομεῖς ἐτέρωσε αὐτὰ τῆς χώρας μεθιστάσι πλήν γε δὴ τὰς βοῦς· ταύτας δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, διότι καὶ πρὸς θυσίας οἱ ταυροὶ σφισι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιτηδειώτεροι θηλειῶν βοῶν εἰσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσι τὸ θῆλυ ἐπὶ πλέον τετίμηται.

23. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χάραδρον ἐρείπια οὐκ ἐπιφανῆ πόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀργυρᾶς, καὶ πηγὴ τε Ἀργυρᾶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου καὶ Σέλεμνος ποταμός κατιῶν ἐς θάλασσαν. λόγος δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς αὐτόν ἐστι, Σέλεμνον μειράκιον ὥραϊον ποιμαίνειν ἐνταῦθα, Ἀργυρᾶν δὲ εἶναι μὲν τῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ νυμφῶν, ἐρασθεῖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν Σελέμνου φοιτᾶν τε ὡς αὐτόν φασιν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνιοῦσαν, καὶ καθεῦδεν παρ' αὐτῷ:

[2] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον οὔτε ὥραϊος ἔτι ἐφαίνετο Σέλεμνος οὔτε ὡς αὐτόν φοιτήσιν ἔμελλεν ἢ νύμφη, Σέλεμνον δὲ μονωθέντα Ἀργυρᾶς καὶ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐποίησεν Ἀφροδίτῃ ποταμόν. λέγω δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Πατρέων λεγόμενα. καὶ — ἦρα γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ γενόμενος Ἀργυρᾶς, καθότι ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ λόγος Ἀρεθούσης ἔτι ἐρᾶν αὐτόν — δωρεῖται καὶ τῷδε Ἀφροδίτῃ Σέλεμνον· [3] ἐς λήθην ἄγει τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀργυρᾶς. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγον, τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σελέμνου σύμφορον καὶ ἀνδράσιν εἶναι καὶ γυναιξιν ἐς ἔρωτος ἴαμα, λουόμενοις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ λήθην ἔρωτος γίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μέτεστιν ἀληθείας τῷ λόγῳ, τιμιώτερον χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σελέμνου. [4] ἀπωτέρω δὲ Ἀργυρᾶς ποταμός ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενος Βολινᾶιος, καὶ πόλις ποτὲ ὤκειτο πρὸς αὐτῷ Βολίνα. παρθένου δὲ ἐρασθῆναι Βολίνης Απόλλωνα, τὴν δὲ φεύγουσαν ἐς τὴν ταύτη φασὶν ἀφεῖναι θάλασσαν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀθάνατον γενέσθαι χάριτι τοῦ

Ἀπόλλωνος. ἐφέξῃς δὲ ἅκρα τε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχει, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ λέγεται λόγος ὡς Κρόνος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνταῦθα ἔρριψε τὸ δρέπανον, ᾧ τὸν πατέρα Οὐρανὸν ἐλυμήνατο: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἅκραν Δρέπανον ὀνομάζουσιν. ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον Ῥυπῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια: σταδίου δὲ Αἶγιον περὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥυπῶν.

[5] Αἰγίου δὲ τὴν χώραν διέξεισι μὲν ποταμὸς Φοῖνιξ, διέξεισι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Μειγανίτας, ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέοντες. στοὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πλησίον ἐποιήθη Στράτωνι ἀθλητῇ, Ὀλυμπίαςιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης ἀνελομένῳ νίκας. αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐποιήθη: Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἡ Εἰλειθυία ἐς ἅκρους ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοὺς πόδας ὑφάσματι κεκάλυπται λεπτῷ, ξόανον πλὴν προσώπου τε καὶ χειρῶν ἅκρων καὶ ποδῶν, ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ

[6] Πεντελῆσιου λίθου πεποιήται: καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾶδα. Εἰλειθυία δὲ εἰκάσαι τις ἂν εἶναι δᾶδας, ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἰσιν αἱ ὠδῖνες: ἔχουσιν δ' ἂν λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε αἱ δᾶδες, ὅτι Εἰλειθυία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐς φῶς ἄγουσα τοὺς παῖδας. ἔργον δὲ τοῦ Μεσσηνίου Δαμοφῶντός ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμα. [7] τῆς δὲ Εἰλειθυίας οὐ μακρὰν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ ἀγάλματα Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ: ἱαμβεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τὸν Μεσσήνιον Δαμοφῶντα εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φησὶν. ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκετο ἀνὴρ μοι Σιδόνιος, ὃς ἐγνωκέναι τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἔφασκε Φοῖνικας καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα Ἑλλήνων βέλτιον καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ πατέρα μὲν σφᾶς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπιφημίζειν, θνητὴν δὲ γυναικὰ οὐδεμίαν μητέρα:

[8] Ἀσκληπιὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀέρα γένει τε ἀνθρώπων εἶναι καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ζῷοις ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ὑγίειαν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἥλιον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὀρθότατα Ἀσκληπιῷ πατέρα ἐπονομάζεσθαι, ὅτι ἐς τὸ ἀρμόζον ταῖς ὥραις ποιούμενος ὁ ἥλιος τὸν δρόμον μεταδίδωσι καὶ τῷ ἀέρι ὑγείας. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα, οὐδὲν δέ τι Φοινίκων μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἔφην τὸν λόγον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Τιτάνῃ τῆς Σικυωνίων τὸ αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὑγείαν τε ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ ἴπαιδὶ ἦν δῆλα ὡς τὸν ἡλιακὸν δρόμον ἐπὶ γῆς ὑγίειαν ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώποις. [9] Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ Αθηνᾶς τε ναὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἄλσος. Αθηνᾶς μὲν δὴ δύο ἀγάλματα λευκοῦ λίθου: τῆς δὲ Ἥρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ὅτι μὴ γυναιξὶν, ἢ ἂν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχη, ἄλλῳ γε δὴ οὐδενὶ ἔστι θεάσασθαι. Διονύσου δὲ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ πεποιήται σφίσις ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα, οὐκ ἔχων πῶ γένεια. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτήρος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τέμενος καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐσελθόντων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔχον πῶ γένεια ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαιότερον εἶναι μοι.

[10] ἐν δὲ οἰκίῳ κατευθὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ, χαλκοῦ καὶ ταῦτα, ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, ἐστὶ δὲ Ζεὺς τε καὶ Αθηνᾶ: θεοὺς δὲ σφᾶς καλοῦσιν ἐξ Ἀργεῶς, ὡς μὲν ὁ Ἀργεῖων ἔχει λόγος, ὅτι ἐποιήθησαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀργείῳ, ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Αἰγίει, παρακαταθήκη σφίσις ὑπὸ Ἀργεῖων ἐδόθη τὰ ἀγάλματα. [11] καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τάδε ἔτι προσταχθῆναι φασιν, ἐκάστη τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἡμέρα θύειν: αὐτοὶ δὲ σόφισμα εὐρόντες θύειν μὲν πλεῖστα ὅσα, κατευωχουμένοι δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν κοινῷ ἀνάλωμα οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰ γίνεσθαι:

τέλος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ἀναλούμενα ἀπαιτεῖν: τοὺς δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν ἐκτίσαι — καταλιπεῖν σφισιν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀγάλματα.

24. Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν κοινῷ, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, τοξευούσῃ δὲ εἵκασται, καὶ Ταλθυβίου τοῦ κήρυκος τάφος: κέχωσται δὲ τῷ Ταλθυβίῳ καὶ ἄλλο μνήμα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐναγίζουσιν ἀμφοτέραι. [2] πρὸς θαλάσῃ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίῳ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Ποσειδῶνος, Κόρης τε πεποιήται τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τέταρτον Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διί. ἐνταῦθα Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἔστι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματα: Ὀμαγύριος δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶς, ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἦθροισεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀξίους, μεθέξοντας ἐν κοινῷ βουλῆς καθ' ὅντινα χρῆ τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν Πριάμου στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀγαμέμνωνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔστιν ἐς ἔπαινον καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀκολουθήσασι καὶ οὐδεμιᾷς ἐπελθούσης ὕστερον στρατιᾶς τὴν τε Ἴλιον ἐπόρθησε καὶ ὅσαι περίοικοι πόλεις ἦσαν. [3] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαιᾶς ἔστι Δήμητρος. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ αἰγιαλός, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ Αἰγιεῦσιν ἔστι τὰ εἰρημένα, ὕδωρ ἄφθονον θεάσασθαι τε καὶ πιεῖν ἐκ πηγῆς ἡδύ. ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ Σωτηρίας ἱερὸν. ἰδεῖν μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν ἱερωμένων ἔστι, δρῶσι δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα: λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ πέμματα ἐπιχώρια ἀφιάσιν ἐς θάλασσαν, πέμπειν δὲ τῇ ἐν Συρακούσαις Ἀρεθούσῃ φασὶν αὐτά. [4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἰγιεῦσιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα, Ζεὺς τε ἡλικίαν παῖς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔχων πῶ γένεια, Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἱερεῖς αἵρετοὶ γίνονται, καὶ ἑκάτερα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις μένει τοῦ ἱερωμένου. τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα προεκέκριτο ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἱεραῖσθαι τῷ Διὶ ὁ νικῶν κάλλι: ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῷ γενεῶν ἐς ἄλλον παῖδα ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μετῆι τιμῇ. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐνομίζετο: ἐς δὲ Αἴγιον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἀθροίζεται, καθότι ἐς Θερμοπύλας τε καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. [5] ἰόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Σελινούς τε ποταμὸς καὶ ἀπωτέρω τεσσαράκοντα Αἰγίου σταδίοις ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίον ἔστιν Ἑλίκη. ἐνταῦθα ὄκητο Ἑλίκη πόλις καὶ Ἴωσιν ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίου. διαμεμένηκε δὲ σφισι, καὶ ὥς ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐς Ἀθῆνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας, σέβασθαι Ποσειδῶνα Ἑλικώνιον: καὶ Μιλησίοις τε ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν Βιβλίδαν Ποσειδῶνος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔστιν Ἑλικωνίου βωμὸς καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Τέφῳ περίβολός τε καὶ βωμός ἐστι τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ θεᾷ ἄξιος.

[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Ἑλίκην καὶ τὸν Ἑλικώνιον Ποσειδῶνα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀχαιοὺς τοῖς ἐνταῦθα, ἰκέτας ἄνδρας ἀποστήσασιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε τὸ μήνιμα ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἀλλὰ σεισμὸς ἐς τὴν χώραν σφίσιν αὐτίκα κατασκήψας τῶν τε οἰκοδομημάτων τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἔδαφος ἀφανὲς ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐποίησε. [7] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐπὶ τοῖς σεισμοῖς, ὅσοι μεγέθει τε ὑπερήρκασι καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον δικνοῦνται τῆς γῆς, προσημαίνειν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν εἶωθεν — ἢ γὰρ ἐπομβρία

συνεχεῖς ἢ αὐχοὶ πρὸ τῶν σεισμῶν συμβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ χρόνον πλείονα, καὶ ὁ ἄηρ παρὰ τὴν ἐκάστοτε τοῦ ἔτους ὥραν χειμῶνός τε γίνεται καυματοδέστερος καὶ ἐν θέρει μετὰ ἀγλῦος μᾶλλον ὁ κύκλος παρέχεται τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν χροάν παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἦτοι ἐς τὸ ἐρυθρότερον ἢ καὶ ἡσυχῇ ῥέπουσαν ἐς τὸ μελάντερον: [8] τῶν τε ὑδάτων ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπιλείπουσιν αἱ πηγαί, καὶ ἀνέμων ἔστιν οἷς ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβολαὶ περιτρέπουσιν τὰ δένδρα, καὶ πού καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ διαδρομαὶ σὺν πολλῇ τῇ φλογί, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀστέρων ὥφθη σχήματα οὔτε ἐγνωσμένα ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον καὶ μεγάλην τοῖς ὀρθῶσιν ἐμποιοῦντα ἐκπληξιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω πνευμάτων ὑπήχησις ἰσχυρά, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βιαίοις τῶν σεισμῶν ἐθέλει προενδείκνυσθαι: [9] — τῆς δὲ κινήσεως αὐτῆς καθέστηκεν οὐχ εἷς τρόπος, ἀλλ' οἱ φροντίσαντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐκείνων διδασχθέντες ιδέας καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τοσάσδε ἐπὶ τοῖς σεισμοῖς. ἡπιώτατος μὲν ἔστιν αὐτῶν, ἣν δὴ ἐν κακῷ γε τοσούτῳ ῥαστώνῃ ἐνεῖναι τινα ἡγησώμεθα, ἐπειδὴν ὁμοῦ τῇ κινήσει τῇ ἄρξαμένη τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τῇ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τροπῇ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἀντιστᾶσα ἐναντία κίνησις ἐξεγείρη τὰ ἦδη τραπέντα, — καὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ιδέᾳ [10] τοῦ σεισμοῦ κίονας ὀρᾶν ἔστιν ἀνορθουμένους οἱ ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν ἐς ἅπαν ἐκριφῆναι, καὶ ὅποσα διέστη τοίχων συνερχόμενα ἐς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς: δοκοὶ δέ, ὅσας ἐκτὸς ὀλισθεῖν ἐποίησεν ἡ κίνησις, ἐπανίασιν αὐθις ἐς τὰς ἑδρας: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὀχετῶν κατασκευῆς καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἐπὶ ὕδατος ῥοαῖς προάγει, καὶ τούτων συνδεῖ τὰ διεσπασμένα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπων τεκτόνων: — ὁ δὲ δὴ δεύτερος τῶν σεισμῶν ἀπώλειάν τε τῶν ἐτοιμοτέρων φέρει καί, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν βάλῃ τὴν ὀρμὴν, ἀνέκλινεν αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν μηχανήμασιν ὁμοίως. [11] τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλεθριώτατον τοιαύτῃ τι ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάζειν, τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πνεῦμα εἰ συνεχεῖ πυρετῷ πυκνότερόν τε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἄνω τῆς βίας ὠθοῖτο: τοῦτο δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ τε τοῦ σώματος ἐπισημαίνει καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπὸ ἐκάτερον μάλιστα τὸν καρπὸν. κατὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν εἴτ' εὐθὺς ὑποδύεσθαι τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ θεμέλια ἀναπάλλειν φασὶν αὐτόν, καθότι καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν σφαλάκων ἐκ μυχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀναπέμπεται: μόνῃ τε ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις οὐδὲ τοῦ οἰκισθῆναι ποτε ὑπολείπει σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γῇ. [12] τότε δὲ ιδέαν μὲν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑλικῇ τοῦ σεισμοῦ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀνακινουσαν, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλλο πῆμα τοιόνδε οἱ ἐπιγενέσθαι φασὶν ὥρα χειμῶνος. ἐπῆλθε γάρ σφισιν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὴν Ἑλικὴν περιέλαβεν ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέσχευεν ὁ κλύδων ὡς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων σύνοπτα εἶναι μόνον. σείσαντος δὲ ἐξαίφνης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ σεισμῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναδραμούσης, καθεῖλκυσε αὐτανδρὸν τὸ κῦμα τὴν Ἑλικὴν. [13] τοιοῦτό γε δὴ κατέλαβεν, καὶ ἕτερον τὴν ιδέαν, ἐν Σιτύλῳ πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι: ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἡ ιδέα κατεάγῃ τοῦ ὄρους, ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐρρύη, καὶ λίμνη τε ὀνομαζομένη Σαλόη τὸ χάσμα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐρείπια πόλεως δῆλα ἦν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέκρυσεν αὐτὰ τοῦ χειμάρρου. σύνοπτα δὲ καὶ Ἑλικῆς ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια, οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε ὁμοίως, ἅτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλμης λελυμασμένα.

25. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μήνιμα πάρεστι μὲν τοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλικὴν, πάρεστι δὲ

καὶ ἄλλοις διδασθῆναι πολλοῖς ὥς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητον· φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς παραινῶν ὁ ἐν Δωδώνῃ νέμειν ἐς ἱκέτας αἰδῶ. Ἀθηναῖοις γὰρ ἐπὶ ἡλικίας μάλιστα τῆς Ἀφείδαντος ἀφίκετο παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὸς τὰ ἔπη τάδε·
“φράζω δ’ Ἄρειόν τε πάγον βωμούς τε θυάδεις

Εὐμενίδων, ὅθι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίους σ’ ἱκετεῦσαι
δοῦρι πιεζομένους· τοὺς μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρῳ,
μηδ’ ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν· ἱκέται δ’ ἱεροὶ τε καὶ ἀγνοί.

“ [2] ταῦτα Ἑλλήσιν ἦλθεν ἐς μνήμην, ὅτε ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι, τότε Κόδρου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντος, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄλλος στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθοντο τοῦ Κόδρου τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ ὄντινα ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τρόπον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι νίκην ἔτι σφίσι κατὰ τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα ἤλπιζον· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἄνδρες γενόμενοι μὲν ἐντὸς τείχους λανθάνουσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί, ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς τε ἑαυτῶν ἀπεληλυθότας αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἄθροιζομένων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν αἱ Σεμναὶ καλοῦνται τοὺς βωμούς. [3] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τότε μὲν διδόασιν τοῖς ἱκέταις ἀπελθεῖν ἀζημίους, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς διέφθειραν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱκέτας τῶν Κύλωνι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατειληφόντων· καὶ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἀποκτείναντες ἐνομίσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐναγεῖς τῆς θεοῦ. Λακεδαιμονίοις δέ, ἀποκτείνασι καὶ τούτοις ἄνδρας ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταπεφευγότας τὸ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐσείσθη σφίσιν ἡ πόλις συνεχεῖ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ τῷ σεισμῷ, ὥστε οἰκίαν μηδεμίαν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀντισχεῖν. [4] ἐγένετο δὲ τῆς Ἑλικῆς ἀπώλεια Ἀστείου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἔτι ἄρχοντος, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἣν Δάμων Θούριος ἐνίκα τὸ πρῶτον. Ἑλικαέων δὲ οὐκέτι ὄντων νέμονται τὴν χώραν οἱ Αἰγίεις. [5] μετὰ δὲ Ἑλικὴν ἀποτραπήσῃ τε ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς δεξιὰν καὶ ἥξεις ἐς πόλισμα Κερύνειαν· ὥκισται δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐν ὄρει, καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄνομα ἢ δυνάστης ἐπιχώριος ἢ ὁ Κερυνίτης ποταμὸς πεποίηκεν, ὃς ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ ὄρους Κερυνείας ῥέων Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ταύτῃ παρέξεισι· παρὰ τούτους σύνοικοι Μυκηναῖοι κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος. Μυκηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἁλῶναι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων, ἐτετερίχιστο γὰρ κατὰ ταῦτά

[6] τῷ ἐν Τίρυνθι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυκλώπων καλουμένων, κατὰ ἀνάγκην δὲ ἐκλείπουσι Μυκηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλειπόντων σφᾶς τῶν σιτίων, καὶ ἄλλοι μὲν τινες ἐς Κλεωνὰς ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, τοῦ δήμου δὲ πλεον μὲν ἡμισυ ἐς Μακεδονίαν καταφεύγουσι παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐπίστευσεν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἀπαγγεῖλαι· ὁ δὲ ἄλλος δῆμος ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν Κερύνειαν, καὶ δυνατωτέρα τε ἢ Κερύνεια οἰκητόρων πλήθει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένετο ἐπιφανεστέρα διὰ τὴν συνοίκησιν τῶν Μυκηναίων. [7] ἐν Κερυνείᾳ δὲ ἱερὸν ἔστιν Εὐμενίδων· ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν. ὃς δ’ ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ αἵματι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ μιάσματι ἐνοχος ἢ καὶ ἀσεβὴς ἐσέλθῃ θέλων θεάσασθαι, αὐτίκα λέγεται δείμασιν ἐκτὸς τῶν φρενῶν γίνεσθαι· καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οὐ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡ ἔσοδος οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἔστι· τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἀγάλμασι ξύλων εἰργασμένοις * * * μέγεθός εἰσιν οὐ μεγάλοι, κατὰ δὲ

τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν γυναικῶν εἰκόνες λίθου τέ εἰσιν εἰργασμένοιαι καὶ ἔχουσαι τέχνης εὖ: ἐλέγοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἰέρεια ταῖς Εὐμενίσιν αἱ γυναῖκες γενέσθαι. [8] ἐκ Κερυνείας δὲ ἐπανελθόντι ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον καὶ ὁδεύσαντι οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ δευτέρα ἔστιν ἐς Βοῦραν ἀποτραπέσθαι: θαλάσσης δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἡ Βοῦρα ἐν ὄρει κεῖται. τεθῆναι δὲ φασὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Βούρας, θυγατέρα δ' αὐτὴν Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξούθου καὶ Ἑλίκης εἶναι. ὅτε δὲ Ἑλίκην ἐποίησεν ἄδηλον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ θεός, τότε καὶ τὴν Βοῦραν σεισμός ἐπέλαβεν ἰσχυρός, ὥς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὑπολειφθῆναι τὰ ἀρχαῖα.

[9] ὅπόσοι δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἀποδημοῦντες ἢ στρατείας ἔνεκα ἔτυχον ἢ κατὰ πρόφασιν ἀλλοίαν, μόνοι τε οὗτοι Βουρέων ἐλείφθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς Βούρας ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί. ναὸς ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Διονύσου τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἄλλος Εἰλειθυίας: λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργα Εὐκλείδου: καὶ τῇ Δήμητρί ἐστιν ἐσθής. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἰσιδι ἱερόν. [10] καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ Βούρας ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ποταμός τε Βουραϊκὸς ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ἐν σπηλαίῳ: ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν καὶ τούτου Βουραϊκός, μαντείας δὲ ἐπὶ πίνακι τε καὶ ἀστραγάλαις ἔστι λαβεῖν. εὐχεταὶ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ὁ τῷ θεῷ χρώμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εὐχῇ λαβὼν ἀστραγάλους — οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοι παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ κεῖνται — τέσσαρας ἀφίησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης: ἐπὶ δὲ παντὶ ἀστραγάλου σχήματι γεγραμμένα ἐν πίνακι ἐπίτηδες ἐξηγήσιν ἔχει τοῦ σχήματος.

[11] σταδίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλίκης ὁδὸς ἡ εὐθεῖα ἐστι. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ποταμὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν ἀένας ἐξ ὄρους Ἀρκαδικοῦ κατερχόμενος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Κράθις καὶ ἐνθα αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῷ ὄρει: ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς Κράθιδος καὶ πρὸς Κρότωνι τῇ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς ὄνομα ἔσχηκε. [12] πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ἀχαικῇ Κράθιδι Ἀχαιῶν ποτε ὤκειτο Αἰγαὶ πόλις: ἐκλειφθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας λέγουσι. τούτων δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος τῶν Αἰγῶν ἐν Ἥρας λόγοις ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, “οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ’ ἀνάγουσι,

“Hom. II.

8.203 δὴλον ὡς γέρα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐπ’ ἴσης ἔν τε Ἑλίκη καὶ ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς ἔχοντος. [13] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀπωτέρω Κράθιδος σῆμά τε ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα εὐρήσεις ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἵππῳ παρεστῶτα, ἀμυδρὰν γραφὴν. ὁδὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου σταδίων ὅσον τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Γαῖον: Γῆς δὲ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ὁ Γαῖος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Εὐρυστέρνου, ξόανον δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον. γυνὴ δὲ ἡ αἰετὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λαμβάνουσα ἀγιστεύει μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα ἔσται πλέον ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς πείραν ἀφιγμένη. πίνουσαι δὲ αἷμα ταύρου δοκιμάζονται: ἡ δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν τύχη μὴ ἀληθεύουσα, αὐτίκα ἐκ τούτου τὴν δίκην ἔσχευ. ἦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀφίκωνται γυναῖκες ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν πλέονες, ἡ τῷ κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα προτετίμηται.

26. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Αἰγειρατῶν — ὄνομα τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ τε πόλις καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον ἔχει —, ἐς οὗν τὸ ἐπίνειον Αἰγειρατῶν δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Βουραϊκὴν εἰσὶν Ἡρακλέους στάδιοι. ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ μὲν δὴ

Αἰγυρίαις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μῆνην, ὁδὸς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπινείου δύο σταδίων καὶ δέκα ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. [2] Ὀμήρου δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὑπερησία ὠνόμασαι: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἐγένετο Ἰώνων ἐποικούντων, ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύδε. Σικυωνίων ἀφίξεσθαι στρατὸς ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς πολέμιος ἐς τὴν γῆν: οἱ δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκουν ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς Σικυωνίοις εἶναι — ἀθροίζουσιν αἶγας, ὅποσαι σφίσιν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, συλλέξαντες δὲ ἔδυσαν πρὸς τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δᾶδας, καὶ ὥς πρόσω νυκτὸς ἦν, ἐξάπτουσι τὰς δᾶδας. [3] Σικυώνιοι δὲ — ἰέναι γὰρ συμμάχους τοῖς Ὑπερησιεύσιν ἠλπίζον καὶ εἶναι τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικουρικοῦ πυρός — οἱ μὲν οἴκαδε ἐπανήρχοντο, Ὑπερησιεῖς δὲ τῇ τε πόλει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν μετέθεντο ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν, καὶ καθότι αὐτῶν ἡ καλλίστη καὶ ἡγουμένη τῶν ἄλλων ὤκλασεν, Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας ἐποιήσαντο ἱερὸν, τὸ σόφισμα ἐς τοὺς Σικυωνίους οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος σφίσιν ἐπελθεῖν νομίζοντες. [4] οὐ μὴν καὶ αὐτίκα γε ἐξενίκησεν Αἰγυρίαν ἀντὶ Ὑπερησίας καλεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἔτι οἱ Ὀρεὸν τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἑστίασαν ἐκάλουν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ. παρείχετο δὲ ἡ Αἰγυρία ἐς συγγραφὴν ἱερὸν Διὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργον Εὐκλείδου. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε: πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκραι χεῖρες ἐλέφαντος καὶ οἱ πόδες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ξόανον χρυσοῦ τε ἐπιπολῆς διηνησιμένον ἐστὶ καὶ φαρμάκοις. [5] Ἀρτέμιδος τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν: ἱερᾶται δὲ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν ἀφίκηται γάμου. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἀρχαῖον, Ἰφιγένεια ἡ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὥς οἱ Αἰγυριᾶταί φασιν: εἰ δὲ ἀληθὴ λέγουσιν οὗτοι, δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰφιγενεία ποιηθεῖς ὁ ναός. [6] ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον τό τε ἱερὸν αὐτὸ καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς αἰετοῖς, ἀρχαῖον δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον, γυμνός, μεγέθει μέγας: τὸν ποιήσαντα δὲ εἶχεν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰπεῖν: ὅστις δὲ ἦδη τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐθεάσατο, τεκμαίροιο ἂν καὶ ἐν Αἰγυρίᾳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἔργον εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φλιασίου Λαφάου. [7] Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ναῷ καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐτέρωθι καὶ Ἰσιδος, λίθου καὶ ταῦτα Πεντελησίου. τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίαν σέβουσι μὲν τὰ μάλιστα, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις. θεοῦ δὲ ἦν Συρίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἐς ταύτης τὸ ἱερὸν ἐσίασιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς, ἄλλα τε ὅσα νομίζουσι προκαθαριεύσαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν δαίταν. [8] οἶδα καὶ οἴκημα ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ θεασάμενος: ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Τύχης, τὸ κέρας φέρουσα τὸ Ἀμαλθείας: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐρως πτερὰ ἔχων ἐστίν, ἐθέλει δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρωτα τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ κάλλους κατορθοῦται. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν Πινδάρου τά τε ἄλλα πειθόμαι τῇ ᾠδῇ καὶ Μοιρῶν τε εἶναι μίαν τὴν Τύχην καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἀδελφάς τι ἰσχύειν: [9] ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ ἀνὴρ τε ἦδη γέρων ἴσα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ τρεῖς ἀφαιρούμεναι ψεῖλιά εἰσι καὶ ἴσοι νεανίσκοι ταῖς γυναῖξί, καὶ ὁ ἐνδεδυκὼς δὲ θώρακα εἷς. τοῦτόν φασιν Ἀχαιοῖς γενομένου πολέμου μαχεσάμενον ἀνδρείοτατα Αἰγυριᾶτῶν τελευτῆσαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἴκαδε ἀπήγγειλαν: καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα αἱ τε ἀδελφαὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος ἀποκοσμοῦνται καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐπονομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Συμπαθῇ, ἅτε ἐλεεινὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι. [10] ὁδὸς δὲ ἐξ Αἰγείρας εὐθεῖα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ

Διὸς διὰ τε ὁρῶν καὶ ἀνάντης ἐστί: μῆκος μὲν οὖν τῆς ὁδοῦ τεσσαράκοντά
εἰσι στάδιοι, ἄγει δὲ ἐς Φελλόην, πόλισμα οὐκ ἐπιφανές, †οὐδὲ ὥς αἰεὶ ᾠκεῖτο
καὶ Ἰώνων ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν γῆν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Φελλόην ἐς φυτεῖαν ἀμπέλων
ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια: καὶ ὅσα πετρώδη τῆς χώρας, δρυὲς τέ εἰσι καὶ θηρία, ἔλαφοι
καὶ ὕς ἄγριοι:

[11] εἰ δέ τινα τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνσι πολισματίων ἀφθόνῳ καταρρεῖται τῷ ὕδατι,
ἀριθμεῖν καὶ τὴν Φελλόην ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Διονύσου καὶ
Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστίν: ἡ μὲν χαλκοῦ πεποίηται, βέλος δὲ ἐκ φαρέτρας λαμβάνουσα:
τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ ὑπὸ κινναβάρεως τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐπηνθισμένον. ἐς δὲ τὸ
ἐπίνειον καταβάσιν ἐξ Αἰγείρας καὶ αὐθις ἐς τὰ πρόσω βαδίζουσιν ἔστιν ἐν
δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγροτέρας, ἔνθα τὴν αἶγα ὀκλάσαι λέγουσιν. [12]
τῆς δὲ Αἰγειρατῶν ἔχονται Πελληνεῖς: πρὸς Σικυῶνος δὲ οὗτοι καὶ μοίρας τῆς
Ἀργολίδος Ἀχαιῶν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει λόγῳ μὲν
τῷ Πελληνέαν ἀπὸ Πάλλαντος, τῶν Τιτάνων δὲ καὶ Πάλλαντα εἶναι λέγουσι,
δόξη δὲ τῇ Ἀργείων ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀργεῖου Πέλληνος: Φόρβαντος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ
Τριόπα παῖδα αὐτὸν λέγουσιν.

[13] Αἰγείρας δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ Πελλήνης πόλισμα ὑπήκοον Σικυωνίων
Δονοῦσσα καλουμένη ἐγένετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικυονίων ἀνάστατος,
μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι φασιν αὐτῆς
ποιήσαντα ἔπος· οἱ θ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Δονόεσσαν:

“Hom. II.

2.573 Πεισίστρατον δέ, ἡνίκα ἔπη τὰ Ὁμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἄλλα
ἄλλαχού μνημονευόμενα ἤθροιζε, τότε αὐτὸν Πεισίστρατον ἢ τῶν τινα
ἐταίρων μεταποιῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας. [14] ἔστι δὲ Ἀριστοναῦται
Πελληνεῦσιν ἐπίνειον. ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ Αἰγείρας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ σταδίων ἐστὶν
εἴκοσιν ὁδὸς καὶ ἑκατόν: ταύτης δὲ ἡμίσεια ἐς Πελλήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπινείου.
ὄνομα δὲ Ἀριστοναύτας γενέσθαι τῷ ἐπινείῳ λέγουσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν
λιμένα ὠρμίσαντο οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς.

27. Πελληνεῦσι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λόφῳ κατὰ ἄκραν τὴν κορυφὴν ἐς
ὁξὺ ἀνεστηκότος. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἀπότομον καὶ δι' αὐτό ἐστιν ἀοίκητον: τῷ δὲ
χθαμαλωτέρῳ πεπόλισται σφισιν οὐ συνεχῆς ἡ πόλις, ἐς δὲ μοίρας
νενεμημένη δύο ὑπὸ τῆς ἄκρας μεταξὺ ἀνεχούσης. ἰόντων δὲ ἐς Πελλήνην
ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐπὶ κλησιν μὲν Δόλιος, εὐχὰς δὲ
ἀνθρώπων ἔτοιμος τελέσαι: σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ τετράγωνον, γένειά τε ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ
τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλον εἰργασμένον. [2] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν
Ἀθηνᾶς λίθου μὲν ἐπιχωρίου ναός, ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ:
Φειδιάν δὲ εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φασὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τε
αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ ἀγάλματα.
λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄδυτον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθήκειν ἐς βάθος τῆς γῆς,
εἶναι δὲ τὸ ἄδυτον τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῷ βάθρῳ, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἐκ τοῦ
ἀδύτου νότιόν τε εἶναι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἐπιτήδειον. [3] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν
ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἄλσος περιφωκοδομημένον τείχει Σωτείρας ἐπὶ κλησιν
Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁμνύουσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις αὐτήν: ἔσοδός τε πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν
ἄλλῳ γε οὐδενὶ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων. ἱερεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰσὶ κατὰ

δόξαν γένους μάλιστα αἰρούμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ἄλλους τῆς Σωτείας ἱερὸν ἀπαντικρὺ Διονύσου Λαμπτήρός ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν: τοῦτῳ καὶ Λαμπτήρια ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ δῆδās τε ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζουσιν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ οἴνου κρατήρας ἰσθᾶσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν. [4] ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Θεοξενίου Πελληνεῦσιν ἱερὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦ πεποιήται: καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελοῦσι Θεοξένια τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, τιθέντες ἀργύριον ἄθλα τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγωνίζονται τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος: τοξευούσης δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρέχεται σχῆμα. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ ἔλυτρον κρήνης ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ λουτρά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ τοὶ πίνειν πηγαί σφισιν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν οὐ πολλαί: τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἔνθα αἱ πηγαί, Γλυκείας ὀνομάζουσι. [5] γυμνάσιον δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐς ἐφήβων μάλιστα ἀνεῖται μελέτην: οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐγγραφῆναι πρότερον καθέστηκεν οὐδενὶ πρὶν ἢν ἐφηβεύσωσιν. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ Πελληνεὺς ἔστηκε Πρόμαχος ὁ Δρύωνος, ἀνελόμενος παγκρατίου νίκας, τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι, τρεῖς δ' Ἰσθμίων καὶ Νεμέᾳ δύο: καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ποιήσαντες οἱ Πελληνεῖς τὴν μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, λίθου ταύτην καὶ οὐ χαλκοῦ. [6] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Κορινθίου συνεστῶτος πολέμου Πελληνεῦσιν ἀποκτείνειεν ὁ Πρόμαχος πλείστους τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πουλυδάμαντος τοῦ Σκοτουσσαίου κρατήσειεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: τὸν δὲ Πουλυδάμαντα δεύτερα τότε ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀφίχθαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν ἀνασθθέντα οἶκαδε. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἡσσηθῆναι Πουλυδάμαντα οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες παρέχονται καὶ ἄλλα ἐς πίστιν καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἐπὶ τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι:”ὦ τροφὲ Πουλυδάμαντος ἀνικάτου Σκοτόεσσα.

“unknown [7] Πελληνεῖς δ' οὖν Πρόμαχον τὰ μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ. Χαίρωνα δὲ δύο ἀνελόμενον πάλης νίκας Ἰσθμικὰς καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τέσσαρας οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐθέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι κατέλυσε πολιτείαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὴν ἐν Πελλήνῃ, δῶρον τὸ ἐπιφθονώτατον παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου λαβών, τύραννος πατρίδος τῆς αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι. [8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Πελληνεῦσιν ἱερὸν: τοῦτο ἐν μοίρᾳ τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐλάχισσιν ἐστὶν ἰδρυμένον. τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Ποσειδῖον τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότερα ἦν δῆμος, ἔρημον δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν. ἔστι μὲν δὴ τὸ Ποσειδῖον τοῦτο ὑπὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον, διαμεμένηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τότε ἐπὶ αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν νομίζεσθαι. [9] Πελλήνης δὲ ὅσον στάδια ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει τὸ Μύσαιον, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος Μυσίας: ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Μύσιόν φασιν ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον, ἐδέξατο δὲ οἶκῳ Δήμητρα καὶ ὁ Μύσιος λόγῳ τῷ Ἀργεῖον. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος ἐν τῷ Μυσαίῳ, δένδρα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα, καὶ ὕδωρ ἄφθονον ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῶν. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν τῇ Δήμητρι ἐνταῦθα ἡμερῶν ἐπτά:

[10] τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὑπεξίσσιν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καταλειπόμενοι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες δρῶσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ὅποσα νόμος ἐστὶν αὐταῖς: ἀπελαύνονται δὲ οὐχ οἱ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὸ ἄρρεν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφικομένων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ γυναῖκες τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας οἱ ἄνδρες γέλῳτι τε ἐς ἀλλήλους χρῶνται καὶ σκώμμασιν. [11] ἀπωτέρω δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυσαίου ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καλούμενον Κῦρος, καὶ ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. ὕδωρ δὲ

καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνέδην ἐστί, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται. ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέρχονται τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Πελλήνην, πρὸς μὲν Αἰγείρας καλούμενος Κριός· ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Τιτᾶνος Κριοῦ·^[12] Κριὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὠνόμασται ποταμός, ὃς ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον κάτεισι. καθότι δὲ Πελληνεῦσιν ὄροι τῆς χώρας πρὸς Σικυωνίους εἰσί, κατὰ τοῦτο ποταμός σφισι Σύθας, ἔσχατος ποταμῶν τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν, ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκδίδωσι θάλασσαν.

BOOK VIII.

Ἀρκαδικά

1. Ἀρκάδων δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῆς Ἀργείας Τεγεᾶται τε ἔχουσι καὶ Μαντινεῖς, νέμονται δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν τὸ μεσόγαιον τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Κορινθιοὶ γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ πρῶτοι: Κορινθίοις δὲ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης εἰσὶν Ἐπιδάυριοι γείτονες: τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ Τροιζηνά τε καὶ Ἑρμιόνα ὁ κόλπος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀργολικὸς καὶ ὅσα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Ἀργείας: ταύτης δὲ ἔχονται τῆς χώρας Λακεδαιμονίων περίοικοι, τούτοις δὲ ὁμορος ἡ Μεσσηνία: καταβαίνει γὰρ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐς Μοθώνην καὶ Πύλον καὶ ἐπὶ Κυπαρισσίας. [2] τὰ δὲ πρὸς Λεχαιῶν Κορινθίοις Σικυώνιοι προσοικοῦσιν ἔσχατοι ταύτῃ μοίρας τῆς Ἀργολίδος: μετὰ δὲ Σικυῶνα Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εἰσὶν οἱ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν οἰκοῦντες: τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Πελοποννήσου πέρας τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν Ἑχινάδων οἰκοῦσιν Ἥλαιοι: τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Ἥλειας κατὰ μὲν Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἰσὶν ὄροι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἀχαΐαν Δυμαίων εἰσὶν ὁμοροὶ. [3] τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων καθηκόντων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Ἀρκάδες τὸ ἐντὸς οἰκοῦσιν ἀποκλειόμενοι θαλάσσης πανταχόθεν: ὅθεν σφᾶς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν ἐς Τροίαν παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος πλοῖα εἰληφότας καὶ οὐχὶ ναυσὶν οἰκείαις. [4] φασὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ὥς Πελασγὸς γένοιτο ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ πρῶτος. εἰκὸς δὲ ἔχει τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελασγῷ μηδὲ αὐτὸν Πελασγὸν γενέσθαι μόνον: ποίων γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἦρχεν ὁ Πελασγὸς ἀνθρώπων; μεγέθει μέντοι καὶ κατὰ ἀλκὴν καὶ κάλλος προεῖχεν ὁ Πελασγὸς καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦν, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα αἰρεθῆναι μοι δοκεῖ βασιλεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίῳ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτόν: "Ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμοισιν ὄρεσσι γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.

"Asius, unknown location.

[5] Πελασγὸς δὲ βασιλεύσας τοῦτο μὲν ποιήσασθαι καλύβας ἐπενόησεν, ὥς μὴ ῥιγοῦν τε καὶ ὕεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος τλαιπωρεῖν: τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δερμάτων τῶν οἰῶν, οἷς καὶ νῦν περὶ τε Εὐβοίαν ἔτι χρῶνται καὶ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ὀπόσοι βίου σπανίζουσιν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξευρών. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν φύλλων τὰ ἔτι χλωρὰ καὶ πόας τε καὶ ῥίζας οὐδὲ ἐδωδίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλεθρίους ἐνίας

σιτουμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτων μὲν ἔπαυσεν ὁ Πελασγός: [6] ὁ δὲ τὸν καρπὸν τῶν δρυῶν οὔτι που πασῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς βαλάνους τῆς φηγοῦ τροφὴν ἐξεῦρεν εἶναι. παρέμεινεν τε ἐνίοις ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τούτου ἡ δίαιτα, ὥς καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν, ἡνίκα Λακεδαιμονίοις γῆς τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἀπηγόρευεν ἄπτεσθαι, καὶ τότε εἰπεῖν τὰ ἔπη: "πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,

οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν: ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μεγαίρω.

"Πελασγοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος γενέσθαι καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Πελασγίαν φασὶν ὄνομα.

2. Λυκάων δὲ ὁ Πελασγοῦ τοςάδε εὔρεν ἢ ὁ πατὴρ οἱ σοφώτερα: Λυκόσουράν τε γὰρ πόλιν ᾧκισεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ καὶ Δία ὠνόμασε Λυκαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε Λύκαια. οὐκέτι δὲ τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Παναθήναια τεθῆναι πρότερα ἀποφαίνομαι: τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι Ἀθήναια ὄνομα ἦν, Παναθήναια δὲ κληθῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ Θησέως, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐτέθη συνειλεγμένων ἐς μίαν ἀπάντων πόλιν. [2] ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ὁ Ὀλυμπικὸς — ἐπανάγουσι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἀνωτέρω τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, Κρόνον καὶ Δία αὐτόθι παλαῖσαι λέγοντες καὶ ὡς Κούρητες δράμοιεν πρῶτοι — τούτων ἔνεκα ἐκτὸς ἔστω μοι τοῦ παρόντος λόγου. δοκῶ δὲ ἔγωγε Κέκροπι ἡλικίαν τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λυκάονι εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν, σοφία δὲ οὐχ ὁμοία σφᾶς ἐς τὸ θεῖον χρήσασθαι. [3] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δία τε ὠνόμασεν Ὑπατον πρῶτος, καὶ ὁπόσα ἔχει ψυχὴν, τούτων μὲν ἡξίωσεν οὐδὲν θῆσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάνους καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι: Λυκάων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς βρέφος ἦνεγκεν ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἔθυσσε τὸ βρέφος καὶ ἔσπεισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ γενέσθαι λύκον φασὶν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου. [4] καὶ ἐμέ γε ὁ λόγος οὗτος πείθει, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνθρωποι ξένοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι θεοῖς ἦσαν ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ σφισιν ἐναργῶς ἀπῆντα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμὴ τε οὖσιν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀδικήσασιν ὡσαύτως ἡ ὀργή, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ θεοὶ τότε ἐγίνοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ γέρα καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι ἔχουσιν ὡς Ἀρισταῖος καὶ Βριτόμαρτις ἡ Κρητικὴ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκμήνης καὶ Ἀμφιάραος ὁ Οἰκλέους, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Κάστωρ. [5] οὕτω πείθοιτο ἂν τις καὶ Λυκάονα θηρίον καὶ τὴν Ταντάλου Νιόβην γενέσθαι λίθον. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ — κακία γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἠϋζέτο καὶ γῆν τε ἐπενέμετο πᾶσαν καὶ πόλεις πάσας — οὔτε θεὸς ἐγίνετο οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, πλην ὅσον λόγῳ καὶ κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον, καὶ ἀδίκους τὸ μῆνιμα τὸ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὧσέ τε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐνθένδε ἀπόκειται. [6] ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι πολλὰ μὲν πάλοι συμβάντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔτι γινόμενα ἄπιστα εἶναι πεποιήκασιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἐψευσμένα. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ ὡς Λυκάονος ὕστερον αἰεὶ τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπου λύκος γίνοιτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς, γίνοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον: ὁπότε δὲ εἴη λύκος, εἰ μὲν κρεῶν ἀπόσχοιτο ἀνθρωπίνων, ὕστερον ἔτει δεκάτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν αὐθις ἄνθρωπον ἐκ λύκου γίνεσθαι, γευσάμενον δὲ ἐς αἰὲ μένειν θηρίον. [7] ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Νιόβην λέγουσιν ἐν Σιπύλῳ τῷ ὄρει θέρους ὥρα κλαίειν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἤκουσα, τοῖς γρυψὶ στίγματα ὅποια καὶ ταῖς παρδάλεσιν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς οἱ Τρίτωνες ἀνθρώπου φωνὴ φθέγγονται: οἱ δὲ καὶ φυσᾶν διὰ κόχλου τετρυπημένης φασὶν αὐτούς. ὁπόσοι δὲ μυθολογήμασιν ἀκούοντες ἡδονταί, πεφύκασι καὶ αὐτοὶ τι ἐπιτερατεῦσθαι: καὶ οὕτω τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐλυμήναντο, συγκεραννύντες αὐτὰ ἐψευσμένοις.

3. τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ μετὰ Πελασγὸν ἐξ τε πόλεων καὶ ἐς ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος ἐπέδωκεν ἡ χώρα. Νύκτιμος μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτάτος τε ἦν καὶ εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παῖδες τοῦ Λυκάονος πόλεις ἐνταῦθα ἔκτιζον ἐνθα ἐκάστῳ μάλιστα ἦν κατὰ γνώμην. Πάλλας μὲν καὶ Ὀρεσθεὺς καὶ Φίγαλος

Παλλάντιον, Ὅρεσθεὺς δὲ Ὅρεσθάσιον, Φιγαλίαν δὲ οἰκίζει Φίγαλος. [2] Παλλαντίου μὲν δὴ καὶ Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἐν Γηρουνίδι ἐποίησατο μνήμην: Φιγαλία δὲ καὶ Ὅρεσθάσιον ἐν χρόνῳ μεταβάλλουσι τὰ ὀνόματα, Ὅρεστειὸν τε ἀπὸ Ὅρεστου κληθεῖσα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Φιαλία ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουκολίωνος παιδὸς Φιάλου. Τραπεζεὺς δὲ καὶ Δασεάτας καὶ Μακαρεὺς καὶ Ἐλισσὼν καὶ Ἀκακός τε καὶ Θῶκνος Θωκνίαν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀκακήσιον ἔκτισεν: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀκάκου καὶ Ὅμηρος λόγῳ τῷ Ἀρκάδων ἐς Ἑρμῆν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ κλησιν: [3] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐλισσόντος ἦ τε πόλις καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Ἐλισσὼν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐσχίκασιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μακαρία τε καὶ Δασέα καὶ Τραπεζοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Λυκάονος ἐκλήθησαν καὶ αὗται παίδων. Ὁρχομενὸς δὲ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς Μεθυδρίου τε καλουμένης καὶ Ὁρχομενίων, οὓς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι πολυμήλους ὠνόμασεν Ὅμηρος. ὑπὸ δὲ Ὑψοῦντος καὶ * * Μελαινεαί τε ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ Ὑψοῦς, ἔτι δὲ Θυραίων τε καὶ Αἰμονιαί: δόξη δὲ τῇ Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἡ Θυρέα ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι γῇ καὶ ὁ Θυρεάτης καλούμενος κόλπος ἀπὸ τοῦ Θυραίου τούτου τὰ ὀνόματα ἐσχίκασι. [4] Μαντινεὺς δὲ καὶ Τεγεάτης καὶ Μαίναλος, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλεων ὀνομαστοτάτην τὸ ἀρχαῖον Μαίναλον, Τεγεάτης δὲ καὶ Μαντινεὺς Τεγέαν κτίζουσι καὶ Μαντίνειαν. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Κρώμου Κρῶμοι, καὶ Χαρισία Χαρίσιον ἔχουσα οἰκιστήν, Τρικώλωνι δὲ ἀπὸ Τρικολώνου, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Περαιῆθου Περαιθεῖς, Ἀσέα δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀσεάτα καὶ ἀπὸ Λυκέως Λυκόα καὶ Σουματία ἀπὸ Σουματέως: Ἀλίφηρος δὲ καὶ Ἡραιεὺς ἐπώνυμοι καὶ οὗτοι πόλεσιν εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρω. [5] Οἰνώτρος δὲ ὁ τῶν παίδων νεώτατος Λυκάονι ἀρσένων Νύκτιμον τὸν ἀδελφὸν χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας αἰτήσας ἐπεραιώθη ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἡ Οἰνωτρία χώρα τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἀπὸ Οἰνώτρου βασιλεύοντος. οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς ἀποικίαν στόλος πρῶτος ἐστάλη: ἀναριθμουμένῳ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδένας πρότερον ἢ Οἰνώτρος ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν. [6] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ γένει παντὶ τῷ ἄρσενι θυγάτηρ Λυκάονι ἐγένετο Καλλιστώ. ταύτῃ τῇ Καλλιστοῖ — λέγω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων — συνεγένετο ἐρασθεὶς Ζεὺς: Ἥρα δὲ ὡς ἐφώρασεν, ἐποίησεν ἄρκτον τὴν Καλλιστώ, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἐς χάριν τῆς Ἥρας κατετόξευσεν αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς Ἑρμῆν πέμπει σῶσαι τὸν παῖδά οἱ προστάξας, ὃν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ εἶχεν ἡ Καλλιστώ:

[7] Καλλιστῶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν ἀστέρας καλουμένην ἄρκτον μεγάλην, ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσεύς ἀνάπλω παρὰ Καλυπσοῦς μνήμην ἔσχε: “Πηλιάδας τ’ ἐσορῶντα καὶ ὄψε δύνοντα Βοώτην

ἄρκτον θ’, ἦν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν.

“Hom. Od.

5.272 ἔχοιεν δ’ ἂν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἀστέρες ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ Καλλιστοῦς, ἐπεὶ τάφον γε αὐτῆς ἀποφαίνουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

4. μετὰ δὲ Νύκτιμον ἀποθανόντα Ἀρκὰς ἐξεδέξατο ὁ Καλλιστοῦς τὴν ἀρχήν: καὶ τὸν τε ἡμέρον καρπὸν ἐσηγάγετο οὗτος παρὰ Τριπτολέμου καὶ τὴν ποίησιν ἐδίδαξε τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὑφαίνεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ ἐς ταλασίαν μαθὼν παρὰ Δρίστα. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Ἀρκαδία τε ἀντὶ Πελασγίας ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀντὶ Πελασγῶν Ἀρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. [2]

συνοικῆσαι δὲ οὐ θνητῇ γυναικὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ νύμφῃ Δρυάδι ἔλεγον: Δρυάδας γὰρ δὴ καὶ Ἐπιμηλιάδας, τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν Ναΐδας, καὶ Ὀμήρῳ γε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι Ναΐδων νυμφῶν μάλιστά ἐστι μνήμη. τὴν δὲ νύμφην ταύτην καλοῦσιν Ἐρατώ, καὶ ἐκ ταύτης φασὶν Ἀρκάδι Ἀζᾶνα καὶ Ἀφειδάντα γενέσθαι καὶ Ἑλατον: [3] ἐγγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἔτι Αὐτόλαος νόθος. τοῖς δὲ παισίν, ὡς ηὔξήθησαν, διένειμεν Ἀρκὰς τριχῇ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀζᾶνος ἡ Ἀζανία μοῖρα ὠνομάσθη: παρὰ τούτων δὲ ἀποικισθῆναι λέγουσιν, ὅσοι περὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τὸ καλούμενον Στεῦνος καὶ Πέγκκαλαν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσιν. Ἀφειδας δὲ Τεγέαν καὶ τὴν προσεχῇ ταύτης ἔλαχεν: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν Ἀφειδάντειον κλῆρον τὴν Τεγέαν. [4] Ἑλατος δὲ ἔσχε τὸ ὄρος τὴν Κυλλήνην, ἔτι τότε οὖσαν ἀνώνυμον: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μετώκησεν ὁ Ἑλατος ἐς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Φωκίδα, καὶ τοῖς τε Φωκεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ὑπὸ Φλεγυῶν πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις καὶ Ἐλατείας πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστής. παῖδα δὲ Ἀζᾶνι μὲν Κλείτορα, Ἀφειδάντι δὲ Ἄλεον, Ἐλάτῳ δὲ φασὶν εἶναι πέντε, Αἶπυτον Περέα Κυλλῆνα Ἴσχυον Στύμφηλον. [5] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀζᾶνι τῷ Ἀρκάδος τελευτήσαντι ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον: εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, οὐκ οἶδα, ἵπποδρομίας δὲ ἐτέθη. Κλείτῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀζᾶνος ἐν Λυκοσῶρα τε ὥκει καὶ ἦν τῶν βασιλέων δυνατώτατος καὶ Κλείτορα ὥκισεν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν, Ἄλεος δὲ εἶχε τὴν πατρῶαν λῆξιν: [6] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐλάτου τῶν παίδων Κυλλήνην τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Κυλλήνος, καὶ ἀπὸ Στυμφήλου πηγὴ τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πόλις Στύμφηλος ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Ἴσχυος τοῦ Ἐλάτου πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἐδήλωσα. παῖδα δὲ Περεῖ ἄρρενα μὲν φασὶν οὐδένα, Νέαιραν δὲ γενέσθαι θυγατέρα: ταύτην γυναῖκα ἔσχεν Αὐτόλυκος, οἰκῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Παρνασσῷ, λεγόμενος δὲ Ἑρμοῦ παῖς εἶναι, Δαιδαλίωνος δὲ ὢν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ. [7] Κλείτορι δὲ τῷ Ἀζᾶνος οὐ γενομένων παίδων, ἐς Αἶπυτον Ἐλάτου περιεχώρησεν ἡ Ἀρκάδων βασιλεία: τὸν δὲ Αἶπυτον ἐξελθόντα ἐς ἄγρην θηρίων μὲν τῶν ἀλκιμωτέρων οὐδέν, σῆψ δὲ οὐ προῖδόμενον ἀποκτίννυσι. τὸν δὲ ὄφιν τοῦτον καὶ αὐτός ποτε εἶδον: κατὰ ἔχιν ἐστὶ τὸν μικρότατον, τέφρα ἐμφορῆς, στίγμασιν οὐ συνεχέσι πεποικιλμένος: κεφαλὴ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πλατεῖα καὶ τράχηλος στενός, γαστέρα δὲ ἔχει μείζονα καὶ οὐρὰν βραχεῖαν: βαδίζει δὲ οὕτως τε καὶ ὅφιν ἕτερος ὁ κεράστης καλούμενος ἐνδιδόντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια, ὥσπερ οἱ καρκίνοι.

[8] μετὰ δὲ Αἶπυτον ἔσχεν Ἄλεος τὴν ἀρχήν: Ἀγαμήδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Γόρτυς οἱ Στυμφήλου τέταρτον γένος ἦσαν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος, Ἄλεος δὲ τρίτον ὁ Ἀφειδαντος. Ἄλεος δὲ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀλέᾳ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠκοδόμησεν ἐν Τεγέᾳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο αὐτόθι ἡ βασιλεία: Γόρτυς δὲ ὁ Στυμφήλου πόλιν Γόρτυνα ὥκισεν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ: καλεῖται δὲ Γορτύνιος καὶ ὁ ποταμός. Ἀλέῳ δὲ ἄρσενες μὲν παῖδες Λυκοῦργός τε καὶ Ἀμφιδάμας καὶ Κηφεύς, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἐγένετο Αὐγῇ. [9] ταύτῃ τῇ Αὐγῇ τῷ Ἑκαταίου λόγῳ συνεγίνετο Ἡρακλῆς, ὅποτε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν: τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐφωράθη τετοκυῖα ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἄλεος ἐσθέμενος ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδί ἐς λάρνακα ἀφίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀφίκετο ἐς Τεῦθραντα δυνάστην ἄνδρα ἐν Καΐκου πεδίῳ καὶ συνώκησεν ἐρασθέντι τῷ Τεῦθραντι: καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν Αὐγῆς μνημα ἐν Περγάμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καΐκου, γῆς χῶμα λίθου

περιεχόμενον κρηπίδι, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπίθημα χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, γυνὴ γυμνή. [10] μετὰ δὲ Ἄλιον τελευτήσαντα Λυκούργος ὁ Ἀλέου τὴν βασιλείαν πρεσβεῖα ἔσχε· παρέσχετο δὲ ἐς μνήμην Ἀρηίθοον ἄνδρα πολεμικὸν δόλῳ καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κτείνας. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀγκαίου τε καὶ Ἐπόχου, τὸν μὲν νοσήσαντα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν, Ἀγκαῖος δὲ Ἰάσονί τε τοῦ πλοῦ μετέσχεν ἐς Κόλχους καὶ ὕστερον ὁμοῦ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Καλυδῶνι κατεργαζόμενος θηρίον ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕος.

Λυκούργος μὲν δὴ πορρωτάτῳ γήρῳ ἀφίκετο ἐπιδὼν τοὺς παῖδας ἀμφοτέρους τελευτήσαντας·

5. Λυκούργου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἔχεμος ὁ Ἀερόπου τοῦ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἔσχεν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου Δωριεῖς κατιόντας ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὑπὸ ἡγεμονίᾳ Ὑλλῳ τῷ Ἡρακλέους Ἀχαιοὶ περὶ ἰσθμὸν τὸν Κορινθίων κρατοῦσι μάχῃ, καὶ Ἔχεμος ἀποκτίνυσιν Ὑλλον μονομαχήσαντά οἱ κατὰ πρόκλησιν. τάδε γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἰκότα εἶναι μοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ πρότερος λόγος, ἐν ᾧ βασιλεύειν τε Ἀχαιῶν τηνικαῦτα Ὀρέστην ἔγραψα καὶ Ὑλλον καὶ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος ἀποπειρᾶσαι καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον. φαίνοιτο δ' ἂν τῷ ὕστερῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ Τιμάνδρα συνοικήσασα ἢ Τυνδάρεω τῷ ἀποκτείναντι Ὑλλον Ἐχέμῳ. [2] Ἀγαπήνωρ δὲ ὁ Ἀγκαίου τοῦ Λυκούργου μετὰ Ἐχεμον βασιλεύσας ἐς Τροίαν ἡγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης ὁ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν οἴκαδε ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν ἐς Κύπρον, καὶ Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς

Ἀφροδίτης κατεσκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν· τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ. [3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Λαοδίκη γεγονυῖα ἀπὸ Ἀγαπήνορος ἔπεμψεν ἐς Τεγέαν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ἀλέα πέπλον· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι ἐπίγραμμα καὶ αὐτῆς Λαοδίκης ἅμα ἐδήλου τὸ γένος· Ἰαοδίκης ὅδε πέπλος· ἔῃ δ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναῖ

πατρίδ' ἐς εὐρύχορον Κύπρου ἀπὸ ζαθέας.

“

Ἀγαπήνορος δὲ οὐκ ἀνασωθέντος οἴκαδε ἐξ Ἰλίου, [4] παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰππόθους Κερκύνος τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τοῦ Στυμφήλου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπιφανὲς συμβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βίον φασὶν οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἐν Τεγέα τὴν βασιλείαν κατεστήσατο ἀλλὰ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι· Αἴπυτος δὲ ὁ Ἰππόθου μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ μαντείαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος μετόκησεν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐκ Μυκηνῶν. [5] Αἰπύτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἰππόθου παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τολμήσαντι — ἔσοδος δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὔτε τότε ἐς αὐτὸ ἦν οὔτε ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἔστιν — , ἐς τοῦτο ἐσελθόντι τυφλωθῆναι καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς συμφορᾶς τελευτῆσαι οἱ τὸν βίον ἐγένετο. [6] Κυψέλου δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύοντος μετὰ Αἴπυτον, ὁ Δωριέων στόλος οὐ διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ, καθὰ ἐπὶ τρεῖς τὰς πρότερον γενεάς, ναυσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον Ῥίον κάτεισιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον· πυνθανόμενός τε τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύψελος, ὃν τῶν Ἀριστομάχου παίδων οὐκ ἔχοντά πω γυναῖκα εὗρισκε, τούτῳ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδούς καὶ οἰκειωσάμενος τὸν Κρεσφόντην αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐκτός ἐστήκεσαν δείματα.

[7] Ὀλαίας δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, ὃς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν παῖδα Αἵπυτον, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Ἄργους Ἡρακλεῖδαι κατάγουσιν ἐς Μεσσήνην. τοῦ δὲ ἦν Βουκολίων, τοῦ δὲ Φιάλος, ὃς τὸν Λυκάονος Φίγαλον οἰκιστὴν ὄντα ἀφελόμενος τὴν τιμὴν Φιαλίαν τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει μετέθετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ· οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐς ἅπαν γε ἐξενίκησεν. [8] ἐπὶ δὲ Σίμου τοῦ Φιάλου βασιλεύοντος ἠφανίσθη Φιγαλεῦσιν ὑπὸ πυρὸς τῆς Μελαίνης Δήμητρος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανον· ἐσήμαινε δὲ ἄρα οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἔσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτῷ Σίμῳ τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν. Πόμπου δὲ ἐκδεξαμένου τοῦ Σίμου τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται κατὰ ἐμπορίαν ἐσέπλεον ναυσὶν ἐς Κυλλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑποζυγίοις τὰ φορτία ἀνήγον παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. ἀντὶ τούτου ἐτίμησεν ὁ Πόμπος μεγάλως, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα Αἰγινήτην τῷ παιδί ἔθετο ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰγινητῶν τῇ φιλίᾳ. [9] μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτην Πολυμήστωρ ἐγένετο ὁ Αἰγινήτου βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Χάριλλος πρῶτον τότε ἐς τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐσβάλλουσι στρατιᾷ· καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ γυναῖκες ὅπλα ἐνδύσαι μάχῃ νικῶσι, καὶ τὸν τε ἄλλον στρατὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Χάριλλον ζῶντα αἰροῦσι. Χαρίλλου μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ἐς πλεον μνήμην ποιησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς Τεγεατικοῖς· [10] Πολυμήστορι δὲ οὐ γενομένων παίδων παρέλαβεν Αἴχμις τὴν ἀρχήν, Βριάκα μὲν παῖς, Πολυμήστορος δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς· Αἰγινήτου γὰρ ἦν καὶ Βριάκας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Πολυμήστορος. Αἴχμιδος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγένετο ὁ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμος· τοῖς δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ὑπῆρχε μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους εὐνοια ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μεσσήνῃ. [11] Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὁ Αἴχμιδος τάχα μὲν πού καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὕβρισεν· ἃ δὲ ἀνοσιώτατα ἔργων ἐς θεοὺς ἐργασάμενον οἶδα αὐτόν, ἐπέξεισί μοι ταῦτα ὁ λόγος. ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ὑμνίας ἐπὶ κλησιν. τοῦτο ἐν ὄροις μὲν ἐστὶν Ὀρχομενίων, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Μαντινικῇ· σέβουσιν ἐκ παλαιωτάτου καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἀρκάδες Ὑμνίαν Ἀρτεμιν. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τῆς θεοῦ τότε ἔτι κόρη παρθένος. [12] Ἀριστοκράτης δέ, ὥς οἱ πειρῶντι τὴν παρθένον ἀντέβαινε ἀεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς, τέλος καταφυγοῦσαν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἦσχυνεν. ὥς δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐξηγγέλη τὸ τόλμημα, τὸν μὲν καταλιθοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, μετεβλήθη δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ ὁ νόμος· ἀντὶ γὰρ παρθένου διδόασι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἱέρεϊαν γυναῖκα ὁμιλίας ἀνδρῶν ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσιν. [13] τούτου δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἰκέτας, Ἰκέτα δὲ Ἀριστοκράτης ἄλλος ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ προγόνῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχεν ἐκείνῳ τελευτῇ· κατελίθωσαν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, φωράσαντες δῶρα ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰληφότα καὶ Μεσσηνίοις τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ πταῖσμα προδοσίαν τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους οὔσαν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀδικία καὶ τῷ γένει τῷ ἀπὸ Κυψέλου παντὶ παρέσχεν αἰτίαν παυσθῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς.

6. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τοὺς βασιλεῖς πολυπραγμονήσαντί μοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγενεαλόγησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες· κοινῇ δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἐς μνήμην τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότατα ὁ πρὸς Ἰλῖ πόλεμος, δευτέρα δὲ ὅποσα ἀμύνοντες Μεσσηνίοις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία ἐμαχέσαντο· μέτεστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μήδους σφίσιν ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. [2] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀνάγκη πλεον καὶ οὐ μετ' εὐνοίας ἐπὶ τε Ἀθηναίους συνεστρατεύσαντο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ

Ἀγηςιλάου διεβήσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα αὐτοῖς τὰ Βοιωτικά ἠκολούθησαν. τὸ δὲ ὑποπτον τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀλλαχοῦ τε ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις παρὰ Θηβαίους αὐτίκα ἀπ' αὐτῶν μετέστησαν. Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο μετὰ Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐναντία ἐτάξαντο. [3] πρὸς Γαλάτας δὲ τοῦ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις κινδύνου φασὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔνεκα οὐ μετασχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ σφισιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κακουργοῖεν τὴν γῆν ἀπόντων τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ: συνεδρίου δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν μετέσχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες προθυμότατα Ἑλλήνων. ὅποσα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐχὶ ἐν κοινῷ, κατὰ πόλεις δὲ ἰδίᾳ συμβεβηκότα εὕρισκον, ἀποθησόμεθα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐς τὸ οἰκεῖον τοῦ λόγου.

[4] εἰσὶν οὖν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐσβολαὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν πρὸς μὲν Ὑσιῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον ἐς τὴν Τεγεατικὴν, δύο δὲ ἄλλαι κατὰ Μαντίνειαν διὰ τε Πρίνου καλουμένης καὶ διὰ Κλίμακος. αὕτη δὲ εὐρυτέρα τέ ἐστι καὶ ἡ κάθοδος εἶχεν αὕτη βασιμίδας ποτὲ ἐμπεποιημένας: ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὴν Κλίμακα χωρίον ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Μελαγγεῖα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν τὸ πότιμον Μαντινεῦσι κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. [5] προελθόντι δὲ ἐκ τῶν Μελαγγείων, ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως στάδια ὡς ἐπτὰ ἐστὶ κρήνη καλουμένη Μελιαστῶν: οἱ Μελιασταὶ δὲ οὗτοι δρῶσι τὰ ὄργια τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ Διονύσου τε μέγαρον πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Μελαινίδος. ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ ἡ θεὸς ταύτην κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἔσχεν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὴ τὰ πάντα αἱ μίξεις ὥσπερ τοῖς κτήνεσι μεθ' ἡμέραν, τὰ πλεῖω δὲ εἰσιν ἐν νυκτί. [6] ἡ δὲ ὑπολειπομένη τῶν ὁδῶν στενωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας καὶ ἄγει διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου. τούτου δὲ ἐπεμνήσθη καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς ἔχοι μὲν ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔχοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου τὰς πηγάς. ὁ δὲ Ἰναχος ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν πρόεισι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρους, τοῦτό ἐστιν Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ὄρος τῆς χώρας: ἀποστρέψας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου κάτεισι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἰναχὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αἰσχύλος ποταμὸν καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖον.

7. ὑπερβαλόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου πεδίον ἐκδέξεται σε Ἀργὸν καλούμενον, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἔστι: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατερχόμενον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἄργον εἶναι τὸ πεδίον ποιεῖ, ἐκώλυνε τε οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο εἶναι λίμνην, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἠφανίζετο ἐς χάσμα γῆς. [2] ἀφανισθὲν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἄνεισι κατὰ τὴν Δίνην: ἔστι δὲ ἡ Δίνη κατὰ τὸ Γενέθλιον καλούμενον τῆς Ἀργολίδος, ὕδωρ γλυκὺ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνερχόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ καθίεσαν ἐς τὴν Δίνην τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κεκοσμημένους χαλινοῖς. γλυκὺ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐν θαλάσῃ δηλὸν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε ἀνιὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι κατὰ τὸ Χειμέριον καλούμενον. [3] θαύματος δὲ ἔτι πλεονός ἐστιν ἐν Μαϊάνδρῳ ζέον ὕδωρ, τὸ μὲν ἐκ πέτρας, περιέχοντος τοῦ ρεύματος τὴν πέτραν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος ἄνεισι τοῦ ποταμοῦ. πρὸ Δικαιαρχίας δὲ τῆς Τυρσηνῶν ὕδωρ τε ἐν θαλάσῃ ζέον καὶ νῆσος δι' αὐτὸ ἐστὶ χειροποίητος, ὡς μὴδὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἄργον εἶναι ἀλλὰ σφισι λουτρὰ θερμά.

[4] τοῦ δὲ Ἀργοῦ καλούμενου πεδίου Μαντινεῦσιν ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ,

σκηνης τε Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ κόμης ἐρείπια ἔχον Νεστάνης: πρὸς ταύτη γὰρ στρατοπεδεύσασθαι τῇ Νεστάνῃ Φίλιππον λέγουσι καὶ τὴν πηγὴν αὐτόθι ὀνομάζουσιν ἔτι ἀπὸ ἐκείνου Φιλίππιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν Φίλιππος οἰκειωσόμενός τε Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ σφᾶς τοῦ ἄλλου διαστήσων. [5] Φίλιππον δὲ βασιλέων μὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόσι γεγόνασιν ὕστερον, τούτων μὲν πείθοιτο ἂν τις μέγιστα αὐτὸν ἔργα ἐπιδείξασθαι: στρατηγὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἂν τις φρονῶν ὀρθὰ καλέσειεν αὐτόν, ὅς γε καὶ ὄρκους θεῶν κατεπάτησεν ἀεὶ καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐψεύσατο πίστιν τε ἡτίμασε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. [6] καὶ οἱ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μήνιμα ἀπήντησεν οὐκ ὀψέ, πρῶτα δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν. Φίλιππος μὲν οὐ πρόσω βιώσας ἔξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν τὸ μάντευμα ἐξετέλεσε τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ὃ δὴ χρωμένω οἱ περὶ τοῦ Πέρσου γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, “ἔστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων:

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐδήλωσεν οὐκ ἐς τὸν Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχον Φίλιππον: [7] ἐπὶ δὲ Φιλίπῳ τελευτήσαντι Φιλίππου παῖδα νήπιον, γεγονότα δὲ ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφιδῆς Ἀττάλου, τοῦτον τὸν παῖδα ὁμοῦ τῇ μητρὶ Ὀλυμπιάς ἐπὶ σκεύους χαλκοῦ πυρὸς ὑποβεβλημένου διέφθειρεν ἔλκουσα: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἀριδαῖον ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Κασσάνδρου κακῶς ἐξαμήσειν: Κασσάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης γεγόνασι τῆς Φιλίππου, Θεσσαλονίκη δὲ ἦσαν καὶ Ἀριδαίῳ μητέρες Θεσσαλαί. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως δηλὰ ἐστὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατος: [8] εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐς Γλαῦκον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἐποιήσατο ὁ Φίλιππος λόγον καὶ τὸ ἔπος ἐφ’ ἐκάστου τῶν ἔργων ἀνεμίμησεν αὐτόν,” ἀνδρὸς δ’ εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀρείων,

“οὐκ ἂν οὕτω δίχα λόγου δοκεῖ μοι θεῶν τις Ἀλεξάνδρου τε ὁμοῦ τὸν βίον καὶ ἀκμὴν τὴν Μακεδόνων σβέσαι.

8. τότε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ἐπεισόδιον τῷ λόγῳ: μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς Νεστάνης ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἅγιον, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄγουσιν οἱ Μαντινεῖς. καὶ κατὰ τὴν Νεστάνην ὑπόκειται μάλιστα **, μοῖρα μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Ἀργοῦ, χορὸς δὲ ὀνομάζεται Μαιρᾶς. τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ Ἀργοῦ σταδίων δέκα. ὑπερβάς δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐς ἕτερον καταβῆση πεδίων: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐστὶν Ἄρνη καλουμένη κρήνη. [2] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιάδε ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, “Ρέα ἡνίκα Ποσειδῶνα ἔτεκε, τὸν μὲν ἐς ποίμνην καταθέσθαι δίαίταν ἐνταῦθα ἔξοντα μετὰ τῶν ἀρνῶν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τὴν πηγὴν, ὅτι περὶ αὐτὴν ἐποιμαίνοντο οἱ ἄρνες: φάναι δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Κρόνον τεκεῖν ἵππον καὶ οἱ πῶλον ἵππου καταπιεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δοῦναι, καθὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διὸς λίθον ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατελιγμένον σπαργάνοις. [3] τούτοις Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις ἀρχόμενος μὲν τῆς συγγραφῆς εὐηθίας ἔνεμον πλέον, ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἀρκάδων προελθελυθῶς πρόνοιαν περὶ αὐτῶν τοιάνδε ἐλάμβανον: Ἑλλήνων τοὺς νομιζομένους σοφοὺς δι’ αἰνιγμάτων πάλαι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος λέγειν τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα οὖν ἐς τὸν Κρόνον σοφίαν εἶναι τινα εἵκαζον Ἑλλήνων. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἡκόντων τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρησόμεθα: [4] Μαντινέων δὲ ἡ πόλις σταδίους μάλιστα πού δώδεκά ἐστιν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πηγῆς ταύτης. Μαντινεὺς

μὲν οὖν ὁ Λυκάονος ἐτέρωθι φαίνεται οἰκίσας τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ἔς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Πτόλιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Ἀντινὴ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου θυγάτηρ κατὰ μάντευμα ἀναστήσασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὄφιν — ὅποιον, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν — ἡγεμόνα ποιησαμένη τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέων τὴν νῦν ποταμὸς Ὅφιν ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν. [5] εἰ δὲ Ὀμήρου χρή τεκμαιρόμενον τοῖς ἔπεισι συμβαλέσθαι γνώμην, τὸν ὄφιν τοῦτον δράκοντα εἶναι πείθομαι. περὶ Φιλοκτῆτου μὲν ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ ποιήσας ὡς ἀπολίποιεν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν Λήμνῳ τάλαιπωροῦντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔλκου, ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ οὐκ ἔθετο ὄφιν τῷ ὕδρῳ· τὸν δράκοντα δέ, ὃν ἐς τοὺς Τρῶας ἀφῆκεν ὁ ἀετός, ἐκάλεσεν ὄφιν. οὕτω τὸ εἶκος ἔχει καὶ τῇ Ἀντινὴ τὸν ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι δράκοντα.

[6] Μαντινεῖς δὲ μάχην μὲν τὴν ἐν Διπαιεῦσιν οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πελοποννησίῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πολέμῳ συνέστησαν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ Ἡλείων, καὶ παραγενομένου συμμαχικοῦ σφισιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία ἐμαχέσαντο· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐς Σικελίαν στόλου κατὰ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν. [7] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιὰ καὶ Ἀγησίπολις ὁ Πανσανίου βασιλεὺς ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν. ὡς δὲ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέκλεισε τοὺς Μαντινεάς, εἶλεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ πολιορκία κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τὸν δὲ Ὅφιν ποταμὸν ἀποστρέψας σφίσιν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ὠμῆς ὠκοδομημένον τῆς πλίνθου. [8] ἐς μὲν δὴ μηχανημάτων ἐμβολὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἢ πλίνθος παρέχεται μᾶλλον ἢ ὁπόσα λίθου πεποιημένα ἐστίν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατάγνυνται τε καὶ ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, ἢ δὲ πλίνθος ἐκ μηχανημάτων μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως πονεῖ, διαλύεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κηρός. [9] τοῦτο οὐκ Ἀγησίπολις τὸ στρατήγημα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Μαντινέων ἐστὶν ὁ συνεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἔτι Κίμωνι ἐξευρέθη τῷ Μιλτιάδου Βόγην πολιορκοῦντι ἄνδρα Μῆδον καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι εἶχον· Ἀγησίπολις δὲ καθεστηκὸς καὶ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐμμίσαστο. ὡς δὲ εἶλε τὴν Μαντινείαν, ὀλίγον μὲν τι κατέλιπεν οἰκεῖσθαι, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος καταβαλὼν αὐτῆς κατὰ κόμας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διώκισε. [10] Μαντινεάς δὲ ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν κατάξειν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐμελλόν Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις. κατελθόντες δὲ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο δίκαιοι· περιληφθέντες δὲ ἐπικηρυκεύμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινοῦ πράσσοντες, οὕτω διὰ τὸ δέος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν μετεβάλοντο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ τῆς Μαντινικῆς πρὸς Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ Θηβαίους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίων γινομένης ὁμοῦ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐτάξαντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς. [11] τούτων δὲ ὕστερον διαφορὰ ἐγένετο Μαντινεῦσιν ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μετέστησαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν· καὶ Ἄγιν τὸν Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεύοντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ νικῶσιν ἀμύνοντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ, νικῶσι δὲ προσλαβόντες Ἀχαιῶν στρατιὰν καὶ Ἄρατον ἡγεμόνα ἐπ' αὐτῇ. μετέσχον δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κλεομένην τοῦ ἔργου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ συγκαθεῖλον Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν ἰσχύν. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φίλιππον τὸν Περσέως πατέρα ἔτι παῖδα ἐπιτροπεύοντος καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς τὰ

μάλιστα ὄντος ἐπιτηδείου, ἄλλα τε ἐς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ Μαντινεῦσιν ἐποιήθη καὶ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει μετέθεντο Ἀντιγόνηαν. [12] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Αὐγούστου πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου ναυμαχήσιν μέλλοντος Μαντινεῖς ἐμαχέσαντο ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν συνετάχθησαν Ἀντωνίῳ, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ ἐφρόνουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Αὐγούστου. δέκα δὲ ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἐβασίλευσέ τε Ἀδριανὸς καὶ ἀφελὼν Μαντινεῦσι τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπακτὸν ἀπέδωκεν αὖθις Μαντινείαν καλεῖσθαι σφισι τὴν πόλιν.

9. ἔστι δὲ Μαντινεῦσι ναὸς διπλοῦς μάλιστα που κατὰ μέσον τοίχῳ διειργόμενος· τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἁγαλμὰ ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τέχνη δὲ Ἀλκαμένους, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν παιδῶν· Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο τρίτῃ μετὰ Ἀλκαμένην ὕστερον γενεᾷ. τούτων πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ Μοῦσαι καὶ Μαρσύας αὐλῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ ἐπείργασται στήλῃ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα· [2] καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιμνησθησόμεθα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα, Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά, τὸ μὲν Σωτήρος Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδώτου καλουμένου· ἐπιδιδόναί γάρ δὴ ἀγαθὰ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ ἐτέρωθι Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱερὸν· πῦρ δὲ ἐνταῦθα καίουσι, ποιούμενοι φροντίδα μὴ λάθῃ σφίσιν ἀποσβεσθέν. καὶ Ἦρας πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ναὸν ἐθεασάμην· [3] Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὴν τε καθημένην ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ παρεστῶσας ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖαν καὶ Ἥβην παῖδα Ἦρας. πρὸς δὲ τῆς Ἦρας τῷ βωμῷ καὶ Ἀρκάδος τάφος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς ἐστὶ· τὰ δὲ ὅσα τοῦ Ἀρκάδος

ἐπηγάγοντο ἐκ Μαινάλου, χρησιμοῦ σφισιν ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν· [4] “ἔστι δὲ Μαιναλίῃ δυσχείμερος, ἔνθα τε κεῖται

Ἀρκάς, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ πάντες ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέονται,
οὗ τρίοδος καὶ τετράοδος καὶ πεντακέλευθος.
ἐνθα σ' ἐγὼ κέλομαι στεῖχειν καὶ εὐφροني θυμῷ
Ἀρκάδ' ἀειραμένους κατάγειν εἰς ἄστν ἔραννόν·
ἐνθα τε δὴ τέμενός τε θυηλάς τ' Ἀρκάδι τεύχειν.

“τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἔνθα ὁ τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος, καλοῦσιν Ἥλιου βωμοῦς. [5] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ μνήματα προήκοντά ἐστιν ἐς δόξαν, τὸ μὲν Ἑστία καλουμένη κοινή, περιφερὲς σχῆμα ἔχουσα· Ἀντινόην δὲ αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο κεῖσθαι τὴν Κηφῶς· τῷ δὲ στήλῃ τε ἐφέστηκε καὶ ἀνὴρ ἱππεὺς ἐπειργασμένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ, Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφώντος. [6] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὀπισθεν ναοῦ τε Ἀφροδίτης ἐπὶ κλησὶν Συμμαχίας ἐρείπια καὶ ἁγαλμα ἐλείπετο· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τὴν ἀναθεῖσαν τὸ ἁγαλμα ἐδήλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πασέου Νικίπην. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν κατεσκευάσαντο τοῦτο οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὑπόμνημα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα τῆς ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ ναυμαχίας. σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖαν Ἀλέαν, καὶ ἱερὸν τε καὶ ἁγαλμα Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶν Ἀλέας αὐτοῖς. [7] ἐνομίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντίνους σφίσιν εἶναι θεός· τῶν δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ νεώτατός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Ἀντίνου ναός. οὗτος ἐσπουδάσθη περισσῶς δὴ τι ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ μετ' ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἔτι αὐτὸν ὄντα οὐκ εἶδον, ἐν δὲ ἀγάλμασιν εἶδον καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς. ἔχει μὲν δὴ γέρα καὶ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Νεῖλῳ πόλις Αἰγυπτίων ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμος Ἀντίνου· τιμὰς δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ κατὰ

τοιόνδε ἔσχηκε. γένος ἦν ὁ Ἀντίνοῦς ἐκ Βιθυνίου τῆς ὑπὲρ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ· οἱ δὲ Βιθυνιεῖς Ἀρκάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ Μαντινεῖς τὰ ἄνωθεν. [8] τούτων ἔνεκα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τιμάς, καὶ τελετὴ τε κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον καὶ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου. οἶκος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ Μαντινεῦσιν ἀγάλματα ἔχων Ἀντίνου καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα θεάς ἄξιος λίθων ἔνεκα οἷς κεκόσμηται καὶ ἀπιδόντι ἐς τὰς γραφάς· αἱ δὲ Ἀντίνου εἰσὶν αἱ πολλαί, Διονύσῳ μάλιστα εἰκασμέναι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ γραφῆς, ἣ τὸ ἔργον εἶχε τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαντινείᾳ, καὶ ταύτης αὐτόθι ἐστὶ μίμημα. [9] Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυναικός τε εἰκὼν χαλκῇ — καὶ Μαντινεῖς καλοῦσι Διομένειαν Ἀρκάδος — καὶ ἡρώδην ἐστὶ Ποδάρου· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ Θηβαίους μάχῃ. γενεαῖς δὲ τρισὶν ἑμοῦ πρότερον μετέθεσαν τοῦ τάφου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς ἄνδρα ἀπόγονον μὲν ἐκείνου Ποδάρου καὶ ὁμώνυμον, γεγονότα δὲ καθ' ἡλικίαν ὡς πολιτείας ἤδη Ῥωμαίων μετεilhφέναι. [10] Ποδάρην δὲ ἐπ' ἑμοῦ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐτίμων οἱ Μαντινεῖς, λέγοντες ὡς ἄριστος μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν γένοιτο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφώντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γρύλῳ Κηφισόδωρος Μαραθώνιος, οὗτος δὲ τῆνικαῦτα Ἀθηναίοις ἐτύγχανεν ἱππαρχῶν· τρίτα δὲ ἀνδραγαθίας Ποδάρη νέμουσιν.

10. ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην εἰσὶν ἐκ Μαντινείας ὁδοί· ὁπόσα δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστης αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἦν θεάς ἄξια, ἐπέξειμι καὶ ταῦτα. ἰόντι ἐς Τεγέαν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου παρὰ τοῖς Μαντινέων τείχεσι χωρίον ἐς τῶν ἵππων τὸν δρόμον καὶ οὐ πόρρω τούτου στάδιον, ἔνθα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντίῳ τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέασιν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον, διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ὡς φασὶ καλούμενον τὴν Ῥέας, καὶ Δήμητρος ἄλσος ἐν τῷ ὄρει. [2] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἰππίου τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ πρόσω σταδίου Μαντινείας. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο ἐγὼ τε ἀκοὴν γράφω καὶ ὅσοι μνήμην ἄλλοι περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιήνται. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερόν τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὠκοδομήσατο Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐπιστήσας τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπόπτας ἄνδρας, ὡς μήτε ἐνίδοι τις ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἀρχαῖον μήτε τῶν ἐρειπίων τι αὐτοῦ μετακινῶιτο· πέριξ δὲ ἐκέλευε τὸν ναὸν σφᾶς οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὸν καινόν. τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο Ἀγαμήδης λέγονται καὶ Τροφώνιος ποιῆσαι, δρυῶν ξύλα ἐργασάμενοι καὶ ἀρμόσαντες πρὸς ἄλληλα· [3] ἐσόδου δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ εἵργοντες ἀνθρώπους ἔρυμα μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου προεβάλλοντο οὐδέν, μίτον δὲ διατείνουσιν ἐρεοῦν, τάχα μὲν που τοῖς τότε ἄγουσι τὰ θεῖα ἐν τιμῇ δεῖμα καὶ τοῦτο ἔσσεσθαι νομίζοντες, τάχα δ' ἂν τι μετεῖη καὶ ἰσχύος τῷ μίτῳ. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Αἵπυτος ὁ Ἰππόθου μήτε πηδῆσας ὑπὲρ τὸν μίτον μήτε ὑποδύς, διακόψας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ ποιήσας οὐχ ὅσια ἐτυφλώθη τε ἐμπεσόντος ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τοῦ κύματος καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν αὐτόν. [4] θαλάσσης δὲ ἀναφαίνεσθαι κῦμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος· εὐοκία δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσιν ἐς τὸ κῦμα τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ Καρῶν οἱ Μύλασα ἔχοντες ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρία καλοῦσιν Ὅσογῶα. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ σταδίους μάλιστα εἵκοσιν ἀφῆστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἢ πρὸς Φαληρῷ θάλασσα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μυλασεῦσιν ἐπίνειον σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· Μαντινεῦσι δὲ

ἐκ μακροτάτων τε ἢ θάλασσα ἄνεισικαὶ ἐκφανέστατα δὴ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην.

[5] πέραν δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τρόπαιόν ἐστι λίθου πεποιημένον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἄγιδος· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς μάχης. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν εἶχον οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὐτοί, στρατιάν τε ἀπὸ πάσης ἡλικίας καὶ στρατηγὸν παρεχόμενοι Ποδάρην ἀπόγονον τρίτον Ποδάρου τοῦ Θηβαίους ἐναντία ἀγωνισαμένου, παρὴν δὲ σφισι καὶ μάντις Ἥλειος Θρασύβουλος Αἰνέου τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν — οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ νίκην τε τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι προηγόρευσε καὶ αὐτός σφισι τοῦ ἔργου μετέσχευ — : [6] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ πᾶν τὸ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν ἐτάσσοντο, ἄρχοντες δὲ κατὰ πόλεις τε ἦσαν καὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν Λυδιάδης καὶ Λεωκύδης· Ἀράτῳ δὲ ἐπετέτραπτο καὶ Σικυωνίοις τε καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς τὸ μέσον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγεις ἐπεξέτειναν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥς τῶν ἐναντίων τῷ στρατεύματι ἀντιπαρήκοιεν· τὸ μέσον δὲ Ἄγεις καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα εἶχον. [7] Ἄρατος δὲ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὑπέφευγεν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς οἷα δὴ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων· ὑποφεύγοντες δὲ ἅμα τὸ σύνταγμα σφῶν ἡρέμα ἐποιοῦν μνηοειδές. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγεις νίκην τε ἡλπιζον καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ἐνέκειντο ἀθρόοι μᾶλλον· ἐπηκολούθουν δὲ σφισι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων, Ἄρατον καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιάν τρέψασθαι μέγα ἀγώνισμα ἡγούμενοι. [8] ἔλαθόν τε δὴ κατὰ νότου γενόμενοί σφισιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κυκλωθέντες τῆς τε ἄλλης στρατιᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔπescen Ἄγεις Εὐδαμίδου. φανῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἀμύνοντά σφισιν ἔφασαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα τρόπαιον ἐποίησαντο ἀνάθημα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. [9] πολέμῳ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φόνοις παρῆναι θεοὺς ἐποίησαν μὲν ὅσοις τὰ ἥρώων ἐμέλησεν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθήματα, ἄδεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὥς θεοὶ σφισιν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοῦ ἔργου μετὰσχοιεν· ἐκδηλότατα δὲ ὁ Γαλατῶν στρατὸς ἀπώλετο ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐναργῶς ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. οὕτω καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεται οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ κράτος γενέσθαι σφίσι. [10] Λεωκύδους δὲ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ὁμοῦ Λυδιάδῃ στρατηγήσαντος πρόγονον ἕνατον Ἀρκεσίλαον οἰκοῦντα ἐν Λυκοσοῦρᾳ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ὥς ἴδοι τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς καλουμένης Δεσποίνης ἔλαφον πεπονηκυῖαν ὑπὸ γήρωσ· τῇ δὲ ἐλάφῳ ταύτῃ ψάλιον τε εἶναι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ ψαλίῳ, “νεβρὸς ἐὼν ἐάλων, ὅτ’ ἐς Ἴλιον ἦν Ἀγαπήνωρ.

“οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος ἔλαφον εἶναι πολλῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντος μακροβιώτερον θηρίον:

11. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος χωρίον ὑποδέχεται σε δρυῶν πλήρες, καλούμενον Πέλαγος, καὶ ἐκ Μαντινείας ἢ ἐς Τεγέαν ὁδὸς φέρει διὰ τῶν δρυῶν. Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ὄροι πρὸς Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν ὁ περιφερὴς ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ βωμός. εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐκτραπήναι θελήσειας, σταδίους τε ἤξεις μάλιστα που πέντε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Πελίου θυγατέρων ἀφίξη τοὺς τάφους· ταύτας φασὶν οἱ Μαντινεῖς μετοικῆσαι παρὰ σφᾶς, τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀνειδὴ φευγούσας. [2] ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀφίκετο ἡ Μῆδεια ἐς Ἰωλκόν, αὐτίκα ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Πελῖᾳ, τῷ ἔργῳ μὲν

συμπράσσοις τῷ Ἰάσωνι, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ ἀπεχθανομένη. ἐπαγγέλλεται τοῦ Πελίου ταῖς θυγατράσιν ὡς τὸν πατέρα αὐταῖς, ἣν ἐθέλωσιν, ἀποφανοὶ νέον ἀντὶ γέροντος παλαιοῦ· κατασφάζασα δὲ ὄτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ κριὸν τὰ κρέα ὁμοῦ φαρμάκοις ἐν λέβητι ἤψησεν, οἷς ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐφόμενον ἄρνα ἐξήγαγε ζῶντα· [3] παραλαμβάνει τε δὴ τὸν Πελίαν κατακόψασα ἐψησαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκομίσαντο αἱ θυγατέρες οὐδὲ ἐς ταφήν ἔτι ἐπιτήδειον. τοῦτο ἠνάγκασε τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν μετοικῆσαι, καὶ ἀποθανούσας τὰ μνήματα ἐχώσθη σφίσιν αὐτοῦ· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ποιητὴς μὲν ἔθετο οὐδεὶς, ὅσα γε ἐπελεξάμεθα ἡμεῖς, Μίκων δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος Ἀστερόπειαν τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀντινόην ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν ἐπέγραψεν.

[4] χωρίον δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Φοῖζον περὶ εἰκοσὶ πού σταδίους τῶν τάφων ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τούτων· ὁ δὲ Φοῖζον μνημᾶ ἐστὶ λίθου περιεχόμενον κρητῖδι, ἀνέχον δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς. κατὰ τοῦτο ἦ τε ὁδὸς μάλιστα στενὴ γίνεται καὶ τὸ μνημα Ἀρηιόθου λέγουσιν εἶναι, Κορυνήτου διὰ τὸ ὄπλον ἐπονομασθέντος. [5] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Παλλάντιον ἐκ Μαντινείας ἄγουσαν προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντά πού σταδίους, παρήκει κατὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ὁ τοῦ Πελάγου καλουμένου δρυμός, καὶ τὰ ἱππικὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Μαντινέων ἐνταῦθα ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία τῆς Βοιωτίας ἵππου. Ἐπαμινώνδαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν Μαντινεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ Μαχαιρίωνος Μαντινέως φασὶν ἀνδρὸς· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σπαρτιάτην λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα Ἐπαμινώνδαν, τίθενται δὲ Μαχαιρίωνα ὄνομα καὶ οὗτοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ. [6] ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔχει λόγος — ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θηβαῖοι — τρωθῆναι τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ὑπὸ Γρύλου· παραπλήσια δὲ σφίσιν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῇ τὸ ἔργον ἐχούσῃ τὸ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Μαντινεῖς Γρύλον μὲν δημοσίᾳ τε θάψαντες καὶ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἀναθέντες εἰκόνα ἐπὶ στήλης ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου τῶν συμμάχων· Μαχαιρίωνα δὲ λόγῳ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσιν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὔτε ἐν Σπάρτῃ Μαχαιρίων ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ Μαντινεῦσιν, ὅτῳ γεγονάσιν ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ τιμαί. [7] ὡς δὲ ἐτέτρωτο ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας, ἐκκομίζουσιν ἔτι ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῷ τραύματι ἐταλαιπώρει καὶ ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους ἀφεώρα — ὁπόθεν δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτούς, ὠνόμαζον Σκοπὴν οἱ ἔπειτα —, λαβόντος δὲ ἴσον τοῦ ἀγῶνος πέρας, οὕτω τὴν χεῖρα ἀπέσχευ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος· καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφέντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθαψαν ἔνθα σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡ συμβολή. [8] τῷ τάφῳ δὲ κίων τε ἐφέστηκε καὶ ἀσπίς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δράκοντα ἔχουσα ἐπειρασμένον· ὁ μὲν δὴ δράκων ἐθέλει σημαίνειν γένους τῶν Σπαρτῶν καλουμένων εἶναι τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν, στήλαι δὲ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι, ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχουσα Βοιωτίων, τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν τε ἀνέθηκεν Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ. [9] τὸν δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσι στρατηγίας ἔνεκα εὐδοκιμησάντων μάλιστα ἐπαινέσαι τις ἂν ἢ ὕστερόν γε οὐδενὸς ποιήσαιτο· Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πόλεων τε ἀξίωμα ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται φρονήματός τι ἦσαν ἔχοντες, Θηβαίους δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδας ἀθύμους τὰς γνώμας καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούειν εἰωθότας ἀπέφηνεν ἐν οὐ πολλῷ πρωτεύοντας.

[10] ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ μαντεία πρότερον ἔτι ἐκ Δελφῶν πέλαγος

αὐτὸν φυλάσσεσθαι: καὶ ὁ μὲν τριήρους τε μὴ ἐπιβῆναι μηδὲ ἐπὶ νεῶς φορτίδος πλεῦσαι δεῖμα εἶχε, τῷ δὲ ἄρα Πέλαγος δρυμὸν καὶ οὐ θάλασσαν προέλεγεν ὁ δαίμων. χωρία δὲ τὰ ὁμώνυμα καὶ Ἀννίβαν ὕστερον τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ πρότερον ἔτι Ἀθηναίους ἠπάτησεν. [11] Ἀννίβα γὰρ χρησμὸς ἀφίκετο παρὰ Ἀμμωνος ὡς ἀποθανὼν γῇ καλυφθήσεται τῇ Λιβύσση. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἤλπιζεν ἀρχὴν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθαίρησιν καὶ οἰκαδε ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπανελθὼν τελευτήσιν γῆρα τὸν βίον. Φλαμινίου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ποιουμένου σπουδὴν ἐλεῖν ζῶντα αὐτόν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Προυσίαν ἱκέτης καὶ ἀπωσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεπῆδα τε ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ γυμνωθέντος τοῦ ξίφους τιτρώσκεται τὸν δάκτυλον. προελθόντι δὲ οἱ στάδια οὐ πολλὰ πυρετός τε ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τριταίῳ συνέβη: τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα ἀπέθανε καλοῦσιν οἱ Νικομηδεῖς Λίβυσσαν. [12] Ἀθηναίοις δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δωδώνης Σικελίαν ἦλθεν οἰκίζειν, ἡ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ἡ Σικελία λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας: οἱ δὲ οὐ συμφρονήσαντες τὸ εἰρημένον ἔς τε ὑπερορίους στρατείας προήχθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν Συρακοσίων πόλεμον. ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ πλέονα τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἰκότα ἄλλα ἐξευρεῖν.

12. τοῦ τάφου δὲ τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδα μάλιστα που σταδίου μῆκος Διὸς ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Χάρμωνος. Ἀρκάδων δὲ ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς εἰσιν αἱ δρῦς διάφοροι, καὶ τὰς μὲν πλατυφύλλους αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ φηγοὺς καλοῦσιν: αἱ τρίται δὲ ἄραιον τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ οὕτω δὴ τι παρέχονται κοῦφον, ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ ποιοῦνται σημεῖα ἀγκύραις καὶ δικτύοις: ταύτης τῆς δρυὸς τὸν φλοιὸν ἄλλοι τε Ἴωνων καὶ Ἑρμησιάναξ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεία ποιήσας φελλὸν ὀνομάζουσιν.

[2] ἐς Μεθύδριον δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐκέτι, κώμην δὲ ἐς τὸ Μεγαλοπολιτικὸν συντελοῦσαν, ἐς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Μεθύδριον ἐκ Μαντινείας ὁδός. προελθόντι δὲ σταδίους τριάκοντα πεδίον τε ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀλκιμέδων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Ὀστρακίνα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ σπήλαιον, ἔνθα ὤκησεν Ἀλκιμέδων, ἀνὴρ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων. [3] τούτου τοῦ Ἀλκιμέδοντος θυγατρὶ συγγενέσθαι Φιαλοῖ ὡς Φιγαλεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλέα: ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀλκιμέδων τεκοῦσαν, ἐκτίθησιν ἀπολουμένην ἐς τὸ ὄρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ὃν ἔτεκε: καλοῦσι δὲ Αἰχμαγόραν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ἀνακλαίοντος δὲ ὡς ἐξέκειτο τοῦ παιδός, κίσσα ἡ ὄρνις ἐπήκουε τε ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἀπεμιμῆτο τὰ κλαύματα: [4] καὶ πὼς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐρχόμενος τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐπήκουσε τῆς κίσσης καὶ — ἐνόμισε γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ὄρνιθος τὸν κλαυθμὸν — ἐτράπετο εὐθὺς τῆς φωνῆς: γνωρίσας δὲ αὐτὴν τε ἔλυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀνέσώσατο. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ ἡ πλησίον πηγὴ Κίσσα ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρνιθος ὀνομάζεται. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς στάδια ἀφέστηκεν Πετροσάκα καλούμενον χωρίον: Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ καὶ Μαντινέων ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Πετροσάκα.

[5] ἐπὶ δὲ ὁδοῖς ταῖς κατευλεγμέναις δύο ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν εἰσιν ἄλλαι, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἐστὶ καλούμενον Λάδα στάδιον, ἐς ὃ ἐποιεῖτο Λάδας μελέτην δρόμου, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ γῆς χῶμα ὑψηλόν: Πηνελόπης δὲ εἶναι τάφον φασίν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ποιήσει τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ὀνομαζομένη. [6] ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν γέ ἐστι τῇ ποιήσει ἐπανήκοντι ἐκ

Τροίας Ὀδυσσεὶ τεκεῖν τὴν Πηνελόπην Πτολιπόρθην παῖδα: Μαντινέων δὲ ὁ ἐς αὐτὴν λόγος Πηνελόπην φησὶν ὑπ' Ὀδυσσεώς καταγνωσθεῖσαν ὡς ἐπισπαστοὺς ἐσαγάγοιτο ἐς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ ἀποπεμφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπελθεῖν, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐς Μαντίνειαν μετοικῆσαι, καὶ οἱ τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευταίην ἐνταῦθα συμβῆναι. [7] τοῦ τάφου δὲ ἔχεται τούτου πεδίον οὐ μέγα, καὶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰ ἐρείπια ἔτι Μαντινείας ἔχον τῆς ἀρχαίας: καλεῖται δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις. κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτῆς προελθόντι ὁδὸν οὐ μακρὰν Ἀλαλκομενείας ἐστὶ πηγὴ, τῆς Πτόλεως δὲ μετὰ σταδίου τριάκοντα κώμης τε ἐρείπια καλουμένης Μαιρᾶς καὶ τάφος Μαιρᾶς, εἰ δὴ ἐνταῦθα καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν ἐτάφῃ: Τεγεάταις γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ οὐ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεται, Μαιρὰν τὴν Ἀτλαντος παρὰ σφίσι ταφῆναι. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπόγονος τῆς Ἀτλαντος Μαιρᾶς ἑτέρα Μαιρὰ ἀφίκοιτο ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν.

[8] λείπεται δὲ ἔτι τῶν ὁδῶν ἡ ἐς Ὀρχομενόν, καθ' ἣντινα Ἀγχισία τε ὄρος καὶ Ἀγχίσου μνημὰ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῖς ποσίν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐκομίζετο ἐς Σικελίαν ὁ Αἰνείας, ἔσχε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, καὶ πόλεων τε Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Ἡτιδος ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγχίσην κατὰ πρόφασιν δὴ τινα παραγενόμενον ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ αὐτόθι τοῦ βίου τῇ τελευταίῃ χρησάμενον ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα: καὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου καλοῦσιν Ἀγχισίαν. [9] τούτου δὲ συντελοῦσιν ἐς πίστιν Αἰολέων οἱ Ἴλιον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχοντες, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς σφετέρας ἀποφαίνοντες μνημα Ἀγχίσου. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τῷ τάφῳ ἐρείπιά ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης ἱεροῦ, καὶ Μαντινέων ὄροι πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀγχισίαις εἰσίν.

13. ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ὀρχομενίῳ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ἀγχισίων, ἐν ὑπέρῳ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι τῆς Ὑμνίας Ἀρτέμιδος: μέτεστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μαντινεῦσι ** καὶ ἰέρειαν καὶ ἄνδρα ἱερέα. τούτοις οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐς τὰς μίξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγιστεῦειν καθέστηκε τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα, καὶ οὔτε λουτρὰ οὔτε δίαίτα λοιπὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ σφισι καθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐς οἰκίαν παρίασιν ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου. τοιαῦτα οἶδα ἕτερα ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ οὐ πρόσω Ἐφεσίων ἐπιτηδεύοντας τοὺς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἰστιάτορας τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ γινομένους, καλουμένους δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Ἐσσηνας. τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ὑμνίᾳ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον.

[2] Ὀρχομενίοις δὲ ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἐπὶ ὄρους ἦν ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ, καὶ ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ τειχῶν ἐρείπια λείπεται: τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλιν ὑπὸ τὸν περίβολον οἰκοῦσι τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους. θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια πηγὴ τε, ἀφ' ἧς ὕδρευόνται, καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά, λίθου δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει ξανόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος: ἴδρυται δὲ ἐν κέδρῳ μεγάλῃ, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου Κεδρεᾶτιν. [3] σωροὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν λίθων εἰσὶ διεστηκότες ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων, ἐπενήθησαν δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ πεσοῦσιν ἀνδράσιν. οἷς τισι δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἐπολέμησαν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ Ἀρκάδων αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἐσήμεινεν οὔτε οἱ Ὀρχομενίοι μνημονεύουσιν.

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος Τραχύ. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ χαράδρας ῥέον κοίλῃς μεταξὺ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Τραχέος ὄρους

κάτεισιν ἐς ἄλλο Ὀρχομένιον πεδῖον, τὸ δὲ πεδῖον τοῦτο μεγέθει μὲν μέγα, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ λίμνη. ἰόντι δὲ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ σταδίους προελθόντι ὅσον τρεῖς, ἡ μὲν εὐθεῖα ἐπὶ πόλιν Καρυὰν ἄγει παρά τε αὐτὴν τὴν χαράδραν καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρὰ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον· ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν διαβάντι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ διὰ τῆς χαράδρας ῥέον ὑπὸ τὸ Τραχὺ ἐστὶν ὄρος. [5] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην πρῶτον μὲν μνημᾶ ἐστὶν Ἀριστοκράτους, ὃς βία ποτὲ ἥσχυνε τὴν ἱερωμένην τῇ Ὑμνίᾳ θεῶ παρθένον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους τὸν τάφον πηγαί τέ εἰσι καλούμεναι Τενεῖαι καὶ ἀπέχει τῶν πηγῶν στάδια ὡς ἑπτὰ Ἀμιλος χωρίον· πόλιν δὲ τὴν Ἀμιλὸν ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι. κατὰ τοῦτο αὐθις τὸ χωρίον δίχα ἡ ὁδὸς τέμνεται, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Στύμφηλον, ἡ δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν αὐτῶν ἄγει. [6] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Φενεὸν ἐκδέξεται σε ὄρος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ συνάπτουσιν Ὀρχομενίων καὶ Φενεατῶν τε καὶ Καρυατῶν ὄροι τῆς γῆς. ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους κρημνὸς ὑψηλός· πέτραι Καρυατικὴν ὀνομάζουσι τὸν κρημνόν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ὄρους ταῖς κατειλεγμέναις πόλεσι φάραγξ τε ὑπόκειται καὶ φέρει δι' αὐτῆς ἡ ἐς Φενεὸν ὁδός· κατὰ μέσην δὲ που μάλιστα τὴν φάραγγα ὕδωρ ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς φάραγγος Καρυαὶ ἐστὶ χωρίον.

14. Φενεατῶν δὲ τὸ πεδῖον κεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς Καρυαῖς, πλεονάσαντος δὲ ποτε αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος κατακλυσθῆναι φασὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Φενεόν, ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν σημεῖα ἐλείπετο ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐς ἃ ἐπαναβῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι. Καρυῶν δὲ στάδια πέντε ἀφέστηκεν ἢ τε Ὀρυξὶς καλουμένη καὶ ἕτερον ὄρος Σκίαθις· ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄρει βάραθρον τὸ ὕδωρ καταδεχόμενον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου. [2] τὰ δὲ βάραθρα οἱ Φενεᾶται ταῦτά φασιν εἶναι χειροποίητα, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλέα τηνικαῦτα ἐν Φενεῷ παρὰ Λαονόμῃ τῇ Ἀμφιτρύωνος μητρὶ οἰκοῦντα· γενέσθαι γὰρ Ἀμφιτρύωνα ἐκ Λαονόμης Ἀλκαίῃ τῆς Γούνεω, γυναικὸς Φενεατίδος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Πέλοπος Λυσιδίκης. εἰ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς Φενεάτας μετόφησε, πείθοιτο ἂν τις διωχθέντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως αὐτὸν οὐκ αὐτίκα ἐς Θήβας, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. [3] διὰ μέσου δὲ ὥρυξεν Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Φενεατῶν πεδίου ἔλυτρον, ρεῦμα εἶναι τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὀλβίῳ, ὃν τινα Ἀροάνιον Ἀρκάδων καλοῦσιν ἕτεροι καὶ οὐκ Ὀλβιον· μῆκος μὲν τοῦ ὀρύγματος στάδιοι πεντήκοντά εἰσι, βάθος δέ, ὅσον μὴ πεπτωκός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα καθήκει πόδας. οὐ μὴν ταύτῃ γε ἔτι κάτεισιν ὁ ποταμός, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἀπεχώρησεν αὐθις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καταλιπὼν ἔλυτρον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἔργον.

[4] τῶν βαράθρων δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις πεπονημένων ὄρεσιν ἀπωτέρω πεντήκοντά που σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις· οἰκιστὴν δὲ οἱ Φενεᾶται λέγουσιν ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα εἶναι Φενεόν. ἐστὶ δὲ σφισιν ἀκρόπολις ἀπότομος πανταχόθεν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἔχουσα οὕτως, ὀλίγα δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ὠχυρώσαντο ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας. ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Τριτωνίας, ἐρείπια δὲ ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα· [5] καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ἐπωνυμίαν Ἴππιος, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔφασαν· ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἵππους τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸν γῆν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐπλέοντα τῶν ἵππων ἰδρύσασθαι μὲν ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ

Εὐρίππαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν θεόν, ἔνθα τῆς Φενεατικῆς χώρας εὔρε τὰς ἵππους, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἴππίου. [6] τῷ δὲ Ὀδυσσεῖ λέγουσιν εὐρόντι τὰς ἵππους γενέσθαι οἱ κατὰ γνώμην ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Φενεατῶν ἔχειν ἵππους, καθάπερ γε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῆς Ἰθάκης ἀπαντικρὺ τρέφειν αὐτόν· καὶ μοι καὶ γράμματα οἱ Φενεᾶται παρείχοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος γεγραμμένα τῷ βάθρῳ, τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως δὴ τι πρόσταγμα τοῖς ποιμαίνουσι τὰς ἵππους. [7] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἐπομένοις ἡμῖν τῷ Φενεατῶν λόγῳ εἰκὸς προσέσται, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ὀδυσσεᾶ ἀναθεῖναι τὸ χαλκοῦν οὐκ ἔχω πείθεσθαι σφισιν· οὐ γάρ πω τότε τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα διὰ παντὸς ἠπίσταντο ἐργάσασθαι καθάπερ ἐσθῆτα ἐξυφαίνοντες. τρόπον δὲ ὅστις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰ χαλκᾶ ἐργασίας, ἔδειξεν ἥδη μοι τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Ὑπάτου Διός. [8] διέχεαν δὲ χαλκὸν πρῶτοι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔχωνεύσαντο Ῥοϊκὸς τε Φιλαίου καὶ Θεόδωρος Τηλεκλέους Σάμιοι. Θεοδώρου δὲ ἔργον ἦν καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου τῆς σμαράγδου σφραγίς, ἦν Πολυκράτης ὁ Σάμου τυραννήσας ἐφόρει τε τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ περισσῶς δὴ τι ἡγάλλετο.

[9] Φενεατῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καταβαίνοντι ἔστι μὲν στάδιον, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου μνημεῖον Ἴφικλέους ἀδελφοῦ τε Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἰολάου πατρός. Ἰόλαον μὲν δὴ τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συγkάμνειν λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες· Ἴφικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἰολάου πατήρ, ἠνίκα ἐμαχέσατο Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς Ἥλείους τε καὶ Αὐγέαν τὴν προτέραν μάχην, τότε ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἐτρώθη τῶν Ἄκτορος, καλουμένων δὲ ἀπὸ Μολίνης τῆς μητρός. καὶ ἥδη κάμνοντα κομίζουσιν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Φενεόν· ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ Φενεάτης αὐτὸν Βουφάγος καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βουφάγου γυνὴ Πρώμνη περιεῖπόν τε εὖ καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔθαψαν. [10] Ἴφικλεῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς τότε ἔτι ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς ἥρωι, θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεᾶται μάλιστα καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἑρμαῖα, καὶ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἑρμοῦ σφισι καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου· τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Εὐχεῖρ Εὐβουλίδου. ὀπισθεν δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τάφος Μυρτίλου. τοῦτον Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι τὸν Μυρτίλον λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἠνιοχεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν Οἰνομάῳ· καὶ ὁπότε ἀφίκοιτό τις μνώμενος τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὴν θυγατέρα, ὁ μὲν ἡπείγετο ὁ Μυρτίλος σὺν τέχνῃ τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὰς ἵππους, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τὸν μνηστῆρα, ὁπότε ἐγγὺς γένοιτο, κατηκόντιζεν. [11] Ἴπποδαμείας δὲ ἦρα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μυρτίλος, ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀτόλμως ἔχων ὑπέικε καὶ ἠνιόχει τῷ Οἰνομάῳ. τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀναφανῆναι τοῦ Οἰνομάου προδότην φασὶν αὐτὸν ὑπαχθέντα ὄρκους, ὥς οἱ νύκτα ὁ Πέλοψ μίαν Ἴπποδαμείαν συγγενέσθαι παρήσει. ἀναμνησκόντα οὖν τῶν ὀρκῶν ὁ Πέλοψ ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς νεῶς· Φενεᾶται δὲ τοῦ Μυρτίλου τὸν νεκρὸν

ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος λέγουσιν ἀνελόμενοι θάψαι, καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν αὐτῷ. [12] ἔστι δὲ ὁ Πέλοψ δῆλος οὐ πολλὴν τινα παραπλεύσας θάλασσαν, ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰφειοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἥλειον. οὐκ ἂν οὖν τό γε ἐλάγος τὸ Μυρτῶν ἀπὸ Μυρτίλου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φαίνοιτο κεκλημένον, ἀρχόμενόν τε ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας καὶ παρ' Ἑλένην ἔρημον νῆσον καθῆκον ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν Εὐβοέων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες εἰκότα εἰρηκέναι, λέγοντες ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Μυρτοῦς τῇ

πελάγει γεγενέναι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Μυρτώφ.

15. Φενεάταις δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Ἑλευσινίας, καὶ ἄγουσι τῇ θεῇ τελετὴν, τὰ Ἑλευσῖνι δρώμενα καὶ παρὰ σφίσι τὰ αὐτὰ φάσκοντες καθεστηκέναι: ἀφικέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ναὸν κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν, τρίτον δὲ ἀπόγονον Εὐμόλπου τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Ναόν. παρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἑλευσινίας τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται Πέτρωμα καλούμενον, λίθοι δύο ἡρμοσμένοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους μεγάλοι. [2] ἄγοντες δὲ παρὰ ἔτος ἦντινα τελετὴν μείζονα ὀνομάζουσι, τοὺς λίθους τούτους τηνικαῦτα ἀνοίγουσι: λαβόντες δὲ γράμματα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν τελετὴν καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν μυστῶν, κατέθεντο ἐν νυκτὶ αὐθις τῇ αὐτῇ. Φενεατῶν δὲ οἶδα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ὁμνύντας ὑπὲρ μεγίστων τῷ Πετρώματι. [3] καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιφερές ἐστιν, ἔχον ἐντὸς Δήμητρος πρόσωπον Κιδαρίας: τοῦτο ὁ ἱερεὺς περιθέμενος τὸ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ μείζονι καλουμένῃ τελετῇ ῥάβδοις κατὰ λόγον δὴ τινα τοὺς ὑποχθονίους παίει. Φενεατῶν δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Ναὸν ἀφικέσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρα πλανωμένην: ὅσοι δὲ Φενεατῶν οἶκῳ τε καὶ ξενίοις ἐδέξαντο αὐτήν, τούτοις τὰ ὄσπρια ἢ θεὸς τὰ ἄλλα, κύαμον δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκε σφίσι. [4] κύαμον μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὴ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν ὄσπριον, ἔστιν ἱερὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος: οἱ δὲ τῷ Φενεατῶν λόγῳ δεξάμενοι τὴν θεόν, Τρισαύλης καὶ Δαμιθάλης, ἐποιήσαντο μὲν Δήμητρος ναὸν Θεσμίας ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κυλλήνῃ, κατεστήσαντο δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τελετὴν, ἦντινα καὶ νῦν ἄγουσιν. ὁ δὲ ναὸς οὗτος τῆς Θεσμίας σταδίους πέντε μάλιστα που καὶ δέκα ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως.

[5] ἐς δὲ Πελλήνην ἐκ Φενεοῦ καὶ ἐς Αἴγειραν ἰόντι Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν, πέντε που προεληλυθότι καὶ δέκα σταδίους, Απόλλωνός ἐστι Πυθίου ναός: ἐρείπια δὲ ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα καὶ βωμὸς μέγας λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Απόλλωνι Φενεᾶται καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν, Ἡρακλέα ἐλόντα Ἥλιον τὸ ἱερὸν λέγοντες ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἡρώων μνήματα, ὅσοι σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἥλείους μετασχόντες οὐκ ἀπεσώθησαν οἴκαδε ἐκ τῆς μάχης. [6] τέθραπται δὲ Τελαμῶν ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἀροανίου, ἀπωτέρω μικρὸν ἢ ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Απόλλωνος, Χαλκῶδων δὲ οὐ πόρρω κρήνης καλουμένης Οἰνός. τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἐλεφήνορος τοῦ Εὐβοεῦσιν ἐς Ἴλιον ἡγησαμένου καὶ τὸν Αἰάντος τε καὶ Τεύκρου, τούτων μὲν τοὺς πατέρας οὐκ ἀποδέξατο ἂν τις ἐν τούτῳ πεσεῖν τῷ ἀγῶνι: πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν συνεπελάβετο Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ ἔργου Χαλκῶδων, ὃν πρότερον ἔτι ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀμφιτρύωνα καὶ μαρτυρεῖται καὶ πιστεῦειν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐν Θήβαις; [7] πῶς δὲ Τεῦκρος ὄκισεν ἂν Σαλαμῖνα ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλιν, μηδενὸς ὥς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ Τροίας ἐκβαλόντος ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας; τίς δ' ἂν ἐξήλασεν ἄλλος πλὴν ὁ Τελαμῶν αὐτόν; δῆλα οὖν ἐστὶ Χαλκῶδοντα οὐ τὸν ἐξ Εὐβοίας καὶ Τελαμῶνα οὐ τὸν Αἰγινήτην ἐπὶ Ἥλείους Ἡρακλεῖ μετεσχηκέναι τῆς στρατείας: ὁμώνυμοι δὲ ἐπιφανέσιν ἄνδρες ἀφανέστεροι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ἐγίνοντο ὁμοίως χρόνον.

[8] Φενεάταις δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν τὸ ὁμορον οὐ καθ' ἐν ὅροις τῆς γῆς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν Πελλήνην ὁ καλούμενος Πωρίνας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Αἰγειράτιν ἥ τὸ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμιν. ἐν δὲ αὐτῶν Φενεατῶν τῇ χώρᾳ μετὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Απόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου προήξεις τε οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ἐντὸς ἔσῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος

ἀγούσης τὴν Κράθιν. [9] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Κράθιδος εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί· ῥεῖ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν παρὰ Αἰγᾶς, ἔρημον τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ χωρίον, τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καλεῖται τοῦ Κράθιδος καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς ἐν γῇ τῇ Βρεττίων· ἐν δὲ τῇ Κράθιδι τῷ ὄρει Πυρωνίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τὰ ἐτι ἀρχαιότερα παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης ἐπήγοντο Ἀργεῖοι πῦρ ἐς τὰ Λερναῖα.

16. ἐκ δὲ Φενεοῦ πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι ἀνίσχοντα ὄρους ἐστὶν ἄκρα Γερόντειον καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὁδός· Φενεάταις δὲ ὄροι πρὸς Στυμφαλίους τῆς γῆς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Γερόντειον. τοῦ Γεροντείου δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διὰ τῆς Φενεατικῆς ὁδεύοντι ὄρη Φενεατῶν ἐστὶ Τρίκρηνα καλούμενα, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτόθι κρήναι τρεῖς· ἐν ταύταις λούσαι τεχθέντα Ἑρμῆν αἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος λέγονται νύμφαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰς πηγὰς ἱερὰς Ἑρμοῦ νομίζουσιν. [2] Τρικρήνων δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὄρος Σηπία, καὶ Αἰπύτῳ τῷ Ἐλάτου λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄψεως, καὶ οἱ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν αὐτόθι· οὐ γὰρ οἶα τε ἦν σφισιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω φέρειν τὸν νεκρόν. τούτους οἱ Ἀρκάδες τοὺς ὄφεις γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει φασίν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὺς γε ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα σπανίους· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους τὸ πολὺ νειφομένου τοῦ ὄρους, οἱ τε ἀποληφθέντες τῶν φωλεῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος διαφθεῖρονται, καὶ ἦν πρότερον καταφυγόντες τύχωσιν ἐς τὰ φωλεά, ὅμως ἡ χιὼν μέρος τι αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσιν, ἅτε καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ φωλεὰ καθικνουμένου τοῦ κρυμοῦ. [3] τὸν δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου τάφον σπουδῇ μάλιστα ἐθεασάμην, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἔπεσιν ἔσχεν Ὅμηρος λόγον τοῦ· Αἰπύτου μνήματος. ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν γῆς χῶμα οὐ μέγα, λίθου κρηπῖδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον· Ὅμηρῳ δὲ — οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἀξιολογώτερον μνῆμα — εἰκότως παρέξειν ἔμελλε θαῦμα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἡφαίστου τὸν χορὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως ἀσπίδι εἰργασμένον εἰκάζει χορῷ Δαιδάλου ποιηθέντι, σοφώτερα οὐ θεασάμενος. [4] τάφους δὲ ἀξιόους θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος πολλοὺς δυοῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι, τοῦ τε ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑβραίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ Μανσώλῳ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀλικαρνασσέων πεποίηται, μέγεθος δὲ οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστι μέγας καὶ ἐς κατασκευὴν περίβλεπτος τὴν πᾶσαν, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλως δὴ τι αὐτὸν θαυμάζοντες τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιφανῆ μνήματα Μανσώλεια ὀνομάζουσιν· [5] Ἑβραίοις δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις, ἣν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς. μεμηχάνηται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν θύραν, ὁμοίως παντὶ οὕσαν τῷ τάφῳ λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον ἀνοίγεσθαι, πρὶν ἂν ἡμέραν τε αἰεὶ καὶ ὥραν τὸ ἔτος ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτήν· τότε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀνοιχθεῖσα καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχοῦσα συνεκλείσθῃ δι' ἐαυτῆς. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνοίξαι πειρώμενος ἀνοίξαις μὲν οὐκ ἂν, κατάξεις δὲ αὐτὴν πρότερον βιαζόμενος.

17. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου τὸν τάφον ὄρος τε ὑψηλότετον ὁρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Κυλλήνῃ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Κυλληνίου κατερριμμένος ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους· δῆλα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Κυλλήνως τοῦ Ἐλάτου τῷ τε ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις γεγεννημένη τῷ θεῷ. [2] τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὅποσα καὶ ἡμεῖς καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, τοσάδε ἦν ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ξόανα ἐποιοῦντο, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ κέδροι, τὰ δρύινα, ἡ μῖλαξ, ὁ λωτός· τῷ δὲ

Ἐρμῇ τῷ Κυλληνίῳ τούτων μὲν ἀπὸ οὐδενός, θύου δὲ πεποιημένον τὸ ἀγαλμὰ ἐστίν, ὁκτὼ δὲ εἶναι ποδῶν μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἰκάζομεν.

[3] παρέχεται δὲ καὶ θαῦμα τοιόνδε ἡ Κυλλήνη: κόσσυφοι γὰρ οἱ ὄρνιθες ὁλόλευκοί εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῇ: οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν καλούμενοι γένος ἄλλο πού τί εἰσιν ὄρνιθων, οὐκ ᾠδικόν. ἀετοὺς μὲν οὖν ὀνομαζομένους κυκνίας μάλιστα ἐοικότας κύκνῳ λευκότητά οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ θεασάμενος περὶ λίμνην καλουμένην Ταντάλου: ὅς δὲ ἀγρίους λευκοὺς καὶ ἄρκτους τῶν Θρακίων λευκάς ἤδη που καὶ ἄνδρες ἐκτήσαντο ἰδιῶται: [4] λαγῶ δὲ καὶ ἔλαφοι, τὸ μὲν Λιβυκὸν θρέμμα οἱ λαγῶ εἰσιν οἱ λευκοί, ἐλάφους δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ λευκάς εἰδόν τε καὶ ἰδὼν θαῦμα ἐποίησάμην, ὁπόθεν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἡπείρων οὔσαι ἡ νησιώτιδες ἐκομίσθησαν, οὐκ ἐπῆλθεν ἐρέσθαι μοι. τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν λελέχθω τῶν ἐν Κυλλήνῃ κοσσύφων ἕνεκα, ὥς μὴ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν χροάν αὐτῶν ἀπιστοίη μηδεῖς: [5] ἔχεται δὲ ἄλλο ὄρος Κυλλήνης Χελυδόρεα, ἔνθα εὐρὼν χελώνην Ἐρμῆς ἐκδεῖραι τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λέγεται ποιήσασθαι λύραν. ἐνταῦθα Φεναάταις καὶ Πελληνεῦσιν ὄροι τῆς γῆς εἰσι, καὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Χελυδορέων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ πλεόν νέμονται.

[6] ἐκ Φενεοῦ δὲ ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέρας καὶ ἡλίου δυσμῶν ἡ μὲν ἀριστερὰ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐς πόλιν ἄγει Κλείτορα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἐπὶ Νώνακριν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Στυγός. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαῖον ἡ Νώνακρις πόλισμα ἦν Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκάονος γυναικὸς τὸ ὄνομα εἰλήφει: τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐρείπια ἦν, οὐδὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ ἔτι δῆλα. τῶν δὲ ἐρειπίων οὐ πόρρω κρημνός ἐστιν ὑψηλός, οὐχ ἕτερον δ' ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνήκοντα ὕψους οἶδα: καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ στάζει, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑλληνες αὐτὸ ὕδωρ Στυγός.

18. εἶναι δὲ τὴν Στύγα Ἡσιόδος μὲν ἐν Θεογονίᾳ πεποίηκεν — Ἡσιόδου γὰρ δὴ ἔπη τὴν Θεογονίαν εἰσὶν οἱ νομίζουσι — , πεποιημένα οὖν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Στύγα, γυναῖκα δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι Πάλλαντος. ἐοικότα δὲ πεποιηκέναι τούτοις καὶ Λίνον φασίν: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπιλεγομένῳ παντάπασιν ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα γε εἶναι κίβδηλα. [2] Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρῆς εἶναι μὲν καὶ οὗτος θυγατέρα Ὠκεανοῦ τὴν Στύγα ἐποίησε, συνοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ Πάλλαντι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Πείραντος Ἐχιδναν τεκεῖν, ὅστις δὴ ὁ Πείρας ἐστί. μάλιστα δὲ τῆς Στυγός τὸ ὄνομα ἐς τὴν ποιήσιν ἐπεισηγάγεται Ὅμηρος. ἐν μὲν γε Ἥρας ἐποίησεν ὄρκῳ “ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεῖν

καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ:

“Hom. II. 15.36-37 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐποίησεν ὥς ἂν ἰδὼν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Στυγός στάζον: βούλεται δὲ καὶ ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν μετὰ Γουνέως Τιταρησίῳ ποταμῷ ρεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς Στυγός. [3] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐν Αἰδοῦ ὕδωρ εἶναι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τὸν Δία οὐ μεμνησθῆναι φησὶν ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς Ἥρακλέα ἔσωξεν ἐκ τῶν Εὐρυσθέως ἄθλων:” εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε ἤδη ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν,

εὐτέ μιν εἰς Αἶδαο πυλάρταο προὔπεμψεν

ἐξ Ἑρέβους ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Αἰδαο,

οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ρέεθρα.

“Homer, unknown location. [4] τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τῇν

Νώνακριν στάζον ἐσπίπτει μὲν πρῶτον ἐς πέτραν ὑψηλὴν, διεξελθὼν δὲ διὰ

τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὸν Κρᾶθιν ποταμὸν κάτεισι: θάνατον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ φέρει τοῦτο καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ ζῳῇ παντί. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι γένοιτό ποτε ὀλεθρος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰξίν, αἱ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιον πρῶτον: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐγνώσθη καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πρόσεστι τῷ ὕδατι τῶν ἐς θαῦμα ἠκόντων. [5] ὕαλος μὲν γε καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ μόρρια καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἄλλα λίθου ποιούμενα καὶ τῶν σκευῶν τὰ κεραμεῖα, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Στυγὸς τοῦ ὕδατος ρήγνυνται: κεράτινα δὲ καὶ ὀστέινα σίδηρός τε καὶ χαλκός, ἔτι δὲ μόλιβδός τε καὶ κασσίτερος καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον ὑπὸ τούτου σήπεται τοῦ ὕδατος. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς πέπονθε: καίτοι γε καθαρεύειν γε τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ ἢ τε ποιήτρια μάρτυς ἐστὶν ἡ Λεσβία καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ χρυσὸς ἐπιδείκνυσιν. [6] ἔδωκε δὲ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς τοῖς μάλιστα ἀπερριμμένοις κρατεῖν τῶν ὑπερηρκότων τῇ δόξῃ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ μάργαρα ἀπόλλυσθαι πέφυκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄξους, τοῦτο δὲ τὸν ἀδάμαντα λίθων ὄντα ἰσχυρότατον τοῦ τράγου κατατῆκει τὸ αἷμα: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οὐ δύναται τῆς Στυγὸς ὀπλὴν ἵππου βιάσασθαι μόνην, ἀλλὰ ἐμβληθὲν κατέχεται τε ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ διεργάζεται τὴν ὀπλὴν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου συνέβη τὴν τελευτήν διὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου γενέσθαι τούτου, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ οἶδα.

[7] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Νώνακριν ὄρη τε καλούμενα Ἀροάνια καὶ σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἐς τοῦτο ἀναφυγεῖν τὸ σπήλαιον τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Προΐτου μανείσας λέγουσιν, ἃς ὁ Μελάμπους θυσίαις τε ἀπορρήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς κατήγαγεν ἐς χωρίον καλούμενον Λουσούς. τοῦ μὲν δὴ ὅρους τῶν Ἀροανίων Φενεᾶται τὰ πολλὰ ἐνέμοντο: οἱ δὲ ἐν ὅροις ἤδη Κλειτορίων εἰσὶν οἱ Λουσοί. [8] πόλιν μὲν δὴ ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι τοὺς Λουσούς, καὶ Ἀγησίλας ἀνὴρ Λουσεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη κέλῃτι ἵππῳ νικῶν, ὅτε πρώτῃν ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα ἐτίθεσαν πυθιάδα Ἀμφικτύονες: τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἔτι λειπόμενα ἦν Λουσῶν. τὰς δ' οὖν θυγατέρας τοῦ Προΐτου κατήγαγεν ὁ Μελάμπους ἐς τοὺς Λουσούς καὶ ἠκέσατο τῆς μανίας ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ: καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ταύτην Ἡμερασίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Κλειτόριοι.

19. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες γένους μὲν καὶ οὗτοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ὄνομα δὲ σφισι Κυναιθαεῖς, οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ ἀγαλμα ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ Διός, κεραυνὸν ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ ἔχοντα τῇ χειρί: οὗτοι οἱ Κυναιθαεῖς τεσσαράκοντα ἀπωτέρω Λουσῶν σταδίοις μᾶλλον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ σφισιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πεποιήνται μὲν θεῶν βωμοί, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόν. [2] τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἦκοντα ἐς μνήμην Διονύσου ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν, καὶ ἑορτὴν ὥρα ἄγουσι χειμῶνος, ἐν ἣ ἴλιπα ἀθλημιμένοι ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῶν ταῦρον, ὃν ἂν σφισιν ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ποιήσῃ, ἀράμενοι κομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. θυσία μὲν τοιαύτῃ σφίσι καθέστηκε: πηγὴ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτόθι ὕδατος ψυχροῦ, δύο μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πλάτανος πεφυκυῖα. [3] ὅς δ' ἂν ὑπὸ κυνὸς κατασχέτου λύσῃ ἦτοι ἔλκος ἢ καὶ ἄλλως κίνδυνον εὕρηται, τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πίνουντι ἴαμα: καὶ Ἄλυσσον τοῦδε ἔνεκα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν: καὶ οὕτω φαίνοιτο ἂν Ἀρκάσι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Φενεᾷ ὕδωρ, ὃ Στύγα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου συμφορᾷ ἀνευρημένον, ἡ δὲ πηγὴ ἢ ἐν Κυναιθαεῦσιν ἀγαθὸν οὕσα ἀντίρροπον τῷ ἐκεῖ πῆματι.

[4] λείπεται δὲ ἐκ Φενεοῦ τῶν ὁδῶν, αἱ εἰσι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμῶν, ἡ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει μὲν ἐς Κλείτορα, καθήκει δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἔργον, ὃ τῷ ποταμῷ ῥεῦμα ἐποίησεν εἶναι τῷ Ἀροανίῳ. παρὰ τοῦτο ἡ ὁδὸς κάτεισιν ἐπὶ χωρίον Λυκουρίαν, καὶ ἔστι Φενεάταις ἡ Λυκουρία πρὸς Κλειτορίου ὄροι τῆς γῆς.

20. προελθόντων δὲ σταδίους ὡς πεντήκοντα ἐκ Λυκουρίας, ἐπὶ τοῦ Λάδωνος ἀφίξη τὰς πηγὰς· ἤκουσα δὲ ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον ἐν τῇ Φενεατικῇ, κατερχόμενον ἐς τὰ βάραθρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἄνεισιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ποιεῖ τῷ Λάδωνι τὰς πηγὰς. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἔχον· ὁ δὲ Λάδων ποταμῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὕδωρ παρέχεται κάλλιστον, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην Δάφνης τε εἵνεκα καὶ ἢ τὰ ῥδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην. [2] τοῦ λόγου δὲ τοῦ ἐς Δάφνην τὰ μὲν Σύροις τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ ποταμῷ παρίημι, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων. Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυναστεύσαντι ἐν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός. οὗτος ἐρασθεὶς Δάφνης ὁ Λεύκιππος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ εὐθέος μνόμενος γυναῖκα ἔξειν ἀπεγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἅτε ἅπαν τὸ ἄρσεν γένος φεύγουσαν· παρέστη δὲ οἱ τοιόνδε ἐς αὐτὴν σόφισμα. [3] ἔτρεφεν ὁ Λεύκιππος κόμην τῷ Ἀλφειῷ· ταύτην οἶα δὴ παρθένος πλεξάμενος τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνδὺς γυναικεῖαν ἀφίκετο ὡς τὴν Δάφνην, ἐλθὼν δὲ Οἰνομάου τε ἔλεγεν εἶναι θυγάτηρ καὶ ὡς συνθηρᾶν ἐθέλοι τῇ Δάφνῃ. ἅτε δὲ εἶναι παρθένος νομιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβλημένος παρθένους γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὰ κυνηγέσια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ περισσῇ χρώμενος, ἐς φιλίαν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπάγεται τὴν Δάφνην. [4] οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ἐς αὐτὴν ῥδοντες καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα Λευκίπῳ νεμεσῆσαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα εὐδαιμονίας. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ἡ Δάφνη καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι νήχεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Λεύκιππον ἀποδύουσιν ἄκοντα· ἰδοῦσαι δὲ οὐ παρθένον τοῖς τε ἀκοντίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειριδίοις τύπτουσαι διέφθειραν.

21. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσι· τοῦ Λάδωνος δὲ τῶν πηγῶν ἀπέχει στάδια ἐξήκοντα ἡ Κλειτορίων πόλις, ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Λάδωνός ἐστιν αὐλῶν στενὸς παρὰ τὸν Ἀροάνιον ποταμόν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει διαβήση ποταμὸν καλούμενον Κλείτορα. ἐκδίδωσιν οὖν ὁ Κλείτωρ ἐς τὸν Ἀροάνιον, οὐ πλεόν τῆς πόλεως σταδίους ἀπέχοντα ἑπτὰ. [2] εἰσὶ δὲ ἰχθῦς ἐν τῷ Ἀροανίῳ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ ποικιλίαι καλούμενοι· τούτους λέγουσι τοὺς ποικιλίας φθέγγεσθαι κίχλη τῇ ὄρνιθι ἐοικός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγρευθέντας μὲν εἶδον, φθεγγομένων δὲ ἤκουσα οὐδὲν καταμείνας πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐς ἡλίου δυσμᾶς, ὅτε δὴ φθέγγεσθαι μάλιστα ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἰχθῦς.

[3] τῇ δὲ Κλειτορίων πόλει τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐτέθη τοῦ Ἀζᾶνος, οἰκεῖται δ' ἐν ὁμαλῷ, κύκλῳ δὲ ὄρη περιέχοντά ἐστιν οὐ μεγάλα. Κλειτορίους δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα Δήμητρος τό τε Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τρίτον δὲ ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας *** εἶναι, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· Λύκιος δὲ Ὠλὴν ἀρχαιότερος τὴν ἡλικίαν, Δηλίοις ὕμνους καὶ ἄλλους ποιήσας καὶ ἐς Εἰλειθυίαν τε, εὐλινόν τε αὐτὴν ἀνακαλεῖ — δηλὸν ὡς τῇ πεπρωμένῃ τὴν αὐτὴν — καὶ Κρόνου πρεσβυτέραν φησὶν εἶναι. [4] Κλειτορίους δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων, καλουμένων δὲ θεῶν Μεγάλων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ὅσον τέσσαρα

ἀπέχον στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς χαλκᾶ. πεποιῆται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ὄρους κορυφῆς σταδίοις τριάκοντα ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς Κορίας.

22. ἐπανάγει δὲ ὁ λόγος με ἐπὶ Στύμφαλον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Φενεατῶν καὶ Στυμφαλίων ὄρους, τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον Γερόντειον. Στυμφάλιοι δὲ τεταγμένοι μὲν οὐ μετὰ Ἀρκάδων ἔτι εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν συντελοῦσι μεταστάντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἐθελονταί· γένους δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς τοῦ Ἀρκάδων τὰ ἔπη μαρτυρεῖ τὰ Ὅμηρου, καὶ ὁ Στύμφαλος ὁ οἰκιστὴς ἀπόγονος ἦν τρίτος Ἀρκάδος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς. λέγεται δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρωθι οἰκισθῆναι τῆς χώρας καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλιν. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ Στυμφάλῳ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Τήμενόν φασιν οἰκῆσαι τὸν Πελασγοῦ καὶ Ἦραν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τήμενου τραφῆναι τούτου καὶ αὐτὸν ἱερὰ τῇ θεῷ τρία ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τρεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῇ θέσθαι· παρθένῳ μὲν ἔτι οὔσῃ Παιδί, γημαμένην δὲ ἔτι τῷ Διὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Τελείαν, διενεχθεῖσαν δὲ ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἐς τὸν Δία καὶ ἐπανάκουσαν ἐς τὴν Στύμφαλον ὠνόμασεν ὁ Τήμενος Χήραν. τάδε μὲν ὑπὸ Στυμφαλίων λεγόμενα οἶδα ἐς τὴν θεόν· [3] ἡ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλις τῶν μὲν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δὲ εἶχε τοσάδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Στυμφαλίων πηγῇ, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὕδωρ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς Κορινθίοις ἤγαγεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Στυμφάλῳ χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρα λίμνην τε οὐ μεγάλην ἢ πηγὴ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ποταμὸν ποιεῖ τὸν Στύμφαλον· ἐν θέρει δὲ προλιμνάζει μὲν οὐδέν ἔτι, ποταμὸς δὲ αὐτίκα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς. οὗτος ἐς χάσμα γῆς κάτεισιν ὁ ποταμὸς, ἀναφαινόμενος δὲ αὐθις ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι μεταβάλλει τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ Στυμφάλου καλοῦσιν Ἑρασῖνον. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὕδατι τῷ ἐν Στυμφάλῳ κατέχει λόγος ὄρνιθας ποτε ἀνδροφάγους ἐπ' αὐτῷ τραφῆναι· ταύτας κατατοξεῦσαι τὰς ὄρνιθας Ἡρακλῆς λέγεται. Πείσανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Καμιρεὺς ἀποκτείνει τὰς ὄρνιθας οὐ φησιν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ψόφῳ κροτάλων ἐκδιώξειεν αὐτάς. γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἀράβων ἡ ἔρημος παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ ὄρνιθας καλουμένας Στυμφαλίδας, λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων οὐδέν τι ἡμερωτέρας ἀνθρώποις· [5] αὗται τοῖς ἐπὶ ἄγραν αὐτῶν ἀφικνουμένοις ἐπιτέτανται, καὶ τιτρώσκουσί τε τοῖς ράμφεσι καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν. ὅσα μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, διατρυπῶσιν αἱ ὄρνιθες· ἦν δὲ ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην παχεῖαν πλέξωνται, τὰ ράμφη τῶν Στυμφαλίδων ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἔχεται τῆς φλοῖνης, καθὰ καὶ πτέρυγες ὀρνίθων τῶν μικρῶν προσέχονται τῷ ἰξῷ. αὗται μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ γέρανόν εἰσιν αἱ ὄρνιθες, εἰκάσι δὲ ἴβεσι, ράμφη δὲ ἀλκιμώτερα φέρουσι καὶ οὐ σκολιὰ ὥσπερ αἱ ἴβεις. [6] εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ κατ' ἐμὲ ὄρνιθες αἱ Ἀράβιοι τῶν ἐν Ἀркаδίᾳ ποτὲ ὀρνίθων τὸ ὄνομα, εἶδος δὲ οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκείναις ἔχουσιν, οὐκ οἶδα· εἰ δὲ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἱέραξι καὶ ἀετοῖς καὶ Στυμφαλίδες εἰσιν ὄρνιθες, Ἀράβιον τε εἶναι μοι θρέμμα αἱ ὄρνιθες αὗται φαίνονται, καὶ δύναιτο ἂν πετομένη ποτὲ ἀπόμοιρα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἀφικέσθαι ἐπὶ Στύμφαλον. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀράβων ἄλλο τί που ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλοῖντο ἂν καὶ οὐ Στυμφαλίδες· τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πρὸ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ τετιμημένον ἐξενίκησεν ὥς καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ Ἀράβων Στυμφαλίδας καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι. [7] ἐν Στυμφάλῳ δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον Στυμφαλίας· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξοάνόν ἐστι τὰ πολλὰ

ἐπίχρυσον. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ ὀρόφῳ πεποιημένοι καὶ οἱ Στυμφαλίδες εἰσὶν ὄρνιθες· σαφῶς μὲν οὖν χαλεπὸν ἦν διαγνῶναι πότερον ξύλου ποίημα ἦν ἢ γύψου, τεκμαιρομένοις δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ξύλου μᾶλλον ἢ γύψου. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ παρθένοι λίθου λευκοῦ, σκέλη δὲ σφίσις ἐστὶν ὀρνίθων, ἐστᾶσι δὲ ὀπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ. [8] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι θαῦμα τοιόνδε. ἐν Στυμφάλῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Στυμφαλίας τὴν ἑορτὴν κατὰ τε ἄλλα ἦγον οὐ σπουδῇ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν καθεστηκότα ὑπερέβαινον τὰ πολλὰ. ἐσπεσοῦσα οὖν ὕλη κατὰ τοῦ βαράθρου τὸ στόμα, ἥ κάτεισιν ὁ ποταμός ὃς ἐστὶν ὁ Στύμφαλος, ἀνεῖργε μὴ καταδύεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ, λίμνην τε ὅσον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίους σταδίους τὸ πεδῖον σφίσι γενέσθαι λέγουσι. [9] φασὶ δὲ ἔπεσθαι θηρευτὴν ἄνδρα ἐλάφῳ φευγούσῃ, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς τὸ τέλμα ἵεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα τὸν θηρευτὴν ἐπακολουθοῦντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ κατόπιν τῆς ἐλάφου νήχεσθαι· καὶ οὕτω τὸ βάραθρον τὴν τε ἔλαφον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπεδέξατο. τούτοις δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπακολουθησαί φασιν, ὥστε ἐς ἡμέραν Στυμφαλίους ἐξήραντο ἅπαν τοῦ πεδίου τὸ λιμνάζον· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τὴν ἑορτὴν φιλοτιμία πλέوني ἄγουσι.

23. μετὰ δὲ Στύμφαλόν ἐστιν Ἀλέα, συνεδρίου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργολικοῦ μετέχουσα καὶ αὕτη, Ἄλεον δὲ τὸν Ἀφείδαντος γενέσθαι σφίσις ἀποφαίνουσιν οἰκιστὴν. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ αὐτόθι Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν Ἐφεσίας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀλέας, καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα. τούτῳ παρὰ ἔτος Σκιέρεια ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ ἐν Διονύσου τῇ ἑορτῇ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν μαστιγοῦνται γυναῖκες, καθὰ καὶ οἱ Σπαρτιατῶν ἔφηβοι παρὰ τῇ Ὀρθίᾳ.

[2] ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ὀρχομενίους ὡς πρῶτα μὲν παρὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἐστὶν ἡ εὐθεῖα, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ λιμνάζοντος. ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ Καφυῶν πεποιήται γῆς χῶμα, δι' οὗ ἀπείργεται τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενίας μὴ εἶναι Καφυεῦσιν βλάβος τῇ ἐνεργῇ. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ χώματος παρέξεισιν ὕδωρ ἄλλο, πλήθει μὲν ὅσον τε εἶναι ποταμόν, κατερχόμενον δὲ ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἄνεισιν αὐθις παρὰ Νάσους καλουμένας· τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα ἄνεισιν ὀνομάζεται Ῥεῦνος· ἀνατεῖλαντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα, τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου παρέχεται ποταμὸν ἀέναν Τράγον. [3] τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐστὶ μὲν δῆλον ἀπὸ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου τῇ πόλει γεγονός, ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν φωνῇ τῇ Ἀρκάδων Καφυὰς ἐκνενίκηκε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Καφυεῖς τὰ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἶναι χώρας, ἐκβληθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγέως ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν φυγεῖν καὶ ἰκέται γενόμενοι Κηφέως οἰκῆσαι ἐνταῦθα. τὸ μὲν δὴ πόλισμα ἐπὶ τοῦ πεδίου τῷ πέρατι ὁρῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστι· Καφυάταις δὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κνακαλησίας Ἀρτέμιδος. [4] ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄρος Κνάκαλος, ἔνθα ἐπέτειον τελετὴν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν πηγὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ πλάτανος μεγάλη καὶ εὐειδὴς πέφυκε· καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Μενελαΐδα, Μενέλαον γὰρ στρατὸν ἀθροίζοντα ἐς Τροίαν ἀφικέσθαι τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ τὴν πλάτανον φυτεῦσαι λέγοντες· ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγὴν κατὰ ταῦτα τῇ πλατάνῳ καλοῦσι Μενελαΐδα. [5] εἰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων τοῖς λόγοις ἐπόμενον καταριθμήσασθαι δεῖ με ὅποσα δένδρα σῶα ἔτι καὶ τεθιλότα λείπεται, πρεσβύτατον μὲν ἡ λύγος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ ἐν τῷ Σαμίων πεφυκυῖα

ιερω Ἦρας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἢ ἐν Δωδώνῃ δρυὶς καὶ ἐλαία τε ἢ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἢ παρὰ Δηλίοις: τρίτα δὲ ἔνεκα ἀρχαιότητος νέμοιεν ἂν τῇ δάφνῃ τῇ παρὰ σφίσιν οἱ Σύροι: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἢ πλάτανός ἐστιν αὕτη παλαιότατον.

[6] Καφυῶν δὲ ἀφέστηκεν ὅσον στάδιον Κονδυλέα χωρίον, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἄλσος καὶ ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα καλουμένης Κονδυλεάτιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον: μετονομασθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ αἰτία τὴν θεὸν φασὶ τοιαύτη. παῖδια περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν παίζοντα — ἀριθμὸν δὲ αὐτῶν οὐ μνημονεύουσιν — ἐπέτυχε καλωδίου, δῆσαντα δὲ τὸ καλωδίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπέλεγεν ὥς ἀπάγχοιτο ἢ Ἄρτεμις. [7] φωράσαντες δὲ οἱ Καφυεῖς τὰ ποιηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν παιδίων καταλεύουσιν αὐτά: καὶ σφισι ταῦτα ἐργασαμένοις ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας νόσος, τὰ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ πρὸ τοκετοῦ τεθνεῶτα ἐκβάλλεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἢ Πυθία θάναι τε τὰ παῖδια ἀνείπε καὶ ἐναγίζειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἔτος: ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὰ οὐ σὺν δίκῃ. Καφυεῖς δὲ ποιοῦσι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μάντευμα καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς Κονδυλαῖς θεὸν — προσεῖναι γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔτι τῷ χρησμῷ φασὶ — καλοῦσιν Ἀπαγχομένην ἐξ ἐκείνου.

[8] ἀνελθὼν δὲ ἐκ Καφυῶν ὅσον σταδίους ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Νάσους καλουμένας καταβῆσθαι: πεντήκοντα δὲ προελθόντι αὐτόθεν σταδίους ἐστὶν ὁ Λάδων. διαβῆσθαι τε δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ δρυμὸν ἀφίξῃ Σόρωνα διὰ τε Ἀργεαθῶν καὶ Λυκούντων καλουμένων καὶ Σκοτάνης. [9] ἄγει μὲν δὴ ὁ Σόρων τὴν ἐπὶ Ψωφίδος: θηρία δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ὅσοι δρυμοὶ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν εἰσὶν ἄλλοι παρέχονται τοσάδε, ἀγρίους ὕς καὶ ἄρκτους καὶ χελώνας μεγίστας μεγέθει: λύρας ἂν ποιήσαιο ἐξ αὐτῶν χελώνης Ἰνδικῆς λύρα παρισυμένας. τοῦ Σόρωνος δὲ πρὸς τοῖς πέρασιν ἔστι μὲν Πάου κόμης ἐρείπια, εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπωτέρω αἱ καλούμεναι Σεῖραι: ὅροι δὲ Κλειτορίοις τῆς χώρας πρὸς Ψωφιδίους εἰσὶν αἱ Σεῖραι.

24. Ψωφίδος δὲ οἱ μὲν φασιν οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι Ψωφίδα τὸν Ἄρρωνος τοῦ Ἑρμάνθου τοῦ Ἀρίστα τοῦ Παρθάονος τοῦ Περιφίτου τοῦ Νυκτίμου: τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένα θυγατέρα Ψωφίδα εἶναι Ξάνθου τοῦ Ἑρμάνθου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὕτω κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἐς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔχει μνήμην: [2] ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστατος τῶν λόγων ἐστὶν Ἑρυκος τοῦ ἐν Σικανίᾳ δυναστεύσαντος παῖδα εἶναι τὴν Ψωφίδα, ἣ συγγενόμενος Ἡρακλῆς ἀγαγέσθαι μὲν αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν οἶκον οὐκ ἡξίου, καταλείπει δὲ ἔχουσαν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ παρὰ Λυκόρτα, ξένω μὲν ὄντι αὐτοῦ, παροικοῦντι δὲ ἐν πόλει Φηγία, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Φηγέως τῆς βασιλείας Ἑρμάνθω καλουμένη: ἐπιτραφέντες δὲ αὐτόθι Ἐχέφρων καὶ Πρόμαχος Ἡρακλέους τε ὄντες καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Σικανῆς μετέθεντο τῇ Φηγίᾳ τὸ ὄνομα Ψωφίδα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός. [3] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζακυνθίων τῇ ἀκροπόλει Ψωφίς ὄνομα, ὅτι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπεραιώθη πρῶτος καὶ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς ἀνὴρ Ψωφίδιος, Ζάκυνθος τε ὁ Δαρδάνου. Σειρῶν μὲν δὴ σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τριάκοντα ἢ Ψωφίς: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ τε Ἀροάνιος ποταμὸς καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως Ἑρύμανθος ρέουσιν. [4] ἔχει δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ Ἑρύμανθος ἐν ὄρει Λαμπεῖα, τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἱερὸν εἶναι Πανὸς λέγεται: εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ἑρμάνθου μοῖρα ἢ Λάμπεια. ἐποίησε δὲ Ὅμηρος ὥς ἐν Ταυγέτῳ τε καὶ Ἑρμάνθῳ *** θηρευτῆς *** οὖν τῆς Λαμπείας ὁ Ἑρύμανθος, καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν διεξιθὼν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὸ ὄρος ἔχων

τὴν Φολόην, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ πάλιν Θέλπουσαν χώραν, κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν. [5] λέγεται δὲ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς κατὰ πρόσταγμα Εὐρυσθέως παρὰ τῷ Ἑρμάνθῳ θηράσειεν ὅν μεγέθει καὶ ἀλκῇ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερηρκότα. Κυμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ὀπικοῖς συὸς ὀδόντας ἀνακειμένους παρὰ σφίσιν ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσιν ὡς οἱ ὀδόντες ὑὸς εἶεν τοῦ Ἑρμάνθου, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον μέτεστι τοῦ εἰκότος. [6] Ψωφιδίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν Ἑρυκίνης ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησιν — ἧς ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα, ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Ψωφίδος αὐτὸ ἰδρύσασθαι παῖδες, καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὸ εἰκὸς πρόσεστι: ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῆς Ἑρυκίνης ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἑρυκος, ἀγιώτατόν τε ἐκ παλαιότητος καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέον πλούτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Πάφῳ — [7] Προμάχου δὲ καὶ Ἐχερρῶνος τῶν Ψωφίδος οὐκ

ἐπιφανῆ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι ἦν τὰ ἡρῶα. τέθλαται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμαίων ἐν Ψωφίδι ὁ Ἀμφιαράου, καὶ οἱ τὸ μνημῆα ἐστὶν οἶκημα οὔτε μεγέθει μέγα οὔτε ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον: περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ κυπάρισσοι πεφύκασιν ἐς τοσοῦτον ὕψος ἀνήκουσαι, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ψωφίδι κατεσκιάζετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ταύτας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐκκόπτειν ἱερὰς τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος νομίζοντες: καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρθένοι. [8] ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων ἠνίκα τὴν μητέρα ἀποκτείνας ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἄργους, τότε ἐς τὴν Ψωφίδα ἐλθὼν, Φηγίαν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Φηγέως ὀνομαζομένην, συνώκησεν Ἀλφεισιβοίᾳ τῇ Φηγέως θυγατρὶ καὶ αὐτῇ δῶρα ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ὄρμον δίδωσιν. ὡς δὲ οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν οὐδὲν ἐγένετο ἢ νόσος ῥᾶων, κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ Πυθία διδάσκει τὸν Ἐριφύλης ἀλάστορα ἐς ταύτην οἱ μόνην χώραν οὐ συνακολουθήσειν, ἥτις ἐστὶ νεωτάτη καὶ ἡ θάλασσα τοῦ μητρώου μιάσματος ἀνέφηεν ὕστερον αὐτήν. [9] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξευρὼν τοῦ Ἀχελῷου τὴν πρόσχωσιν ἐνταῦθα ὤκησε, καὶ γυναῖκα ἔσχε Καλλιρόην τοῦ Ἀχελῷου θυγατέρα λόγῳ τῷ Ἀκαρνάνων, καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἀκαρνάν τε καὶ Ἀμφότερος ἐγένοντο: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκαρνᾶνος τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ταύτῃ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν γενέσθαι λέγουσι τὰ πρὸ τούτου Κούρησι καλουμένοις, ἐς ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἀνοήτους πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες δὲ ἔτι πλέον ἐξοκέλλουσιν. [10] ἐπεθύμησεν ἡ Καλλιρόη τῆς Ἐριφύλης οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν ὄρμον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φηγίαν τὸν Ἀλκμαίωνα ἔστειλεν ἄκοντα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Φηγέως τῶν παίδων Τημένου καὶ Ἀξίονος δολοφονηθέντα ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή. τοῦ Φηγέως δὲ οἱ παῖδες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀναθεῖναι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς λέγονται τὸν ὄρμον. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλευόντων ἐν Φηγίᾳ τότε ἔτι καλουμένη τῇ πόλει Φηγία στρατευσάει φασιν Ἑλληνας ἐς Τροίαν: σφᾶς δὲ οἱ Ψωφιδίοι τοῦ στόλου φασὶν οὐ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι αὐτῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖων ἀπηχθάνοντο ἡγεμόνες, κατὰ γένος τε τῷ Ἀλκμαίῳ οἱ πολλοὶ προσήκοντες καὶ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτῷ κοινωνήσαντες τῆς ἐς Θήβας.

[11] τὰς δὲ Ἐχινάδας νήσους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχελῷου μὴ σφᾶς ἡπειρον ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἀπειργάσθαι γέγονε δὴ αἰτία τὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος, γεγόνασιν δὲ αὐτοῖ τε ἀνάστατοι καὶ ἡ γῆ σφισι πᾶσα ἡρήμωται: ταῖς Ἐχινάσιν οὖν ἅτε ἀσπόρου μενούσης τῆς Αἰτωλίας οὐχ ὁμοίως ὁ Ἀχελῷος ἐπάγει τὴν ἰλύν. μαρτύριον δέ μοι τοῦ λόγου: ὁ γὰρ Μαΐανδρος διὰ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Καρῶν ἀρουμένης ὅσα ἔτι ῥέων τὴν μεταξὺ Πριήνης καὶ Μιλήτου θάλασσαν ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ

πεποιήκεν ἥπειρον. [12] Ψωφιδίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἑρυσάνθῳ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἑρυσάνθου καὶ ἄγαλμα. ποιεῖται δὲ πλὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου Νείλου ποταμοῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα: τῷ Νείῳ δέ, ἅτε διὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν κατιόντι ἐς θάλασσαν, μέλανος λίθου τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐργάζεσθαι νομίζουσιν.

[13] ὃν δὲ ἤκουσα ἐν Ψωφίδι ἐπὶ Ἀγλαῷ λόγον ἀνδρὶ Ψωφιδίῳ κατὰ Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδὸν ὄντι ἡλικίαν, ὥς ὁ Ἀγλαὸς τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα γένοιτο εὐδαίμων, οὐ με ἐπειθεν ὁ λόγος. ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπων μὲν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ ἂν τις ἐλάσσονα ἀναδέξαιτο, καθὰ καὶ ναῦς ἦσσαν ἂν χειμασθεῖν νεὼς ἄλλης: [14] ἄνδρα δὲ συμφορῶν ἀεὶ στάντα ἐκτὸς ἢ τὰ πάντα οὐρίῳ ναῦν χρησαμένην πνεύματι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως δυνησόμεθα ἐξευρεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὅμηρος κατακείμενον παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἀγαθῶν πίθον, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον κακῶν ἐποίησεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ δεδιδαγμένος, ὃς αὐτόν ποτε Ὅμηρον κακοδαίμονά τε προσεῖπε καὶ ὄλβιον ὥς φύντα ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως.

25. ἐς δὲ Θέλπουσαν ἰόντι ἐκ Ψωφίδος πρῶτα μὲν χωρίον Τρόπαιά ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λάδωνος, Τροπαίων δὲ ἔχεται δρυμὸς Ἀφροδίσιον: τρίτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα ἐν στήλῃ γράμματα, “ὄροι Ψωφιδίοις πρὸς τὴν Θελπουσίαν χώραν.

“ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ τῇ Θελπουσίᾳ ποταμὸς ἐστὶν Ἄρσην καλούμενος: τοῦτον οὖν διαβῆσθαι καὶ ὅσον πέντε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σταδίοις ἀφίξῃ καὶ εἴκοσι ἐπὶ ἐρείπια Καοῦντος κόμης ὃ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ Καουσίου πεποιημένον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. [2] τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τούτου σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἀφέστηκεν ἡ πόλις: τεθῆναι δὲ αὐτῇ ὄνομα ἀπὸ νύμφης λέγουσι Θελπούσης, ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα εἶναι Λάδωνος. τῷ δὲ Λάδωνι ἄρχεται μὲν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν πηγαῖς τῆς Κλειτορίας, καθὰ ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν ἤδη μοι: ῥεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ Λευκάσιον χωρίον καὶ Μεσόβοα καὶ διὰ τῶν Νάσων ἐπὶ τε Ὀρυγα τὸν καὶ Ἀλοῦντα ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐξ Ἀλοῦντος δὲ ἐπὶ Θαλιάδας τε καὶ ἐπὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν κάτεισιν Ἐλευσινίας. [3] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν Θελπουσίῳ ἐν ὄροις: ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ, ποδῶν ἐπτὰ οὐκ ἀποδέον ἕκαστον, Δήμητρος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως λίθου. μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ Θέλπουσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Λάδων παρέξεισιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, κειμένην μὲν ἐπὶ λόφου μεγάλου, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι οὐσάν φασιν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ ποιηθῆναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Θελπούσῃ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὸν τῶν δώδεκα: [4] τούτου τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἔδαφος ἔκειτο ἤδη. μετὰ δὲ Θέλπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ὁ Λάδων κάτεισι τὸ ἐν Ὀγκείῳ: καλοῦσι δὲ Ἐρινὺν οἱ Θελπούσιοι τὴν θεόν, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐπιστρατεῖαν Ἀργείων ποιήσας ἐς Θήβας: καὶ οἱ τὸ ἔπος ἔχει, “Δήμητρος τόθι φασὶν Ἐρινὸς εἶναι ἔδεθλον.

“Antimachus, unknown location. ὁ μὲν δὲ Ὀγκίος Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι κατὰ τὴν φήμην καὶ ἐν τῇ Θελπουσίᾳ περὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐδυνάστευε τὸ Ὀγκιον, τῇ θεῷ δὲ Ἐρινὺς γέγονεν ἐπὶ κλήσις: [5] πλανωμένη γὰρ τῇ Δήμητρι, ἡνίκα τὴν παῖδα ἐζήτει, λέγουσιν ἔπεσθαι οἱ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐπιθυμοῦντα αὐτῇ μιχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς ἵππον μεταβαλοῦσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἵπποις νέμεσθαι ταῖς Ὀγκίου, Ποσειδῶν δὲ συνήσεν ἀπατῶμενος καὶ συγγίνεται τῇ Δήμητρι ἄρσενι ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκασθείς. [6] τὸ μὲν δὲ παραυτίκα τὴν Δήμητρα ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι

ἔχειν ὀργίλως, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ τε θυμοῦ παύσασθαι καὶ τῷ Λάδωνι ἐθέλῃσαι φασιν αὐτὴν λούσασθαι: ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ

ἐπικλήσεις τῇ θεῷ γεγόνασι, τοῦ μηνίματος μὲν ἔνεκα Ἑρινύς, ὅτι τὸ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καλοῦσιν ἐρινύειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, Λουσία δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λούσασθαι τῷ Λάδωνι. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματά ἐστι τὰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ ξύλου, πρόσωπα δὲ σφισι καὶ χεῖρες ἄκραι καὶ πόδες εἰσὶ Παρίου λίθου: [7] τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἑρινύος τὴν τε κίστην καλουμένην ἔχει καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ δᾶδα, μέγεθος δὲ εἰκάζομεν ἑννέα εἶναι ποδῶν αὐτήν: ἡ Λουσία δὲ ποδῶν ἑξὶ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι. ὅσοι δὲ Θέμιδος καὶ οὐ Δήμητρος τῆς Λουσίας τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι νομίζουσι, μάταια ἴστωσαν ὑπειληφότες. τὴν δὲ Δήμητρα τεκεῖν φασιν ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θυγατέρα, ἥς τὸ ὄνομα ἕς ἀτελέστους λέγειν οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ ἵππον τὸν Ἀρείονα: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀρκάδων πρώτοις Ἴππιον Ποσειδῶνα ὀνομασθῆναι. [8] ἐπάγονται δὲ ἕξ Ἰλιάδος ἔπη καὶ ἐκ Θηβαΐδος μαρτυρία σφισιν εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἐν μὲν Ἰλιάδι ἕς αὐτὸν Ἀρείονα πεποιῆσθαι, “οὐδ’ εἴ κεν μετόπισθεν Ἀρείονα δῖον ἐλαύνει,

Ἀδρήστου ταχὺν ἵππον, ὃς ἐκ θεόφιν γένος ἦεν:

“Hom. Il. 23.346 ἐν δὲ τῇ Θηβαΐδι ὡς Ἀδραστος ἔφευγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν” εἴματα λυγρὰ φέρων σὺν Ἀρείονι κυανοχαίτῃ.

“Thebaid, unknown location. αἰνίσσασθαι οὖν ἐθέλουσι τὰ ἔπη Ποσειδῶνα Ἀρείονι εἶναι πατέρα, Ἀντίμαχος δὲ παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς φησιν: [9] “Ἀδρηστος Ταλαῷ υἱὸς Κρηθηιάδαι

πρώτιστος Δαναῶν ἐὼ αἰνέτω ἤλασεν ἵππῳ,
Καιρόν τε κραιπνὸν καὶ Ἀρείονα Θελπουσαῖον,
τόν ῥά τ’ Ἀπόλλωνος σχεδὸν ἄλσεος Ὀγκαιοῖο
αὐτῇ Γαῖ’ ἀνέδωκε, σέβας θνητοῖσιν ιδέσθαι.

“Antimachus, unknown location. [10] δύναται δ’ ἂν καὶ ἀναφύντι ἐκ γῆς τῷ ἵππῳ ἐκ θεοῦ τε εἶναι τὸ γένος καὶ αἱ τρίχες οἱ τὴν χροάν ἐοικέναι κυανῷ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιάδε, Ἡρακλέα πολεμοῦντα Ἠλείοις αἰτήσαι παρ’ Ὀγκου τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἐλεῖν τὴν Ἥλιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρείονι ὀχούμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας, δοθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὕστερον Ἀδράστῳ τὸν ἵππον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἕς τὸν Ἀρείονα ἐποίησεν Ἀντίμαχος “ὃς ῥά ποτ’ Ἀδρήστῳ τριτάτῳ δέδμηθ’ ὑπ’ ἄνακτι.

“Antimachus, unknown location.

[11] ὁ δὲ Λάδων τῆς Ἑρινύος τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπολιπὼν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, παρέξεισιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ὀγκαιάτου τὸν ναόν, τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Παιδὸς ἱερὸν, ἔνθα Τρυγόνης μνημᾶ ἐστὶ τροφοῦ: τροφὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὴν Τρυγὸνα εἶναι λέγουσιν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ Θελπούσῃ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ παιδί ἐκκειμένῳ φασὶν ἐπιτυχόντα Αὐτόλαον Ἀρκάδος υἱὸν νόθον ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παῖδα Ἀσκληπιὸν *** εἰκότα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡγούμην, ὃ καὶ ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίων. [12] ἔστι δὲ Τουθὸς ποταμός: ἐμβάλλει δὲ ἐς τὸν Λάδωνα καὶ ἡ Τουθὸς κατὰ τὸν Θελπουσίῳ ὄρον πρὸς Ἡραιεῖς, καλούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων Πεδίον. καθότι δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Λάδων ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Κοράκων ὠνόμασται νᾶσος. οἱ δὲ ἡγνῆται τὴν Ἐνίσπην καὶ Στρατὴν τε καὶ Ῥίπην τὰς ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου κατειλεγμένας γενέσθαι νήσους ποτὲ ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένας, ἃ οἱ πεπιστευκότες μάταια

ἴστωσαν: [13] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε οὐδὲ νηὶ παρισουμένας πορθοίμι παρὰσχοιτο ὁ Λάδων νήσους. κάλλους μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα οὐδενὸς ποταμῶν δεύτερος οὔτε τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἐστὶν οὔτε Ἕλληνας, μέγεθος δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτος ὥς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ νήσους ἀναφαίνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν Ἰστρῷ τε καὶ Ἡριδανῷ.

26. Ἡραιεῦσι δὲ οἰκιστὴς μὲν γέγονεν Ἡραεὺς ὁ Λυκάωνος, κεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν ἡρέμα προσάντει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καθήκει τὸν Ἀλφειόν. δρόμοι τε παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πεποίηνται μυρσίναις καὶ ἄλλοις ἡμέροις διακεκριμένοι δένδροις, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ αὐτόθι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ ναοί: τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν αὐτῶν Πολίτην, τὸν δὲ Αὐξίτην, καὶ οἰκημὰ ἐστὶ σφισιν ἔνθα τῷ Διονύσῳ τὰ [2] ὄργια ἄγουσιν. ἔστι καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῇ Ἡραίᾳ Πανὸς ἅτε τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιχωρίου, τῆς δὲ Ἥρας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ἐρείπια καὶ οἱ κίονες ἐπὶ ἐλείποντο: ἀθλητὰς δὲ ὅποσοι γεγόνασιν Ἀρκάσιν ὑπερῆрке τῇ δόξῃ Δαμάρετος Ἡραεὺς, ὃς τὸν ὀλίγην δρόμον ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πρῶτος.

[3] ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἥλειαν κατιῶν ἐξ Ἡραίας στάδια μὲν πέντε καὶ δέκα ἀποσχὼν Ἡραίας διαβῆση τὸν Λάδωνα, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς Ἐρύμανθον ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἀφίξη σταδίοις. τῇ δὲ Ἡραίᾳ ὅροι πρὸς τὴν Ἥλειαν λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐρύμανθος, Ἥλειοι δὲ τὸν Κοροΐβου τάφον φασὶ τὴν χώραν σφίσιν ὀρίζειν. [4] ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἐκλιπόντα ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἀνεεώσατο Ἴφιτος καὶ αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἤγαγον, τότε δρόμου σφίσιν ἄθλα ἐτέθη μόνον καὶ ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησε: καὶ ἔστιν ἐπιγράμμα ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ὥς Ὀλυμπίασιν ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησεν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος καὶ ὅτι τῆς Ἥλειας ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι ὁ τάφος αὐτῷ πεποίηται.

[5] ἔστι δὲ Ἀλιφῆρα πόλισμα οὐ μέγα: ἐξελεῖφθη γὰρ ὑπὸ οἰκητόρων πολλῶν ὑπὸ τὸν συνοικισμὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ἐς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ πόλισμα ἐρχόμενος ἐξ Ἡραίας τὸν τε Ἀλφειὸν διαβῆση καὶ σταδίων μάλιστα πού δέκα διελθὼν πεδίον ἐπὶ ὅρος ἀφίξη καὶ αὐθις στάδια ὅσον τριάκοντα ἐς τὸ πόλισμα ἀναβῆση διὰ τοῦ ὄρους. [6] Ἀλιφηρεῦσι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἀπὸ Ἀλιφῆρου Λυκάωνος παιδός, ἱερὰ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν θεῶν σέβονται μάλιστα, γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτὴν λέγοντες: καὶ Διὸς τε ἰδρύσαντο Λεχεάτου βωμόν, ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκόντος, καὶ κρήνην καλοῦσι Τριτωνίδα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Τρίτωνι οἰκειούμενοι λόγον. [7] τῆς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα πεποίηται χαλκοῦ, Ὑπατοδῶρου τε ἔργον, θέας ἄξιον μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐς τὴν τέχνην. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ πανηγυριν ὅτῳ δὴ θεῶν, δοκῶ δὲ σφᾶς ἄγειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανηγύρει Μυάγρῳ προθύουσιν, ἐπευχόμενοί τε κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ ἥρωι καὶ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸν Μύαγρον: καὶ σφισι ταῦτα δράσασιν οὐδὲν ἐτι ἀνιαρόν εἰσιν αἱ μυῖαι. [8] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ Ἡραίας ἄγουσαν ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν εἰσὶ Μελαινεαί: ταύτας ὥκισε μὲν Μελαινεὺς ὁ Λυκάωνος, ἔρημος δὲ ἦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὕδατι δὲ καταρρεῖται. Μελαινεῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἀνωτέρω σταδίοις Βουφάγιον, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει πηγὰς ὁ Βουφάγος κατιῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν: τοῦ Βουφάγου δὲ περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὅροι πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας Ἡραιεῦσιν εἰσιν.

27. ἡ δὲ Μεγάλη πόλις νεωτάτη πόλεων ἐστὶν οὐ τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν μόνον

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι, πλὴν ὅσων κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀρχῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων μεταβεβήκασιν οἰκήτορες· συνῆλθον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἰσχύος ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἅτε καὶ Ἀργεῖους ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνον οὐ κατὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κινδυνεύοντας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων παραστῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει τὸ Ἄργος ἐπηύξησαν καταλύσαντες Τίρυνθα καὶ Ὑσιὰς τε καὶ Ὀρνεὰς καὶ Μυκῆνας καὶ Μίδειαν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἦν, τὰ τε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδεέστερα τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὑπάρξαντα καὶ ἅμα ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ἰσχὺν γενομένην αὐτοῖς. [2] γνῶμη μὲν τοιαύτη συνφκίζοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, τῆς πόλεως δὲ οἰκιστὴς Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καλοῖτο ἄν· τοὺς τε γὰρ Ἀρκάδας οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἐπεγείρας ἐς τὸν συνοικισμὸν Θηβαίων τε χιλίους λογάδας καὶ Παμμένην ἀπέστειλεν ἡγεμόνα ἀμύνειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν, εἰ κωλύειν πειρῶνται οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν οἰκισμόν. ἡρέθησαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἰκισταὶ Λυκομήδης καὶ Ὀπολέας καὶ Τίμων τε καὶ Πρόξενος, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ Τεγέας, Λυκομήδης δὲ καὶ Ὀπολέας Μαντινεῖς, Κλειτορίων δὲ Κλεόλαος καὶ Ἀκρίφιος, Εὐκαμπίδας δὲ καὶ Ἰερώνυμος ἐκ Μαινάλου, Παρρασίων δὲ Ποσσικράτης τε καὶ Θεόξενος. [3] πόλεις δὲ τοσαῖδε ἦσαν ὁπόσας ὑπὸ τε προθυμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πατρίδας σφίσιν οὔσας ἐκλιπεῖν ἐπείθοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, Ἀλέα Παλλάντιον Εὐταία Σουμάτειον Ἀσέα Περαιθεῖς Ἐλισσὼν Ὀρεσθάσιον Δίπαια Λύκαια· ταύτας μὲν ἐκ Μαινάλου· ἐκ δὲ Εὐτρησίων Τρικώλωνοι καὶ Ζοίτιον καὶ Χαρισία καὶ Πτολέδερμα καὶ Κναῦσον καὶ Παρώρεια· [4] παρὰ δὲ Αἰγυτῶν Αἶγυς καὶ Σκιρτώνιον καὶ Μαλέα καὶ Κρῶμοι καὶ Βλένινα καὶ Λεῦκτρον· Παρρασίων δὲ Λυκοσουρεῖς Θωκνεῖς Τραπεζούντιοι Προσεῖς Ἀκακήσιον Ἀκόντιον Μακαρία Δασέα· ἐκ δὲ Κυνουραίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Γόρτυς καὶ Θεισόα ἡ πρὸς Λυκαίῳ καὶ Λυκαιᾷται καὶ Ἀλίφηρα· ἐκ δὲ τῶν συντελούντων ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν Θεισόα Μεθύδριον Τεῦθις· προσεγένετο δὲ καὶ Τρίπολις ὀνομαζομένη, Καλλία καὶ Δίποινα καὶ Νώνακρις. [5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν οὔτε τι παρέλυε τοῦ κοινοῦ δόγματος καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν σπουδῇ· Λυκαιᾷται δὲ καὶ Τρικολωνεῖς καὶ Λυκοσουρεῖς τε καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι μετεβάλλοντο Ἀρκάδων μόνοι, καὶ — οὐ γὰρ συνεχώρουν ἔτι τὰ ἄσθη τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐκλιπεῖν — οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄκοντες ἀνάγκῃ κατήγοντο ἐς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν, Τραπεζούντιοι δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου [6] τὸ παράπαν ἐξεχώρησαν, ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν ἐλείφθησαν καὶ μὴ σφᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ παραντίκα διεχρήσαντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες· τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνασωθέντας ἀναπλεύσαντας ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο μητροπολίτας τ' ὄντας καὶ ὁμωνύμους οἱ Τραπεζούντα ἔχοντες τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ. Λυκοσουρεῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπειθήσασιν ἐγένετο ὁμῶς παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων αἰδῶς Δήμητρός τε ἔνεκα καὶ Δεσποίνης ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. [7] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῶν κατειλεγμένων πόλεων αἱ μὲν ἐς ἅπαν εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι, τὰς δὲ ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται κόμας, Γόρτυνα Διποίνας Θεισόαν τὴν πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ Μεθύδριον Τεῦθιν Καλλιᾶς Ἐλισσόντα· μόνη δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν Παλλάντιον ἔμελλεν ἄρα ἡπιωτέρου πειρᾶσθαι καὶ τότε τοῦ δαίμονος. τοῖς δὲ Ἀλιφηρεῦσι παραμεμένηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν σφᾶς καὶ ἐς τότε νομίζεσθαι. [8] συνφκίσθη δὲ ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις ἐνιαυτῷ τε τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ

μησίν τε ὀλίγοις ὕστερον ἢ τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις, Φρασικλείδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ δευτέρας, ἦν Δάμων Θούριος ἐνίκα στάδιον.

[9] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ ἐς τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἐγγραφεῖσιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεῖμα ἦν οὐδέν. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἱερὸν ὀνομασθέντα οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατέστησαν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο οἱ Φωκεῖς, τὴν τε ὁμορον τῇ Βοιωτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ὄντες οὐκ ἀδύνατοι χρήμασιν ἄτε τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατελιγφότες, [10] τηνικαῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προθυμίας μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα Ἀρκάδας τε ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους, ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν τότε οὐκ ἀθύμως καὶ ἅμα τῶν περιοίκων ἀπροφασίστως σφίσιν ἐπικουρούντων, λόγου μὲν συνέπεσεν οὐδὲν ἄξιον γενέσθαι παρὰ οὐδετέρων: Φίλιππον δὲ τὸν Ἀμύντου καὶ Μακεδόνων τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐξηθῆναι τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Ἀρκάδων ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἑλλήσιν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ αὖθις περὶ Θεσσαλίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ μετέσχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες. [11] χρόνον δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν Ἀριστόδημος Μεγαλοπολίταις ἀνέφνυ τύραννος, Φιγαλεὺς μὲν γένος καὶ υἱὸς Ἀρτύλα, ποιησαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν Τριταίου τῶν οὐκ ἀδυνάτων ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει: τούτῳ τῷ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τυραννοῦντι ἐξεγένετο ὅμως ἐπικληθῆναι Χρηστῷ. ἐπὶ τούτου τυραννοῦντος ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Μεγαλοπολὶτιν στρατιᾷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Κλεομένους ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων Ἀκρότατος: ἐγενεαλόγησα δὲ ἤδη τὰ τε ἐς τοῦτον καὶ ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων. γενομένης δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης καὶ ἀποθανόντων πολλῶν παρ' ἀμοτέρων κρατοῦσιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολίταις τῇ συμβολῇ: καὶ ἄλλοι τε διεφθάρησαν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Ἀκρότατος, οὐδὲ οἱ τὴν πατρίαν παραλαβεῖν ἐξεγένετο ἀρχήν. [12] μετὰ δὲ Ἀριστόδημον τελευτήσαντα δύο μάλιστα ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἐτυράννησε Λυδιάδης, οἴκου μὲν οὐκ ἀφανοῦς, φύσιν δὲ φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα, ὥς ἐπέδειξεν ὕστερον, καὶ φιλόπολις. ἔσχε μὲν γὰρ ἔτι νέος ὢν τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρχετο φρονεῖν, κατέπαυεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκὼν τυραννίδος, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἤδη οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθωρμισμένης. Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ συντελούντων ἤδη τότε ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν, ὁ Λυδιάδης ἐν τε αὐτοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγένετο οὕτω δόκιμος ὥς Ἀράτῳ παρισωθῆναι τὰ ἐς δόξαν. [13] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας Ἄγις ὁ Εὐδαμίδου στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Μεγάλῃν πόλιν παρασκευῇ μείζονι καὶ ἀξιολογωτέρα τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀκροτάτου συναχθείσης: καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐπέξελθόντας τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐνίκησαν καὶ μηχανήματα ἰσχυρὸν προσάγοντες τῷ τείχει τὸν πύργον τὸν ταύτῃ δι' αὐτοῦ σείουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καταρρίψιν τῷ μηχανήματι ἤλπιζον. [14] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα οὐχ Ἑλλήσιν ὁ Βορέας ἔσεσθαι μόνον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὄφελος, τοῦ Μήδων ναυτικοῦ ταῖς Σηπιάσι προσάξας τὰς πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας ὁ ἄνεμος οὗτος ἐρρύσατο μὴ ἀλῶναι: κατέλυσέ τε γὰρ τὸ μηχανήμα τοῦ Ἀγίδος καὶ διεφόρησεν ἐς ἀπώλειαν παντελεῖ βιαίῳ τῷ πνεύματι ὁμοῦ καὶ συνεχεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ἄγις ὅτῳ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Βορέου μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν ἐγένετο ἐμποδῶν, ἔστιν ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ Πελλήνην ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀράτου καὶ Σικυνώνων καὶ ὕστερον πρὸς Μαντινείᾳ χρησάμενος τῷ τέλει. [15] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου Μεγαλόπολιν

κατέλαβεν ἐν σπονδαῖς. Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εὐθὺς τότε ἀμύνοντες τῇ πατρίδι ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἔνθα καὶ Λυδιάδην ἀγωνιζόμενον ἀξίως λόγου κατέλαβεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸ χρεών: τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν Φιλοποίμην ὁ Κραύγιδος ὅσον τε τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ παῖδας ἅμα ἔχων καὶ γυναῖκας διέφυγεν ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. [16] Κλεομένης δὲ τοὺς τε ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐφόρευε καὶ κατέσκαπτε τε καὶ ἔκαιε τὴν πόλιν. Μεγαλοπολίται μὲν δὴ τρόπον ὁποῖον ἀνέσωσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ὁποῖα κατελθοῦσιν αὐθις ἐπράχθη σφίσι, δηλώσει τοῦ λόγου μοι τὰ ἐς Φιλοποίμενα: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν παθήματος μέτεστιν αἰτίας οὐδέν, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐκ βασιλείας μετέστησεν ἐς τυραννίδα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν πολιτείαν.

[17] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ καὶ Ἑραιεῦσι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι τοῦ Βουφάγου ποταμοῦ περὶ τὰς πηγὰς εἰσιν ὅροι τῆς χώρας. γενέσθαι δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Βουφάγου φασὶν ἥρωος, εἶναι δὲ Ἰαπετοῦ τε παῖδα αὐτὸν καὶ Θόρνακος. ταύτην καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ Θόρνακα ὀνομάζουσι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν Φολόῃ τῷ ὄρει τοξεύσειεν Ἄρτεμις Βουφάγον ἔργα τολμήσαντα οὐχ ὅσια ἐς τὴν θεόν.

28. ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν πηγῶν, πρῶτα μὲν σε ἐκδέξεται Μάραθα χωρίον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Γόρτυς κώμη τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα πόλις. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ λίθου Πεντελησίου, καὶ αὐτός τε οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια καὶ Ὑγείας ἄγαλμα: Σκόπα δὲ ἦν ἔργα. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τάδε, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου τὸν θώρακα καὶ δόρυ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ: καὶ ἐς ἐμέ γε ἔτι ὁ θώραξ καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἦν ἡ αἰχμή.

[2] τὴν δὲ Γόρτυνα ποταμὸς διέξεισιν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὀνομαζόμενος Λούσιος, ἐπὶ λουτροῖς δὴ τοῖς Διὸς τεχθέντος: οἱ δὲ ἀπωτέρω τῶν πηγῶν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης Γορτύνιον. οὗτος ὁ Γορτύνιος ὕδωρ ψυχρότατον παρέχεται ποταμῶν. Ἴστρον μὲν γε καὶ Ῥῆνον, ἔτι δὲ Ὑπανίν τε καὶ Βορυσθένην καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων ἐν ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος τὰ ρεύματα πήγνυται, τούτους μὲν χειμερίους κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν ὀρθῶς ὀνομάσαι τις ἂν, οἱ ρέουσι μὲν διὰ γῆς τὸ πολὺ τοῦ χρόνου νεοφομένης, ἀνάπλεως δὲ κρυμοῦ καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτούς ἐστιν ἀήρ: [3] ὅσοι δὲ γῆν διεξίσιν εὖ τῶν ὥρων ἔχουσιν καὶ θέρους σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ πινόμενόν τε καὶ λουομένους ἀνθρώπους ἀναψύχει, χειμῶνος δὲ ἀνιαρὸν οὐκ ἔστι, τούτους ἐγὼ φημι παρέχεσθαι σφᾶς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν. ψυχρόν μὲν δὴ ὕδωρ καὶ Κύδνου τοῦ διεξιόντος Ταρσεῖς καὶ Μέλανος τοῦ παρὰ Σίδην τὴν Παμφύλων: Ἄλεντος δὲ τοῦ ἐν Κολοφῶνι καὶ ἐλεγείων ποιηταὶ τὴν ψυχρότητα ἄδουσι. Γορτύνιος δὲ προΐκει καὶ ἐς πλεον ψυχρότητος, μάλιστα δὲ ὥρᾳ θέρους. ἔχει μὲν δὴ τὰς πηγὰς ἐν Θεισόᾳ τῇ Μεθυδριεῦσιν ὁμόρῳ: καθότι δὲ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ τὸ ρεῦμα ἀνακοινοῖ, καλοῦσι Ῥαιτέας.

[4] τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ Θεισόᾳ προσεχῆς κώμη Τεϋθίς ἐστι: πάλαι δὲ ἦν πόλισμα ἢ Τεϋθις. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ ἰδίᾳ παρείχοντο οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἡγεμόνα: ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Τεϋθιν, οἱ δὲ Ὀρνυτόν φασιν εἶναι. ὡς δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἐγίνετο ἐπιφορά ἐξ Αὐλίδος πνεύματα, ἀλλὰ ἄνεμος σφᾶς βίαιος ἐπὶ χρόνον εἶχεν ἐγκλείσας, ἀφίκετο ὁ Τεϋθις Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς ἀπέχθειαν

καὶ ὀπίσω τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὧν ἤρχεν ἀπάξειν ἔμελλον. [5] ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηναῖν λέγουσι Μέλανι τῷ Ὠπος εἰκασμένην ἀποτρέπειν τῆς ὁδοῦ Τεϋθιν τῆς οἰκαδῆ: ὁ δέ, ἅτε οἰδοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θυμοῦ, παῖει τὴν θεὸν τῷ δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρόν, ἀπήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αὐλίδος ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν. ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν, τὴν θεὸν ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν τετρωμένην φανῆναι οἱ τὸν μηρόν: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου κατέλαβε Τεϋθιν φθινώδης νόσος, μόνοις τε Ἀρκάδων τοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἀπεδίδου καρπὸν οὐδένα ἢ γῆ. [6] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσθη σφίσιν ἐκ Δωδώνης, ὅποια δρῶντες ἰλάσεσθαι τὴν θεὸν ἔμελλον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖς ἔχον τραῦμα ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ. τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον, τελαμῶνι πορφυρῷ τὸν μηρόν κατειλημένον. καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Τεϋθίδι, Ἀφροδίτῃς τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστί.

[7] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθ' ἐστί: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Γόρτυνος ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν πεποιήται μνήμα τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κλεομένην μάχῃ. τὸ δὲ μνήμα τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται Παραιβασίον, ὅτι ἐς αὐτοὺς παρεσπόνδῃσεν ὁ Κλεομένης. Παραιβασίου δὲ ἔχεται πεδίον ἐξήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα: καὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια Βρένθης ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ποταμὸς ἔξεισιν αὐτόθεν Βρενθεάτης καὶ ὅσον σταδίου προελθόντι πέντε κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν.

29. διαβάντων δὲ Ἀλφειὸν χώρα τε καλουμένη Τραπεζουντία καὶ πόλεως ἐστὶν ἐρείπια Τραπεζοῦντος. καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καταβαίνοντι ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βάθος ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἔνθα ἄγουσι τελετὴν διὰ ἔτους τρίτου θεαῖς Μεγάλαις: καὶ πηγὴ τε αὐτόθι ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπιάς καλουμένη, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἐν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπορρέουσα, καὶ πλησίον τῆς πηγῆς πῦρ ἄνεισι. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν λεγομένην γιγάντων μάχην καὶ θεῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ γενέσθαι Παλλήνῃ, καὶ θύουσιν ἀστραπαῖς αὐτόθι καὶ θυέλλαις τε καὶ βρονταῖς. [2] γιγάντων δὲ ἐν μὲν Ἰλιάδι οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσατο Ὅμηρος μνήμην: ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ δὲ ἔγραψε μὲν ὡς ταῖς Ὀδυσσεύως ναυσὶ Λαιστρυγόνες ἐπέλθοιεν γίγασιν καὶ οὐκ ἀνδράσιν εἰκασμένοι, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Φαίακων λέγοντα εἶναι τοὺς Φαίακας θεῶν ἐγγὺς ὥσπερ Κύκλωπας καὶ τὸ γιγάντων ἔθνος. ἐν τε οὖν τούτοις δηλοῖ θνητοὺς ὄντας καὶ οὐ θεῖον γένος τοὺς γίγαντας καὶ σαφέστερον ἐν τῷδε ἔτι, "ὅς ποθ' ὑπερθύμοισι γιγάντεσσιν βασιλεύεν:

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὤλεσε λαὸν ἀτάσθαλον, ὤλετο δ' αὐτός.

"Hom. Od. 7.59-60 ἐθέλουσι δ' αὐτῷ λαὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀνθρώπων οἱ πολλοὶ καλεῖσθαι. [3] δράκοντας δὲ ἀντὶ ποδῶν τοῖς γίγασιν εἶναι, πολλαχῇ τε ὁ λόγος ἄλλῃ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδείχθη μάλιστα ὡς ἐστὶν εὐήθης. Ὀρόντην τὸν Σύρων ποταμὸν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐν ἰσοπέδῳ μέχρι θαλάσσης ῥέοντα, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κρημνόν τε ἀπορρῶγα καὶ ἐς κάταντες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φερόμενον, ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἀναπλεῖσθαι ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν πόλιν: ἔλυτρον οὖν σὺν πόνῳ τε καὶ δαπάνῃ χρημάτων ὀρυζάμενος ἐπιτήδειον ἐς τὸν ἀνάπλου, ἐξέτρεψεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸν ποταμόν. [4] ἀναξηρανθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥεύματος, κεραμεᾷ τε ἐν αὐτῷ σορὸς πλέον ἢ ἐνός τε καὶ δέκα εὐρέθη πηχῶν καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς μέγεθός τε ἦν κατὰ τὴν σορὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπος διὰ παντός τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτον τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ ἐν Κλάρῳ ὁ θεός, ἀφικομένων ἐπὶ

τὸ χρηστήριον τῶν Σύρων, εἶπεν Ὀρόντην εἶναι, γένους δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδῶν. εἰ δὲ τὴν γῆν τὸ ἀρχαῖον οὖσαν ὑγρὰν ἔτι καὶ ἀνάπλεων νοτίδος θερμαίνων ὁ ἥλιος τοὺς πρώτους ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπους, ποίαν εἰκὸς ἔστιν ἄλλην χώραν ἢ προτέραν τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἢ μείζονας ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἢ γε καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ ὄψεως τῷ παραλόγῳ καὶ μεγέθει διάφορα ἐκτρέφει θηρία;

[5] τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Βάθους σταδίου ὡς δέκα ἀφέστηκεν ἢ καλουμένη Βασιλὶς: ταύτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς Κύνελος ὁ Κρεσφόντη τῷ Ἀριστομάχου τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδούς: ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐρείπια ἢ Βασιλὶς ἦν καὶ Δῆμητρος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλείπετο Ἐλευσινίας. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προῖων τὸν Ἀλφειὸν αὐτὴς διαβῆσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ Θωκνίαν ἀφίξῃ, τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Θῶκνου τοῦ Λυκάανος ἔχουσιν, ἐς ἅπαν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημον: ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ Θῶκνος ἐν τῷ λόφῳ κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν. ποταμὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀμίνιος ῥέων παρὰ τὸν λόφον ἐς τὸν Ἐλισσόντα ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ὁ Ἐλισσών.

30. ὁ δὲ Ἐλισσών οὗτος ἀρχόμενος ἐκ κώμης ὁμωνύμου — καὶ γὰρ τῇ κώμῃ τὸ ὄνομα Ἐλισσών ἐστι — τὴν τε Διπαιέων καὶ τὴν Λυκαιᾶτιν χώραν, τρίτα δὲ αὐτὴν διεξελθὼν Μεγάλην πόλιν, εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀπωτέρω Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τοῦ ἄστεως κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν. πλησίον δὲ ἤδη τῆς πόλεως Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἐπόπτου ναός: ἐλείπετο δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἢ κεφαλῇ.

[2] διαιροῦντος δὲ τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἐλισσόντος, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Κνίδον καὶ Μιτυλήνην δίχα οἱ εὐριπτοὶ νέμουσιν, ἐν μέρει τῷ πρὸς ἄρκτους, δεξιῇ δὲ κατὰ τὸ μετέωρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πεποιήται σφισιν ἀγορά. περίβολος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερὸν Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι: τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστι δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοὶ τέ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ ἀετοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἴσοι καὶ ἄγαλμα Πανὸς λίθου πεποιημένον: [3] ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ Σινόεις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, τὴν τε ἐπὶ κλησὶν γενέσθαι τῷ Πανὶ ἀπὸ νύμφης Σινόης λέγουσι, ταύτην δὲ σὺν ἄλλαις τῶν νυμφῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ γενέσθαι τροφὸν τοῦ Πανός. ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τεμένους τούτου χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος θέας ἄξιον, μέγεθος μὲν ἐς πόδας δώδεκα, ἐκομίσθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων συντέλεια ἐς κόσμον τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει. [4] τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἱδρυτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Φιγαλέων, ὀνομάζεται Βᾶσσαι: τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἢ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἠκολούθηκε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ ὄνομα ἔσχεν Ἐπικούριος, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φιγαλέας τοῦ λόγου. ἔστι δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα Μητρὸς θεῶν, τοῦ ναοῦ δέ, ὅτι μὴ οἱ κίονες, ἄλλο ὑπόλοιπον οὐδέν.

[5] πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Μητρὸς ἀνδριάς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ, δῆλα δὲ ἦν τὰ βάθρα, ἐφ' ὧν ἀνδριάντες ποτὲ ἐστήκεσαν. ἐλεγείον δὲ ἐπὶ ἐνὸς γεγραμμένον τῶν βάθρων Διοφάνους φησὶν εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα, Δαιίου μὲν υἱοῦ, συντάξαντος δὲ ἀνδρὸς πρώτου Πελοπόννησον τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς τὸν ὀνομασθέντα Ἀχαϊκὸν σύλλογον. [6] στοᾶν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὀνομαζομένην Φιλίππειον οὐ Φίλιππος ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἀμύντου, χαριζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν διδόασιν αὐτῷ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος. Ἐρμοῦ δὲ Ἀκακησίου πρὸς αὐτῇ ναὸς κατεβέβλητο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο ὅτι μὴ χελώνῃ λίθου. ταύτης δὲ ἔχεται τῆς Φιλίππειον μέγεθος ἀποδέουσα ἐτέρα στοᾶ, Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ αὐτόθι

ῥκοδομημένα ἐστὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, ἀριθμὸν οἰκήματα ἕξ· ἐν ἐνὶ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν Ἐφεσίας ἄγαλμα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χαλκοῦς Πᾶν πηχυαῖος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σκολεΐτας. [7] μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἀπὸ λόφου τοῦ Σκολεΐτα· καὶ ὁ λόφος οὗτος τοῦ τείχους ἐστὶν ἐντός, ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ κάτεισιν ὕδωρ ἐς τὸν Ἐλισσόντα ἐκ πηγῆς. τῶν ἀρχείων δὲ ὀπισθε ναὸς Τύχης καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου πεποιήται ποδῶν πέντε οὐκ ἀποδέον. στοὰν δὲ ἦντινα καλοῦσι Μυρόπωλιν, ἔστι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ῥκοδομήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἥνικα τὸ παῖσμα ἐγένετο Ἀκροτάτῳ τῷ Κλεομένους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς συστρατεύσασιν, μαχεσαμένοις πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τυραννίδα ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει τότε ἔχοντα. [8] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀνεμμένου τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ ἀνὴρ ἐπειργασμένος ἐπὶ στηλῇ, Πολύβιος Λυκόρτα· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγοντα ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν πᾶσαν πλανηθείη, καὶ ὅτι σύμμαχος γένοιτο Ῥωμαίων καὶ παύσειεν αὐτοὺς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. συνέγραψε δὲ ὁ Πολύβιος οὗτος καὶ ἄλλα ἔργα Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὡς Καρχηδονίους κατέστησαν ἐς πόλεμον, αἰτία τε ἣτις ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὁψέ [9] οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνων μεγάλων Ῥωμαῖοι Σκιπίωνι *** ὃν τινα Καρχηδονιακὸν ὀνομάζουσι τέλος τε ἐπιθέντα τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα καταβαλόντα ἐς ἔδαφος. ὅσα μὲν δὴ Πολυβίῳ παραινοῦντι ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐπέθετο, ἐς ὀρθὸν ἐχώρησεν αὐτῷ· ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἠκροᾶτο διδάσκοντος, γενέσθαι οἱ λέγουσιν ἁμαρτήματα. Ἑλλήνων δὲ ὁπόσαι πόλεις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν συνετέλουν, παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὗραντο αὐταὶ Πολυβίων σφισι πολιτείας τε καταστήσασθαι καὶ νόμους θεῖναι. τῆς δ' εἰκόνας τοῦ Πολυβίου τὸ βουλευτήριόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ.

[10] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα, στοὰν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἀριστάνδρειον ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν Ἀρίστανδρον οἰκοδομήσαι λέγουσι. ταύτης τῆς στοᾶς ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτῳ ὡς πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἱερὸν Σωτῆρος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Διός· κεκόσμηται δὲ περίξ κίοσι. καθεζομένῳ δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐν θρόνῳ παρεστήκασιν τῇ μὲν ἡ Μεγάλῃ πόλις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτεῖρας ἄγαλμα. ταῦτα μὲν λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου Ἀθηναῖοι Κηφισόδοτος καὶ Ξενοφὼν εἰργάσαντο·

31. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πέρας τῆς στοᾶς παρέχεται τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμῶν περίβολον θεῶν ἱερὸν τῶν Μεγάλων. αἱ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ Μεγάλαι θεαὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη, καθότι ἐδήλωσα ἤδη καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ· τὴν Κόρην δὲ Σώτειραν καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ἐπειργασμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ τύπων πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Ἄρτεμις, τῇ δὲ Ἀσκληπίος ἐστὶ καὶ Ὑγεία. [2] θεαὶ δὲ αἱ Μεγάλαι Δημήτηρ μὲν λίθου διὰ πάσης, ἡ δὲ Σώτειρα τὰ ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα ξύλου πεποιήται· μέγεθος δὲ ἑκατέρας πέντε πού καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ πόδες. τὰ τε ἀγάλματα Δαμοφῶν καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν κόρας ἐποίησεν οὐ μεγάλας, ἐν χιτῶσί τε καθήκουσιν ἐς σφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθῶν ἀνάπλεων ἑκατέρω τάλανον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ φέρει· εἶναι δὲ θυγατέρες τοῦ Δαμοφῶντος λέγονται, τοῖς δὲ ἐπανάγουσιν ἐς τὸ θεϊότερον δοκεῖ σφᾶς Ἀθηναῖν τε εἶναι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν τὰ ἄνθη μετὰ τῆς Περσεφόνης συλλεγούσας. [3] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς παρὰ τῇ Δήμητρὶ μέγεθος μάλιστα πῆχυν· τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι τῶν Ἰδαίων καλουμένων Δακτύλων Ὀνομάκριτός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι. κεῖται δὲ τράπεζα ἔμπροσθεν,

ἐπειρασμένοι τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ δύο τέ εἰσιν ὧραι καὶ ἔχων Πάν σύριγγα καὶ Ἀπόλλων κιθαρίζων: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι σφᾶς θεῶν τῶν πρώτων. [4] πεποίηνται δὲ ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ Νύμφαι: Νέδα μὲν Δία φέρουσά ἐστι νήπιον παῖδα, Ἀνθρακία δὲ νύμφη τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν καὶ αὕτη δᾶδα ἔχουσα ἐστίν, Ἀγνώ δὲ τῇ μὲν ὕδριαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ φιάλην: Ἀγχιρόης δὲ καὶ Μυρτώεσσης εἰσὶν ὕδριαί τὰ φορήματα, καὶ ὕδωρ δῆθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάτεισιν. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐμφερές: κόθορνοί τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ: καίτοι τοῖς γε ἐς Διόνυσον λεγομένοις τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν ἐστι. [5] τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ δένδρων ἐστὶν ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, θριγκῷ περιεχόμενον: ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐντὸς ἔσοδος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὅσον τε ποδῶν τριῶν εἰσὶν ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν. πρὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐσόδου ξοᾶνά ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα, Ἥρα καὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Μοῦσαι — ταῦτα κομισθηναί φασιν ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος — , ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Δαμοφῶν [6] ἐποίησεν Ἑρμῆν ξύλου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον: καὶ ταύτης χειρὲς εἰσι λίθου καὶ πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκροι πόδες. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶν τῇ θεῷ Μαχανίτιν ὀρθότατα ἔθεντο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν: Ἀφροδίτης τε γὰρ ἔνεκα καὶ ἔργων τῶν ταύτης πλεῖσται μὲν ἐπιτεχνήσεις, παντοῖα δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀνευρημένα ἐς λόγους ἐστίν. [7] ἐστήκασιν δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντες ἐν οἰκῇματι, Καλλιγνώτου τε καὶ Μέντα καὶ Σωσιγένοῦς τε καὶ Πάωλου: καταστήσασθαι δὲ οὗτοι Μεγαλοπολίταις λέγονται πρῶτον τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν τὴν τελετὴν, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τῶν Ἑλευσίνι ἐστι μιμήματα. κεῖται δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου θεῶν τοσάδε ἄλλων ἀγάλματα τὸ τετράγωνον παρεχόμενα σχῆμα, Ἑρμῆς τε ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀγίτωρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἥλιος ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων Σωτήρ δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν σφισι μεγέθει μέγα, καὶ ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν τελετὴν ταῖς θεαῖς.

[8] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Κόρης: λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ποδῶν ὀκτῶ μάλιστα: ταινίαι δὲ ἐπέχουσι διὰ παντὸς τὸ βάθρον. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν γυναιξὶ μὲν τὸν πάντα ἐστὶν ἔσοδος χρόνον, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οὐ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσίασι. γυμνάσιον δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ συνεχὲς κατὰ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἐστὶν ὠκοδομημένον. [9] τῆς στοᾶς δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνοϛ Φιλίππου καλοῦσι, ταύτης εἰσὶ δύο ὀπισθεν λόφοι, οὐκ ἐς ὕψος ἀνήκοντες: ἐρείπια δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ Πολιάδος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ναός ἐστὶν Ἥρας Τελείας, ὁμοίως καὶ ταῦτα ἐρείπια. ὑπὸ τούτῳ τῷ λόφῳ Βάθυλλος καλουμένη πηγὴ συντελεῖ καὶ αὕτη τῷ ποταμῷ Ἑλισσόντι ἐς μέγεθος.

32. τοσάδε ἐνταῦθα ἀξιόχρεα ἦν: ἡ δὲ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ μοῖρα ἡ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν παρείχετο ἐς μνήμην θεάτρον μέγιστον τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀέναός ἐστιν ὕδατος πηγὴ. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ λείπεται τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θεμέλια, ὃ τοῖς μυρίοις ἐπεποιήτο Ἀρκάδων: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναθέντος Θερσίλιον. πλησίον δὲ οἰκίαν, ἰδιώτου κατ' ἐμὲ κτῆμα ἀνδρός, ὃ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησαν: ἔστι δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἀμμωνος

πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ, τοῖς τετραγώνοις Ἑρμαῖς εἰκασμένον, κέρατα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχον κριοῦ. [2] τὸ δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν Απόλλωνός τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, κατασκευασθέν σφισιν ἐν κοινῷ, παρείχeto δὲ ἐς μνήμην θεμέλια οὐ πολλὰ: ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν μία ἔτι καὶ Απόλλωνος ἄγαλμα κατὰ τοὺς Ἑρμαῖς τοὺς τετραγώνους τέχνην. ἐρείπια δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν, πλὴν ὅσον πρόναός τε ἐλείπετο ἔτι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀριθμὸν τρία, ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ Οὐρανία, τῇ δ' ἔστι Πάνδημος, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτίθεντο: [3] ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ἄρεως βωμός, ἐλέγeto δὲ ὡς καὶ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὠκοδομήθη τῷ θεῷ. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ στάδιον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον καθήκον — καὶ κρήνη σφίσις ἐστὶν αὐτόθι, ἣν ἱερὰν Διονύσου νομίζουσι —, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ σταδίου πέρας Διονύσου ναὸς ἐλέγeto ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεραυνωθῆναι γενεαῖς δύο ἑμοῦ πρότερον, καὶ ἐρείπια οὐ πολλὰ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ. Ἡρακλέους δὲ κοινὸς καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ ναὸς μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, μόνος δὲ σφισι βωμός ἐλείπετο. [4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μοίρᾳ ταύτῃ λόφος πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ Ἀγροτέρας ἐν αὐτῷ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀνάθημα Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ τοῦτο. τῆς δὲ Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τέμενος: ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτός τε καὶ Ὑγεία, εἰσὶ δὲ ὑποκαταβάντι ὀλίγον θεοὶ — παρέχονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι σχῆμα τετράγωνον, Ἑργάται δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κλησὶς — Ἀθηνᾶ τε Ἑργάνη καὶ Απόλλων Ἀγνιεύς: τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Εἰλειθυίᾳ πρόσσεστιν ἐξ ἐπῶν τῶν Ὀμήρου φήμη, τῷ μὲν Διὸς τε αὐτὸν διάκονον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἄϊδην ἄγειν τῶν ἀπογινομένων τὰς ψυχάς, Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ ὡς πολλοὺς τε καὶ χαλεποὺς τελέσειεν ἄθλους: Εἰλειθυία δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ὠδῖνας γυναικῶν μέλειν. [5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον τοῦτον Ἀσκληπιοῦ Παιδὸς ἱερὸν: τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν πεποιήται πηχυαῖον μάλιστα, Απόλλωνος δὲ ἐν θρόνῳ κάθηται ποδῶν ἐξ οὐκ ἀποδέον μέγεθος. ἀνάκειται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ὅστ᾽ ὑπερηρκότα ἢ ὡς ἀνθρώπου δοκεῖν: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλέγeto ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν γιγάντων ἑνός, οὓς ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν τῆς Ῥέας ἤθροισεν Ὀπλάδαμος, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἐπέξεισιν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος. τούτου δὲ ἐστὶ πηγὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλησίον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἐλισσὼν τὸ ὕδωρ δέχεται κατερχόμενον.

33. εἰ δὲ ἡ Μεγάλῃ πόλιν προθυμία τε τῇ πάσῃ συνοικισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίσταις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλπίσιν ἐς αὐτὴν κόσμον τὸν ἅπαντα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀφήρηται καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν, θαῦμα οὐδὲν ἐποίησάμην, εἰδὼς τὸ δαιμόνιον νεώτερα αἰεὶ τινα ἐθέλον ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα τά τε ἐχυρὰ καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ τὰ γινόμενά τε καὶ ὅποσα ἀπόλλυνται μεταβάλλουσιν τὴν τύχην, καὶ ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ παριστῇται μετὰ ἰσχυρᾶς ἀνάγκης ἄγουσιν. [2] Μυκῆναι μὲν γε, τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίου πολέμου τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡγήσαμένη, καὶ Νῆνος, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀσσυρίοις βασιλεία, καὶ Βοιωτῖαι Θῆβαι προστῆναι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ποτε ἀξιοθεῖσαι, αἱ μὲν ἡρήμωνται πανώλεθροι, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῶν Θηβῶν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν μόνην καὶ οἰκήτορας καταβέβηκεν οὐ πολλούς. τὰ δὲ ὑπερηρκότα πλούτῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Θηβαί τε αἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὁ Μινύης Ὀρχομενὸς καὶ ἡ Δῆλος τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόριον, αἱ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ιδιώτου μέσου δυνάμει χρημάτων καταδέουσιν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν, ἡ Δῆλος δὲ, ἀφελόντι τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους παρ'

Ἀθηναίων ἐς τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν φρουράν, Δηλίων γε ἔνεκα ἔρημός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων. [3] Βαβυλῶνος δὲ τοῦ μὲν Βήλου τὸ ἱερὸν λείπεται, Βαβυλῶνος δὲ ταύτης, ἦντινα εἶδε πόλεων τῶν τότε μεγίστην ἥλιος, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν εἰ μὴ τεῖχος, καθὰ καὶ Τίρυνθος τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐποίησεν ὁ δαίμων εἶναι τὸ μηδέν· ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκου παρὰ τῷ Ὀρόντῃ χθὲς τε ὤκισμέναι καὶ πρόην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐπιδεδώκασιν μεγέθους καὶ εὐδαιμονίας, ὅτι σφᾶς ἡ τύχη δεξιόυται. [4] ἐπιδείκνυνται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἔτι τὴν ἰσχὺν μείζονα καὶ θαύματος πλείονος ἢ κατὰ συμφορὰς καὶ εὐπραγίας πόλεων· Λήμνου γὰρ πλοῦν ἀπεῖχεν οὐ πολλὸν Χρῦση νήσος, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τῷ Φιλοκτῆτῃ γενέσθαι συμφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδρου φασί· ταύτην κατέλαβεν ὁ κλύδων πᾶσαν, καὶ κατέδυν τε ἡ Χρῦση καὶ ἠφάνισται κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ. νῆσον δὲ ἄλλην καλουμένην Ἰερὰν *** τόνδε οὐκ ἦν χρόνον.

οὕτω μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πρόσκαιρά τε καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν ἐχυρά·

34. ἐκ δὲ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἰόντι ἐς Μεσσήνην καὶ σταδίους μάλιστα προελθόντι ἐπτά, ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου θεῶν ἱερὸν. καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς θεὰς καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μανίας· δοκεῖν δέ μοι θεῶν τῶν Εὐμενίδων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησις, καὶ Ὀρέστην ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός φασιν αὐτόθι μανῆναι. [2] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθου πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χώματι ἐστὶ Δακτύλου μνήμα· ἐνταῦθα ἔκφρονα Ὀρέστην γενόμενον λέγουσιν ἓνα τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν χειρῶν ἀποφαγεῖν δάκτυλον. τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερον συνεχὲς χωρίον Ἄκη καλούμενον, ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ ἰάματα· πεποίηται δὲ Εὐμενίσιν καὶ αὐτόθι ἱερὸν. [3] ταύτας τὰς θεὰς, ἡνίκα τὸν Ὀρέστην ἔκφρονα ἔμελλον ποιήσῃν, φασὶν αὐτῷ φανῆναι μελαίνας· ὥς δὲ ἀπέφαγε τὸν δάκτυλον, τὰς δὲ αὖθις δοκεῖν οἱ λευκὰς εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν σωφρονῆσαι τε ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ καὶ οὕτω ταῖς μὲν ἐνήγησεν ἀποτρέπων τὸ μῆνιμα αὐτῶν, ταῖς δὲ ἔθυσσε ταῖς λευκαῖς. ὁμοῦ δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ Χάρισι θύειν νομίζουσι. πρὸς δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς Ἄκεσιν ἕτερόν ἐστιν Κουρεῖον ὀνομαζόμενον ἱερὸν, ὅτι Ὀρέστης ἐνταῦθα ἐκείρατο τὴν κόμην, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐντὸς ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ· [4] Πελοποννησίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες πρότερον τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ γενέσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἐρινύων τῶν Κλυταιμνήστρας ἢ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ αὐτῷ κατήγορον οὐ τὸν Τυνδάρεων — περιεῖναι γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐκείνον — , Περίλαον δὲ ἐπιστῆναι δίκην καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι τῆς μητρὸς αἰτοῦντα ἅτε ἀνεψιὸν τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας· Ἰκαρίου γὰρ παῖδα εἶναι Περίλαον, γενέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ θυγατέρας τῷ Ἰκαρίῳ.

[5] ἐκ Μανιῶν δὲ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐστὶν ὅσον πέντε σταδίων καὶ δέκα· κατὰ τοῦτο Γαθεάτας ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν, ἐς δὲ τὸν Γαθεάταν πρότερον ἔτι κάτεισιν ὁ Καρνίων. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ αἱ πηγαὶ γῆς εἰσι τῆς Αἰγύτιδος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κερεάτα τὸ ἱερὸν, τῷ Γαθεάτῃ δὲ τῆς Κρωμίτιδος χώρας ἐν Γαθείαις. [6] ἡ δὲ Κρωμίτις ἀνωτέρω τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ σταδίους ὥς τεσσαράκοντά ἐστι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεως Κρώμων οὐ παντάπασιν τὰ ἐρείπια ἦν ἐξίτηλα. ἐκ δὲ Κρώμων ὥς εἴκοσι στάδια ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Νυμφάδα· καταρρεῖται δὲ ὕδατι καὶ δένδρων ἀνάπλεως ἐστὶν ἡ Νυμφάς. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς στάδια εἴκοσί ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑρμαῖον, ἐς ὃ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Μεγαλοπολίταις

εἰσὶν ὅροι: πεποιήνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ Ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ στήλῃ.

35. αὕτη μὲν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην, ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἐπὶ Καρνάσιον ἄγει τὸ Μεσσηνίων: καὶ ταύτη πρῶτα μὲν σε ὁ Ἀλφειὸς ἐκδέξεται, καθότι καὶ Μαλοῦς καὶ ὁ Σκυρὸς ἐς αὐτὸν κατέρχονται προανακοινωσάμενοι τὸ ῥεῦμα. αὐτόθεν δὲ ἔχων τὸν Μαλοῦντα ἐν δεξιᾷ μετὰ σταδίου ὡς τριάκοντα διαβῆσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναβῆσθαι δι' ὁδοῦ προσαντεστέρας ἐς χωρίον καλούμενον Φαιδρίαν. [2] Φαιδρίου δὲ ὡς πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα σταδίου τὸ κατὰ Δέσποιναν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἑρμαῖον: ὅροι Μεσσηνίων πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα Δεσποίνης τε καὶ Δήμητρος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους: δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Αἰδάλου ποιηθὲν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ξόανον ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐνταῦθα εἰστήκει.

[3] ἡ δὲ ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Ἀλφειὸν στάδιοι τριάκοντά εἰσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦδε παρὰ ποταμὸν ὁδεύσας Θειοῦντα — κάτεισι δὲ καὶ ὁ Θειοῦς οὗτος ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν —, ἀπολιπὼν οὖν τὸν Θειοῦντα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τεσσαράκοντα ἤξεις μάλιστα ἐς Φαλαισίας: ἀπέχουσι δὲ αἱ Φαλαισῖαι σταδίου εἴκοσι τοῦ Ἑρμαίου τοῦ κατὰ Βελεμίναν. [4] λέγουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Βελεμίναν τῆς σφετέρας οὔσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποτεμέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίους: λέγειν δὲ οὐκ εἰκότα ἐφαίνοντό μοι καὶ ἄλλων ἔνεκα καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσι Θηβαῖοι μὴδ' ἂν τοῦτο ἐλασσουμένους περιδεῖν τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἴ σφισιν ἔσσεσθαι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ ἐμελλεν.

[5] εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως καὶ ἐς τὰ χωρία ὁδοὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Ἀркаδίας, ἐς μὲν Μεθύδριον ἑβδομήκοντα στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατόν, τρισὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις καὶ δέκα Σκιάς τε καλούμενον χωρίον καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σκιάτιδος ἐρείπια ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ: ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐλέγετο Ἀριστόδημος ὁ τυραννήσας. ἐντεῦθεν μετὰ σταδίου ὡς δέκα πόλεως Χαρισιῶν ὑπομνήματά ἐστιν οὐ πολλά, σταδίων δὲ ἄλλων δέκα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Χαρισιῶν ἐς Τρικολώνους ὁδός. [6] πόλις δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Τρικολώνοι ποτε: μένει δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἐπὶ λόφῳ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον, καὶ δένδρων περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἄλσος. ταύταις μὲν δὴ οἱ Λυκάονος παῖδες ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί, Ζοιτίαν δὲ ἀπωτέρω μὲν Τρικολώνων πέντε πού καὶ δέκα σταδίοις, κειμένην δὲ οὐ κατ' εὐθὺ ἀλλ' ἐκ Τρικολώνων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, Ζοιτέα οἰκίσαι τὸν Τρικολώνου λέγουσι: Παρωρεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Τρικολώνου τῶν παίδων Παρωρίαν καὶ οὗτος ἔκτισεν, ἀπέχουσαν Ζοιτίας σταδίου δέκα. [7] ἔρημοι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἀμφοτέραι: μένει δὲ ἐν Ζοιτίᾳ Δήμητρος ναὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος οἱ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν. ἐρείπια δὲ πόλεων καὶ ἄλλα, Θυραίου μὲν σταδίοις πέντε ἀπωτέρω Παρωρίας καὶ δέκα, τὰ δὲ Ὑψοῦντος ἐστὶν ἐν ὄρει κειμένῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ὑψοῦντι. ἡ δὲ Θυραίου τε καὶ Ὑψοῦντος μετὰ ὄρεινῃ πᾶσά ἐστι καὶ θηριώδης: Λυκάονος δὲ εἶναι Θυραῖον τε καὶ Ὑψοῦντα προεδήλωσεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος.

[8] Τρικολώνων δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρῶτα μὲν ἀνάτης ὁδὸς ἐπὶ πηγὴν καλουμένους Κρουνοὺς: σταδίου δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα καταβάντι ἐκ Κρουνῶν

τάφος ἐστὶ Καλλιστοῦς, χῶμα γῆς ὑψηλόν, δένδρα ἔχον πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀκάρπων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἡμέρα. ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρῳ τῷ χῶματι ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Καλλίστης: δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ Πάμφως μαθὼν τι παρὰ Ἀρκάδων πρῶτος Ἄρτεμιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὠνόμασε Καλλίστην. [9] σταδίου δὲ αὐτόθεν μὲν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, Τρικολῶνων δὲ ἑκατὸν τοὺς σύμπαντας ἀπέχουσα ἐπὶ γε τοῦ Ἐλισσόντος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐθεῖαν Μεθυδρίου — αὕτη γὰρ διὴ ἐκ Τρικολῶνων ἔτι λείπεται — Ἀνεμῳσά τέ ἐστι χωρίον καὶ ὄρος Φάλανθον, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἐρείπια ἐστὶ Φαλάνθου πόλεως: Ἀγέλαου δὲ τοῦ Στυμφήλου παῖδα εἶναι τὸν Φάλανθον λέγουσιν. [10] ὑπὲρ τούτου δὲ πεδίον τέ ἐστὶ Πῶλου καλούμενον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Σχοινοῦς, ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Βοιωτοῦ Σχοινέως ἔχων τὴν κλῆσιν. εἰ δὲ ὁ Σχοινεὺς ἀπεδήμησεν οὗτος παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἴην ἂν καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀταλάντης δρόμοι σύνεγγυς τῷ Σχοινοῦντι ὄντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς τούτου θυγατρὸς τὸ ὄνομα εἰληφότες. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ** ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν καλούμενον, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἀркаδίαν εἶναι τὴν χώραν φασὶν ἐνταῦθα.

36. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς μνήμην οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι εἰ μὴ αὐτὸ τὸ Μεθύδριον λείπεται: ὁδὸς δὲ ἐκ Τρικολῶνων ἐς αὐτὸ στάδιοι τριῶν δέοντες τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὠνομάσθη μὲν διὴ Μεθύδριον, ὅτι κολωνός ἐστιν ὑψηλὸς Μαλοῖτα τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Μυλάοντος μέσος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ὀρχομενὸς ὤκκιζε: πρὶν δὲ ἡ συντελεῖν ἐς τὸ Μεγαλοπολιτικόν, γεγόνασι καὶ Μεθυδριεῦσιν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι. [2] ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ Ποσειδῶνός τε Ἰππίου ναός, οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μυλάοντί ἐστι: τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Θανμάσιον καλούμενον κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαλοῖταν, ἐθέλουσι δὲ οἱ Μεθυδριεῖς τὴν Ῥέαν, ἡνίκα τὸν Δία εἶχεν ἐν τῇ γαστρί, ἐς τοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι τὸ ὄρος, παρασκευάσασθαι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ βοήθειαν, ἣν ὁ Κρόνος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦ, τὸν τε Ὀπλάδαμον καὶ ἄλλους ὅσοι περὶ ἐκείνον ἦσαν γίγαντες: [3] καὶ τεκεῖν μὲν συγχωροῦσιν αὐτὴν ἐν μοίρᾳ τινὶ τοῦ Λυκαίου, τὴν δὲ ἐς τὸν Κρόνον ἀπάτην καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν λεγομένην ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀντίδοσιν τοῦ λίθου γενέσθαι φασὶν ἐνταῦθα. ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ὅτι μὴ γυναιξὶ μόναις ἱεραῖς τῆς θεοῦ ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδενὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

[4] Μεθυδρίου δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Νυμφασία πηγή: τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἀπὸ Νυμφασίας ἕτεροι πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν εἰσι καὶ Ὀρχομενίων τε κοινὸς καὶ Καφνατῶν ὄρους.

[5] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος ὀνομαζομένων πυλῶν, διὰ τούτων ὁδεύουσιν ἐς Μαίναλον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἐλισσόντα ἐστὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ ναός: εἰ δὲ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρές εἰσιν ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς δὲ ὑπάτος θεῶν ἐστὶν, ἐπόμενος ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιο εἶναι. προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐστὶ μὲν γῆς χῶμα Ἀριστοδήμου τάφος, ὃν οὐδὲ τυραννοῦντα ἀφείλοντο μὴ ἐπονομάσαι Χρηστόν, ἐστὶ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Μαχανίτιδος, ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἢ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὐρέτις. [6] πεποίηται δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Βορέα τῷ ἀνέμῳ τέμενος, καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται θυσίας θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ θεῶν οὐδενὸς Βορέαν ὕστερον ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, ἅτε σωτῆρα γενόμενόν σφισιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀγιδος. ἐξῆς δὲ Ὀικλέους τοῦ

Ἀμφιαράου πατρὸς μνημᾶ ἐστίν, εἴ γε δὴ ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν τὸ χρεῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντα Ἡρακλεῖ στρατείας μετασχόντα. μετὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ Δῆμητρος καλουμένης ἐν ἔλει ναὸς τε καὶ ἄλσος· τοῦτο σταδίοις πέντε ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως, γυναιξὶ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος ἐστὶ μόναις. [7] τριάκοντα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις Παλίσκιος ὀνομαζομένη χώρα· ἐκ Παλίσκιου δὲ ἀφιέντι μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὸν Ἑλαφον ὄντα οὐκ ἀέναον καὶ προελθόντι ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους, ἄλλα τε ἐρείπια Περαιθέων καὶ ἱερὸν λείπεται Πανός, ἣν δὲ τὸν χειμάρρουν διαβῆς, κατ' εὐθὺ πέντε μὲν σταδίοις καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ πεδῖον ἐστί, διελθόντι δὲ τοῦτο, τὸ ὄρος ὁμώνυμον τῷ πεδίῳ τὸ Ναινάλιον. τοῦ δὲ ὄρους ὑπὸ τοῖς καταλήγουσι πόλεως σημεῖα Λυκόας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστι χαλκοῦν Λυκοάτιδος· [8] ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ὄρους Σουμητία ὤκιστο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῷ ὄρει καὶ αἱ καλούμεναι Τρίοδοι, καὶ τὰ ὅσῃ Ἀρκάδος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς ἀνείλonto ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα οἱ Μαντινεῖς. λείπεται δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἔτι ἐρείπια Μαινάλου, ναοῦ τε σημεῖα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ στάδιον ἐς ἀθλητῶν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἐς ἵππων δρόμον· τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Μαινάλιον ἱερὸν μάλιστα εἶναι Πανὸς νομίζουσιν, ὥστε οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπακροᾶσθαι συρίζοντος τοῦ Πανὸς λέγουσι. [9] τοῦ δὲ τῆς Δεσποίνης ἱεροῦ καὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τοῦ ἄστεως στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα μεταξύ εἰσιν, ἥμισυ μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὸ ρεῦμα· διαβάντων δὲ μετὰ μὲν δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ σταδίου Μακαρεῶν ἐστὶν ἐρείπια, αὐτόθεν δὲ ἐς ἐρείπια ἄλλα τὰ Δασεῶν ἐπτὰ εἰσι στάδιοι, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἐκ Δασεῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀκακήσιον ὀνομαζόμενον λόφον. [10] ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ λόφῳ πόλις τε ἦν Ἀκακήσιον Ἑρμοῦ τε Ἀκακησίου λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, τραφῆναι δὲ Ἑρμῆν παῖδα αὐτόθι καὶ Ἄκακον τὸν Λυκάωνος γενέσθαι οἱ τροφέα Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος· διάφορα δὲ τούτοις Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐθις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα τοῖς Θηβαίων Ταναγραῖοι λέγουσιν.

37. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀκακησίου τέσσαρας σταδίους ἀπέχει τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης. πρῶτα μὲν δὴ αὐτόθι Ἥγεμόνης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα ἔχον δᾶδας — ποδῶν ἑξ εἶναι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἰκάζομεν — , ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὸν ἱερὸν περίβολον τῆς Δεσποίνης ἐστὶν ἔσδοτος. ἰόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν στοὰ τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ λίθου λευκοῦ τύποι πεποιημένοι, καὶ τῷ μὲν εἰσὶν ἐπειρασμένοι Μοῖραι καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Μοιραγέτης, δευτέρῳ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τρίποδα Ἀπόλλωνα ἀφαιρούμενος· ὅποια δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπυνθανόμην γενέσθαι, δηλώσω καὶ τοῦτο, ἦν ἐς τοῦ Φωκικοῦ λόγου τὰ ἔχοντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικώμεθα. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ παρὰ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ μεταξὺ τῶν τύπων τῶν κατελεγμένων πινάκιόν ἐστι γεγραμμένον, ἔχον τὰ ἐς τὴν τελετήν· Νύμφαι δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ Πᾶνες ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα· καὶ οἱ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μὴ ἂν σφαλῆναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰ Πολυβίῳ τὰ πάντα ἐπέθετο, καὶ ἁμαρτούση δι' ἐκεῖνον βοήθειαν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι μόνου. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ Δήμητρί τέ ἐστι βωμὸς καὶ ἕτερος Δεσποίνῃ, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ μεγάλης Μητρός. [3] θεῶν δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγάλματα, Δέσποινα καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ τε καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐν ᾧ καθέζονται, καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα τὸ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστιν ἐνὸς ὁμοίως λίθου· καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσθῇτι οὔτε ὅποσα εἴργασται περὶ τὸν θρόνον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐτέρου λίθου προσεχὲς σιδήρῳ καὶ κόλλῃ, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν εἷς λίθος. οὗτος οὐκ ἐσεκομίσθη σφίσις ὁ λίθος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὴν γῆν ὀρύξαντες. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων ἐστὶν ἑκατέρου μέγεθος κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἄγαλμα μάλιστα τῆς Μητρός· [4] Δαμοφῶντος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δημήτηρ δᾶδα ἐν δεξιᾷ φέρει, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν χεῖρα ἐπιβέβληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δέσποιναν· ἡ δὲ Δέσποινα σκῆπτρόν τε καὶ τὴν καλουμένην κίστην ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει, τῆς δὲ ἔχεται τῇ δεξιᾷ τῆς κίστης. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν Ἄρτεμις μὲν παρὰ τὴν Δήμητρα ἔστηκεν ἀμπεχομένη δέρμα ἐλάφου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φαρέτραν ἔχουσα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν λαμπάδα ἔχει, τῇ δὲ δράκοντας δύο. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν κατάκειται κύων, οἷα θηρεύειν εἰσὶν ἐπιτήδαιοι. [5] πρὸς δὲ τῆς Δεσποίνης τῷ ἀγάλματι ἔστηκεν Ἄνυτος σχῆμα ὠπλισμένου παρεχόμενος· φασὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τραφῆναι τὴν Δέσποιναν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνύτου, καὶ εἶναι τῶν Τιτάνων καλουμένων καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον. Τιτᾶνας δὲ πρῶτος ἐς ποίησιν ἐσῆγαγεν Ὀμηρος, θεοὺς εἶναι σφᾶς ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἡρας ὄρκῳ τὰ ἔπη· παρὰ δὲ Ὀμήρου Ὀνομάκριτος παραλαβὼν τῶν Τιτάνων τὸ ὄνομα Διονύσῳ τε συνέθηκεν ὄργια καὶ εἶναι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας τῷ Διονύσῳ τῶν παθημάτων ἐποίησεν αὐτουργούς. [6] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἄνυτον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λέγεται· Δήμητρος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ οὐ Λητοῦς, ὄντα Αἰγυπτίων τὸν λόγον Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφορίωνος τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. τὰ δὲ ἐς Κούρητας — οὗτοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πεποιήνται — καὶ τὰ ἐς Κορύβαντας ἐπειρασμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου — γένος δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοιον καὶ οὐ Κούρητες — , τὰ ἐς τούτους παρήμι ἐπιστάμενος. [7] τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων οἱ Ἀρκάδες δένδρων ἀπάντων πλὴν ροιάς ἐσεκομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἐξιώντι ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ κάτοπτρον ἡρμοσμένον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ· τοῦτο ἦν τις προσβλέπη τὸ κάτοπτρον, ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἤτοι παντάπασιν ἀμυδρῶς ἢ οὐδὲ ὄψεται τὴν ἀρχήν, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐστὶν

ἐναργῶς θεάσασθαι. [8] παρὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης ὀλίγον ἐπαναβάντι ἐν δεξιᾷ Μέγαρόν ἐστι καλούμενον, καὶ τελετὴν τε δρῶσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ θύουσιν ἱερεῖα οἱ Ἀρκάδες πολλά τε καὶ ἄφθονα. θύει μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ὃ τι κέκτηται: τῶν ἱερείων δὲ οὐ τὰς φάρυγγας ἀποτέμνει ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις, κῶλον δὲ ὃ τι ἂν τύχῃ, τοῦτο ἕκαστος ἀπέκοψε τοῦ θύματος. [9] ταύτην μάλιστα θεῶν σέβουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Δέσποιναν, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν Ποσειδῶνός φασιν εἶναι καὶ Δήμητρος. ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ Δέσποινα, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Διὸς Κόρην ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνομα Περσεφόνη, καθὰ Ὅμηρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πάμφως ἐποίησαν: τῆς δὲ Δεσποίνης τὸ ὄνομα ἔδδισα ἐς τοὺς ἀτελέστους γράφειν. [10] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρόν ἐστιν ἄλσος τῆς Δεσποίνης ἱερὸν θριγκῷ λίθων περιεχόμενον, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ δένδρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἐλαία καὶ πῖνος ἐκ ρίζης μιᾶς πεφύκασι: τοῦτο οὐ γεωργοῦ σοφίας ἐστὶν ἔργον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ ἄλσος καὶ Ἰππίου Ποσειδῶνος, ἅτε πατρὸς τῆς Δεσποίνης, καὶ θεῶν ἄλλων εἰσὶ βωμοί: τῷ τελευταίῳ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστι θεοῖς αὐτὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν εἶναι κοινόν.

[11] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναβήσῃ διὰ κλίμακος ἐς ἱερὸν Πανός: πεποιήται δὲ καὶ στοὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα, θεῶν δὲ ὁμοίως τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ τούτῳ μέτεστι τῷ Πανὶ ἀνθρώπων τε εὐχὰς ἄγειν ἐς τέλος καὶ ὅποια ἔοικεν ἀποδοῦναι πονηροῖς. παρὰ τούτῳ τῷ Πανὶ πῦρ οὐ ποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον καίεται. λέγεται δὲ ὡς τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ μαντεύοιτο οὗτος ὁ θεός, προφητὴν δὲ Ἐρατὼ Νύμφην αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ταύτην ἣ Ἀρκάδι τῷ Καλλιστοῦς συνώκησε: [12] μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ἔπη τῆς Ἐρατοῦς, ἧ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν βωμὸς Ἄρεως, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀφροδίτης ἐν ναῷ, λίθου τὸ ἕτερον λευκοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότερον αὐτῶν ξύλου. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανά ἐστι: τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἱερὸν πεποιήται.

38. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον τείχους τε περίβολος τῆς Λυκοσούρας ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκήτορες ἔνεισιν οὐ πολλοί. πόλεων δέ, ὁπόσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔδειξε γῆ καὶ ἐν νήσοις, Λυκόσουρά ἐστι πρεσβυτάτη, καὶ ταύτην εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος πρώτην: ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ ποιεῖσθαι πόλεις μεμαθήκασιν ἄνθρωποι.

[2] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δεσποίνης τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ Λύκαιον: καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀλυμπον καὶ Ἰεράν γε ἕτεροι τῶν Ἀρκάδων κορυφῇν. τραφῆναι δὲ τὸν Δία φασὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ: καὶ χώρα τέ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Κρητέα καλουμένη — αὕτη δὲ ἡ Κρητέα ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσους ἐπὶ κλησὶν Παρρασίου — καὶ τὴν Κρήτην, ἔνθα ὁ Κρητῶν ἔχει λόγος τραφῆναι Δία, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ οὐ διὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. [3] ταῖς Νύμφαις δὲ ὀνόματα, ὑφ' ὧν τὸν Δία τραφῆναι λέγουσι, τίθενται Θεισόαν καὶ Νέδαν καὶ Ἀγνώ: καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Θεισόας πόλις ὤκεῖτο ἐν τῇ Παρρασίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ μοίρας τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος ἐστὶν ἡ Θεισόα κώμη: τῆς Νέδας δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε: τῆς δὲ Ἀγνοῦς, ἣ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ πηγὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰστρῳ πέφυκεν ἴσον παρέχεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν χειμῶνι ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους. [4] ἦν δὲ αὐχμὸς χρόνον ἐπέχῃ πολλὴν καὶ ἤδη σφίσι τὰ σπέρματα ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ δένδρα αὐαίνηται, τηνικαῦτα ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ θύσας

ὅποσα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ νόμος, καθίησι δρυὸς κλάδον ἐπιπολῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βάθος τῆς πηγῆς· ἀνακινήθεντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄνειςιν ἀχλὺς εἰκυῖα ὁμίχλη, διαλιπούσα δὲ ὀλίγον γίνεται νέφος ἡ ἀχλὺς καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλα ἐπαγομένη τῶν νεφῶν ὑετὸν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν κατιέναι ποιεῖ. [5] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανός τε ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἵπποδρομός τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Λυκαίων ἦγον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνταῦθα. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνδριάντων βάθρα, οὐκ ἐπόντων ἔτι ἀνδριάντων· ἐλεγείον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἐνὶ Ἀστυάνακτός φησιν εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυάνακτα εἶναι γένος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος.

[6] τὸ δὲ ὄρος παρέχεται τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐς θαῦμα καὶ μάλιστα τόδε. τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσοδος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώποις· ὑπεριδόντα δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐσελθόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ πρόσω μὴ βῶναι. καὶ τάδε ἔτι ἐλέγετο, τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους γενόμενα ὁμοίως πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ παρέχεσθαι σκιάν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ τέμενος θηρίου καταφεύγοντος οὐκ ἐθέλει οἱ συνεσπίπτειν ὁ κυνηγέτης, ἀλλὰ ὑπομένων ἐκτὸς καὶ ὀρῶν τὸ θηρίον οὐδεμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θεᾶται σκιάν. χρόνον μὲν δὴ τὸν ἴσον ἐπεισι τε ὁ ἥλιος τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καρκίνον καὶ ἐν Συήνῃ τῇ πρὸ Αἰθιοπίας οὔτε ἀπὸ δένδρων οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων γενέσθαι σκιὰν ἔστι· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ τέμενος τὸ αὐτὸ ἐς τὰς σκιὰς ἀεὶ τε καὶ ἐπὶ πασῶν πέπονθε τῶν ὥρων.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ τοῦ ὄρους γῆς χῶμα, Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμός, καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σύνοπτος· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίνες δύο ὥς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἐστήκασιν ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρυσοι τὰ γε ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποίηντο. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θύουσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ· πολυπραγμονῆσαι δὲ οὐ μοι τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐχέτω δὲ ὥς ἔχει καὶ ὥς ἔσχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ὄρους Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλήσιν Παρρασίου· τίθενται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πύθιον ὄνομα. ἄγοντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἑορτὴν θύουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κάπρον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἐπικουρίῳ, θύσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα αὐτίκα τὸ ἱερεῖον κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρρασίου σὺν αὐλῷ τε καὶ πομπῇ, καὶ τὰ τε μηρία ἐκτεμόντες καίουσιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναλίσκουσιν αὐτόθι τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ κρέα. [9] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖν νομίζουσι, τοῦ Λυκαίου δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῆς ἄρκτου γῆ ἐστὶν ἡ Θεισοαία· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα οἱ ταύτῃ νύμφην τὴν Θεισοᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ. διὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Θεισοαίας ῥέοντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν Μυλάων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Νοῦς καὶ Ἀχελῷος καὶ Κέλαδός τε καὶ Νάλιφος. Ἀχελῷος δὲ τῷ Ἀρκάδι εἰσὶν ἄλλοι δύο ὁμώνυμοί τε αὐτῷ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν φανερώτεροι· [10] τὸν μὲν γε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας κατιόντα Ἀχελῷον διὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ δι' Αἰτωλίας ἔφησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὅμηρος ποταμῶν τῶν πάντων ἄρχοντα εἶναι, ἕτερον δὲ Ἀχελῷον ῥέοντα ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐποίησατο αὐτόν τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Σίπυλον τοῦ λόγου προσθήκην τοῦ ἐς Νιόβην· τρίτῳ δ' οὖν καὶ τῷ περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Λύκαιον ἐστὶν ὄνομα Ἀχελῷος.

[11] τῆς Λυκοσούρας δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Νόμια ὄρη καλούμενα, καὶ Πανός τε

ιερόν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ Νομίου καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀνομάζουσι Μέλπειαν, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς σύριγγος μέλος ἐνταῦθα Πανὸς εὐρεθῆναι λέγοντες. κληθῆναι δὲ τὰ ὄρη Νόμια προχειρότατον μὲν ἐστὶν εἰκάζειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πανὸς ταῖς νομαῖς, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες νύμφης εἶναι φασιν ὄνομα.

39. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Λυκόσουραν ὡς ἐπὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ποταμὸς Πλατανιστῶν παρέξεισιν: ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἰόντι ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἀνάγκη πᾶσα διαβῆναι τὸν Πλατανιστῶνα, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν ἐστιν ἄνοδος ὅσον τε σταδίους τριάκοντα ἢ πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα οὐ πολλῶ. [2] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Λυκάονος Φίγαλον — οὗτος γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο οἰκιστῆς — καὶ ὡς μετέβαλεν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀπὸ Φιάλου Βουκολίωνος τὸ ὄνομα ἢ πόλις καὶ αὖθις τε ἀνέσωσατο τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τόδε μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἐσήμαινεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιώχρεα ἐς πίστιν, ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα εἶναι τὸν Φίγαλον καὶ οὐ Λυκάονος παῖδα: τοῖς δὲ εἰρημένον ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ Φιγαλία νύμφη τῶν καλουμένων εἴη Δρυάδων. [3] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἡνίκα Ἀρκάσιν ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Φιγαλίαν στρατιᾷ, μάχῃ τε νικῶσι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν προσκαθεζόμενοι: κινδυνεύοντος δὲ ἁλῶναι τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκουσιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς, ἢ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς ἀφίαισιν ἐξελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ τῆς Φιγαλίας ἄλωσις καὶ Φιγαλέων ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς φυγὴ Μιλτιάδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς τριακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Χίονις Λάκων ἐνίκα τὸ τρίτον. [4] Φιγαλέων δὲ τοῖς διαπεφευγόσιν ἔδοξεν ἀφικομένοις ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρωτᾶν ὑπὲρ καθόδου τὸν θεόν: καὶ σφισιν ἡ Πυθία καθ' αὐτοὺς μὲν πειρωμένοις ἐς Φιγαλίαν κατελθεῖν οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἔφη καθόδον, εἰ δὲ λογάδας ἑκατὸν ἐξ Ὀρεσθασίου προσλάβοιεν, τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανεῖσθαι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἔσεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν κάθοδον. Ὀρεσθάσιοι δὲ ὡς τὴν γενομένην τοῖς Φιγαλεῦσιν ἐπύθοντο μαντείαν, ἄλλος ἔφθανεν ἄλλον σπουδῇ λογάδων τε τῶν ἑκατὸν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος γενέσθαι καὶ ἐξόδου τῆς ἐς Φιγαλίαν μετασχεῖν. [5] παρελθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν ἄγουσιν ἐς πάντα ἐπὶ τέλος τὸν χρησμόν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς λόγου μαχεσαμένοις ἀξίως ἐπεγένετο ἡ τελευτὴ καὶ ἐξέλασαντες τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας παρέσχον Φιγαλεῦσιν ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν πατρίδα.

κεῖται δὲ ἡ Φιγαλία ἐπὶ μετεώρου μὲν καὶ ἀποτόμου τὰ πλέονα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κρημνῶν ᾧκοδομημένα ἐστὶ τείχη σφίσιν: ἀνελθόντι δὲ ὁμαλῆς ἐστὶν ὁ λόφος ἤδη καὶ ἐπίπεδος. ἔστι δὲ Σωτεῖρας τε ἱερόν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου: ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὰς πομπὰς σφισι πέμπειν κατέστη. [6] ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀμπεχομένῳ μὲν ἔοικεν ἱμάτιον, καταλήγει δὲ οὐκ ἐς πόδας, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Διονύσου ναός: ἐπὶ κλησις μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀκρατοφόρος, τὰ κάτω δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σύνοπτα τοῦ ἀγάλματος ὑπὸ δάφνης τε φύλλων καὶ κισσῶν. ὁπόσον δὲ αὐτοῦ καθορᾶν ἔστιν, ἐπαλήλπιται *** κιννάβαρι ἐκλάμπειν: εὐρίσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ὁμοῦ τῷ χρυσῷ λέγεται.

40. Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἀνδριάς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἀρραχίωνος τοῦ παγκρατιαστοῦ, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀρχαῖος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι: οὐ διεστᾶσι μὲν πολὺ οἱ πόδες, καθεῖνται δὲ παρὰ πλευρὰν αἱ χεῖρες ἄχρι τῶν γλουτῶν. πεποιήται μὲν δὴ ἡ εἰκὼν λίθου, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ'

αὐτὴν γραφῆναι: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἠφάνιστο ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, τῷ δὲ Ἀρραχίῳ ἐγένοντο Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπιάσι ταῖς πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ πεντηκοστῆς, ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν δικαίῳ τε ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν καὶ Ἀρραχίωνος αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρετῇ. [2] ὥς γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὸν καταλειπόμενον ἔτι τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἐμάχετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοτίνου, ὁ μὲν προέλαβεν ὅστις δὴ ὁ ἀνταγωνιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τὸν Ἀρραχίωνα εἶχεν ἐξωκῶς καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπέizen ἅμα αὐτοῦ ταῖς χερσίν: ὁ δὲ Ἀρραχίων ἐκκλᾷ τῶν ἐν τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ἀνταγωνιζομένου δάκτυλον, καὶ Ἀρραχίων τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφήσιν ἀγχόμενος καὶ ὁ ἄγχων τὸν Ἀρραχίωνα ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτύλου τῆς ὀδύνης κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀπαγορεύει τὸν αὐτόν. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἐστεφάνωσάν τε καὶ ἀνηγόρευσαν νικῶντα τοῦ Ἀρραχίωνος τὸν νεκρόν. [3] εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους οἶδα ἐπὶ Κρεύγα ποιήσαντας Ἐπιδαμνίῳ πύκτη: καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι τεθνεῶτι ἔδοσαν τῷ Κρεύγα τῶν Νεμείων τὸν στέφανον, ὅτι ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν μαχόμενος Δαμόξενος Συρακόσιος παρέβη τὰ ὁμολογημένα σφίσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους. ἐφῆξεν μὲν γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἐσπέρα πυκτεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, συνέθεντο δὲ ἐς ἐπήκοον ἀνὰ μέρος τὸν ἕτερον ὑποσχεῖν αὐτῶν τῷ ἐτέρῳ πληγὴν. τοῖς δὲ πυκτεύουσιν οὐκ ἦν πω τῆνικαῦτα ἰμᾶς ὀξὺς ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκατέρας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς μειλίχαις ἔτι ἐπύκτεον, ὑπὸ τὸ κοῖλον δέοντες τῆς χειρός, ἵνα οἱ δάκτυλοί σφισιν ἀπολείπωνται γυμνοί: αἱ δὲ ἐκ βοέας ὠμῆς ἰμάντες λεπτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀρχαῖον πεπλεγμένοι δι' ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αἱ μειλίχαι. [4] τότε οὖν ὁ μὲν τὴν πληγὴν ἀφῆκεν ἐς τοῦ Δαμοξένου τὴν κεφαλὴν: ὁ δὲ ἀνασχεῖν τὴν χεῖρα ὁ Δαμόξενος ἐκέλευσε τὸν Κρεύγαν, ἀνασχόντος δὲ παίει τοῖς δακτύλοις ὀρθοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν πλευράν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκμῆς τε τῶν ὀνύχων καὶ βίας τῆς πληγῆς τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς καθεῖς καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἔλκων ἀπέρρηξε. [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτίκα ὁ Κρεύγας ἀφήσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τὸν Δαμόξενον ἄτε τὰ συγκείμενα ὑπερβάντα καὶ ἀντὶ μιᾶς κεχρημένον πολλαῖς ἐς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐξελαύνουσι, τῷ Κρεύγα δὲ τὴν νίκην τεθνεῶτι ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐποίησαντο εἰκόνα ἐν Ἀργεῖ: καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔκειτο ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκίου.

41. Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ πολυάνδριον τῶν λογάδων τῶν Ὀρεσθασίων ἐστί, καὶ ὥς ἤρωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. [2] ποταμὸς δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύμαξ ἐκδίδωσι μὲν ἐς τὴν Νέδαν παρ' αὐτὴν ῥέων Φιγαλίαν, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦνομά φασι τῷ ποταμῷ καθαρσίῳ τῶν Ῥέας ἔνεκα. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τεκοῦσαν τὸν Δία ἐκάθηραν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὠδίσιν αἱ Νύμφαι, τὰ καθάρματα ἐς τοῦτον ἐμβάλλουσι τὸν ποταμόν: ὠνόμαζον δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αὐτὰ λύματα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος, ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι τε ἐπὶ λύσει τοῦ λοιμοῦ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ ἐμβάλλειν τὰ λύματα εἰπὼν σφᾶς ἐς θάλασσαν. [3] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς Νέδας ἐν ὄρει τῷ Κεραυσίῳ: τοῦ Λυκαίου δὲ μοῖρᾴ ἐστί. καθότι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ἡ Νέδα Φιγαλέων τῆς πόλεως γίνεται, κατὰ τοῦτο οἱ Φιγαλέων παῖδες ἀποκείρονται τῷ ποταμῷ τὰς κόμας: τὰ δὲ πρὸς θαλάσση καὶ ἀναπλεῖται ναυσὶν οὐ μεγάλας ἡ Νέδα. ποταμῶν δὲ ὁπόσους ἴσμεν Μαίανδρος μὲν σκολιῷ μάλιστα κάτεισι τῷ ῥέυματι, ἐς τε τὸ ἄνω καμπὰς καὶ αὐθις ἐπιστροφὰς παρεχόμενος πλείστας: δεῦτερα δὲ ἐλιγμῶν γε ἔνεκα φέροιτο ἂν ἡ Νέδα.

[4] σταδίοις δὲ ὅσον δώδεκα ἀνωτέρω Φιγαλίας θερμά τέ ἐστι λουτρά καὶ τούτων οὐ πόρρω κάτεισιν ὁ Λύμαξ ἐς τὴν Νέδαν: ἥ δὲ συμβάλλουσι τὰ ρεύματα, ἔστι τῆς Εὐρυνόμης τὸ ἱερὸν, ἅγιόν τε ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τραχύτητος τοῦ χωρίου δυσπρόσοδον: περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ κυπάρισσοι πεφύκασι πολλάι τε καὶ ἀλλήλαις συνεχεῖς. [5] τὴν δὲ Εὐρυνόμην ὁ μὲν τῶν Φιγαλέων δῆμος ἐπὶ κλησιν εἶναι πεπίστευκεν Ἀρτέμιδος: ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῶν παρειλήφασιν ὑπομνήματα ἀρχαῖα, θυγατέρα Ὠκεανοῦ φασιν εἶναι τὴν Εὐρυνόμην, ἥς δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησατο μνήμην ὡς ὁμοῦ Θέτιδι ὑποδέξαιτο Ἥφαιστον. ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύουσι τῆς Εὐρυνόμης, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον οὐ σφισιν ἀνοιγνύναι καθέστηκεν: [6] τῆνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ θυσίας δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδιῶται θύουσιν. ἀφικέσθαι μὲν δὴ μοι τῆς ἑορτῆς οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἐς καιρὸν οὐδὲ τῆς Εὐρυνόμης τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον: τῶν Φιγαλέων δ' ἤκουσα ὡς χρυσαῖ τε τὸ ξόανον συνδέουσιν ἀλύσεις καὶ εἰκῶν γυναικὸς τὰ ἄχρι τῶν γλουτῶν, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν ἰχθύς. θυγατρί μὲν δὴ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ἐν βυθῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁμοῦ Θέτιδι οἰκούσῃ παρέχοιτο ἂν τι ἐς γνῶρισμα αὐτῆς ὁ ἰχθύς: Ἀρτέμιδι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν μετὰ γε τοῦ εἰκότος λόγου μετεῖη τοιούτου σχήματος.

[7] περιέχεται δὲ ἡ Φιγαλία ὄρεσιν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Κωτίλιου, τὰ δὲ ἐς δεξιὰν ἕτερον προβεβλημένον ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ὄρος τὸ Ἐλάιον. ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τεσσαράκοντα τὸ Κωτίλιον μάλιστα σταδίου: ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ τέ ἐστὶ καλούμενον Βᾶσαι καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Απόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου, λίθου καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ὄροφος. [8] ναῶν δὲ ὅσοι Πελοποννησίους εἰσὶ, μετὰ γε τὸν ἐν Τεγέα προτιμῶτο οὗτος ἂν τοῦ λίθου τε ἐς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας ἔνεκα. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῷ Απόλλωνι ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐπὶ νόσῳ λοιμῶδει, καθότι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν Ἀλεξίκακος ἀποτρέψας καὶ τούτοις τὴν νόσον. [9] ἔπαυσε δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς Φιγαλέας καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ καιρῷ: μαρτύρια δὲ αἶ τε ἐπικλήσεις ἀμφοτέραι τοῦ Απόλλωνος εἰκός τι ὑποσημαίνουσαι καὶ Ἰκτίνος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἐν Φιγαλίᾳ ναοῦ γεγονῶς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ Περικλέα καὶ Ἀθηναίους τὸν Παρθενῶνα καλούμενον κατασκευάσας. ἐδίδαξε δὲ ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι τοῦ Απόλλωνος Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

[10] ἐστὶ δὲ ὕδατος ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Κωτίλιῳ πηγὴ, καὶ ὅπου συνέγραψεν ἡδὴ τις ἀπὸ ταύτης τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ρεῦμα τῷ Λύμακι ἄρχεσθαι, συνέγραψεν οὔτε αὐτὸς θεασάμενος οὔτε ἀνδρὸς ἀκοὴν ἰδόντος: ἃ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω παρήσαν ἐμοί: τὸ μὲν ποταμοῦ ρεῦμα ὃν ἐωρῶμεν, τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ Κωτίλιῳ πηγῆς οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξικνούμενον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀλλὰ ἐντὸς ὀλίγου παντάπασιν ἀφανὲς γινόμενον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅπου τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ἡ πηγὴ τῷ Λύμακι, ἐπῆλθε πολυπραγμονησαί μοι. ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Απόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου χωρίον Κώτιλον μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν, Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν Κωτίλῳ: καὶ αὐτῇ τε ναὸς τε ἦν οὐκ ἔχων ἔτι ὄροφον καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπεποίητο.

42. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τῶν ὄρων τὸ Ἐλάιον ἀπωτέρω μὲν Φιγαλίας ὅσον τε σταδίοις τριάκοντά ἐστι, Δήμητρος δὲ ἄντρον αὐτόθι ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Μελαίνης. ὅσα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐν Θελοπούσῃ λέγουσιν ἐς μῆζιν τὴν Ποσειδῶνός τε καὶ Δήμητρος, κατὰ ταῦτά σφισιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς νομίζουσι, τεχθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς

Δήμητρος οἱ Φιγαλεῖς φασιν οὐχ ἵππον ἀλλὰ τὴν Δέσποιναν ἐπονομαζομένην ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων· [2] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου λέγουσι θυμῷ τε ἅμα ἐς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Περσεφόνης τῇ ἀρπαγῇ πένθει χρωμένην μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα ἐνδύειν καὶ ἐς τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦτο ἐλθοῦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀπεινὰ πολύν. ὥς δὲ ἐφθείρετο μὲν πάντα ὅσα ἡ γῆ τρέφει, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἀπώλλυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, θεῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἠπίστατο ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἔνθα ἀπεκέκρυπτο ἡ Δημήτηρ, τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ἐπιέναι μὲν [3] τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ ἄλλοτε αὐτὸν ἐν ἄλλῃ θηρεύειν τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀφικόμενον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἑλάνιον κατοπεῦσαι τὴν Δήμητρα σχήματός τε ὡς εἶχε καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνεδέδυτο ποίαν· πυθέσθαι δὲ τὸν Δία ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Πανὸς καὶ οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθῆναι τὰς Μοῖρας παρὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, τὴν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε ταῖς Μοῖραις καὶ ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὀργήν, ὑφεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῆς λύπης. σφᾶς δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων φασιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς τό τε σπήλαιον νομίσαι τοῦτο ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι ξύλου. [4] πεποῖσθαι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὸ ἄγαλμα· καθέζεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ, γυναικὶ δὲ εἰκέναι τᾶλλα πλὴν κεφαλὴν· κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ κόμην εἶχεν ἵππου, καὶ δρακόντων τε καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων εἰκόνες προσεπεφύκεσαν τῇ κεφαλῇ· χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνεδέδυτο καὶ ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας· δελφὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἦν αὐτῇ, περιστερὰ δὲ ἡ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ. ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ ξόανον ἐποίησαντο οὕτως, ἀνδρὶ οὐκ ἀσυνέτῳ γνώμην ἀγαθῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς μνήμην δῆλὰ ἐστὶ· Μέλαιναν δὲ ἐπονομάσαι φασὶν αὐτὴν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θεὸς μέλαιναν τὴν ἐσθῆτα εἶχε. [5] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ξόανον οὔτε ὅτου ποίημα ἦν οὔτε ἡ φλόξ τρόπον ὄντινα ἐπέλαβεν αὐτό, μνημονεύουσιν· ἀφανισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχαίου Φιγαλεῖς οὔτε ἄγαλμα ἄλλο ἀπεδίδοσαν τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὅποσα ἐς ἑορτὰς καὶ θυσίας τὰ πολλὰ δὴ παρῶπτό σφισιν, ἐς ὃ ἡ ἀκαρπία ἐπιλαμβάνει τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἰκετεύσασιν αὐτοῖς χρᾶ τάδε ἡ Πυθία· [6] “Ἀρκάδες Ἀζᾶνες βαλανηφάγοι, οἱ Φιγάλειαν

νάσσασθ', ἵππολεχοῦς Δηοῦς κρυπτήριον ἄντρον,
ἦκετε πευσόμενοι λιμοῦ λύσιν ἀλγινόεντος,
μοῦνοι δις νομάδες, μοῦνοι πάλιν ἀγριοδαῖται.
Δηὼ μὲν σε ἔπαυσε νομῆς, Δηὼ δὲ νομῆας
ἐκ δησισταχῶν καὶ ἀναστοφάγων πάλι θῆκε,
νοσφισθεῖσα γέρα προτέρων τιμάς τε παλαιάς.
καὶ σ' ἄλληλοφάγον θήσει τάχα καὶ τεκνοδαίτην,
εἰ μὴ πανδήμοις λοιβαῖς χόλον ἰλάσσεσθε
σῆραγγός τε μυχὸν θεαῖς κοσμήσετε τιμαῖς.

“ [7] ὥς δὲ οἱ Φιγαλεῖς ἀνακομισθὲν τὸ μάντευμα ἤκουσαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς πλεόν τιμῆς ἢ τὰ πρότερα τὴν Δήμητρα ἦγον καὶ Ὀνάταν τὸν Μίκωνος Αἰγινήτην πείθουσιν ἐφ' ὅσῳ δὴ μισθῷ ποιῆσαι σφισιν ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος· τοῦ δὲ Ὀνάτα τούτου Περγαμηνοῖς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, θαῦμα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. τότε δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀνευρῶν γραφὴν ἢ μῖμῃμα τοῦ ἀρχαίου ξοάνου — τὰ πλείω δέ, ὥς λέγεται, καὶ κατὰ ὄνειράτων ὅσιν — ἐποίησε χαλκοῦν Φιγαλεῦσιν ἄγαλμα, γενεαῖς μάλιστα δυσὶν ὕστερον τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιστρατείας τοῦ Μῆδου. [8] μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῷ λόγῳ· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Συρακουσῶν τε

ἐτυράννει καὶ Σικελίας τῆς ἄλλης Γέλων ὁ Δεινομόνους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Γέλων, ἐς Ἰέρωνα ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνος περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή· Ἰέρωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ εὗξατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς νίκαις, οὕτω Δεινομένης ὁ Ἰέρωνος ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός. [9] Ὅνάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματός ἐστιν αὐτῶν, ὅσον ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα

τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἅπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δῖς,

δῶρα Ἰέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε

“Δεινομένης πατὴρ μνήμα Συρακοσίου· [10] τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων· “υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὅνάτας ἐξετέλεσσαν,

νάσφ' ἐν Αἰγίνα δώματα ναιετάων.

“ἡ δὲ ἡλικία τοῦ Ὅνάτα κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἡγίαν καὶ Ἀγελάδαν συμβαίνει τὸν Ἀργεῖον.

[11] ταύτης μάλιστα ἐγὼ τῆς Δήμητρος ἕνεκα ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἀφικόμην. καὶ ἔθυσα τῇ θεῷ, καθὰ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι νομίζουσιν, οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἡμέρων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸν καὶ μελισσῶν τε κηρία καὶ ἐρίων τὰ μὴ ἐς ἐργασίαν πω ἤκοντα ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἀνάπλεα τοῦ οἰσύπου, ἃ τιθέασιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ὠκοδομημένον πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, θέντες δὲ καταχέουσιν αὐτῶν ἔλαιον, ταῦτα ιδιώταις τε ἀνδράσι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Φιγαλέων τῷ κοινῷ καθέστηκεν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν. [12] ἱέρεια δὲ σφισίν ἐστιν ἡ δρῶσα, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν ἱεροθυτῶν καλουμένων ὁ νεώτατος· οἱ δὲ εἰσι τῶν ἀστῶν τρεῖς ἀριθμὸν. ἔστι δὲ δρυῶν τε ἄλσος περὶ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἄνεισιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὅνάτα ποιηθὲν οὕτε ἦν κατ' ἐμὲ οὕτε εἰ ἐγένετο ἀρχὴν Φιγαλεῦσιν ἠπίσταντο οἱ πολλοί· [13] τῶν δὲ ἐντυχόντων ἡμῖν ἔλεγεν ὁ πρεσβύτατος γενεαῖς πρότερον τρισὶν ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐμπεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου πέτρας, ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ καταγῆναι καὶ ἐς ἅπαν ἔφασκεν αὐτὸ ἀφανισθῆναι· καὶ ἔν γε τῷ ὀρόφῳ δῆλα καὶ ἡμῖν ἔτι ἦν, καθὰ ἀπερρώγεσαν αἱ πέτραι.

43. ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ λόγος τὸ τε Παλλάντιον, εἰ δὴ τι αὐτόθι ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην, καὶ καθ' ἣντινα βασιλεὺς αἰτίαν Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ πρότερος πόλιν τε ἀντὶ κόμης ἐποίησε Παλλάντιον καὶ σφισιν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν εἶναι φόρων. [2] φασὶ δὴ γενέσθαι καὶ γνώμην καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄριστον τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὄνομα Εὐάνδρον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν νύμφης τε εἶναι, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Λάδωνος, καὶ Ἑρμοῦ. σταλέντα δὲ ἐς ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄγοντα Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Παλλαντίου στρατιάν, παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πόλιν τῷ Θύβριδι οἰκίσαι· καὶ Ῥωμαίων μέρος τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως, ὃ ὤκειτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐάνδρου καὶ Ἀρκάδων τῶν συνακολουθησάντων, ὄνομα ἔσχε Παλλάντιον κατὰ μνήμην τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μετέπεσε τὸ ὄνομα ἐν ἀναιρέσει γραμμάτων τοῦ τε λ καὶ τοῦ ν. τούτων μὲν τῶν λελεγμένων ἕνεκα Παλλαντιεῦσιν ἐκ βασιλέως ἐγένοντο δωρεαί· [3] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐς Παλλαντιεῖς ἐστὶν εὐεργετήματα, πόλεμον μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐθελοντῆς ἐπηγάγετο οὐδένα, πολέμου δὲ ἄρξαντας Μαύρους, Λιβύων τῶν αὐτονόμων τὴν μεγίστην μοῖραν, νομάδας τε ὄντας καὶ τοσῶδε ἔτι δυσμαχωτέρους τοῦ

Σκυθικοῦ γένους ὅσφ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν, ἐπὶ ἵππων δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἠλῶντο, τούτους μὲν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐλαύνων τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα ἠνάγκασεν ἀναφυγεῖν Λιβύης, ἐπὶ τε Ἄτλαντα τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐς τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Ἄτλαντι ἀνθρώπους· [4] ἀπετέμετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Βριτανίᾳ Βριγάντων τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι ἐπεσβαίνειν καὶ οὗτοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἤρξαν ἐς τὴν Γενουνίαν μοῖραν, ὑπηκόους Ῥωμαίων. Λυκίων δὲ καὶ Καρῶν τὰς πόλεις Κῶν τε καὶ Ῥόδον ἀνέτρεψε μὲν βίαιος ἐς αὐτὰς κατασκήψας σεισμός· βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ταῦτας ἀνεσώσατο δαπανημάτων τε ὑπερβολῇ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἀνοικισμὸν προθυμίᾳ. χρημάτων δὲ ἐπιδόσεις ὅποσας καὶ Ἑλλῆσι καὶ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ τοῖς δεηθεῖσι, καὶ ἔργων κατασκευᾶς ἔν τε τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ περὶ Καρχηδόνα τε καὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ Σύρων, τάδε μὲν ἄλλοι ἔγραψαν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον· [5] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπελίπετο οὗτος καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε ἐς μνήμην. ὅσοις τῶν ὑπηκόων πολίταις ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐτέλουν σφίσιν ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τούτοις ἐλείπετο ἢ κατανεῖμαι τὰ χρήματα ἐς οὐ προσήκοντας ἢ ἐπαυξῆσαι τὸν βασιλέως πλοῦτον κατὰ νόμον δὴ τινα· Ἀντωνῖνος δὲ ἐφῆκε καὶ τούτοις διδόναι σφᾶς παισὶ τὸν κληρον, ὁ προτιμήσας φανῆναι φιλόφρωνος ἢ ὠφέλιμον ἐς χρήματα φυλάξαι νόμον. τοῦτον Εὐσεβῆ τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῇ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο χρώμενος· [6] δόξῃ δὲ ἐμῇ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Κύρου φέροιο ἂν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων καλούμενος. ἀπέλιπε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ παῖδα ὁμώνυμον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος οὗτος ὁ δευτερος καὶ τοὺς τε Γερμανοὺς, μαχιμωτάτους καὶ πλείστους τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔθνος τὸ Σαυροματῶν, πολέμου καὶ ἀδικίας ἄρξαντας, τιμωρούμενος ἐπέξευλθε.

44. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπίλοιπα ἡμῖν τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ λόγου ἔστιν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἐς Παλλάντιον ὁδὸς καὶ ἐς Τεγέαν, ἄγουσα αὕτη μέχρι τοῦ καλουμένου Χώματος. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν Λαδόκειά σφισιν ὠνόμασται τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως ἀπὸ Λαδόκου τοῦ Ἑχέμου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Αἰμονιαὶ πόλεις ἦσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· οἰκιστὴς δὲ Αἴμων ἐγένετο αὐταῖς ὁ Λυκάωνος, διαμεμένηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τότε Αἰμονιάς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὀνομάζεσθαι. [2] μετὰ δὲ Αἰμονιάς ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ πόλεως ἔστιν Ὀρεσθασίου καὶ ἄλλα ὑπολειπόμενα ἐς μνήμην καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱεροῦ κίονες ἔτι· ἐπὶ κλησις δὲ Ἰέρεια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδί ἔστι. τὴν δὲ εὐθείαν ἰόντι ἐξ Αἰμονιῶν Ἀφροδίσιόν τέ ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ ἄλλο χωρίον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον· τούτου δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου. [3] τοῦ Ἀθηναίου δὲ μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀπωτέρω σταδίους ἐρείπια Ἀσέας ἐστί, καὶ ὁ λόφος ἀκρόπολις τότε οὕσα τείχους σημεῖα ἔχει καὶ ἐς τότε. σταδίους δὲ ὅσον πέντε ἀπὸ Ἀσέας τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀπο τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοῦ δὲ Εὐρώτα παρ' αὐτὴν ἔστιν ἡ πηγὴ τὴν ὁδόν· πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῇ πηγῇ ναὸς τε Μητρὸς θεῶν ἔστιν οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον καὶ λέοντες λίθου δύο πεποιημένοι. [4] τοῦ δὲ Εὐρώτα τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνακεράννυται τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους κοινῷ προΐασι τῷ ρεύματι· κατελθόντες δὲ ἐς χάσμα ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἄνεισιν αὐθις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Εὐρώτας, ὁ δὲ Ἀλφειὸς ἐν Πηγαῖς τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος. ἔστι δὲ ἄνοδος ἐξ Ἀσέας ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Βόρειον καλούμενον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους σημεῖά ἐστιν ἱεροῦ· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶ τε Σωτεῖρα καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Ὀδυσσεᾶ ἐλέγετο

ἀνακομισθέντα ἐξ Ἰλίου.

[5] τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Χῶμα ὄροι Μεγαλοπολίταις τῆς γῆς πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς εἰσι: καὶ τὸ Παλλαντικὸν πεδῖον ἐστὶν ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χώματος. ἐν δὲ Παλλαντίῳ ναὸς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου Πάλλαντος, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἐστὶν Εὐάνδρου: καὶ Κόρης τε τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπωτέρω Πολυβίου σφίσιν ἀνδριάς ἐστι. τῷ λόφῳ δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὅσα ἀκροπόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐχρῶντο: λείπεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου θεῶν ἱερὸν. [6] ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Καθαροί, περὶ μεγίστων δὲ αὐτόθι καθεστήκασιν οἱ ὄρκοι: καὶ ὀνόματα μὲν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἴσασιν ἢ καὶ εἰδότες οὐ θέλουσιν ἐξαγορεύειν, Καθαροὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε ἄν τις κληθῆναι τεκμαίροιο, ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά ὁ Πάλλας ἔθυσσε καθὰ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ οἱ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δί.

[7] τοῦ δὲ καλουμένου Χώματος ἐν δεξιᾷ πεδῖον ἐστὶ τὸ Μανθουρικόν: ἔστι δὲ ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Τεγεατῶν τὸ πεδῖον, ὃν σταδίων πού πεντήκοντα μάλιστα ἄχρι Τεγέας. ἔστι δὲ ὄρος οὐ μέγα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καλούμενον Κρήσιον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀφνειοῦ πεποιήται. Αἰρόπη γὰρ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου συνεγένετο Ἄρης, καθὰ οἱ Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι: καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀφίησιν ἐν ταῖς ὠδίσι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δὲ παῖς καὶ τεθνηκυίας [8] εἶχετο ἔτι τῆς μητρὸς καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαστῶν εἴλκεν αὐτῆς γάλα πολὺ καὶ ἄφθονον, καὶ — ἦν γὰρ τοῦ Ἄρεως γνῶμη τὰ γινόμενα — τούτων ἕνεκα Ἀφνειὸν τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι: τῷ δὲ παιδίῳ ὄνομα τεθῆναι φασιν Ἀερόπον. ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐς Τεγέαν ὁδὸν Λευκῶνιος καλούμενη κρήνη: θυγατέρα δὲ Ἀφείδαντος λέγουσιν εἶναι τὴν Λευκῶνην, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Τεγεατῶν οἱ ἄσπεως μνημᾶ ἐστίν.

45. Τεγεᾶται δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Τεγεάτου τοῦ Λυκάονος τῇ χώρᾳ φασὶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μόνῃ τὸ ὄνομα, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις κατὰ δήμους εἶναι τὰς οἰκῆσεις, Γαρεάτας καὶ Φυλακεῖς καὶ Καρυάτας τε καὶ Κορυθεῖς, ἔτι δὲ Πωταχίδας καὶ Οἰάτας Μανθυρεῖς τε καὶ Ἐχευήθεις: ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀφείδαντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἑνατός σφισι δῆμος προσεγένετο Ἀφείδαντες: τῆς δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο Ἄλεος. [2] Τεγεάταις δὲ παρὲς ἡ τὰ Ἀρκάδων κοινά, ἐν οἷς ἔστι μὲν ὁ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πόλεμος, ἔστι δὲ τὰ Μηδικά τε καὶ ἐν Διπαιεῦσιν ὁ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγὼν, παρὲς οὖν τῶν καταλελεγμένων ἰδίᾳ Τεγεάταις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἐς δόξαν. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Καλυδῶνι ὃν Ἀγκαῖος ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Λυκούργου τρωθεῖς, καὶ Ἀταλάντη τοξέυει τὸν ὃν καὶ ἔτυχε πρώτη τοῦ θηρίου: τούτων ἕνεκα αὐτῇ ἡ κεφαλὴ τε τοῦ ὕδρος καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἀριστεῖα ἐδόθη. [3] Ἡρακλειδῶν δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιόντων Ἐχεμος ὁ Αἰρόπου Τεγεάτης ἐμονομάχησεν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς Ὑλλον, καὶ ἐκράτησε τοῦ Ὑλλου τῇ μάχῃ. Λακεδαιμονίους τε οἱ Τεγεᾶται πρῶτοι Ἀρκάδων σφίσιν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας ἐνίκησαν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους αἰροῦσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς.

[4] Τεγεάταις δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποίησεν Ἄλεος: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον

κατεσκευάσαντο οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῇ θεῷ ναὸν μέγαν τε καὶ θέας ἄξιον. ἐκεῖνο μὲν δὴ πῦρ ἠφάνισεν ἐπινεμηθὲν ἐξαίφνης, Διοφάντου παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἕκτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν Εὐπόλεμος Ἥλειος ἐνίκα στάδιον. [5] ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πολὺ δὴ τι τῶν

ναῶν, ὅσοι Πελοποννησίοις εἰσίν, ἐς κατασκευὴν προέχει τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἐς μέγεθος. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτός ἐστιν αὐτῷ κόσμος τῶν κίωνων Δῶριος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κορίνθιος· ἐσθήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες ἐργασίας τῆς Ἴωνων. ἀρχιτέκτονα δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην Σκόπαν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν Πάριον, ὃς καὶ ἀγάλματα πολλαχοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος, τὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἴωνίαν τε καὶ Καρίαν ἐποίησε. [6] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰετοῖς ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν ἡ θήρα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Καλυδωνίου· πεποιημένου δὲ κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τοῦ υἱοῦ τῇ μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀταλάντῃ καὶ Μελέαγρος καὶ Θησεὺς Τελαμών τε καὶ Πηλεὺς καὶ Πολυδεύκης καὶ Ἰόλαος, ὃς τὰ πλεῖστα Ἡρακλεῖ συνέκαμνε τῶν ἔργων, καὶ Θεστίου παῖδες, ἀδελφοὶ δὲ Αἰθαιάς, Πρόθους καὶ Κομήτης· [7] κατὰ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὰ ἕτερα Ἀγκαῖον ἔχοντα ἤδη τραύματα καὶ ἀφέντα τὸν πέλεκυν ἀνέχων ἐστὶν Ἐποχος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Κάστωρ καὶ Ἀμφιάραος Ὀικλέους, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰππόθους ὁ Κερκύονος τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τοῦ Στυμφήλου· τελευταῖος δὲ ἐστὶν εἰργασμένος Πειρίθους. τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν πεποιημένα ἐν τοῖς αἰετοῖς Τηλέφου πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν Καΐκου πεδίῳ μάχη.

46. τῆς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἀρχαῖον, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου τοὺς ὀδόντας ἔλαβεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος, Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ καὶ τὸ Ἀντωνίου νικήσας συμμαχικόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες πλὴν Μαντινέων ἦσαν οἱ ἄλλοι. [2] φαίνεται δὲ οὐκ ἄρξας ὁ Αὐγουστος ἀναθήματα καὶ ἔδη θεῶν ἀπάγεσθαι παρὰ τῶν κρατηθέντων, καθεστηκότι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρησάμενος. Ἰλίου τε γὰρ ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα Ἑλλήνων, Σθενέλῳ τῷ Καπανέως τὸ ξόανον τοῦ Διὸς ἐδόθη τοῦ Ἑρκείου· καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον πολλοῖς Δωριέων ἐς Σικελίαν ἐσοικιζομένων, Ἀντίφημος ὁ Γέλας οἰκιστὴς πόλισμα Σικανῶν Ὀμφάκην πορθήσας μετεκόμισεν ἐς Γέλαν ἄγαλμα ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου πεποιημένον. [3] βασιλέα τε τῶν Περσῶν Ξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου, χωρὶς ἡ ὅσα ἐξεκόμισε τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεως, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ Βραυρωνός καὶ ἄγαλμα ἴσμεν τῆς Βραυρωνίας λαβόντα Ἀρτέμιδος, τοῦτο δὲ αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκὼν Μιλησίοις, ἐθελοκακῆσαι σφᾶς ἐναντία Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ναυμαχήσαντας, τὸν χαλκοῦν ἔλαβεν Απόλλωνα τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδαϊς· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὕστερον ἔμελλε χρόνῳ Σέλευκος καταπέμψειν Μιλησίοις, Ἀργείοις δὲ τὰ ἐκ Τίρυνθος ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τὸ μὲν παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ξόανον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῦ Απόλλωνός ἐστιν ἀνακείμενον τοῦ Λυκίου· [4] Κυζικηνοὶ τε, ἀναγκάσαντες πολέμῳ Προκοννησίους γενέσθαι σφίσι συνοίκους, Μητρὸς Δινδυμῆνης ἄγαλμα ἔλαβον ἐκ Προκοννήσου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ

πρόσωπον ἀντὶ ἐλέφαντος ἵππων τῶν ποταμίων ὀδόντες εἰσὶν εἰργασμένοι. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Αὐγουστος καθεστηκότα ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τε Ἑλλήνων νομιζόμενα καὶ βαρβάρων εἰργάσατο· Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀλέας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου ποιηθεῖσαν, ἐς ταύτην ἐστὶν ἰόντι. [5] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται ἐλέφαντος διὰ παντὸς πεποιημένον, τέχνη δὲ Ἐνδοίου· τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ τῶν ὀδόντων κατεᾶχθαι μὲν τὸν ἕτερόν φασιν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς θαύμασιν, ὁ δ' ἔτι ἐξ αὐτῶν λειπόμενος ἀνέκειτο ἐν βασιλέως κήποις ἐν ἱερῷ Διονύσου, τὴν περίμετρον τοῦ μήκους παρεχόμενος ἐς ἥμισυ μάλιστα ὀργυῖας.

47. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Τεγέα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐκομίσθη μὲν ἐκ δήμου τοῦ Μανθουρέων, Ἰππία δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Μανθουρεῦσιν εἶχεν ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅτι τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ γινομένης τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸς γίγαντας μάχης ἐπήλασεν Ἐγκελάδῳ ἵππων τὸ ἄρμα: Ἀλέαν μέντοι καλεῖσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἔς τε Ἑλληνας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ ἔς αὐτοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐκνενίκηκε. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῇ μὲν Ἀσκληπιός, τῇ δὲ Ὑγείᾳ παρεστῶσά ἐστι λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιου, Σκόπα δὲ ἔργα Παρίου. [2] ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἔστι μὲν τὸ δέρμα ὑὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου, διεσῆπτο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἔς ἅπαν ἦν τριχῶν ἤδη ψιλόν: εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πέδαι κρεμάμεναι, πλὴν ὅσας ἠφάνισεν αὐτῶν ἰός, ἃς γε ἔχοντες Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὸ πεδῖον Τεγεάταις ἔσκαπτον: κλίνη τε ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Αὐγῆς εἰκὼν γραφῇ μεμιμημένη Μαρπήσεως τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Χοίρας, γυναικὸς Τεγεάτιδος, ἀνάκειται τὸ ὄπλον. [3] ταύτης μὲν δὴ ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην: ἱερᾶται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ παῖς χρόνον οὐκ οἶδα ὅσον τινά, πρὶν δὲ ἡβάσκειν καὶ οὐ πρόσω, τὴν ἱερωσύνην. τῇ θεῷ δὲ ποιηθῆναι τὸν βωμὸν ὑπὸ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάonos λέγουσιν: εἰργασμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ Ῥέα μὲν καὶ Οἰνὴ νύμφη παῖδα ἔτι νήπιον Δία ἔχουσιν, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ εἰσι τέσσαρες ἀριθμόν, Γλαύκη καὶ Νέδα καὶ Θεισόα καὶ Ἀνθρακία, τῇ δὲ Ἰδῇ καὶ Ἀγνώ καὶ Ἀλκινόῃ τε καὶ Φρίξᾳ. πεποιῆται δὲ καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Μνημοσύνης ἀγάλματα.

[4] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω στάδιον χῶμα γῆς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἄγουσιν ἀγῶνας ἐνταῦθα, Ἀλεαῖα ὀνομάζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν δὲ Ἀλώτια, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πολὺ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ζῶντας εἶλον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ ναοῦ κρήνη, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ βιασθῆναι τῇ κρήνῃ φασὶν Αὐγὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἐκαταίῳ τὰ ἐς αὐτήν. ἀπωτέρω δὲ τῆς κρήνης ὅσον σταδίοις τρισὶν ἐστὶν Ἑρμοῦ ναὸς Αἰπύτου.

[5] Τεγεάταις δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάτιδος, ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ ἔτους ἱερεὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσεισι: τοῦτο Ἑρῦμα τὸ ἱερὸν ὀνομάζουσι, λέγοντες ὡς Κηφεῖ τῷ Ἀλέου γένοιτο δωρεὰ παρὰ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνάλωτον ἔς τὸν πάντα χρόνον εἶναι Τεγέα, καὶ αὐτῷ φασιν ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀποτεμοῦσαν τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τριχῶν τῶν Μεδούσης. [6] ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν, τὴν Ἠγεμόνην τὴν αὐτήν, τοιάδε λέγουσιν. Ὀρχομενίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τυραννίδα ἔσχεν Ἀριστομηλίδας, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Τεγεάτιδος παρθένου καὶ ἐγκρατὴς ὄτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ γενόμενος ἐπιτρέπει τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῆς Χρονίῳ: καὶ ἡ μὲν, πρὶν ἀναχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν τύραννον, ἀποκτίνουσιν ἑαυτὴν ὑπὸ δείματός τε καὶ αἰδοῦς, Χρόνιον δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπήγειρεν ὄψις ἐπὶ Ἀριστομηλίδαν: φονεύσας δὲ ἐκείνον καὶ ἐς Τεγέα φυγὼν ἐποίησεν ἱερὸν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.

48. τῆς ἀγορᾶς δὲ μάλιστα εὐοικίας πλίνθω κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα, Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναὸς καλούμενος ἐν πλινθίῳ καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. στήλαις δὲ ἐπειργασμένοι τῇ μὲν Ἀντιφάνης ἐστὶ καὶ Κρίσος καὶ Τυρωνίδας τε καὶ Πυρρίας, οἱ νόμους Τεγεάταις θέμενοι τιμὰς καὶ ἐς τόδε παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν: ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ στήλῃ πεποιημένος ἐστὶν Ἰάσιος ἵππου τε ἐχόμενος καὶ κλάδον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρων φοίνικος: νικῆσαι δὲ ἵππῳ φασὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸν Ἰάσιον, ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς ἔθετο ὁ Θηβαῖος τὰ Ὀλύμπια. [2] ἐν μὲν δὴ Ὀλυμπία κοτίνου τῷ νικῶντι δίδοσθαι στέφανον καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς δάφνης, τοῦ μὲν ἥδη

τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπέδωκα ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἡλείους, τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα δηλώσω: ἐν Ἴσθμῳ δὲ ἡ πίτυς καὶ τὰ ἐν Νεμέᾳ σέλινα ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλαίμονος καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχεμόρου τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐνομήσθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἀγῶνες φοῖνικος ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ στέφανον: ἐς δὲ τὴν δεξιάν ἐστι καὶ πανταχοῦ τῷ νικῶντι ἐστιθέμενος φοῖνιξ. [3] ἐνομήσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε: Θησέα ἀνακομιζόμενον ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶν ἐν Δήλῳ ἀγῶνα ποιήσασθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, στεφανοῦν δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς νικῶντας τῷ φοίνικι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἄρξαι λέγουσιν ἐντεῦθεν: τοῦ δὲ φοῖνικος τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ μνήμην ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσεώς ἰκεσία πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκίνου θυγατέρα.

[4] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄρεως ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν ἀγορᾷ. τοῦτο ἐκτετύπεται μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ, Γυναικοθοῖαν δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτόν. ὑπὸ γὰρ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον καὶ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τὴν πρώτην ἐπιστρατείαν λαβοῦσαι αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν ὅπλα ἐλόχων ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον ὃν Φυλακτρίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὀνομάζουσι: συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τολμήματα ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ τε καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, οὕτω φασὶν ἐπιφανῆναι σφισι τὰς [5] γυναῖκας καὶ εἶναι τὰς ἐργασαμένας ταύτας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν τροπὴν, Μάρπησαν δὲ τὴν Χοίραν ἐπονομαζομένην ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῇ τόλμῃ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας, ἀλῶναι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ αὐτὸν Χάριλλον: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφεθέντα ἄνευ λύτρων, καὶ ὄρκον Τεγεάταις δόντα μήποτε Λακεδαιμονίους στρατεύσειν ἔτι ἐπὶ Τεγέαν, παραβῆναι τὸν ὄρκον, τὰς γυναῖκας δὲ τῷ Ἄρει θῦσαι τε ἄνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδία τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ τοῦ ἱερείου τῶν κρεῶν οὐ μεταδοῦναι σφᾶς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν τῷ Ἄρει γέγονεν ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις: [6] πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Τελείου βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον: περισσῶς γὰρ δὴ τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονται μοι χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. καὶ μνήματά ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Τεγεάτου τοῦ Λυκάονος καὶ Μαιρᾶς γυναικὸς τοῦ Τεγεάτου: θυγατέρα Ἄτλαντός φασιν εἶναι τὴν Μαιράν, ἧς δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποιήσατο μνήμην ἐν Ὀδυσσεώς λόγοις πρὸς Ἀλκίνοον περὶ τε ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Αἶδην καὶ ὁπόσων ἐθεάσατο ἐκεῖ τὰς ψυχάς. [7] τὴν δὲ Εἰλείθυιαν οἱ Τεγεᾶται — καὶ γὰρ ταύτης ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα — ἐπονομάζουσιν Αὔγην ἐν γόνασι, λέγοντες ὡς Ναυπλίῳ παραδοίῃ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἄλεος ἐντειλάμενος ἐπαναγαγόντα αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν καταποντῶσαι: τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤγετο πεσεῖν τε ἐς γόνατα καὶ οὕτω τεκεῖν τὸν παῖδα, ἔνθα τῆς Εἰλείθυίας ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν. οὗτος ὁ λόγος διάφορος μὲν ἐστὶν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ, λάθρα τὴν Αὔγην τεκεῖν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐκτεθῆναι τὸν Τήλεφον λέγοντι ἐς τὸ ὅρος τὸ Παρθένιον καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκκειμένῳ διδόναι γάλα ἔλαφον: λέγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν ὁ λόγος. [8] πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Εἰλείθυίας ἐστὶ Γῆς βωμός, ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ στήλῃ: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῆς Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα καὶ ἐπὶ ἐτέρα στήλῃ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἀρκάδος Ἑλατός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος.

49. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς θέατρον τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ βάθρα εἰκόνων χαλκῶν, αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἔτι αἱ εἰκόνες: ἔλεγξιον δὲ ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν βάθρων ἐστὶ Φιλοποίμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἶναι. τούτου δὲ Ἕλληνες τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα ἔχουσι μνήμην, γνώμης τε ἕνεκα ἣν παρέσχετο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ὅποσα ἐτόλμησε. [2] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς γένους δόξαν ὁ πατήρ οἱ

Κραυγῖς Ἀρκάδων ἐλείπετο οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει: τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κραυγίδος ἐπὶ παιδί ἔτι νηπιά τῷ Φιλοποίμενι, ἐπετρόπευσεν αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ Μαντινεὺς Κλέανδρος, φεύγων μὲν ἐκ Μαντινείας καὶ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει μετοικῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκοθεν συμφορὰν, ξενίας δὲ ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ πατρικῆς ἐς οἶκον τὸν Κραυγίδος. διδασκάλους δὲ ὁμιλῆσαι τὸν Φιλοποίμενα καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ Μεγαλοφάνει τε καὶ Ἐκδήλῳ λέγουσι: τοὺς δὲ Ἀρκεσιλάου φασὶν εἶναι Πιταναίου μαθητάς. [3] μέγεθος μὲν δὴ καὶ σώματος ῥώμην ἀπέδει Πελοποννησίων οὐδενός, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἦν τοῦ προσώπου κακός: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας ὑπερεφρόνησεν ἀσκήσαι, γῆν δὲ ἦν ἐκέκτητο ἐργαζόμενος οὐδὲ τὰ θηρία ἡμέλει τὰ ἄγρια ἐξαίρειν. ἐπιλέγεσθαι δὲ καὶ βιβλία φασὶν αὐτὸν σοφιστῶν τε τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων παρ' Ἑλλήσι καὶ ὅσα ἐς πολέμων μνήμην καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἔχει διδασκαλίαν στρατηγημάτων: καταστήσασθαι δὲ τὸν βίον πάντα ἐθέλων γνώμης τῆς Ἐπαμινώνδου καὶ ἔργων εἶναι τῶν ἐκείνου μίμησιν, οὐ τὰ πάντα ἦν ἐξισωθῆναι δυνατός: Ἐπαμινώνδα γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ μάλιστα πρῶως εἶχε τὰ ἐς ὀργήν, τῷ δὲ Ἀρκάδι μετὴν γε θυμοῦ. [4] καταλαβόντος δὲ Κλεομένους Μεγάλῃν πόλιν, Φιλοποίμην οὕτε τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐξεπλάγη τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὰ δύο μάλιστα μέρη καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀπέσωσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην, συμμάχων σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ εὖνων τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὄντων: καὶ — ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν διαπεφευγόντων οἷς ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο μεταγινώσκειν τε ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι καὶ πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐθέλειν σπένδεσθαι κατιόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν — ἔπεισεν ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς πολίτας ὁ Φιλοποίμην μεθ' ὅπλων τὴν κάθοδον οἴκαδε εὐρίσκεσθαι μηδὲ ἐς ὁμολογίας τε καὶ σπονδὰς ἰέναι. [5] γενομένης δὲ ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πρὸς Κλεομένην τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἦν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν, σὺν δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀντίγονος ἐμαχέσατο ἄγων ἐκ Μακεδονίας στρατιάν, ἐτέτακτο μὲν τῆνικαῦτα ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ τοῦ ἔργου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐώρα ληψόμενον τὴν κρίσιν, ὀπλίτης ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸν λόγου κινδυνεύοντα ἀξίως τῶν τις ἐναντίων δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἔπειρε τῶν μηρῶν. [6] ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτο ὅμως πεπεδημένος τὰ τε γόνата ἐνέκλινε καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐβιάζετο, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ κινήματος τὸ δόρυ ἔκλασεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνέστρεψε Φιλοποίμην, ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτοῦ τῶν μηρῶν οἱ ἱατροὶ τῇ μὲν τὸν σαυρωτῆρα ἐξεῖλκον, τῇ δὲ τὴν αἰχμὴν. Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο καὶ εἶδεν αὐτοῦ τὰ τολμήματα, ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῇ ἐπάγεσθαι Φιλοποίμενα ἐς Μακεδονίαν. [7] τῷ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου μὲν ὀλίγον μελήσειν ἔμελλε: περαιωσάμενος δὲ νηὶ ἐς Κρήτην — πόλεμος γὰρ κατεῖχεν αὐτὴν ἐμφύλιος — ἐπετέτακτο ἡγεμῶν μισθοφόροις: ἐπανήκων δὲ ἐς Μεγάλῃν πόλιν αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦρητο ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, καὶ σφᾶς ἀρίστους Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφαινεν ἱππεύειν. Ἀχαιῶν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι συντεταγμένοι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἦσαν περὶ Λάρισον μαχομένων ποταμὸν πρὸς Ἥλειους καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν ἐπικουροῦντας κατὰ συγγένειαν Ἥλειοις, πρῶτα μὲν Δημόφαντον ἀπέκτεινε αὐτοχειρίᾳ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἡγεμόνα ὄντα τῆς ἵππου, δευτέρα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἱππικὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ τῶν Ἥλειῶν ἐτρέψατο.

50. ἄτε δὲ ἤδη τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀφορώντων ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐκείνων ποιουμένων, τοῖς τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ μετέβαλε τῶν ὅπλων τὴν σκευήν: φοροῦντας γὰρ μικρὰ δοράτια καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερα ὅπλα κατὰ τοὺς Κελτικούς θυρεοὺς ἢ τὰ γέρρα τὰ Περσῶν, ἔπεισε θώρακάς τε ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι κνημίδας, πρὸς δὲ ἀσπίσιν Ἀργολικαῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς δόρασι μεγάλοις. [2] Μαχανίδου δὲ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἀναφύντος τυράννου καὶ αὐθις πολέμου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Μαχανίδαν συνεστηκότος, ἡγεῖτο μὲν τοῦ Ἀχαικοῦ Φιλοποίμην: γινομένης δὲ πρὸς Μαντινεία μάχης Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἱ ψилоὶ τοὺς ἀσκεύους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νικῶσι καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο ὁ Μαχανίδας, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι ὁ Φιλοποίμην τῶν πεζῶν τρέπεται τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἀναχωροῦντι ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως Μαχανίδα συντυχὼν ἀποκτίνουσιν αὐτόν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡττηχόσιν τῇ μάχῃ περιεγεγόνει μείζων ἢ κατὰ τὸ πταῖσμα εὐτυχία, γεγονόσιν ἐλευθέρους ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. [3] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀγόντων Νέμεια Ἀργείων ἔτυχε μὲν τῶν κιθαρωδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι ὁ Φιλοποίμην παρών: Πυλάδου δὲ Μεγαλοπολίτου μὲν ἀνδρὸς γένος, κιθαρωδοῦ δὲ τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ δοκιμωτάτου καὶ ἀνηρημένου Πυθικὴν νίκην, τότε δὲ ἄδοντος Τιμοθέου νόμον τοῦ Μιλησίου Πέρσας καὶ καταρξαμένου τῆς ὥδης “Κλεινὸν ἐλευθερίας τεύχων μέγαν Ἑλλάδι κόσμον,

“Timotheus, unknown location. ἀπεῖδεν ἐς τὸν Φιλοποίμενα τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἐπεσημήναντο τῷ κρότῳ φέρειν ἐς ἐκείνον τὸ ῥῆμα. τοιοῦτο ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα ἄλλο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυνθάνομαι συμβῆναι: καὶ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐς τιμὴν ἐπανεῖστη τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θέατρον. [4] Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ὃς καὶ Ἄρατον φαρμάκῳ τὸν Σικυνώνιον ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀπέστειλεν ἄνδρας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν φονεῦσαί σφισι Φιλοποίμενα ἐντειλάμενος: ἀμαρτῶν δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐμισήθη πᾶσαν.

Θηβαῖοι δὲ κεκρατηκότες μάχῃ Μεγαρέας καὶ ἤδη τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ τείχους ἐπιβαίνοντες, ἀπάτη τῶν Μεγαρέων μετελθόντων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἥκοι Φιλοποίμην σφίσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἐς τοσοῦτο εὐλαβείας προῆλθον ὡς οἴκαδε ἀποχωρῆσαι καταλιπόντες ἄπρακτον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἔργον. [5] ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι αὐθις ἐπανεῖστη τύραννος Νάβις, ὃς Πελοποννησίων πρῶτοις ἐπέθετο Μεσσηνίους: ἐπελθὼν δὲ σφισιν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ οὐδαμῶς τὴν ἔφοδον ἐλπίζουσιν εἶλε μὲν πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὸ ἄστυ, ἀφικομένου δὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν στρατιᾷ Φιλοποίμενος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπόσπονδος ἐκ Μεσσηνίας.

[6] Φιλοποίμην δέ, ὡς ἐξῆκέν οἱ στρατηγοῦντι ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἤρηντο, αὐθις ἐς Κρήτην διέβη καὶ ἐπεκούρησε Γορτυνίους πολέμῳ πιεζομένους. ποιουμένων δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τῶν Ἀρκάδων αὐτόν, ἐπάνεισί τε ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον κατελάμβανεν ἐπανηρημένους πρὸς Νάβιν. [7] παρεσκευασμένων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβιν ναυτικὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Φιλοποίμην ὑπὸ προθυμίας μεθέξειν ἔμελλε τοῦ ἀγῶνος: ἄτε δὲ ἐς ἅπαν ἀπείρως θαλάσσης ἔχων τριήρους ἔλαθεν ἐπιβὰς ρεύσης, ὥστε καὶ ἐσήλθε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸ ἄλλο συμμαχικὸν μνῆμη τῶν ἐπῶν ὧν ἐν καταλόγῳ πεποίηκεν Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρκάδων ἀμαθίᾳ τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν. [8] ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον τῆς ναυμαχίας οὐ πολλαῖς Φιλοποίμην καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ

λόχος φυλάξαντες νύκτα ἀσέληνον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεμπιπρᾶσιν ἐν Γυθίῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἀπέλαβεν ἐν δυσχωρίαις Νάβις Φιλοποίμενά τε αὐτὸν καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν: ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλως μὲν ἀγαθοὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον, ἀριθμὸν δὲ οὐ πολλοί. [9] Φιλοποίμην δὲ τὴν τάξιν, ἣν τεταγμένους ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω, ταύτην ὑπαλλάξας τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχυρὰ τῶν χωρίων πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐποίησεν εἶναι: κρατήσας δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Νάβιν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καταφονεύσας πολλούς, δόξης ἔτι ἐς πλεόν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἦρθη. [10] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Νάβις μὲν ἐς εἰρημένον χρόνον σπονδὰς παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὐράμενος τελευτᾷ, πρὶν ἢ οἱ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἐξήκειν, ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Καλυδωνίου κατὰ δὴ συμμαχίας πρόφασιν ἤκοντος, πολεμίου δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐσταλμένου τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν.

51. Φιλοποίμην δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν ἐσπεσὼν τοῦτον ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην ἠνάγκασεν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν Λακεδαιμονίους συντελέσαι. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Τίτος μὲν Ῥωμαίων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡγεμῶν καὶ Διοφάνης ὁ Διαίου Μεγαλοπολίτης, ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡρημένος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἤλανον ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐπενεγκόντες αἰτίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις βουλεύειν σφᾶς νεώτερα ἐς Ῥωμαίους: Φιλοποίμην δέ, καίπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἰδιώτης ὢν, ἀπέκλεισαν ὅμως ἐπιούσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς πύλας. [2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τούτων τε ἔνεκα καὶ ὢν ἐς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τυράννους ἐτόλμησεν, ἐδίδοσαν οἶκον αὐτῷ τὸν Νάβιδος ἐς πλεόν ἢ τάλαντα ἑκατόν: ὁ δὲ ὑπερεφρόνησέ τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκέλευε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους θεραπεύειν δόσεσιν ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πιθανοὺς τῷ πλήθει, ταῦτα δὲ ἐς Τιμόλαον αὐτῷ λέγουσιν ὑποσημαίνεισθαι. ἀπεδείχθη δὲ καὶ αὖθις Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγῆσαι. [3] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἐς ἔμφυλον προηγμένων στάσιν, τριακοσίους μὲν τῆς στάσεως μάλιστα αἰτίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων τε ἀπέδοτο ὅσον τρισχιλίους, τεῖχί δὲ περιεῖλε τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις προεῖπε μὴ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων τῶν Λυκούργου μελετᾶν, ἐφήβοις δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ ταῦτα ἀσκεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὕστερον ἀποδώσειν ἔμελλον Ῥωμαῖοι παιδείαν τὴν ἐπιχώριον: [4] Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἀπόγονον Σελεύκου τοῦ ὀνομασθέντος Νικάτορος καὶ Σύρων τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν Μανίου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Θερμοπύλαις νικησάντων καὶ Ἀρισταίνου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου παραινοῦντος ἐπαινεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀρέσκοντα ἐπὶ παντὶ μηδὲ ἀνθίστασθαι σφισιν ὑπὲρ μηδενός, ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀπεῖδεν ἐς τὸν Ἀρίσταινον σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ αὐτὸν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔφη τὴν πεπρωμένην ἐπιταχύνειν: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας Μανίου καταδέξασθαι θέλοντος τῷ μὲν ἀντέπραξεν ἐς τὸ βούλευμα, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπελθόντος τότε ἤδη κατελθεῖν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐφήσιν ἐς Σπάρτην.

[5] ἔμελλε δ' ἄρα ὑπεροψίας δίκη περιήξειν καὶ Φιλοποίμενα. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄγδοον ἀπεδείχθη τότε ἡγεμῶν, ἀνδρὶ οὐ τῶν ἀδόξων ὠνείδισεν ἀλῶναι ζῶντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν: καὶ — ἦν γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Μεσσηνίους Ἀχαιοῖς ἔγκλημα — Λυκόρταν σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀποστέλλει δηρώσοντα τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς δὲ τρίτῃ μάλιστα ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ, πυρετῷ τε ἐχόμενος πολλῷ καὶ πρόσω βεβιωκῶς

ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτων, ὅμως ἠπείγετο μετασχεῖν Λυκόρτα τοῦ ἔργου: ἱππείας δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς ἦγεν ὅσον ἐξήκοντα. [6] Λυκόρτας μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἀνέστρεφον ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὔτε ἐργασάμενοι μέγα Μεσσηνίους οὐδὲν οὔτε αὐτοὶ παθόντες: Φιλοποίμενα δὲ — ἐβλήθη γὰρ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀπέπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου — ζῶντα ἐς Μεσσήνην ἄγουσιν αὐτόν. συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς ἐκκλησίαν, διάφοροι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ οὐ πάντων κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνοντο αἱ γνώμαι: [7] Δεινοκράτης μὲν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἦσαν δυνατοὶ χρήμασι, παρεκελεύοντο ἀποκτεῖναι Φιλοποίμενα: οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου περιποιῆσαι τὰ μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδὴν, πλεόν τι ἢ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πατέρα ὀνομάζοντες. Δεινοκράτης δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων Μεσσηνίων ἐμελλεν τε ἄρα Φιλοποίμενα ἀναιρήσειν ἐσπέμψας φάρμακον. [8] Λυκόρτας δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀθροίσας ἕκ τε Ἀρκαδίας καὶ παρ' Ἀχαιῶν δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην: καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτίκα ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, καὶ οἱ Φιλοποίμενι αἰτίαν θανάτου παρασχόντες ἀλόντες πλὴν Δεινοκράτους ὑπέσχον τιμωρίαν οἱ ἄλλοι, Δεινοκράτης δὲ ἀφίησιν αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν. κατάγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος τὰ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

52. καὶ ἤδη τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν φορὰν ἔλξηεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. Μιλτιάδης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κίμωνος τούς τε ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντας τῶν βαρβάρων κρατήσας μάχῃ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Μῆδων ἐπισχὼν στόλον ἐγένετο εὐεργέτης πρῶτος κοινῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Φιλοποίμην δὲ ὁ Κραυγίδος ἔσχατος: οἱ δὲ πρότερον Μιλτιάδου λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι, Κόδρος τε ὁ Μελάνθου καὶ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης Πολύδωρος καὶ Ἀριστομένης ὁ Μεσσήνιος καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος, πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόαν φανοῦνται τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὠφελήσαντες. [2] Μιλτιάδου δὲ ὕστερον Λεωνίδας ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους ἀπώσαντο ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ξέρξην, ὁ μὲν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ἀμφοτέραις, Λεωνίδας δὲ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις. Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν Λυσιμάχου καὶ Πausανίαν τὸν Κλεομβρότου Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένους, τὸν μὲν τὰ ὕστερον ἀφείλετο ἀδικήματα εὐεργέτην μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Ἀριστείδην δὲ ὅτι ἔταξε φόρους τοῖς τὰς νήσους ἔχουσιν Ἑλλησι: πρὸ Ἀριστείδου δὲ ἦν ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀτελὲς φόρων. [3] Ξάνθιππος δὲ ὁ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ Κίμων, ὁ μὲν ὁμοῦ Λεωτυχίδῃ τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὸ Μῆδων ναυτικὸν ἔφθειρεν ἐν Μυκάλῃ, Κίμωνι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄξια ζήλου κατειργασμένα ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τοὺς εὐδοκμήσαντας, φαίη τις ἂν αὐτόχειρας καὶ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα καταποντιστὰς εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος. [4] κεκακωμένον δὲ ἤδη τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Κόνων ὁ Τιμοθέου καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ἀνεκτίσατο ὁ Πολύμνιδος, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νήσων καὶ ὅσα ἐγγυτάτω θαλάσσης, Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Λακεδαιμονίων τὰς φρουρὰς καὶ ἄρμοστὰς ἐκβαλόντες καὶ δεκαδαρχίας καταπαύσαντες: Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ καὶ πόλεσιν οὐκ ἀφανέσι, Μεσσήνῃ καὶ Μεγάλῃ πόλει τῇ Ἀρκάδων, λογιμωτέραν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐποίησεν. [5] εἶναι δὲ ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Λεωσθένην τίθεμαι καὶ Ἄρατον εὐεργέτας: ὁ μὲν γε τὸ Ἑλλήνων μισθοφορικὸν τὸ καὶ ἐν Πέρσiais περὶ πέντε πού μυριάδας ἐπὶ

θάλασσαν καταβάντας ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνέσωσε καὶ ἄκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου: τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἄρατον ἐδήλωσε δὴ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Σικυωνίους.

[6] τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι τὸ ἐν Τεγέα: "τοῦδ' ἄρετὰ καὶ δόξα καθ' Ἑλλάδα, πολλὰ μὲν ἀλκαῖς,

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ βουλαῖς ἔργα πονησαμένου,
Ἀρκάδος αἰχμητᾶ Φιλοποίμενος, ᾧ μέγα κῦδος
ἔσπετ' ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ δούρατος ἀγεμόνι.

μανύει δὲ τρόπαια τετυγμένα δισσὰ τυράννων
Σπάρτας: αὐξομένην δ' ἄρατο δουλοσύναν.
ὣν ἔνεκεν Τεγέα μεγαλόφρονα Κραύγιδος υἱὸν
στάσεν, ἀμωμήτου κράντορ' ἐλευθερίας.

“

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα:

53. τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῷ Ἀγνιεῖ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αἰτία φασὶν ἰδρῦσασθαι τοιαῦδε. Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν λέγουσι χώραν τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι Λητοῦς, ἡνίκα εἶχεν ἐν τῇ γαστρί, πλανωμένης καὶ ἀφικομένης ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οὐδένα ἐποίησαντο αὐτῆς λόγον. [2] ὥς δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐς τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐληλυθέναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐνταῦθα υἱὸν Τεγεάτου Σκέφρον προσελθόντα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν: Λειμῶν δὲ — ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Λειμῶν οὗτος Τεγεάτου τῶν παίδων — ὑπονοήσας ἔγκλημα ἔχειν ἐς αὐτόν τὰ ὑπὸ Σκέφρου λεγόμενα, ἀποκτίνουσιν ἐπιδραμῶν τὸν ἀδελφόν. [3] καὶ Λειμῶνα μὲν τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος περιήλθεν αὐτίκα ἡ δίκη τοῦ φόνου: Τεγεάτης δὲ καὶ Μαιρὰ τὸ μὲν παρὰντίκα Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης ἀκαρπίας ἰσχυρᾶς ἦλθε μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν Σκέφρον θρηγεῖν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τοῦ Ἀγνιέως τῇ ἑορτῇ δρῶσιν ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Σκέφρου καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἰέρεια διώκει τινὰ ἅτε αὐτὴ τὸν Λειμῶνα ἢ Ἄρτεμιν. [4] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Τεγεάτου τῶν παίδων ἐλείποντο, μετοικῆσαι σφᾶς ἐκουσίως ἐς Κρήτην, Κύδωνα καὶ Ἀρχίδιον καὶ Γόρτυνα: καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι τὰς πόλεις Κυδωνίαν καὶ Γόρτυν τε καὶ Κατρέα. Κρηῖτες δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ Τεγεατῶν λόγῳ Κύδωνα μὲν Ἀκακαλλίδος θυγατρὸς Μίνω καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, Κατρέα δὲ φασὶν εἶναι Μίνω, τὸν δὲ Γόρτυνα Ῥαδαμάνθυος. [5] ἐς δὲ αὐτόν Ῥαδάμανθυν Ὀμήρου μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Πρωτέως πρὸς Μενέλαον λόγοις ὥς ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἦζοι Μενέλαος τὸ Ἥλύσιον, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Ῥαδάμανθυν ἐνταῦθα ἦκειν: Κιναιίθων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὥς Ῥαδάμανθος μὲν Ἥφαιστου, Ἥφαιστος δὲ εἶη Τάλω, Τάλων δὲ εἶναι Κρητὸς παῖδα. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τὰ πλεονα καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς γένεσιν εἰσι: [6] Τεγεάταις δὲ τοῦ Ἀγνιέως τὰ ἀγάλματα τέσσαρά εἰσιν ἀριθμόν, ὑπὸ φυλῆς ἓν ἐκάστης ἰδρυμένον. ὀνόματα δὲ αἱ φυλαὶ παρέχονται Κλαρεῶτις Ἰπποθοῖτις Ἀπολλωνιάτις Ἀθανεᾷτις: καλοῦνται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου ὃν τοῖς παισὶν Ἀρκὰς ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰππόθου τοῦ Κερκυόνος.

[7] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐν Τεγέα καὶ Κόρης νάος, ἧς ἐπονομάζουσι Καρποφόρους, πλησίον δὲ Ἀφροδίτης καλουμένης Παφίας: ἰδρύσατο αὐτὴν Λαοδίκη, γεγонуῖα μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον ἐδήλωσα, ἀπὸ Ἀγαπήνορος ὃς ἐς

Τροίαν ἡγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν, οἰκοῦσα δὲ ἐν Πάφῳ. τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω Διονύσου τε ἱερὰ δύο καὶ Κόρης βωμὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον· [8] Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐποίησε, Κρῆς μὲν γένος, ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν διδάξαντα οὐκ ἴσμεν· ἡ δὲ διαίτα ἡ ἐν Κνωσσῷ Δαιδάλῳ παρὰ Μίνῳ συμβᾶσα ἐπὶ μακρότερον δόξαν τοῖς Κρησὶ καὶ ἐπὶ ξοάνων ποιήσει παρεσκεύασε. παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἔστηκε λίθου πεποιημένος.

[9] καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ ἐστὶαν Ἀρκάδων κοινήν· ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, πεποιήται δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ τραῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἦν πρώτην Ἰπποκόωντος τοῖς παισὶν ἐμαχέσατο. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ Τεγεάταις εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, καλεῖται μὲν Διὸς Κλαρίου, δηλαδὲ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ ἐπὶ κλησὶς τῷ θεῷ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν παίδων ἔνεκα τῶν Ἀρκάδος. [10] ἄγουσι δὲ ἐορτὴν αὐτόθι Τεγεᾶται κατὰ ἔτος· καὶ σφισιν ἐπιστρατεῦσαι Λακεδαιμονίους ποτὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐορτῆς λέγουσι, καὶ — νείφειν γὰρ τὸν θεόν — τοὺς μὲν ῥίγουν καὶ ὄντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κάμνουν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνων κρύφα πῦρ καῦσαι, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἠνωχλοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ, τὰ ὅπλα ἐνδύντες ἐξελθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ σχεῖν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ πλεον φασίν. ἐθεασάμην δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Τεγέᾳ τοσάδε, Ἀλέου οἰκίαν καὶ Ἐχέμου μνῆμα καὶ ἐπειργασμένην ἐς στήλην τὴν Ἐχέμου πρὸς Ὑλλον μάχην.

[11] ἐκ Τεγέας δὲ ἰόντι ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἔστι μὲν βωμὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Πανός, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Λυκαίου Διός· λείπεται δὲ καὶ θεμέλια ἱερῶν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ εἰσὶν οἱ βωμοὶ σταδίοις δύο ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους, προελθόντι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μάλιστα πού σταδίους ἑπτὰ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λιμνάτιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶν ἐβένου ξύλου· τρόπος δὲ τῆς ἐργασίας ὁ Αἰγίναϊος καλούμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. τούτου δὲ ὅσον δέκα ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις Ἀρτέμιδος Κνακεατίδος ἐστὶ ναοῦ τὰ ἐρείπια.

54. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ Τεγεάταις ὄροι τῆς γῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀλφειός. τούτου τὸ ὕδωρ ἄρχεται μὲν ἐν Φυλάκῃ, κάτεισι δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς πηγῆς καὶ ἄλλο ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πηγῶν μεγέθει μὲν οὐ μεγάλων, πλεόνων δὲ ἀριθμόν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ χωρίῳ Σύμβολα γέγονεν ὄνομα. [2] φαίνεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλφειὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς φύσιν τινὰ ἰδίαν παρεχόμενος τοιάνδε· ἀφανίζεσθαι τε γὰρ κατὰ γῆς ἐθέλει πολλάκις καὶ αὐθις ἀναφαίνεσθαι. προελθὼν μὲν γε ἐκ Φυλάκης καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Συμβόλων ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατέδυν τὸ Τεγεατικόν· ἀνατείλας δὲ ἐν Ἀσέᾳ καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀναμίξας τῷ Εὐρώτᾳ τὸ δεῦτερον ἤδη κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν γῆν· [3] ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἐνθα Πηγὰς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ παρὰ γῆν τε τὴν Πισαίαν καὶ παρὰ Ὀλυμπίαν ἐξελθὼν, ἐκδίδωσιν ὑπὲρ Κυλλήνης ἐπινείου τοῦ Ἠλείων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα μὴδὲ Ἀδρίας ἐπισχῆσιν αὐτὸν τοῦ πρόσω· διανηξάμενος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, μέγα οὕτω καὶ βίαιον πέλαγος, ἐν Ὀρτυγίᾳ τῇ πρὸ Συρακουσῶν ἐπιδείκνυσιν Ἀλφειὸς τε ὦν καὶ πρὸς Ἀρέθουσαν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνακοινοῦμενος.

[4] ἡ δὲ εὐθεῖα ἡ ἐπὶ Θυρέαν τε καὶ κόμας τὰς ἐν τῇ Θυρεάτιδι ἐκ Τεγέας παρείχετο ἐς συγγραφὴν Ὀρέστου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος μνῆμα, καὶ ὑφελέσθαι Σπαρτιάτην τὰ ὅστ' αὐτόθεν οἱ Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι· καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκέτι πωλὼν ἐντὸς ἐγένετο ὁ τάφος· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Γαράτης ποταμὸς κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· διαβάντι

δὲ τὸν Γαράτην καὶ προελθόντι σταδίους δέκα Πανός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ δρυς, ἱερὰ καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Πανός.

[5] ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐκ Τεγέας ὁχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καὶ τὰ μάλιστά ἐστι λεωφόρος. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρῶτα μὲν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀσκληπιοῦ· μετὰ δὲ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς ἀριστερὰ ὅσον στάδιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν Πυθίου καταλελυμένον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐρείπια ἐς ἅπαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐθεϊαν αἱ τε δρυς εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ Δῆμητρος ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῶν δρυῶν ναὸς ἐν Κορυθεῦσι καλουμένης· πλησίον δὲ ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διονύσου Μύστου. [6] τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἄρχεται τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τέμενος δαίκεται Τηλέφου, καὶ ἐνταῦθα παῖδα ἐκκείμενόν φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἐλάφου τραφῆναι. ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Πανός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ἔνθα Φιλιππίδῃ φανῆναι τὸν Πᾶνα καὶ εἰπεῖν ἃ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτά Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι· [7] παρέχεται δὲ τὸ Παρθένιον καὶ ἐς λύρας ποίησιν χελώνας ἐπιτηδειοτάτας, ἃς οἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἄνθρωποι καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνειν δεδοίκασιν ἀεὶ καὶ ξένους οὐ περιορῶσιν αἰροῦντας· ἱερὰς γὰρ σφᾶς εἶναι τοῦ Πανός ἡγνῆται. ὑπερβαλόντι δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἤδη γεωργομένοις Τεγεατῶν ὄρος καὶ Ἀργείων κατὰ Ὑσιᾶς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι.

αἶδε μὲν Πελοποννήσου μοῖραι καὶ πόλεις τε ἐν ταῖς μοίραις καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τὰ ἀξιολογώτατά ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην.

BOOK IX.

Βοιωτικά

1. Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἡ Βοιωτία καὶ κατὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστὶν ὁμορος, πρὸς δὲ Ἑλευθερῶν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἔθνος ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν, ὃν Ἰτώνου παῖδα καὶ νύμφης δὴ Μελανίππης, Ἰτώνον δὲ Ἀμφικτύονος εἶναι λέγουσι: καλοῦνται δὲ κατὰ πόλεις ἀπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ πλείω γυναικῶν. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιεῖς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἰσὶν αὐτόχθονες: ὄνομα δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ Πλαταίας, ἣν θυγατέρα εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ νομίζουσιν.

[2] ὅτι μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο, δῆλόν ἐστι: βασιλεῖαι γὰρ πανταχοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐ δημοκρατίαι πάλαι καθεστήκεσαν. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἴσασι, μόνον δὲ Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Κιθαιρῶνα: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι τῷ ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα, τὸν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι. δοκᾷ δὲ καὶ τὴν Πλάταιαν, ἀφ' ἧς κέκληται καὶ ἡ πόλις, βασιλέως Ἀσωποῦ καὶ οὐ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι. [3] Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς μάχης, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι ἐμαχέσαντο, οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐς δόξαν: μετασχόντες δὲ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἀγῶνος ὕστερον καταβεβηκότος ἤδη Ξέρξου καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐτόλμησαν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἐσβῆναι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ τὸν Γωβρύου Ξέρξη στρατηγοῦντα ἡμύναντο ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ. δις δὲ σφᾶς κατέλαβε γενέσθαι τε ἀναστάτους καὶ αὖθις ἐς Βοιωτίαν καταχθῆναι.

[4] ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους γενομένου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιορκία Πλάταιαν ἐξεῖλον: ἀνοικισθείσης δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔπραξεν Ἀνταλκίδας ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, καὶ τῶν Πλαταίων κατελθόντων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, τοὺς δὲ αὖθις ἐμελλεν ἐπιλήψεσθαι κακὸν δεύτερον. ἐκ μὲν γε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους οὐκ ἦν συνεστηκώς, ἀλλὰ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς μένειν τὴν εἰρήνην σφίσιν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὴν Καδμεῖαν Λακεδαιμονίοις κατασχοῦσιν οὔτε βουλευματος οὔτε ἔργου μετεσχέκεσαν: [5] Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἀπέφαινον τὴν τε εἰρήνην Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι τοὺς πράξαντας καὶ ὕστερον παραβάντων ἐκείνων λελύσθαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἡξίουσαν τὰς σπονδάς. οὐκ ἀνύποπτα οὖν ἡγούμενοι οἱ Πλαταιεῖς τὰ ἐκ τῶν Θηβαίων διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον ἰσχυρᾶς τὴν πόλιν: καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγρούς, ὅποσοι ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ἄστεως ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐς τούτους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἤρχοντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ — ἠπίσταντο γὰρ τοὺς Θηβαίους ὡς πανδημεὶ καὶ ἅμα ἐπὶ πλείστον εἰώθεσαν βουλευέσθαι — παρεφύλασσον τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοσούτῳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐφεώρων τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι γεωργοῦντες. [6] Νεοκλῆς δὲ ὃς τότε βοιωταρχῶν ἔτυχεν ἐν Θήβαις — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐλελήθεσαν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ — προεῖπε τῶν Θηβαίων ἕκαστόν τέ τινα ἰέναι πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ σφᾶς αὐτίκα οὐ τὴν εὐθεῖαν ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβῶν τὴν πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Ὑσιῶν ἦγε πρὸς Ἑλευθερῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἥ μὴδὲ σκοπὸς ἐτέτακτο ὑπὸ τῶν Πλαταίων: γενήσεσθαι δὲ περὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ περὶ

μεσοῦσαν μάλιστα ἔμελλε τὴν ἡμέραν. [7] Πλαταιεῖς δὲ ἄγειν Θηβαίους ἐκκλησίαν νομίζοντες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀποκεκλειμένοι τῶν πυλῶν ἦσαν: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπονδάς, ἀπελθεῖν σφᾶς πρὸ ἡλίου δύντος ἄνδρας μὲν σὺν ἐνί, γυναῖκας δὲ δύο ἱμάτια ἐκάστην ἔχουσιν. συνέβη τε ἐναντία τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡ τύχη ἢ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρότερον ἦλωσαν: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἀπείργοντες διπλῶ τείχει μὴ ἐξελθεῖν τοῦ ἄστεως, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀφελόμενοι μὴ ἐσελθεῖν σφᾶς ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. [8] ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἄλωσις Πλαταίας ἡ δευτέρα μάχης μὲν τρίτῳ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις ἔτει πρότερον, Ἀστείου δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος. καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων καθηρέθη πλὴν τὰ ἱερά, τοῖς δὲ Πλαταιεῦσιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀλώσεως σωτηρίαν παρέσχεν ἐν ἴσῳ πᾶσιν: ἐκπεσόντας δὲ σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο αὐθις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Φιλίππου δέ, ὡς ἐκράτησεν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, φρουρὰν τε ἐσαγαγόντος ἐς Θήβας καὶ ἄλλα ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν Θηβαίων πρᾶσσοντος, οὕτω καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατήχθησαν.

2. γῆς δὲ τῆς Πλαταιίδος ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ὀλίγον τῆς εὐθείας ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰ Ὑσιῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἐρείπια ἐστί. πόλεις δὲ ποτε τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῶν Ὑσιῶν ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἡμίεργος καὶ φρέαρ ἱερὸν: πάλαι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος κατὰ τὸν Βοιωτῶν λόγον ἐμαντεύοντο πίνοντες. [2] ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ἐστὶν αὐθις ἐν δεξιᾷ Μαρδονίου λεγόμενον μνῆμα εἶναι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφανὴς ὁ Μαρδονίου νεκρός, ἔστιν ὡμολογημένον: τὸν δὲ θάψαντα οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά, ὅστις ἦν, λέγουσι: φαίνεται δὲ Ἀρτόντης ὁ Μαρδονίου πλεῖστα μὲν δούς Διονυσοφάνει δῶρα ἀνδρὶ Ἐφεσίῳ, δούς μέντοι καὶ ἄλλοις Ἰώνων ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἀμελὲς γενόμενον ταφῆναι Μαρδόνιον. [3] αὕτη μὲν ἀπ' Ἐλευθερῶν ἐς Πλάταιαν ἄγει, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἰοῦσι πηγὴ τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον πέτρα: καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀκταίωνος κοίτην, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καθυδεῖν φάμενοι τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸν Ἀκταίωνα ὁπότε κάμοι θηρεύων, ἐς δὲ τὴν πηγὴν ἐνιδεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν λουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν τῇ πηγῇ. Στησίχορος δὲ ὁ Ἰμεραῖος ἔγραψεν ἐλάφου περιβαλεῖν δέρμα Ἀκταίῳ τὴν θεόν, παρασκευάζουσάν οἱ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κυνῶν θάνατον, ἵνα δὴ μὴ γυναῖκα Σεμέλῃν λάβῃ.

[4] ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνευ θεοῦ πείθομαι νόσον λύσσαν τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος ἐπιλαβεῖν τοὺς κύνας: μανέντες δὲ καὶ οὐ διαγινώσκοντες διαφορήσειν ἔμελλον πάντα τινὰ ὅτῳ περιτύχοιεν. καθότι δὲ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Πενθεὶ τῷ Ἐχίονος ἐγένετο ἡ συμφορὰ ἢ Οἰδίποδα ὅπῃ τεχθέντα ἐξέθεσαν, οἶδεν οὐδεὶς, καθάπερ γε ἴσμεν τὴν Σχιστὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Φωκέων, ἐφ' ἣ τὸν πατέρα Οἰδίπους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρῶν τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστίν ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐπέξειμι, ἐπειδὴν ἐς αὐτὰ ὁ λόγος καθήκη μοι. [5] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον μάλιστα τὴν ἐς Πλάταιαν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους μαχεσαμένων εἰσὶ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν λοιποῖς ἐστὶν Ἑλληνσι μνῆμα κοινόν: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ τέ εἰσιν οἱ τάφοι καὶ ἐλεγείᾳ ἐστὶ Σιμωνίδου γεγραμμένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἐλευθερίου βωμός * * τοῦτον μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ, τοῦ Διὸς δὲ τόν τε βωμὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα

ἐποίησεν λευκοῦ λίθου.

[6] ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀγῶνα διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου τὰ δὲ Ἑλευθέρια, ἐν ᾧ μέγιστα γέρα πρόκειται δρόμου: θέουσι δὲ ὀπλισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. τρόπαιον δέ, ὃ τῆς μάχης τῆς Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἔστηκεν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως. [7] ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ πόλει προῖοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἃ τῷ Διὶ πεποιῆται τῷ Ἑλευθερίῳ, Πλαταιᾶς ἐστὶν ἡρῶν: καὶ μοι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἦδη, τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ ὅποια αὐτὸς εἵκαζον, ἔστιν εἰρημένα. Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ ναός ἐστιν Ἦρας, θέας ἄξιος μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸν κόσμον. ἐσελθοῦσι μὲν Ῥέα τὸν πέτρον κατειλημένον σπαργάνοις, οἷα δὴ τὸν παῖδα ὃν ἔτεκε, Κρόνῳ κομίζουσα ἐστὶ: τὴν δὲ Ἦραν Τελείαν καλοῦσι, πεποιῆται δὲ ὀρθὸν μεγέθει ἄγαλμα μέγα: λίθου δὲ ἀμφοτέρω τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Πραξιτέλους δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργα.

ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλο Ἦρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Καλλιμάχος ἐποίησε: Νυμφευομένην δὲ τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ὀνομάζουσιν.

3. Ἦραν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ πρὸς τὸν Δία ὀργισμένην ἐς Εὐβοιάν φασιν ἀναχωρῆσαι, Δία δέ, ὥς οὐκ ἔπειθεν αὐτήν, παρὰ Κιθαιρῶνα λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν δυναστεύοντα ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τότε: εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα οὐδενὸς σοφίαν ὕστερον. οὗτος οὖν κελεύει τὸν Δία ἄγαλμα ξύλου ποιησάμενον ἄγειν ἐπὶ βοῶν ζεύγους ἐγκεκαλυμμένον, λέγειν δὲ ὥς ἄγοιτο γυναῖκα Πλάταιαν τὴν Ἀσωποῦ.

[2] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔπρασσε κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος: Ἦρα δὲ ἐπέπυστό τε αὐτίκα καὶ αὐτίκα ἀφίκετο. ὥς δὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῇ ἀμάξῃ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιέρρηξεν, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀπάτῃ ξόανον εὐροῦσα ἀντὶ νύμφης γυναικὸς καὶ διαλλαγᾶς ποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Δία. ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς Δαίδαλα ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν, ὅτι οἱ πάλαι τὰ ξόανα ἐκάλουν δαίδαλα: ἐκάλουν δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρότερον ἔτι ἢ Δαίδαλος ὁ Παλαμάωνος ἐγένετο Ἀθήνησι, τούτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τῶν δαιδάλων ἐπὶ κλησὶν γενέσθαι δοκῶ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ γενετῆς τεθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα. [3] Δαίδαλα οὖν ἄγουσιν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἑορτὴν δι' ἔτους ἐβδόμου μὲν, ὥς ἔφασκεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητής, ἀληθεῖ μὲντοι λόγῳ δι' ἐλάσσονος καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτου χρόνου: ἐθελήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ Δαιδάλων ἐς Δαίδαλα ἕτερα ἀναριθμῆσαι τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐκ ἐγενόμεθα οἱοί τε. ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἑορτὴν. [4] δρυμός ἐστιν Ἀλαλκομενῶν οὐ πόρρω: μέγιστα τῶν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ στελέχη δρυῶν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα. ἐς τοῦτον οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δρυμὸν προτίθενται μοίρας κρεῶν ἐφθῶν. ὀρνιθες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σφίσιν ἡκιστὰ εἰσι δι' ὄχλου, τῶν κοράκων δὲ — οὗτοι γὰρ σφίσιν ἐπιφοιτῶσιν — ἔχουσιν ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουράν. τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρπάσαντα κρέας, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῶν δένδρων καθεδεῖται, φυλάσσουσιν. ἐφ' οὗ δ' ἂν καθεσθῇ, τεμόντες ποιοῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ δαίδαλον: δαίδαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ ξόανον αὐτὸ ὀνομάζουσι. [5] ταύτην μὲν ἰδίᾳ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, Δαίδαλα μικρὰ ὀνομάζοντες: Δαιδάλων δὲ ἑορτὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ Βοιωτοὶ σφίσι συνεορτάζουσιν, δι' ἐξηκοστοῦ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἔτους: ἐκλιπεῖν γὰρ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τὴν ἑορτὴν φασιν, ἥνικα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔφευγον. ξόανα δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτοιμά σφισὶν ἐστὶ κατ'

ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον παρασκευασθέντα ἐν Δαϊδάλοις τοῖς μικροῖς.^[6] ταῦτα ἀναιροῦνται κλήρῳ Πλαταιεῖς Κορωνάιοι Θεσπιεῖς Ταναγραῖοι Χαιρωνεῖς Ὀρχομένιοι Λεβαδεῖς Θηβαῖοι: διαλλαγῆναι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι Πλαταιεῦσιν ἠξίωσαν καὶ συλλόγου μετασχεῖν κοινοῦ καὶ ἐς Δαίδαλα θυσίαν ἀποστέλλειν, ὅτε Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου τὰς Θήβας ἀνέκτισε. τῶν δὲ πολισμάτων ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐλάσσονος λόγου, συντέλειαν αἰροῦνται. ^[7] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα κομίσαντες παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἀναθέντες ἐπὶ ἄμαξαν, γυναῖκα ἐφιστᾷσι νυμφεύτριαν: οἱ δὲ αὖθις κληροῦνται καθ' ἣντινα τάξιν τὴν πομπὴν ἀνάξουσι: τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς ἄκρον τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλαύνουσιν. εὐτρέπισται δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους βωμός, ποιοῦσι δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε τὸν βωμόν: ξύλα τετράγωνα ἀρμόζοντες πρὸς ἄλληλα συντιθέασι κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ εἰ λίθων ἐποιοῦντο οἰκοδομίαν, ἐξάραντες δὲ ἐς ὕψος φρύγανα ἐπιφέρουσιν. ^[8] αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις καὶ τὰ τέλη θήλειαν θύσαντες τῇ Ἥρᾳ βούν ἕκαστοι καὶ ταῦρον τῷ Διὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα οἴνου καὶ θυμιαμάτων πλήρη καὶ τὰ δαίδαλα ὁμοῦ καθαγίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ἰδιῶται δὲ ὅποσα δὴ θύουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι: τοῖς δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως δυναμένοις τὰ λεπτότερα τῶν προβάτων θύειν καθέστηκε, καθαγίζειν δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ὁμοίως πάντα. σὺν δὲ σφισι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βωμόν ἐπιλαβὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐξανήλωσε: μεγίστην δὲ ταύτην φλόγα καὶ ἐκ μακροτάτου σύνοπτον οἶδα ἄρθεισαν. ^[9] ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς, ἐφ' ἣ τὸν βωμόν ποιοῦνται, πέντε που μάλιστα καὶ δέκα ὑποκαταβάντι σταδίου νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἄντρον Κιθαιρωνίδων, Σφραγίδιον μὲν ὀνομαζόμενον, μαντεύεσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτόθι ἔχει λόγος.

4. Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀρείας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν: ὠκοδομήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἃ τῆς μάχης σφίσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Μαραθῶνι ἀπένευμαν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα ξοάνόν ἐστιν ἐπίχρυσον, πρόσωπον δὲ οἱ καὶ χεῖρες ἄκραι καὶ πόδες λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιου εἰσὶ: μέγεθος μὲν οὐ πολὺ δὴ τι ἀποδεῖ τῆς ἐν ἄκροπόλει χαλκῆς, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἀπαρχὴν ἀγῶνος ἀνέθηκαν, Φειδίας δὲ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἦν ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας. ^[2] γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Πολυγνώτου μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἤδη κατειργασμένος, Ὀνασία δὲ Ἀδράστου καὶ Ἀργείων ἐπὶ Θήβας ἢ προτέρα στρατεία. αὗται μὲν δὴ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προνάου τῶν τοίχων αἱ γραφαί, κεῖται δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν εἰκὼν Ἀριμνήστου: ὁ δὲ Ἀρίμνηστος ἐν τε τῇ πρὸς Μαρδόνιον μάχῃ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἐς Μαραθῶνα Πλαταιεῦσιν ἠγήσατο. ^[3] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἐλευσινίας ἱερὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ Ληΐτου μνημα: τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων, οἱ Βοιωτοὺς ἐς Τροίαν ἡγαγον, μόνος ἀνέστρεψεν οἴκαδε οὗτος ὁ Λήϊτος. τὴν δὲ κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίαν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ἡ ἵππος συνέχεεν ἢ Περσῶν, ὅτι τὸ Ἑλλήνων στράτευμα τὸ ἀντικαθήμενόν σφισιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔπινεν: ὕστερον μέντοι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνέσώσαντο οἱ Πλαταιεῖς.

^[4] ἐκ Πλαταιᾶς δὲ ἰοῦσιν ἐς Θήβας ποταμός ἐστιν Ὠερόη: θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ὠερόην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ λέγουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ρεῦμα ἀποτραπείσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα στάδια ἔστιν ἐρείπια Σκώλου: Δήμητρος δὲ καὶ Κόρης ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις οὐκ ἐξεργασμένος ὁ ναός, ἡμίεργα δὲ καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. ἀποκρίνει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίων τὴν Πλαταιίδα ὁ Ἀσωπός.

5. γῆν δὲ τὴν Θηβαΐδα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον λέγουσιν Ἑκτηνας, βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ἑκτῆνων ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα Ὠγυγον· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπὶ κλησις ἐς τὰς Θήβας ἐστὶν Ὠγύγιοι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπολέσθαι λοιμῶδει νόσφ φασίν, ἐσοικίσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Ἑκτηνας ἐς τὴν χώραν Ὑαντας καὶ Ἄονας, Βοιώτια ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν γένῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐπηλύδων ἀνθρώπων. Κάδμου δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκων στρατιᾶς ἐπελθούσης μάχῃ νικηθέντες οἱ μὲν Ὑαντες ἐς τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἐκδιδράσκουσι, τοὺς δὲ Ἄονας ὁ Κάδμος γενομένους ἱκέτας καταμεῖναι καὶ ἀναμιχθῆναι τοῖς Φοίνιξιν εἶασε.

[2] τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἄοσι κατὰ κόμας ἔτι ἦσαν αἱ οἰκῆσεις· Κάδμος δὲ τὴν πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Καδμεῖαν ὥκισεν. αὐξηθείσης δὲ ὕστερον τῆς πόλεως, οὕτω τὴν Καδμεῖαν ἀκρόπολιν συνέβη τῶν κάτω γενέσθαι Θηβῶν. Κάδμῳ δὲ γάμος τε ἐπιφανῆς ὑπῆρξεν, εἰ δὴ θυγατέρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεως κατὰ λόγον τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἔσχε, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες εἰλήφασιν αὐτῷ φήμην, Σεμέλη μὲν τεκεῖν ἐκ Διός, Ἰνὼ δὲ θεῶν εἶναι τῶν θαλασσιῶν. [3] ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Κάδμου μέγιστον μετὰ γε αὐτὸν Κάδμον ἡδύναντο οἱ Σπαρτοῖ, Χθόνιος καὶ Ὑπερήνωρ καὶ Πέλωρος καὶ Οὐδαῖος· Ἐχίονα δὲ ὡς προέχοντα κατ' ἀνδραγαθίαν γαμβρὸν ἡξίωσεν ὁ Κάδμος ποιήσασθαι. τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τούτους — οὐ γάρ τι ἡδυνάμην ἐς αὐτοὺς παρευρεῖν — ἔπομαι τῷ μύθῳ Σπαρτοὺς διὰ τὸν τρόπον ὄντινα ἐγένοντο ὀνομασθῆναι. Κάδμου δὲ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους Ἑγγελέας μετοικήσαντος Πολύδωρος ὁ Κάδμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. [4] Πενθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἐχίονος ἴσχυε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ φιλία τοῦ βασιλέως· ὦν δὲ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὕβριστής καὶ ἀσεβῆς Διονύσου, δίκην ἔσχεν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Πολυδώρου δὲ ἦν Λάβδακος· ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα αὐτόν, ὥς οἱ παρίστατο ἡ τελευτή, παῖδα ἔτι ἀπολείψειν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπει τὸν τε υἱὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Νυκτεῖ. [5] τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς μοι τοῦ λόγου προεδίλωσεν ἡ Σικυωνία συγγραφή, τοῦ τε Νυκτέως τὸν θάνατον, ὄντινα γένοιτο τρόπον, καὶ ὡς ἐς Λύκον ἀδελφὸν Νυκτέως ἢ τε ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ παιδὸς περιήλθε καὶ ἡ Θηβαίων δυναστεία. Λύκος δὲ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐξηθέντι Λαβδάκῳ τὴν ἀρχήν· γενομένης δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καὶ τούτῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐπετρόπευσεν αὐτῇς Λάιον Λαβδάκου παῖδα. [6] Λύκου δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντος δεύτερον κατίαςιν Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζῆθος δύναμιν ἀγειράντες. καὶ Λάιον μὲν ὑπεκκλέπτουσιν οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς μὴ γενέσθαι τὸ Κάδμου γένος ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἀνώνυμον, Λάκου δὲ οἱ τῆς Ἀντιόπης παῖδες τῇ μάχῃ κρατοῦσιν· ὡς δὲ ἐβασίλευσαν, τὴν πόλιν τὴν κάτω προσώκισαν τῇ Καδμεῖα καὶ Θήβας ὄνομα ἔθεντο κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Θήβης.

[7] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐα: “οἱ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἔδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο

πύργωσάν τ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ' ἐδύναντο

ναίμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερῶ περ ἐόντε.

“Hom. Od.

11.263 ὅτι δὲ Ἀμφίων ἦδε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐξεργάζετο πρὸς τὴν λύραν, οὐδένα ἐποίησατο λόγον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι· δόξαν δὲ ἔσχεν Ἀμφίων ἐπὶ μουσικῇ, τὴν τε ἁρμονίαν τὴν Λυδῶν κατὰ κῆδος τὸ Ταντάλου παρ' αὐτῶν μαθὼν καὶ

χορδὰς ἐπὶ τέσσαρσι ταῖς πρότερον τρεῖς ἀνερῶν. [8] ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Εὐρώπην ποιήσας φησὶν Ἀμφίονα χρῆσασθαι λύρα πρῶτον Ἑρμοῦ διδάξαντος· πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ λίθων καὶ θηρίων, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἄδων ἦγε. Μυρῶ δὲ Βυζαντία, ποιήσασα ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγεία, Ἑρμῇ βωμόν φησιν ιδρύσασθαι πρῶτον Ἀμφίονα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ λύραν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν Ἄϊδου δίκην δίδωσιν ὁ Ἀμφίων ὢν ἐς Λητῶ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέρριψε· [9] κατὰ δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἔστιν ἔπη ποιήσεως Μινυάδος, ἔχει δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίονα κοινῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν Θρᾶκα Θάμυριν. ὡς δὲ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου τὸν μὲν ἢ νόσος ἢ λοιμώδης ἠρήμωσε, Ζήθῳ δὲ τὸν παῖδα ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ τεκοῦσα κατὰ δὴ τινὰ ἁμαρτίαν, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζήθος, οὕτω Λάϊον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατάγουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι. [10] Λαῖῳ δὲ βασιλεύοντι καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχοντι Ἰοκάστην μάντευμα ἤλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐκ τοῦ παιδός οἱ τὴν τελευταίην, εἰ τέκοι τινὰ Ἰοκάστη, γενήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Οἰδίποδα ἐκτίθησιν· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτενεῖν ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἠϋξήθη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἔγημε. παῖδας δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐ δοκῶ οἱ γενέσθαι, μάρτυρι Ὀμήρῳ χρώμενος, ὃς ἐποίησεν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ

[11] “μητέρα τ’ Οἰδιπόδαο ἴδον, καλὴν Ἐπικάστην,
ἣ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν ἀιδρεῖησι νόοιο
γῆμαμένη ᾧ υἱεῖ· ὁ δ’ ὄν πατέρ’ ἐξεναρίξας
γῆμεν· ἄφαρ δ’ ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.
“Hom. Od.

11.271 πῶς οὖν ἐποίησαν ἀνάπυστα ἄφαρ, εἰ δὴ τέσσαρες γενεαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἐπικάστης ἐγένοντο παῖδες τῷ Οἰδίποδι· ἐξ Εὐρυγανείας δὲ τῆς Ὑπέρφαντος ἐγεγόνεσαν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας ἃ Οἰδιπόδια ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ Ὀνασίας Πλαταιᾶσιν ἔγραψε κατηφῇ τὴν Εὐρυγανείαν ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν παίδων. [12] Πολυνείκης δὲ περιόντος μὲν καὶ ἄρχοντος Οἰδίποδος ὑπεξῆλθεν ἐκ Θηβῶν δέει μὴ τελεσθεῖεν ἐπὶ σφίσιν αἱ κατὰ τὸν πατέρα· ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ θυγατέρα Ἀδράστου λαβὼν κατήλθεν ἐς Θήβας μετὰ πεμπτος ὑπὸ Ἑτεοκλέους μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην Οἰδίποδος. κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς διαφορὰν προήχθη τῷ Ἑτεοκλεΐ, καὶ οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον ἐφυγε· δεηθεὶς δὲ Ἀδράστου δοῦναί οἱ δύναμιν τὴν κατάξουσιν, τὴν τε στρατιὰν ἀπόλλυσι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα αὐτὸς μονομαχεῖ κατὰ πρόκλησιν. [13] καὶ οἱ μὲν μονομαχοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἐς δὲ Λαοδάμαντα τὸν Ἑτεοκλέους καθηκούσης τῆς βασιλείας Κρέων ὁ Μενοικέως ἐδυνάστευεν ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν παῖδα. ἤδη δὲ Λαοδάμαντος ἠϋξημένου καὶ ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν, δεύτερον τότε ἄγουσι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων περὶ Γλίσαντα, ὡς ἐς χειρὰς συνῆλθον, Αἰγιαλέα μὲν τὸν Ἀδράστου Λαοδάμας ἀποκτίννυσιν, κρατησάντων δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἀργείων Λαοδάμας σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔπεσθαι Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς Ἰλλυριούς. [14] τὰς δὲ Θήβας ἐλόντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι

παραδιδάσι Θερσάνδρῳ Πολυνείκους παιδί. ὡς δὲ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Τροίαν στρατεύουσιν ἡ διαμαρτία τοῦ πλοῦ γίνεται καὶ ἡ πληγὴ ἡ περὶ Μυσιάν, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν Θερσάνδρον κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Τηλέφου, μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· καὶ οἱ τὸ μνημα ἐς Καῖκον

πεδίων ἐλαύνοντι ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλαίᾳ πόλει, λίθος ὁ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς· [15] καὶ ἐναγίζειν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι φασιν αὐτῷ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Θερσάνδρου καὶ δευτέρα ἐπὶ τε Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἀθροιζομένον στόλου Πηνέλεων ἄρχοντα εἶλοντο, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πῶ Τισαμενὸς ἦν ὁ Θερσάνδρου· Πηνέλεω δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Τηλέφου Τισαμενὸν βασιλέα αἰροῦνται, Θερσάνδρου τε ὄντα καὶ Δημωνάσσης τῆς Ἀμφιαράου. τῶν δὲ Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαΐου καὶ Οἰδίποδος Τισαμενῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο μήνιμα, Αὐτεσίῳνι δὲ τῷ Τισαμενοῦ, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Δωριέας μετόφησε τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. [16] Αὐτεσίωνος δὲ ἀπελθόντος, οὕτω βασιλέα εἶλοντο Δαμασίχθονα Ὁφέλτου τοῦ Πηνέλεω. τούτου δὲ ἦν τοῦ Δαμασίχθονος Πτολεμαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Ξάνθος, ὃν Ἀνδρόπομπος μονομαχήσαντά οἱ δόλω καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κτείνει. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν διὰ πλειόνων πολιτεύεσθαι μὴδὲ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἡρτῆσθαι τὰ πάντα ἄμεινον ἐφαίνετο τοῖς Θηβαίοις.

6. τῶν δὲ σφισιν ἐν ἀγῶσι πολέμου γενομένων εὐτυχημάτων, καὶ ὡς ἐτέρως, τοσάδε φανερώτατα ὄντα εὕρισκον. ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μάχῃ

Πλαταιεῦσιν ἀμυνάντων, ὅτε σφᾶς ἐπέλαβεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄρων πολεμῆσαι τῆς χώρας· προσέπταισαν δὲ καὶ δεύτερον Ἀθηναίοις ἀντιταξάμενοι περὶ Πλάταιαν, ἡνίκα δοκοῦσιν ἐλέσθαι τὰ βασιλέως Ξέρξου πρὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. [2] τῆς δὲ αἰτίας ταύτης δημοσίᾳ σφισιν οὐ μέτεστιν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις ὀλιγαρχία καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία τηρικαῦτα ἴσχυεν· εἰ γοῦν Πεισιστράτου τυραννοῦντος ἔτι ἢ τῶν παιδῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ βάρβαρος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατέλαβεν ἂν ἔγκλημα μηδισμοῦ. [3] ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ Θηβαίοις νίκη κατ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ τῷ Ταναγραίῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ Ἰποκράτης τε ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς στρατηγὸς ἦν Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἔπεσε. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παραντίκα μὲν ἀπελθόντος τοῦ Μήδου καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου τὰ ἐκ Θηβῶν εἶχεν ἐπιτηδεῖως· διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καταλυθέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ Κορινθίων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον προήχθησαν. [4] κρατηθέντες δὲ μάχῃ περὶ Κόρινθον τε καὶ ἐν Κορωνεῖᾳ, νικῶσιν αὖθις ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην ὀπόσας γενομένης Ἑλλήσιν ἴσμεν κατὰ Ἑλλήνων· καὶ δεκαδαρχίας τε, ἃς Λακεδαιμονῖοι κατέστησαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἔπαυσαν καὶ ἄρμοστάς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἐκβάλλουσιν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον, ὀνομαζόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἱερὸν, συνεχῶς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἐπολέμησαν. [5] εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνεῖᾳ σφάλμα συμφορὰν γενέσθαι τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι· Θηβαίους δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεον κατέλαβεν, οἷς γε καὶ ἐσῆχθη ἐς τὴν πόλιν φρουρά. Φιλίππου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον ἡκούσης τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς, Θηβαίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἐξελεῖν τὴν φρουράν· ποιήσασι δὲ ταῦτα προεσήμαινεν αὐτίκα ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἐπιόντα ὀλεθρον, καὶ σφισιν ἐν Δήμητρος ἱερῷ Θεσμοφόρου σημεῖα ἐγένετο ἐναντία ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις· [6] τότε μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰς θύρας ὑφάσματι ἀράχλαι λευκῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἔφοδον μέλανι ἐξύφηναν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὕσαι τέφραν

ὁ θεὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπαχθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὰ μεγάλα σφίσις ἐνεγκεῖν παθήματα.

7. τότε δὲ τοὺς Θηβαίους γενομένους ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ διαπεσόντας ἐς Ἀθήνας ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατήγαγεν. ἐς δὲ τῶν Θηβῶν τὸν οἰκισμὸν προθυμότατοι μὲν ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδων οἱ Μεγάλῃν πόλιν ἔχοντες. [2] δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὰς Θήβας οἰκίσαι ὁ Κάσσανδρος κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀλεξάνδρου μάλιστα: ἐπεξήλθε δὲ καὶ τὸν πάντα οἶκον Ἀλεξάνδρου φθείρων, ὃς Ὀλυμπιάδα γε παρέβαλε καταλεῦσαι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Μακεδόνων παρωξυσμένοις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν τε ἐκ Βαρσίνης Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐκ Ῥωξάνης ἀπέκτεινεν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς χαίρων τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν: ἐπλήσθη γὰρ ὑδέρῳ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ζῶντι ἐγένοντο εὐλαί. [3] τῶν δὲ οἱ παῖδων Φίλιππον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ὥς μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπήγαγεν ὑπολαβοῦσα νόσος φθινώδης, Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ὁ μετ' ἐκείνον Θεσσαλονίκην τὴν μητέρα ἀποκτίνυσι, Φιλίππου τε οὖσαν τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ Νικασυπόλιδος: ἀπέκτεινε δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νέμειν πλέον εὐνοίας αἰτιασάμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Κασσάνδρου παίδων: ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθεῖλε μὲν δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἐτιμωρήσατο τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ἀνεφάνη μέντοι φονέα ἐξευρηκῶς ἑαυτῷ καὶ οὐ σύμμαχον. [4] Κασσάνδρῳ μὲν ὅστις δὴ θεῶν τὴν δίκην ἔμελλεν ἀποδώσειν: Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Κασσάνδρου πᾶς ὁ ἀρχαῖος περίβολος ἀνφίκισθη, ἔδει δὲ ἄρα καὶ ὕστερον κακῶν σφᾶς μεγάλων γεύσασθαι. Μιθριδάτῃ γὰρ καταστάντι ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον προσεχώρησαν Θηβαῖοι κατ' ἄλλο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδέν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηναίων δήμου φιλία. Σύλλα δὲ ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν δεῖμα ἔσχε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ ἐγνωσιμάχησάν τε αὐτίκα καὶ ἐτράποντο αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν. [5] Σύλλας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐχρήτο ὅμως τῷ θυμῷ, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐξεῦρεν ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπετέμετο αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας κατὰ πρόφασιν τοιαύτην. ἡνίκα ἤρχετο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου, χρημάτων ἐσπάνιζε: συνέλεξεν οὖν ἐκ τε Ὀλυμπίας ἀναθήματα καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ τὰ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ὅποσα ὑπελίποντο οἱ Φωκεῖς: [6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διένειμε τῇ στρατιᾷ, τοῖς θεοῖς δὲ ἀντέδωκεν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων γῆς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς Θηβαΐδος. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἀφαίρετον χώραν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων χάριτι ἀνεσώσαντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προήχθησαν: καὶ σφίσις ἢ μὲν κάτω πόλις πᾶσα ἔρημος ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πλην τὰ ἱερά, τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν οἰκοῦσι Θήβας καὶ οὐ Καδμεΐαν καλουμένην.

8. διαβεβηκότε δὲ ἤδη τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως δέκα μάλιστα ἀφεστηκότε σταδίους Ποτνιῶν ἐστὶν ἐρείπια καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλος Δίμητρος καὶ Κόρης. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ παρὰ τὰς Ποτνιας * * τὰς θεὰς ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ εἰρημένῳ δρῶσι καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα καθέστηκε σφίσι καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγαλα καλούμενα ἀφιάσιν ὅς τῶν νεογνῶν: τοὺς δὲ ὅς τούτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τοῦ ἔτους ὥραν ἐν Δωδώνῃ φασὶν ἐπὶ * * λόγῳ τῷδε ἄλλος πού τις πεισθήσεται. [2] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Διονύσον ναός ἐστὶν Αἰγοβόλου. θύοντες γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προήχθησάν ποτε ὑπὸ μέθης ἐς ὕβριν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν

ιερέα ἀποκτείνουσιν· ἀποκτείναντας δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπέλαβε νόσος λοιμώδης, καὶ σφίσιν ἀφίκετο ἴαμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τῷ Διονύσῳ θύειν παῖδα ὠραῖον· ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον τὸν θεόν φασιν αἶγα ἱερεῖον ὑπαλλάξαι σφίσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός. δέικνυται δὲ ἐν Ποτνιαῖς καὶ φρέαρ· τὰς δὲ ἵππους τὰς ἐπιχωρίους τοῦ ὕδατος πιούσας τούτου μαρτυρεῖν λέγουσιν. [3] ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ποτνιαῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Θήβας ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ περιβόλος τῆς ὁδοῦ τε οὐ μέγας καὶ κίονες ἐν αὐτῷ· διαστήναι δὲ Ἀμφιαράφῃ τὴν γῆν ταύτη νομίζουσιν, ἐπιλέγοντες καὶ τάδε ἔτι, μήτε ὄρνιθας ἐπὶ τῶν κίωνων καθέζεσθαι τούτων μήτε πόαν τὴν ἐνταῦθα μήτε ἡμερον ζῶον μήτε τῶν ἀγρίων νέμεσθαι.

[4] Θηβαῖοις δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἐπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, μένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι. τεθῆναι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπυνθανόμην σφίσιν ἀπὸ τε Ἡλέκτρας ἀδελφῆς Κάδμου καὶ Προϊτίσιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· ἡλικίαν δὲ Προΐτου καὶ τὸ ἀνωτέρω γένος χαλεπὰ ἦν εὑρεῖν. τὰς δὲ Νηίστας ὀνομασθῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ τῷδε. ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς νήτην καλοῦσι τὴν ἐσχάτην· ταύτην οὖν τὴν χορδὴν Ἀμφίονα ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις ἀνευρεῖν λέγουσιν. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὡς Ζήθου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφίονος τῷ παιδί ὄνομα Νῆις γένοιτο, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Νήϊδος τὰς πύλας κληθῆναι ταύτας.

[5] πύλας δὲ Κρηναίας, τὰς δὲ Ὑψίστας ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ὀνομάζουσι· * * * πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ὑψίσταις Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἔστιν Ὑψίστου. τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις πύλας ὀνομάζουσιν Ὠγυγίας, τελευταῖαι δὲ εἰσιν Ὀμολωίδες· ἐφαίνετο δὲ εἶναι μοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα νεώτατον ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις, αἱ δὲ Ὠγύγαι τὸ ἀρχαιότατον. [6] τὰς δὲ Ὀμολωίδας κληθῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ τοιῷδε. ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Ἀργείων μάχῃ πρὸς Γλίσαντι ἐκρατήθησαν, τότε ὁμοῦ Λαοδάμαντι τῷ Ἐτεοκλέους ὑπεξίσσιν οἱ πολλοί· τούτων οὖν μοῖρα τὴν μὲν ἐς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς πορείαν ἀπώκνησε, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀμόλην, ὁρῶν τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν καὶ εὐγεων μάλιστα καὶ ὕδασι ἐπιρρεομένην. [7] Θερσάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πολυνεΐκου ἀνακαλεσαμένου σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, τὰς πύλας διὰ ὧν τὴν κάθοδον ἐποιοῦντο ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀμόλης ὀνομάζουσιν Ὀμολωίδας. ἐρχομένων δὲ ἐκ Πλαταιάς ἔσοδος ἐς τὰς Θήβας κατὰ πύλας ἔστιν Ἡλέκτρας, καὶ ταύτῃ Καπανέα τὸν Ἰππόνου βιαιοτέρας ποιοῦμενον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τὰς προσβολὰς βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ λέγουσι.

9. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τοῦτον, ὃν ἐπολέμησαν Ἀργεῖοι, νομίζω πάντων, ὅσοι πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἐπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, γενέσθαι λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον. ὁ μὲν γε Ἐλευσινίων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων πρὸς Μινύας, τὴν τε ἔφοδον δι' ὀλίγου τῶν ἐπιστρατευσαμένων καὶ ἐν μάχῃ παρέσχοντο μιᾷ τὴν κρίσιν, ἐς ὁμολογίας τε αὐτίκα ἐτράποντο καὶ σπονδάς· [2] ὁ δὲ Ἀργείων στρατὸς ἐς Βοιωτίαν τε μέσσην ἀφίκετο ἐκ μέσης Πελοποννήσου καὶ ὁ Ἀδραστος ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων συμμαχικὰ ἤθροισεν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις μισθοφορικὰ ἦλθε παρὰ Φωκέων καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μινυάδος χώρας οἱ Φλεγύαι. γενομένης δὲ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσμινίῳ μάχῃ ἐκρατήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῇ συμβολῇ, καὶ ὡς ἐτράποντο, καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· [3] ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τῶν Πελοποννησίων μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ποιουμένων δὲ θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ τὰς προσβολὰς, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βάλλοντες

φονεύουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κρατοῦσι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεξελθόντες τεταραγμένοις, ὥς τὸ σύμπαν στράτευμα πλὴν Ἀδράστου φθαρῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἄνευ κακῶν μεγάλων, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν σὺν ὀλέθρῳ τῶν κρατησάντων Καδμεΐαν ὀνομάζουσι νίκην. [4] ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὁμοῦ Θερσάνδρῳ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας οὓς Ἐπιγόνους καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες· δῆλοι δὲ εἰσι καὶ τούτοις οὐ τὸ Ἀργολικὸν μόνον οὐδὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἠκολουθηκότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Μεγαρέων ἐπικληθέντες ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν· ἤμυναν δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις οἱ πρόσοικοι, καὶ μάχῃ πρὸς Γλίσαντι ἀπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο ἰσχυρά. [5] τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ὥς ἡττήθησαν ὁμοῦ Λαοδάμαντι ἐκδιδράσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες πολιορκία παρέστησαν. ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον καὶ ἔπη Θηβαῖς· τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα Καλλίνος ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι, Καλλίνῳ δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγου κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποίησιν ταύτην μετὰ γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Ὀδυσσεά ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.

πολέμου μὲν δὴ, ὃν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Οἰδίποδος παίδων ἔνεκα ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη·

10. πολυάνδριον δὲ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστι· κεῖνται δὲ ὀπόσους κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἀντιτεταγμένους. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀποφαίνουσι χωρίον ἔνθα Κάδμον λέγουσιν — ὅτῳ πιστά — τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ τῇ κρήνῃ, τοὺς ὀδόντας σπείραντα, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀδόντων ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν. [2] ἔστι δὲ λόφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν πυλῶν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ τε λόφος καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσμήνιος, παραρρέοντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἰσμηνοῦ. πρῶτα μὲν δὴ λίθου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὀνομαζόμενοι Πρόναοι· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φειδίας, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν λέγεται Σκόπας· μετὰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς ὠκοδόμηται. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα μεγέθει τε ἴσον τῷ ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ εἶδος οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον· ὅστις δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τούτων τὸ ἕτερον εἶδε καὶ τὸν εἰργασμένον ἐπύθετο, οὐ μεγάλη οἱ σοφία καὶ τὸ ἕτερον θεασαμένῳ Κανάχῳ ποίημα ὃν ἐπίστασθαι. διαφέρουσι δὲ τοσόνδε· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς χαλκοῦ, ὁ δὲ Ἰσμήνιος ἐστὶ κέδρου.

[3] ἔστι δ' ἐνταῦθα λίθος ἐφ' ᾧ Μαντῶ φασὶ τὴν Τειρεσίῳ καθέζεσθαι. οὗτος μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου κεῖται, καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Μαντοῦς δίφρος· ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ λίθου πεποιημένας εἰκόνας Ἠνιόχης εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Πύρρας λέγουσι, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κρέοντος, ὃς ἐδυνάστευεν ἐπιτροπεύων Λαοδάμαντα τὸν Ἑτεοκλέους. [4] τότε γε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι γινόμενον οἶδα ἐν Θήβαις· τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ παῖδα οἴκου τε δοκίμου καὶ αὐτὸν εὖ μὲν εἶδους, εὖ δὲ ἔχοντα καὶ ῥώμης, ἱερέα ἐνιαύσιον ποιοῦσιν· ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ δαφναφόρος, στεφάνους γὰρ φύλλων δάφνης φοροῦσιν οἱ παῖδες. εἰ μὲν οὖν πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθέστηκεν ἀναθεῖναι δαφνηφορήσαντας χαλκοῦν τῷ θεῷ τρίποδα, οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι, δοκῶ δὲ οὐ πᾶσιν εἶναι νόμον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐώρων αὐτόθι ἀνακειμένους· οἱ δ' οὖν εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν παίδων ἀνατιθέασιν. ἐπιφανὴς δὲ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τε ἀρχαιότητι καὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος τῇ δόξῃ τρίπους ἐστὶν Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ Ἡρακλεῖ δαφνηφορήσαντι. [5] ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου τὴν κρήνην ἴδους

ἄν, ἦντινα Ἄρεώς φασιν ἱερὰν εἶναι καὶ δράκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐπιτετάχθαι φύλακα τῇ πηγῇ. πρὸς ταύτῃ τῇ κρήνῃ τάφος ἐστὶ Καάνθου: Μελίας δὲ ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ παῖδα εἶναι Κάανθον λέγουσι, σταλῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ζητήσοντα ἥρπασμένην τὴν ἀδελφήν. ὥς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα εὐρὼν ἔχοντα τὴν Μελίαν οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἀφελέσθαι, πῦρ ἐτόλμησεν ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐνεῖναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦτο ὃ νῦν καλοῦσιν Ἰσμήνιον: καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ θεός, καθά φασιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, τοξεύει.

[6] Καάνθου μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ μνήμα, Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Μελίας γενέσθαι λέγουσι Τήνερρον καὶ Ἰσμηνόν: Τήνερρ μὲν Ἀπόλλων μαντικὴν δίδωσι, τοῦ δὲ Ἰσμηνίου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχεν ὁ ποταμός. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα ἦν ἀνώνυμος, εἰ δὴ καὶ Λάδων ἐκαλεῖτο πρὶν Ἰσμηνὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος.

11. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῶν πυλῶν, ἧς ὀνομάζουσιν Ἥλέκτρας, οἰκίας ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἔνθα οἰκῆσαί φασιν Ἀμφιτρύωνα διὰ τὸν Ἥλεκτρώωνος θάνατον φεύγοντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος: καὶ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης ἐστὶν ἔτι ὁ θάλαμος ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις δῆλος. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀμφιτρώνι Τροφώνιον φασὶ καὶ Ἀγαμήδην, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆναι τόδε: “Ἀμφιτρώων ὄτ' ἔμελλ' ἀγαγέσθαι δεῦρο γυναῖκα

Ἀλκμήνην, θάλαμόν γ' εἰλίξατο τοῦτον ἑαυτῷ:

Ἀγχάσιος δ' ἐποίησε Τροφώνιος ἡδ' Ἀγαμήδης.

“ [2] τοῦτο μὲν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι γραφῆναι λέγουσιν: ἐπιδεικνύουσι δὲ Ἡρακλέους τῶν παίδων τῶν ἐκ Μεγάρας μνήμα, οὐδέν τι ἀλλοίως τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον λέγοντες ἢ Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος καὶ Πανύασσις ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησαν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, ὥς Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς μανίας καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνα ἔμελλεν ἀποκτινύναι, πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὕπνος ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λίθου τῆς πηγῆς: Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ εἶναι τὴν ἐπαφεῖσάν οἱ τὸν λίθον τοῦτον ὄντινα Σωφρονιστῆρα ὀνομάζουσιν. [3] ἐνταῦθα εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τύπου γυναικῶν εἰκόνες: ἀμυδροτέρα ἤδη τὰ ἀγάλματα: ταύτας καλοῦσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Φαρμακίδας, πεμφθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας φασὶν ἐμπόδια εἶναι ταῖς ὥδισιν Ἀλκμήνης. αἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπεῖχον Ἀλκμήνην μὴ τεκεῖν: Τειρεσίου δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἰστορίδι σόφισμα ἔπεισιν ἐς τὰς Φαρμακίδας, ἐς ἐπήκοον αὐτῶν ὀλολύξαι, τετοκέναι γὰρ τὴν Ἀλκμήνην: οὕτω τὰς μὲν ἀπατηθείσας ἀπελθεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἀλκμήνην τεκεῖν φασιν. [4] ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλεῖόν ἐστιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ τὸ μὲν λίθου λευκοῦ Πρόμαχος καλούμενον, ἔργον δὲ Ξενοκρίτου καὶ Εὐβίου Θηβαίων: τὸ δὲ ξόανον τὸ ἀρχαῖον Θηβαῖοί τε εἶναι Δαιδάλου νενομίκασι καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο ἔχειν οὕτω. τοῦτον ἀνέθηκεν αὐτός, ὥς λέγεται, Δαίδαλος ἐκτίνων εὐεργεσίας χάριν. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἔφευγεν ἐκ Κρήτης πλοῖα οὐ μεγάλα αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ παιδί Ἰκάρῳ ποιησάμενος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, ὃ μὴ πω τοῖς τότε ἐξεύρητο, ἰστία ἐπιτεχνησάμενος, ὥς τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ τὴν εἰρεσίαν φθάνοιεν ἐπιφόρῳ τῷ ἀνέμῳ χρώμενοι, τότε αὐτὸς μὲν σώζεται Δαίδαλος,

[5] Ἰκάρῳ δὲ κυβερνῶντι ἀμαθέστερον ἀνατραπῆναι τὴν ναῦν λέγουσιν: ἀποπνιγέντα δὲ ἐξήνεγκεν ὁ κλύδων ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ Σάμου νῆσον ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνώνυμον.

ἐπιτυχὼν δὲ Ἡρακλῆς γνωρίζει τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ ἔθαψεν ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι

αὐτῷ χῶμα οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἐστὶν ἀνεχούσης ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰκάρου τούτου ὄνομα ἢ τε νῆσος καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν θάλασσα ἐσχηκε. [6] Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἄθλων· καὶ σφισι τὰ ἐς τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐνδεῖ τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφάλῳ καὶ ὡς ἐκάθηρεν Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Ἥλειαν χώραν, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ἡ πρὸς Ἀνταῖον πάλῃ πεποίηται. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ὁ Λύκου καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τυραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καταλύσαντες — ὀρμηθεῖσι γάρ σφισιν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐγένετο ἡ κάθοδος — Ἀθηναῖν καὶ Ἡρακλέα κολοσσοὺς ἐπὶ λίθου τύπου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν, ἔργα δὲ Ἀλκαμένους, ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον. [7] τοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλείου γυμνάσιον ἔχεται καὶ στάδιον, ἀμφοτέρω ἐπὶ πύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Σωφρονιστῆρα λίθον βωμός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησίν Σποδίου, πεποίηται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν ἱερῶν. μαντικὴ δὲ καθέστηκεν αὐτόθι ἀπὸ κληδόνων, ἥ δὴ καὶ Σμυρναίους μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρωμένους οἶδα· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Σμυρναίοις ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους Κληδόνων ἱερόν.

12. τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι Θηβαῖοι τῷ Σποδίῳ ταύρους ἔθουν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· καὶ ποτε παρούσης σφίσι τῆς ἐορτῆς ἢ τε ὥρα κατήπειγε τῆς θυσίας καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον οὐχ ἤκον· οὕτω δὲ παρατυχούσης ἀμάξης τὸν ἕτερον τῶν βοῶν τῷ θεῷ θύουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐργάτας βοὺς θύειν νομίζουσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν λόγος, ὡς ἀπὸντι ἐκ Δελφῶν Κάδμω τὴν ἐπὶ Φωκέων βοὺς γένοιτο ἡγεμὼν τῆς πορείας, τὴν δὲ βοῦν ταύτην παρὰ βουκόλων εἶναι τῶν Πελάγοντος ὠνητὴν· ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκατέρω τῆς βοῦς πλευρᾷ σημεῖον ἐπεῖναι λευκὸν εἰκασμένον κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης, ὅποτε εἴη πλήρης.

[2] ἔδει δὲ ἄρα Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μαντείαν, ἔνθα ἡ βοὺς ἔμελλε καμοῦσα ὀκλάσειν· ἀποφαίνουσιν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμός καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ Κάδμον λέγουσι. τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσιν ἐς γῆν ἀφικέσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαίδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοίνικα ὄντα, ἔστιν ἐναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὅγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σαῖς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν φωνήν. [3] φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, καθότι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀγορὰ σφισιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποίηται, Κάδμου τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκίαν εἶναι· θαλάμων δὲ ἀποφαίνουσιν τοῦ μὲν Ἀρμονίας ἐρείπια καὶ ὃν Σεμέλης φασὶν εἶναι, τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἄβατον φυλάσσουσιν ἀνθρώποις. Ἑλλήνων δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεχομένοις ἄσαι Μούσας ἐς τὸν Ἀρμονίας γάμον τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔνθα δὴ φασὶ τὰς θεὰς ἄσαι. [4] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὡς ὁμοῦ τῷ κεραυνῷ βληθέντι ἐς τὸν Σεμέλης θάλαμον πέσοι ξύλον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Πολύδωρον δὲ τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο χαλκῷ λέγουσιν ἐπικοσμήσαντα Διόνυσον καλέσαι Κάδμον. πλησίον δὲ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα, καὶ τοῦτο Ὀνασιμήδης ἐποίησε δι' ὅλου πληρὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ· τὸν βωμὸν δὲ οἱ παῖδες εἰργάσαντο οἱ Πραξιτέλους. [5] ἀνδριάς τέ ἐστι Προνόμου ἀνδρὸς αὐλήσαντος ἐπαγωγότατα ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς. τέως μὲν γε ιδέας αὐλῶν τρεῖς ἐκτῶντο οἱ αὐλῆται καὶ τοῖς μὲν αὐλημα ἠϋλοῦν τὸ Δώριον, διάφοροι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἁρμονίαν τὴν Φρύγιον ἐπεποίηντο οἱ αὐλοὶ, τὸ δὲ καλούμενον Λύδιον ἐν αὐλοῖς ἠϋλεῖτο ἄλλοις· Πρόνομος δὲ ἦν ὃς πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν

αὐλοὺς ἐς ἅπαν ἁρμονίας εἶδος ἔχοντας ἐπιτηδεῖως, πρῶτος δὲ διάφορα ἐς τοσοῦτο μέλη ἐπ' αὐλοῖς ἠϋλῆσε τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

[6] λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς κινήσει σώματος περισσῶς δὴ τι ἔτερπε τὰ θέατρα: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄσμα πεποιημένον ἐστὶ ἐς προσόδιον ἐς Δῆλον τοῖς ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ Χαλκιδεῦσι. τοῦτόν τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τὸν Πολύμνιδος ἀνέθεσαν.

13. τῷ δ' Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ τὰ μὲν τῶν προγόνων ὑπῆρχεν ἐς γένους δόξαν, ὁ δὲ οἱ πατὴρ χρημάτων ἔνεκα μέσου ἀνδρὸς ἀπέδει Θηβαίου: διδάγματα δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ἐπιχώρια ἔμαθεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον καὶ ὡς ἤδη μειράκιον ἦν ἐφοίτησεν ὡς Λύσιν, ἄνδρα γένος μὲν Ταραντῖνον, ἐπιστάμενον δὲ τοὺς Πυθαγόρου τοῦ Σαμίου λόγους. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας, ἥνικα ἐπολέμουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μαντινεῦσι, πεμφθῆναι σὺν ἄλλοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκ Θηβῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπαμύνειν: ἔχοντα δὲ τραύματα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Πελοπίδαν ἐξέσωσεν ἐς ἅπαν ἀφικόμενος κινδύνου. [2] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐς Σπάρτην ἦκοντα Ἐπαμινώνδαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι συντίθεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔφασαν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου καλουμένην, τῇ καὶ αὐτὰ Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἤρετο Ἀγησίλαος, εἰ κατὰ πόλιν ὀμνύναι Βοιωτοὺς ἐάσουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης: 'οὐ πρότερόν γε' εἶπεν 'ὦ Σπαρτιάται, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ὀμνύοντας κατὰ πόλιν ἴδωμεν τοὺς ὑμετέρους'. [3] ὡς δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἐξηρτο ἡδὴ πόλεμος καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυνάμει καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἤεσαν, Ἐπαμινώνας μὲν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἀντεκάθητο ὑπὲρ τῆς Κηφισίδος λίμνης ὡς ποιησομένων ταύτῃ Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐσβολήν, Κλεόμβροτος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἀμβρόσσου τρέπεται τῆς Φωκῶν: ἀποκτείνας δὲ Χαιρέαν, ὃς φυλάσσειν διετέτακτο τὰς παρόδους, καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Θηβαίους, ὑπερέβη καὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα ἀφικνεῖται τὰ Βοιώτια. [4] ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτῷ Κλεομβρότῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τῷ κοινῷ σημεῖα ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς ἐξόδους πρόβατα εἶπετο θεοῖς τε εἶναι θυσίας καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων καλλιερεῖν: ταῖς δὲ ποιμέναις ἡγεμόνες τῆς πορείας ἦσαν αἶγες, κατοιάδας οἱ ποιμένες ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτάς. τότε οὖν ὀρμήσαντες ἐς τὴν ποίμνην λύκοι τοῖς μὲν προβάτοις ἐγίνοντο οὐδὲν βλάβος, οἱ δὲ τὰς αἶγας τὰς κατοιάδας ἔκτεινον. [5] ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ μήνιμα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων εἶναι τῶν Σκεδάσων. Σκεδάσῳ γὰρ περὶ Λεῦκτρα οἰκοῦντι θυγατέρες Μολπία γίνεται καὶ Ἰππώ: ταύτας ἐς ὥραν ἡδὴ προηκούσας Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνδρες βιάζονται παρὰ θέμιδας καὶ Φρουραρχίδας καὶ Παρθένιος. καὶ αἱ τε παρθέναι παραντίκα — οὐ γὰρ σφισιν ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῆς ὕβρεως — ἀπάγχουσιν αὐτάς: καὶ ὁ Σκεδάσος, ὡς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντι οὐδεμία ἐγένετο αὐτῷ δίκη, οὕτως ἐς τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐπανήκων αὐτὸν διεργάζεται. [6] τότε δὲ ὁ Ἐπαμινώνας Σκεδάσῳ καὶ ταῖς παισὶν ἐνήγιζε τε καὶ εὐχετο, ὡς οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θηβαίων ἢ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκείνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσόμενον. τῶν δὲ βοιωταρχούντων οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνοντο αἱ γνώμαι, διεστηκυῖαι δὲ πολλὴ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων: Ἐπαμινώνας μὲν γὰρ ἤρεσκε καὶ Μάλγιδι καὶ Ξενοκράτει κατὰ τάχος πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, Δαμοκλείδας δὲ καὶ Δαμόφιλος καὶ

Σιμάγγελος συμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ εἶων, ἐκέλευον δὲ ὑπεκθεμένους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γυναικας καὶ παῖδας ὡς πολιορκησομένους αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζεσθαι. [7] τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦν κεχωρισμένα τὰ βουλευματα: προσγενομένης δὲ ψήφου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν τοῦ ἐβδόμου τῶν Βοιωταρχῶν, ὃς ἐφρούρει μὲν τὴν κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐσβολήν, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν οἱ Βραχυλλίδης, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, προσθεμένου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν, τότε καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδέδοκτο ἀγωνίᾳ διακρίνεσθαι. [8] τῷ δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ καὶ ἐς ἄλλους Βοιωτῶν ὑποπτα ἦν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς Θεσπιεῖς καὶ περισσότερον: δέισας οὖν μὴ σφᾶς παρὰ τὸ ἔργον προδῶσιν, ἀποχώρησιν παρεῖχεν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν οἴκαδε: καὶ οἱ Θεσπιεῖς τε ἀπαλλάσσονται πανδημεὶ καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος Βοιωτῶν ὑπὴν δύσνοια ἐς τοὺς Θηβαίους. [9] ὡς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἅτε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενοι τὸ ἔχθος μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυντο, οὔτε κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἐθέλοντες, ἐνδιδόντες δὲ ὅπῃ σφίσιν οἱ πολέμοι προσφέροντο. αὐτοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θηβαίους ἐξ ἴσου καθίστη τοὺς μὲν ἐμπειρία τε ἢ προϋπάρχουσα καὶ ἅμα αἰδουμένους μὴ καταλῦσαι τῆς Σπάρτης τὸ ἀξίωμα, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐφεστηκότα ἐώρων. [10] ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι τε Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτεθνήκει Κλεόμβροτος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας καὶ τालαιπωρουμένους ἐπελάμβανεν ἀνάγκη μὴ ἐνδιδόναι: παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰσχιστον ἐδέδοκτο εἶναι βασιλέως νεκρὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδράσι πολεμίοις γενόμενον περιοφθῆναι. [11] Θηβαίοις μὲν ἡ νίκη κατείργαστο ἐπιφανέστατα πασῶν ὁπόσας κατὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀνείλοντο Ἕλληνας: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τοὺς τεθνεώτας διενοοῦντο ὡς θάψοντες καὶ ἀποστέλλουσι κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Ἐπαμινώνας δέ, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὰς συμφορὰς αἰεὶ ποτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεφύκασιν, ἔφασκεν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν προτέροις αὐτῶν δίδοναι τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἀνελομένοις οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡξίου θάπτειν τοὺς αὐτῶν.

[12] ὡς δὲ τῶν συμμάχων οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀνηροῦντο ἅτε οὐ τεθνεώτος σφισιν οὐδενός, τῶν δὲ ὀλίγον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὸ διεφθαρμένον, οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε ἔθαπτον τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἤδη Σπαρτιάτας ἐξελήλεγκτο εἶναι τοὺς κειμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ Θηβαίων τε καὶ ὅσοι παρέμειναν Βοιωτῶν ἐπτά καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ χίλιοι.

14. τὸ μὲν δὴ παραυτίκα ὁ Ἐπαμινώνας μετὰ τὴν μάχην Πελοποννησίῳ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀπιέναι προειπὼν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν τοῖς Λεύκτροις εἶχεν ἀπειλημμένους: ὡς δὲ ἤκουε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Σπαρτιάτας βοηθήσοντας τοῖς σφετέροις ἐς Λεῦκτρα ἰέναι πανδημεῖ, δίδωσιν οὕτω τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους ἔφη τε ἅμεινον ἔσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀπώσασθαι. [2] Θεσπιεῦσι δέ, ὑφορωμένοις τὴν τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῶν Θηβαίων δυσμένειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι αὐτῶν τύχην, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἔδοξεν ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀναφεύγειν δὲ ἐς Κερησσόν. ἔστι δὲ ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ὁ Κερησσὸς ἐν τῇ Θεσπιέῳ, ἐς ὃ καὶ πάλοι ποτε

ἀνεσκευάσαντο κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τὴν Θεσσαλῶν: οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ τότε, ὥς ἐλεῖν τὸν Κερησσὸν σφισι πειρωμένοις ἐφαίνετο ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον, ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δελφοὺς παρὰ τὸν θεόν, καὶ [3] αὐτοῖς γίνεται μάντευμα τοιόνδε:”

καὶ μοι τῷ Σκεδάσου μέλετον δυσπενθέε κούρα.

ἐνθα μάχη πολύδακρυς ἐπέρχεται: οὐδέ τις αὐτὴν

φράσσεται ἀνθρώπων, πρὶν κούριον ἀγλαὸν ἦβην

Δωριέες ὀλέσωσ’, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

τουτάκι δ’ ἔστι Κερησσὸς ἀλώσιμος, ἄλλοτε δ’ οὐχί.

“ [4] τότε δὲ ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὥς τοὺς Θεσπιεῖς καταφεύγοντας ἐς τὸν Κερησσὸν ἐξεῖλε, πρὸς τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παραυτίκα ἔσπευδεν ἅτε καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων προθύμως μεταπεμπομένων. ἐλθὼν δὲ Ἀργεῖους μὲν προσελάβετο ἐκουσίους συμμάχους, Μαντινέας δὲ κατὰ κόμας ὑπὸ Ἀγησιπόλιδος διωκισμένους ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήγαγεν αὐθις πόλιν: τὰ δὲ πολίσματα τὰ Ἀρκάδων ὅποσα εἶχεν ἀσθενῶς καταλῦσαι πείσας τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, πατρίδα ἐν κοινῷ σφισιν ᾤκισεν, ἡ Μεγάλη καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτι καλεῖται πόλις. [5] ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος βοιωταρχοῦντι Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ διήνυστο, τεθνάναι δὲ ἐτέτακτο ἐπιλαβόντα ἄνδρα τῆς ἀρχῆς: ὁ οὖν Ἐπαμινώνδας ὑπεριδὼν ὥς οὐκ ὄντα ἐν καιρῷ τὸν νόμον ἐβιοωτάρχει καὶ ἀφικόμενος τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην, ὥς οὐκ ἀντεπῆγεν Ἀγησίλαος μαχοῦμενος, οὕτω πρὸς τὸν οἰκισμὸν τρέπεται Μεσσηνίας. καὶ οἰκιστὴς Μεσσηνίοις τοῖς νῦν ἐστὶν Ἐπαμινώνδας: καὶ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν ἐδήλωσε τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα Μεσσηνίους. [6] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων σύμμαχοι κατέτρεχον διασκεδασθέντες χώραν τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ ἥρπαζον τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς: τοῦτο Ἐπαμινώνδα παρέστησεν ὀπίσω Θηβαίους ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἀπαγαγεῖν. καὶ ὥς προῖων τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ Λέχαιον ἐγίνετο καὶ διεξιέναι τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ στενὰ καὶ δύσβατα ἔμελλεν, Ἴφικράτης ὁ Τιμοθέου πελταστὰς καὶ ἄλλην Ἀθηναίων ἔχων δύναμιν ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς Θηβαίοις. [7] Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους τρέπεται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἀφικόμενος Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἄστυ, ὥς ἐπεξιέναι μαχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκώλυεν Ἴφικράτης, ὁ δὲ αὐθις ἐς τὰς Θήβας ἀπήλυνε. καὶ δίκην μὲν ἔφυγεν ὑπὲρ θανάτου, διότι ἐβιοωτάρχησεν ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου: λέγονται δὲ οἱ δικάζειν λαχόντες οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ θέσθαι τὴν ψήφον.

15. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ δυναστεύων Ἀλέξανδρος Πελοπίδαν ἐλθόντα — ἀφίκετο δὲ ὥς παρὰ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ τε εὖνουν αὐτῷ καὶ Θηβαίων φίλον τῷ κοινῷ — παραγενόμενον δὴ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος δῆσας εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ὕβρεως: Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐπεξιέναι παραυτίκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὥρμητο. ἡγεμόνας μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐξόδου Κλεομένην καὶ Ὑπατον ἐποιήσαντο βοιωταρχοῦντας ἐν τῷ τότε: Ἐπαμινώνδα δὲ συνέβαινεν ἐν τοῖς στρατευομένοις τετάχθαι. [2] γεγонуῖας δὲ ἐκτὸς Πυλῶν οἱ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτίθεταί σφισιν ἐν δυσχωρίαις λοχήσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος: ὥς δὲ ἐφαίνετο ἄπορα εἶναι τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας, οὕτω δὴ ὁ τε λοιπὸς στρατὸς ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ οἱ Βοιωτάρχαι παραχωροῦσιν ἐκουσίως τῆς ἀρχῆς: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὔτε ἐτι ἐθάρρει τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγοῦντα ὁρῶν τοῖς ἐναντίοις Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ ἐκὼν Πελοπίδαν ἀφήσιν. [3] ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ἀπὴν ὁ

Ἐπαμινώνδας, Ὀρχομενίους Θηβαῖοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους ἐκ τῆς χώρας: συμφορὰν δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων ἐνόμιζεν ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας καὶ οὐ ποτ' ἂν ἐξεργασθῆναι τόλμημα τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ γε παρόντος ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ Θηβαίων. [4] ὥς δὲ βοιωταρχεῖν αὐθις ἤρητο καὶ στρατῷ Βοιωτῶν ἀφίκετο αὐθις ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἐκράτησε μὲν περὶ Λέχαιον Λακεδαιμονίους μάχῃ, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀχαιῶν Πελληνέας καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐς Χαβρίας ἤγεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. Θηβαίοις δὲ ἦν καθεστηκὸς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, ὁπόσους αἰχμαλώτους ἔλοιεν, ἀφιέναι χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν φεύγοντας ζημιοῦν θανάτω: πόλισμα οὖν ἔλων Σικυωνίων Φοιβίαν, ἔνθα ἦσαν τὸ πολὺ οἱ Βοιωτῆται φυγάδες συνηγμένοι, ἀφίησι τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἄλλην σφίσιν ἦν ἔτυχε πατρίδα ἐπονομάζων ἐκάστω. [5] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς Μαντίνειαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, νικῶν καὶ τότε ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἀπέθανεν Ἀθηναίου: καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἱπέων μάχῃ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος γέγραπται φονεύων Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφῶντος, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ τοῦ Κύρω ὁδοῦ μετασχόντος ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ ὀπίσω τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἡγησαμένου. [6] τῷ δὲ ἀνδριάντι τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου καὶ ἐλεγεία ἔπεστιν ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν λέγοντα καὶ ὅτι Μεσσήνης γένοιτο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὑπάρξειεν ἐλευθερία δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἐλεγεία: "ἡμετέραις βουλαῖς Σπάρτη μὲν ἐκείρατο δόξαν,

Μεσσήνῃ δ' ἱερὴ τέκνα χρόνῳ δέχεται:

Θήβης δ' ὅπλοισιν Μεγάλῃ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται,

αὐτόνομος δ' Ἑλλάς πᾶς ἐν ἐλευθερίῃ.

“

τούτῳ μὲν τοσαῦτα ἦν ἐς δόξαν:

16. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστὶ ναὸς Ἄμμωνος, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε μὲν Πίνδαρος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργον. ἀπέπεμψε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Ἀμμωνίους τῷ Ἄμμωνι ὕμνον: οὗτος καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν ὁ ὕμνος ἐν τριγῶνῳ στήλῃ παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, ὃν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου τῷ Ἄμμωνι ἀνέθηκε. Θηβαίοις δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος τὸ ἱερὸν οἰωνοσκοπεῖόν τε Τειρεσίου καλούμενον καὶ πλησίον Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν:

[2] φέρει μὲν δὴ Πλούτον παῖδα: ὥς δὲ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι, χεῖρας μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος καὶ πρόσωπον Ξενοφῶν εἰργάσατο Ἀθηναῖος, Καλλιστόνικος δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιχώριος. σοφὸν μὲν δὴ καὶ τούτοις τὸ βούλευμα, ἐσθεῖναι Πλούτον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἅτε μητρὶ ἢ τροφῷ τῇ Τύχῃ, σοφὸν δὲ οὐχ ἦσσαν τὸ Κηφισοδότου: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τῆς Εἰρήνης τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναίοις Πλούτον ἔχουσαν πεποίηκεν. [3] Ἀφροδίτης δὲ Θηβαίοις ξοανὰ ἐστὶν οὕτω δὴ ἀρχαῖα ὥστε καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἀρμονίας εἶναι φασιν αὐτά, ἐργασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροστολίων, ἃ ταῖς Κάδμου ναυσὶν ἦν ξύλου πεποιημένα. καλοῦσι δὲ Οὐρανίαν, τὴν δὲ αὐτῶν Πάνδημον καὶ Ἀποστροφίαν τὴν τρίτην: ἔθετο δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἢ Ἀρμονία, τὴν μὲν Οὐρανίαν ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καθαρῷ καὶ

[4] ἀπηλλαγμένῳ πόθου σωμάτων, Πάνδημον δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς μίξεσι, τρίτα δὲ Ἀποστροφίαν, ἵνα ἐπιθυμίας τε ἀνόμου καὶ ἔργων ἀνοσίων ἀποστρέφῃ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων: πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐν βαρβάροις ἠπίστατο ἢ Ἀρμονία, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἤδη τετολμημένα, ὅποια καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀδωνίδος μητρὶ καὶ ἐς Φαίδραν τε τὴν Μίνω καὶ ἐς τὸν Θράκα Τηρέα ἄδεται.

[5] τὸ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Θεσμοφόρου Κάδμου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων οἰκίαν ποτὲ εἶναι λέγουσι: Δήμητρος δὲ ἄγαλμα ὅσον ἐς στέρνα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. καὶ ἀσπίδες ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκεινται χαλκαῖ: Λακεδαιμονίων δέ, ὅποσοι τῶν ἐν τέλει περὶ Λεῦκτρα ἐτελεύτησαν, φασὶν εἶναι.

[6] πρὸς δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις Προϊτίσι θέατρον ὠκοδόμηται, καὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ θεάτρου Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λυσίου: Θηβαίων γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνδρας ἐχομένους ὑπὸ Θρακῶν, ὡς ἀγόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλιαρτίαν ἐγίνοντο, ἔλυσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι σφισι τοὺς Θραῖκας παρέδωκεν ὑπνωμένους. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων φασὶν εἶναι Σεμέλης: ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐκάστου τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύναι φασὶν ἐν ἡμέραις τακταῖς.

[7] καὶ οἰκίας τῆς Λύκου τὰ ἐρείπια καὶ Σεμέλης μνημὰ ἐστὶν, Ἀλκμήνης δὲ οὐ μνημα: γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ὡς ἀπέθανε λίθον φασὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι: διάφορα δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἀλλήλοις λέγουσιν Ἑλλήνες. Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ μνήματα πεποιήται τῶν Ἀμφίονος παίδων, χωρὶς μὲν τῶν ἀρσένων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ταῖς παρθένους.

17. πλησίον δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐστὶν Εὐκλείας: Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον. ταφῆναι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θυγατέρας Ἀντιποίνου λέγουσιν Ἀνδρόκλειάν τε καὶ Ἀλκίδα. μελλούσης γὰρ πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους γίνεσθαι μάχης Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, λόγιόν σφισιν ἦλθεν ἔσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου κράτος ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοχειρίᾳ θελήσαντος, ὃς ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν ἐπιφανέστατος κατὰ γένους ἀξίωμα ἦ. Ἀντιποίνῳ μὲν οὖν — τούτῳ γὰρ τὰ ἐς τοὺς προγόνους μάλιστα ὑπῆρχεν ἔνδοξα — οὐχ ἡδὺ ἦν ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸ τοῦ δήμου, ταῖς δὲ Ἀντιποίνου θυγατράσιν ἤρεσκε: διεργασάμεναι δὲ αὐτὰς τιμὰς ἀντὶ τούτων ἔχουσι. [2] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος λέων ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθε λίθου πεποιημένος: ἀναθεῖναι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλεῖς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἐργῖνον τὸν Κλυμένου νικήσας τῇ μάχῃ. πλησίον δὲ Ἀπόλλων τέ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Βοηδρόμιος καὶ Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς καλούμενος, Πινδάρου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνάθημα. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ πυρὰ τῶν Ἀμφίονος παίδων ἡμισυ σταδίου μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν τάφων: μένει δὲ ἡ τέφρα καὶ ἐς τότε ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς. [3] πλησίον δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀνάθημα δύο ἀγάλματα λίθινα λέγουσιν Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ζωστηρίας: λαβεῖν γὰρ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα, ἡνίκα Εὐβοεῦσι καὶ Χαλκώδοντι ἔμελλεν ἀντιτάξεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἐνδύναι τὰ ὄπλα ἐκάλουν ἄρα οἱ παλαιοὶ ζώσασθαι: καὶ δὴ Ὀμηρον, Ἄρει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιήσαντα εἰοικέναι τὴν ζώνην, τῶν ὄπλων τὴν σκευὴν φασὶν εἰκάζειν. [4] Ζήθῳ δὲ μνημα καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐν κοινῷ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα. ὑφαιρεῖσθαι δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς γῆς οἱ Τιθορέαν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ἔχοντες, ἐθέλουσι δέ, ἐπειδὴν τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ταῦρον ὁ ἥλιος διεξίη: τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες γῆν τῷ Ἀντιόπῃ μνήματι περιάψωσι, Τιθορεῦσιν οἷσι καρπὸν ἡ χώρα, Θηβαίοις δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρουρὰν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τότε ἔχουσι τοῦ μνήματος.

[5] ταῦτα δὲ αἱ πόλεις αὗται πεπιστεύκασιν ἐκ χρησμῶν τῶν Βάκιδος, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τάδε ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς: “ἀλλ’ ὅποταν Τιθορεὺς Ἀμφιονί τε Ζήθῳ τε χύτλα καὶ εὐχολὰς μειλίγματ’ ἐνὶ χθονὶ χεύῃ

θελγομένου ταύροιο κλυτοῦ μένει ἡελίοιο,
καὶ τότε δὴ πεφύλαξο πόλει κακὸν οὐκ ἀλαπαδόν
ἐρχόμενον: καρποὶ γὰρ ἀποφθινύθουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ
γαίῃς δασσαμένων, Φώκου δ' ἐπὶ σῆμα φερόντων.

“ [6] Φώκου δὲ μνήμα ὁ Βάκις εἴρηκεν ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιᾶδε. ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λύκου Διόνυσον θεῶν μάλιστα ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ: παθοῦσης δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ λεγόμενα Διόνυσος νεμεσᾷ τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ. ἐπίφθονοι δὲ αἰὶ πῶς παρὰ θεῶν αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν εἰσι: λέγουσιν Ἀντιόπην μανῆναι καὶ ἐκστᾶσαν τῶν φρενῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πλανᾶσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φῶκον δὲ τὸν Ὀρνυτίωνος τοῦ Σισύφου περιτυχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἰασάμενον: καὶ δὴ ὁ τάφος ἐν κοινῷ τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ καὶ Φώκῳ πεποιήται. [7] τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τὸ Ἀμφίονος μνήμα λίθους, οἱ κάτωθεν ὑποβέβληνται μὴδὲ ἄλλως εἰργασμένοι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, ἐκείνας εἶναι φασὶ τὰς πέτρας αἱ τῇ ᾠδῇ τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἠκολούθησαν: τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα λέγεται καὶ περὶ Ὀρφέως, ὡς κιθαρωδοῦντι ἔποιτο αὐτῷ τὰ θηρία.

18. ἐκ Θηβῶν δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Χαλκίδα κατὰ πύλας ταύτας ἐστὶ τὰς Προϊτίδας. τάφος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λεωφόρῳ δείκνυται Μελανίππου, Θηβαίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀγαθοῦ τὰ πολεμικά: καὶ ἡνίκα ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, Τυδέα ὁ Μελάνιππος οὗτος καὶ ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀδράστου Μηκιστέα ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ οἱ καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑπὸ Ἀμφιαράου γενέσθαι λέγουσι. [2] τούτου δὲ ἐγγύτατα τρεῖς εἰσιν ἄργοι λίθοι: Θηβαίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες Τυδέα φασὶν εἶναι τὸν ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, ταφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μαίονος, καὶ ἐς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ λόγου παρέσχον τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔπος “Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει.

“Hom. II.

14.114 [3] ἐξῆς δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν Οἰδίποδος παίδων μνήματα: καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δρώμενα οὐ θεασάμενος πιστὰ ὅμως ὑπείληφα εἶναι. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐναγίζειν τοῖς Οἰδίποδος: τούτοις δὲ ἐναγίζόντων αὐτῶν τὴν φλόγα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καπνὸν διχλῆ διίστασθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἐπηγάγοντο ὧν λέγουσιν ἐς πίστιν ἰδόντα ἄλλο τοιόνδε.

[4] ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Καῖκου πόλισμά ἐστι Πιονία, τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ἐνταῦθα Πίονιν τῶν τινα ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἡρακλέους φασὶν εἶναι: μελλόντων δὲ ἐναγίζειν αὐτῷ καπνὸς αὐτόματος ἄνεισιν ἐκ τοῦ τάφου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συμβαίνοντα εἶδον, Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ Τειρεσίου μνήμα ἀποφαίνουσι, πέντε μάλιστα καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἢ Οἰδίποδος τοῖς παισὶν ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος: ὁμολογοῦντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συμβῆναι Τειρεσίᾳ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ, τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι κενὸν μνήμα. [5] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορος Θηβαίοις τάφος τοῦ Πριάμου πρὸς Οἰδιποδία καλουμένη κρήνῃ, κομίσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅστα ἐξ Ἰλίου φασὶν ἐπὶ τοιᾶδε μαντεύματι:”Θηβαῖοι Κάδμοιο πόλιν καταναιετάοντες,

αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃτε πάτρην οἰκεῖν σὺν ἀμύμονι πλούτῳ,

Ἐκτορος ὅστέα Πριαμίδου κομίσαντες ἐς οἶκους

ἐξ Ἀσῆς Διὸς ἐννεσίησ' ἥρωα σέβεσθαι.

“

[6] τῇ δὲ Οἰδιποδίᾳ κρήνη τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐς αὐτὴν τὸ αἶμα ἐνίψατο Οἰδίπους τοῦ πατρῶου φόνου. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πηγῇ τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀσφοδίκου· καὶ ὁ Ἀσφοδίκος οὗτος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους Παρθενοπαῖον τὸν Ταλαοῦ, καθὰ οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἐν Θηβαΐδι ἔπη τὰ ἐς τὴν Παρθενοπαίου τελευτὴν Περικλύμενον τὸν ἀνελόντα φησὶν εἶναι.

19. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ λεωφόρῳ χωρίον ἐστὶ Τευμησσός· Εὐρώπην δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς κρυφθῆναι φασιν ἐνταῦθα. ἕτερος δὲ ἐς ἀλώπεκα ἐπὶ κλησιν Τευμησσίαν λόγος ἐστίν, ὥς ἐκ μηνίματος Διονύσου τὸ θηρίον ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τραφεῖν Θηβαίων, καὶ ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ κυνός, ὃν Πρόκριδι τῇ Ἐρεχθέως ἔδωκεν Ἄρτεμις, ἀλίσκεσθαι μέλλουσα αὕτῃ τε λίθος ἐγένετο ἡ ἀλώπηξ καὶ ὁ κύων οὗτος. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Τευμησσῷ Τελχινίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτῆς ἔστιν εἰκάζειν ὥς τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ ποτὲ οἰκησάντων Τελχίνων ἀφικομένη μοῖρα ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς Τελχινίας. [2] Τευμησσοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίοις προελθόντι ἑπτὰ Γλίσαντός ἐστιν ἐρείπια, πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χῶμα οὐ μέγα ὕλη τε ἀγρία σύσκιον καὶ ἡμέροις δένδροις. ἐτάφησαν δὲ αὐτόθι οἱ μετὰ Αἰγιαλέως ποιησάμενοι τοῦ Ἀδράστου τὴν ἐς Θήβας στρατείαν, ἄλλοι τε Ἀργείων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ Πρόμαχος ὁ Παρθενοπαῖου· τῷ δὲ Αἰγιαλεῖ γενέσθαι τὸ μνῆμα ἐν Παγαῖς πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐδήλωσα.

[3] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Γλίσαντα εὐθείαν ἐκ Θηβῶν λίθοις χωρίον περιεχόμενον λογάσιν Ὁφεως καλοῦσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι κεφαλὴν, τὸν ὄφιν τοῦτον — ὅστις δὴ ἦν — ἀνασχεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τοῦ φαλεοῦ λέγοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν, Τειρεσίαν δὲ ἐπιτυχόντα ἀποκόψαι μαχαίρᾳ. τὸ μὲν δὴ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐπὶ λόγῳ καλεῖται τοιῷδε· ὑπὲρ δὲ Γλίσαντός ἐστιν ὄρος Ὑπάτος καλούμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς Ὑπάτου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα· τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν τὸν χεῖμαρρον Θερμώδοντα ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ ἐπὶ τε Τευμησσὸν καὶ ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Χαλκίδα Χαλκῶδοντος μνημῆα ἐστίν, ὃς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Ἀμφιτρύωνος μάχης πρὸς Θηβαίους Εὐβοεῦσι γενομένης. [4] ἐξῆς δὲ πόλεων ἐρείπια ἐστὶν Ἄρματος καὶ Μυκαλησσοῦ· καὶ τῇ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο ἀφανισθέντος, ὥς οἱ Ταναγραῖοί φασιν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀμφιαράῳ τοῦ ἄρματος καὶ οὐχ ὅπου λέγουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· Μυκαλησσὸν δὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὀνομασθῆναι, διότι ἡ βοῦς ἐνταῦθα ἐμυκῆσατο ἢ Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἄγουσα ἐς Θήβας. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον ἐγένετο ἡ Μυκαλησσὸς ἀνάστατος, τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἔχοντα ἐδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου.

[5] πρὸς θάλασσαν δὲ τῆς Μυκαλησσοῦ Δήμητρος Μυκαλησσίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· κλείεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ ἐκάστη καὶ αὖθις ἀνοίγεσθαι φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι τῶν Ἰδαίων καλουμένων Δακτύλων. δείκνυται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ θαῦμα τοιόνδε· πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν ποδῶν τιθέασιν ὅσα ἐν ὁπώρα πέφυκε γίνεσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ διὰ παντὸς μένει τεθηλότα τοῦ ἔτους. [6] τοῦ δὲ Εὐρίπου τὴν Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτῶν διείργοντος τῆς τε Δήμητρος ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μυκαλησσίας καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ἐστὶν Αὐλῖς· ὀνομασθῆναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὠγύγου θυγατρὸς φασιν αὐτήν. ναὸς δὲ Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου λευκοῦ, τὸ μὲν δᾶδας φέρον, τὸ δὲ ἔοικε τοξευούσῃ. φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ

μελλόντων ἐκ μαντείας τῆς Κάλχαντος Ἰφιγένειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων θύειν, τὴν θεὸν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἔλαφον τὸ ἱερεῖον ποιῆσαι.

[7] πλατάνου δέ, ἥς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησατο μνήμην, τὸ ἔτι τοῦ ξύλου περιὸν φυλάσσουσιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ἐν Αὐλίδι πνεῦμα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐπίφορον, φανέντος δὲ ἐξαίφνης ἀνέμου σφίσιν οὐρίου θύειν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὃ τῷ ἑκαστος εἶχε, θήλεά τε ἱερεῖα καὶ ἄρσενά ὁμοίως· καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου διαμεμένηκεν ἐν Αὐλίδι πάντα τὰ ἱερεῖα εἶναι δόκιμα. δέικνυται δὲ καὶ ἡ πηγὴ, παρ' ἣν ἡ πλάτανος ἐπεφύκει, καὶ ἐπὶ λόφου πλησίον τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος σκηνῆς οὐδὸς χαλκοῦς· [8] φοῖνικες δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πεφύκασιν, οὐκ ἐξ ἅπαν ἐδωδιμον παρεχόμενοι καρπὸν ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τῶν φοινίκων καρποῦ πεπανώτερον. ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἐν τῇ Αὐλίδι οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πολλοί, γῆς δὲ εἰσιν οὗτοι κεραμεῖς· νέμονται δὲ Ταναγραῖοι ταύτην τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ὅση περὶ Μυκαλησσὸν ἐστί καὶ Ἄρμα.

20. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ταναγραίας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καλούμενον Δήλιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. Ταναγραῖοι δὲ οἰκιστὴν σφισι Ποίμανδρον γενέσθαι λέγουσι Χαιρησίλῳ παῖδα τοῦ Ἰασίου τοῦ Ἑλευθῆρος, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Αἰθούσης εἶναι τῆς Ποσειδῶνος. Ποίμανδρον δὲ γυναῖκά φασιν ἀγαγέσθαι Τάναγρην θυγατέρα Αἰόλου· Κορίννη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιημένα Ἀσωποῦ παῖδα εἶναι. [2] ταύτης τοῦ βίου προελθούσης ἐπὶ μακρότατον τοὺς περιοίκους φασὶν ἀφελόντας τὸ ὄνομα τὴν τε γυναῖκα αὐτὴν καλεῖν Γραῖαν καὶ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὴν πόλιν· διαμεῖναι τε τὸ ὄνομα ἐς τοσοῦτον ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ ποιῆσαι· Ὁέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν.

“Hom. Il.

2.498 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνεσώσαντο. [3] ἔστι δ' Ὀρίωνος μνῆμα ἐν Τανάγρα καὶ ὄρος Κηρύκιον, ἔνθα Ἑρμῆν τεχθῆναι λέγουσι, Πόλος τε ὀνομαζόμενον χωρίον· ἐνταῦθα Ἀτλαντα καθήμενον πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς φασὶ καὶ τὰ οὐράνια, πεποιῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ περὶ τούτου,” Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅστε θαλάσσης

πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δὲ τε κίονας αὐτός

μακράς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν.

“Hom. Od.

1.152

[4] ἐν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ναῷ θεὰς μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄξιον λίθου τε ὄν Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος, θαῦμα δὲ παρέχεται μείζον ἔτι ὁ Τρίτων. ὁ μὲν δὴ σεμνότερος ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος τὰς γυναῖκάς φησι τὰς Ταναγραίων πρὸ τῶν Διονύσου ὀργίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβῆναι καθαρσίῳ ἔνεκα, νηχομέναις δὲ ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν Τρίτωνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εὐξασθαι Διόνυσόν σφισιν ἀφικέσθαι βοηθόν, ὑπακοῦσαί τε δὴ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ Τρίτωνος κρατῆσαι τῇ μάχῃ:

[5] ὁ δὲ ἕτερος λόγος ἀξιώματι μὲν ἀποδεῖ τοῦ προτέρου, πιθανώτερος δὲ ἐστί. φησὶ γὰρ δὴ οὗτος, ὅποσα ἐλαύνοιτο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν βοσκήματα, ὡς ἐλόχα τε ὁ Τρίτων καὶ ἥρπαζεν· ἐπιχειρεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν πλοίων τοῖς λεπτοῖς, ἐς ὃ οἱ Ταναγραῖοι κρατῆρα οἴνου προτιθέασιν αὐτῷ. καὶ τὸν αὐτίκα

ἔρχεσθαι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ὁσμῆς, πίνοντα δὲ ἐρριφθαι κατὰ τῆς ἡόνος ὑπνωμένον, Ταναγραῖον δὲ ἄνδρα πελέκει παίσαντα ἀποκόψαι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴ. ὅτι δὲ μεθυσθέντα εἶλον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὑπὸ Διονύσου νομίζουσιν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν.

21. εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον Τρίτωνα ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων θαύμασι, μεγέθει τοῦ παρὰ Ταναγραῖοις ἀποδέοντα. παρέχονται δὲ ἰδέαν οἱ Τρίτωνες· ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κόμην οἷα τὰ βατράχια τὰ ἐν ταῖς λίμναις χρόαν τε καὶ ὅτι τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποκρίναις μίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα φολίδι λεπτῇ πέφρικέ σφισι κατὰ ἰχθὺν ῥίνην. βράγχια δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ὥσιν ἔχουσι καὶ ῥίνα ἀνθρώπου, στόμα δὲ εὐρύτερον καὶ ὀδόντας θηρίου· τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔμοι δοκεῖν γλαυκὰ καὶ χεῖρές εἰσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δάκτυλοι καὶ ὄνυχες τοῖς ἐπιθέμασιν ἐμφερεῖς τῶν κόχλων· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὴν γαστέρα οὐρά σφισιν ἀντὶ ποδῶν οἷα περ τοῖς δελφῖσιν ἔστιν. [2] εἶδον δὲ καὶ ταύρους τοὺς τε Αἰθιοπικοὺς, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι ὀνομάζουσι ῥινόκερος, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐπ' ἄκρα τῇ ῥινὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ κέρας καὶ ἄλλο ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ οὐ μέγα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν κέρατά ἐστι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Παιόνων — οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ Παιόνων ἔς τε τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα δασεῖς καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ στέρνον μάλιστά εἰσι καὶ τὴν γένυν — καμήλους τε Ἰνδικὰς χρῶμα εἰκασμένας παρδάλεσιν. [3] ἔστι δὲ ἄλκη καλούμενον θηρίον, εἶδος μὲν ἐλάφου καὶ καμήλου μεταξύ, γίνεται δὲ ἐν τῇ Κελτῶν γῇ. θηρίων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνην ἀνιχνεῦσαι καὶ προῖδεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ, σταλεῖσι δὲ ἐς ἄγραν ἄλλων καὶ τήνδε ἐς χεῖρά ποτε δαίμων ἄγει· ὁσφράται μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πολὺ ἔτι ἀπέχουσα, ὥς φασι, καταδύεται δὲ ἐς φάραγγας καὶ σπήλαια τὰ βαθύτατα. οἱ θηρεύοντες οὖν, ὁπότε ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, σταδίῳ τὴν πεδιάδα χιλίων ἢ καὶ ὄρος περιλαβόντες, τὸν κύκλον μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως διαλύσουσιν, ἐπισυνιόντες δὲ ἀεὶ τὰ ἐντὸς γινόμενα τοῦ κύκλου πάντα αἰροῦσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰς ἄλκας· εἰ δὲ μὴ τύχοι ταύτῃ φωλεύουσα, ἐτέρα γε ἄλκην ἐλεῖν ἔστιν οὐδεμία μηχανή. [4] θηρίον δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ Κτησίῳ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς — μαρτιχόρα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων φησὶν ἀνδροφάγον λελέχθαι — εἶναι πείθομαι τὸν τίγριν· ὀδόντας δὲ αὐτὸ τριστοίχους καθ' ἑκατέραν τὴν γένυν καὶ κέντρα ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἔχειν τῆς οὐρᾶς, τούτοις δὲ τοῖς κέντροις ἐγγύθεν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς πορρωτέρῳ τοξότου ἀνδρὸς οἰστῷ ἴσον, ταύτην οὐκ ἀληθῆ τὴν φήμην οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δέξασθαι δοκοῦσί μοι παρ' ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς τὸ θηρίον δείματος. [5] ἠπατήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν χρόαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁπότε κατὰ τοῦ ἡλίου φανεῖν σφίσιν ὁ τίγρις τὴν αὐγὴν, ἐρυθρός τ' ἐδόκει καὶ ὁμόχρους ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὠκύτητος ἢ — εἰ μὴ θεοῖ — διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς συνεχές, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐκ ἐγγύθεν γινομένης τῆς θεάς. δοκῶ δέ, εἰ καὶ Λιβύης τις ἢ τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἢ Ἀράβων γῆς ἐπέρχοιτο τὰ ἔσχατα ἐθέλων θηρία ὅποσα παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐξευρεῖν, τὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν εὐρήσειν, τὰ δὲ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχειν φανεῖσθαι οἱ· [6] οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνθρωπος μόνον ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀέρι καὶ τῇ γῇ διαφόροις οὔσι διάφορον κτᾶται καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν πάσχοι τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ θηρία αἱ ἀσπίδες τοῦτο μὲν ἔχουσιν αἱ Λίβυσσαι παρὰ τὰς Αἰγυπτίας τὴν χρόαν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Αἰθιοπία μελαίνας τὰς ἀσπίδας οὐ μεῖον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ γῇ τρέφει. οὕτω χρὴ πάντα τινὰ μῆτε ἐπίδρομον τὴν

γνώμην μήτε ἀπίστως ἔχειν ἐς τὰ σπανιώτερα, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἐγὼ περωτοῦς ὄφεις οὐ θεασάμενος πείθομαι: πείθομαι δὲ ὅτι ἀνὴρ Φρυξὶ ἤγαγεν ἐς Ἰωνίαν σκορπίον ταῖς ἀκρίσιν ὁμοιότατα περὰ ἔχοντα.

22. ἐν Τανάγρα δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου Θέμιδος ἐστίν, ὃ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν ναῶν Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν τε καὶ Λητώ. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ τε Κριοφόρου καὶ ὄν Πρόμαχον καλοῦσι, τοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Ἑρμῆς σφισιν ἀποτρέψαι νόσον λοιμώδη περὶ τὸ τεῖχος κριὸν περιενεγκών, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κάλαιμις ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ φέροντα κριὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων: ὃς δ' ἂν εἶναι τῶν ἐφήβων προκριθῇ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστος, οὗτος ἐν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τῇ ἑορτῇ περίεσιν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἔχων ἄρνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων: [2] τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν λέγουσι τὸν Πρόμαχον Ἑρετριέων ναυσὶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἐς τὴν Ταναγραίαν σχόντων τοὺς τε ἐφήβους ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ αὐτὸν ὅτε ἔφηβον στλεγγίδι ἀμυνόμενον μάλιστα ἐργάσασθαι τῶν Εὐβοέων τροπὴν. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῦ Προμάχου τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς τε ἀνδράχου τοῦ ὑπόλοιπον: τραφῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δένδρῳ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τούτῳ νομίζουσιν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ θέατρόν τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ στοὰ πεποιήται. εὖ δέ μοι Ταναγραῖοι νομίσαι τὰ ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστα δοκοῦσιν Ἑλλήνων: χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι σφισι, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἐν καθαρῷ τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων. [3] Κορίννης δέ, ἡ μόνη δὴ ἐν Τανάγρα ἄσματα ἐποίησε, ταύτης ἐστὶ μὲν μνῆμα ἐν περιφανεί τῆς πόλεως, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ γραφὴ, ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ Κόριννα ἀναδουμένη τῆς νίκης ἔνεκα ἣν Πίνδαρον ἄσματι ἐνίκησεν ἐν Θήβαις. φαίνεται δέ μοι νικῆσαι τῆς διαλέκτου τε ἔνεκα, ὅτι ἦδεν οὐ τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι ὥσπερ ὁ Πίνδαρος ἀλλὰ ὁποῖα συνήσειν ἔμελλον Αἰολεῖς, καὶ ὅτι ἦν γυναικῶν τότε δὴ καλλίστη τὸ εἶδος, εἴ τι τῇ εἰκόνι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. [4] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ γένη δύο ἐνταῦθα ἀλεκτρύνων, οἳ τε μάχιμοι καὶ οἱ κόσσυφοι καλούμενοι. τούτων τῶν κοσσύφων μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐστὶν ὀρνιθας, χροὰ δὲ ἐμφερὴς κόρακι, κάλλαια δὲ καὶ ὁ λόφος κατὰ ἀνεμώνην μάλιστα: λευκὰ δὲ σημεῖα οὐ μεγάλα ἐπὶ τε ἄκρῳ τῷ ῥάμφει καὶ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἔχουσι τῆς οὐρᾶς. [5] οὗτοι μὲν τοιοῦτο παρέχονται τὸ εἶδος, τῆς δὲ Βοιωτίας τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Εὐρίπου Μεσσάπιον ὄρος καλούμενον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀθηδών: γενέσθαι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀθηδόνος νύμφης, οἱ δὲ Ἄθθαν δυναστεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα, Ποσειδῶνός τε παῖδα καὶ Ἀλκυνόνης τῆς Ἀτλαντος. Ἀθηδονίοις δὲ μάλιστα που κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλεως Καβείρων ἱερὸν καὶ ἄλσος περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ, πλησίον δὲ Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου λευκοῦ:

[6] Διονύσου τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται καὶ ἄγαλμα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον. ἐνταῦθα εἰσι μὲν τάφοι τῶν Ἰφιμεδείας καὶ Ἀλωέως παίδων: γενέσθαι δὲ σφισι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευταίαν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὀμηρος πεποιήκασιν καὶ Πίνδαρος, προστίθῃσι δὲ Πίνδαρος, ὡς ἐπιλάβοι τὸ χρεὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν Νάξῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Πάρου κειμένη. τούτων τε δὴ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀθηδὼνι μνήματα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ καλούμενον Γλαύκου πῆδημα: [7] εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀλιέα, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς πόας ἔφαγε, δαίμονα ἐν θαλάσῃ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐς τότε προλέγειν οἳ τε ἄλλοι πιστὰ ἡγνῆται καὶ οἱ τὴν

θάλασσαν πλέοντες πλείστα ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὴν Γλαύκου μαντικὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον λέγουσι. Πινδάρῳ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλῳ πυνθανομένοις παρὰ Ἀνθηδονίων, τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπῆλθεν ἄσαι τὰ ἐς Γλαῦκον, Αἰσχύλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐς ποιήσιν δράματος ἐξήρκεσε.

23. Θηβαίοις δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶ τῶν Προϊτίδων καὶ τὸ Ἰολάου καλούμενον γυμνάσιον καὶ στάδιον κατὰ ταῦτα τῷ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ γῆς χῶμα· ἐνταῦθα δείκνυνται καὶ ἡρῶν Ἰολάου. τελευτῆσαι δὲ ἐν Σαρδοῖ τὸν τε Ἰόλαον αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θεσπιέων τοὺς συνδιαβάντας ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι. [2] ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ δρόμος ἵππων καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Πινδάρου μνημῆα ἐστὶ. Πίνδαρον δὲ ἡλικίαν ὄντα νεανίσκον καὶ ἰόντα ἐς Θεσπιάς θέρους ὥρα καύματος περὶ μεσοῦσαν μάλιστα ἡμέραν κόπος καὶ ὕπνος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατελάμβανεν· ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥς εἶχε κατακλίνεται βραχὺ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, μέλισσαι δὲ αὐτῷ καθεύδοντι προσεπέτοντό τε καὶ ἔπλασσον πρὸς τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ κηροῦ. [3] ἀρχὴ μὲν Πινδάρῳ ποιεῖν ἄσματα ἐγένετο τοιαύτη· εὐδοκιμοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἤδη ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐς πλεον δόξης ἦρεν ἡ Πυθία ἀνειπούσα Δελφοῖς, ὁπόσων ἀπῆρχοντο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, μοῖραν καὶ Πινδάρῳ τὴν ἴσιν ἀπάντων νέμειν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτος ὄψιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προήκοντι ἐς γῆρας· ἐπιστᾶσα ἡ Περσεφόνη οἱ καθεύδοντι οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὕμνηθῆναι μόνῃ θεῶν ὑπὸ Πινδάρου, ποιήσιν μέντοι καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἄσμα Πίνδαρον ἐλθόντα ὥς αὐτήν. [4] τὸν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ χρεῶν ἐπιλαμβάνει πρὶν ἐξήκειν ἡμέραν δεκάτην ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνειράτος, ἣν δὲ ἐν Θήβαις γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις γένους ἔνεκα προσήκουσα Πινδάρῳ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μεμελετηκυῖα ᾄδειν τῶν ἰσμάτων· ταύτη Πίνδαρος ἐνύπνιον τῇ πρεσβύτιδι ἐπιστὰς ὕμνον ἦσεν ἐς Περσεφόνην, ἡ δὲ αὐτίκα ὥς ἀπέλιπεν αὐτήν ὁ ὕπνος, ἔγραψε ταῦτα ὁπόσα τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἤκουσεν ᾄδοντος. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἴσματι ἄλλαι τε ἐς τὸν Ἄϊδην εἰσὶν ἐπικλήσεις καὶ ὁ χρυσήνιος, δηλαδὴ ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς Κόρης τῇ ἀρπαγῇ. [5] ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Ἀκραιφνιὸν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς τὰ πλείω πεδιάς. εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μοῖραν τῆς Θηβαΐδος τὴν πόλιν φασὶ καὶ ὕστερον διαπεσόντας Θηβαίων ἐς αὐτὴν ἄνδρας εὕρισκον, ἡνίκα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐποίει τὰς Θήβας ἀναστάτους· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀσθενείας καὶ γήρως οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποσωθῆναι δυνηθέντες ἐνταῦθα ὤκησαν. κεῖται μὲν τὸ πόλισμα ἐν ὄρει τῷ Πτώφ, θέας δὲ ἄξια ἐνταῦθα Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα.

[6] προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε πού καὶ δέκα σταδίους τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι τοῦ Πτώου τὸ ἱερόν. εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς παῖδα τὸν Πτώον, ἀφ' οὗ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικλήσεις καὶ τῷ ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἄσιος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἶρηκε. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐπιστρατείας καὶ ὀλέθρου τοῦ Θηβαίων μαντεῖον ἦν αὐτόθι ἀψευδές· καί ποτε ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα — ὄνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι Μῦν — , τοῦτον ἀποσταλέντα ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου τὸν Μῦν ἐπερέσθαι τε φωνῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ οἱ χρῆσαι τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ἑλληνίσαντα οὐδὲ αὐτόν, διαλέκτῳ τῇ Καρικῇ. [7] ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πτώον ἔστιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Βοιωτῶν πόλις Λάρυμνα, γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα φασιν ἀπὸ Λαρύμνης τῆς Κύνου· τοὺς δὲ ἀνωτέρω προγόνους δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἔχοντα ἐς Λοκροὺς τοῦ λόγου. καὶ συνετέλει δὲ ἐς Ὀποῦντα ἡ

Λάρυμνα τὸ ἀρχαῖον· Θηβαίων δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἰσχύος προελθόντων, τηνικαῦτα ἔκουσίως μετετάξαντο ἐς Βοιωτούς. Διονύσου δὲ ἐνταῦθα ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν πεποιήται. λιμὴν δὲ σφισὶν ἔστιν ἀγκιβαθῆς, καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ὕδωρ παρέχεται θήραν ἀγρίων.

24. ἐξ Ἀκραιφνίου δὲ ἰόντι εὐθείαν ἐπὶ λίμνην τὴν Κηφισίδα — οἱ δὲ Κωπαῖδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν αὐτὴν — πεδῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθαμάντιον· οἰκῆσαι δὲ Ἀθάμαντα ἐν αὐτῷ φασιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν λίμνην ὃ τε ποταμὸς ὁ Κηφισὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Λιλαΐας τῆς Φωκέων καὶ διαπλεύσαντί εἰσι Κῶπαι. κεῖνται δὲ αἱ Κῶπαι πόλισμα ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ, τούτου δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποιήσατο ἐν καταλόγῳ μνήμην· ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Σαρᾶπιδός ἐστιν ἱερά.

[2] λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ πολίσματα ἄλλα πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ποτὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐλευσῖνα οἰκεῖσθαι, καὶ ὥς ὥρα χειμῶνος ἐπικλύσασα ἠφάνισεν αὐτὰ ἡ λίμνη. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἰχθὺς οἱ ἐν τῇ Κηφισίδι οὐδέν τι διάφορον ἐς ἄλλους ἰχθὺς τοὺς λιμναίους ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐγγέλεις αὐτόθι καὶ μεγέθει μέγισται καὶ ἐσθίειν εἰσὶν ἥδισταί. [3] Κωπῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίου προελθόντι ὥς δώδεκα εἰσὶν Ὀλμωνες, Ὀλμωνέων δὲ ἑπτὰ πού στάδια Ὑήττος ἀφέστηκε κῶμαι νῦν τε οὔσαι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς· μοίρας δὲ ἔμοι δοκεῖν τῆς Ὀρχομενίας εἰσὶ καὶ αὗται καὶ πεδῖον τὸ Ἀθαμάντιον. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐς Ὑήττον ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον καὶ Ὀλμον τὸν Σισύφου λεγόμενα ἤκουον, προσέεται καὶ αὐτὰ τῇ Ὀρχομενίᾳ συγγραφῇ· θεάς δὲ ἄξιον ἐν μὲν Ὀλμωσιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχύτατον παρῆχον οὐδέν, ἐν Ὑήττῳ δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἰάματα εὗρασθαι παρὰ τούτου τοῖς κάμνουσιν ἔστιν, ὄντος οὐχὶ ἀγάλματος σὺν τέχνῃ, λίθου δὲ ἀργοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

[4] Ὑήττου δὲ στάδια ὥς εἴκοσιν ἀπέχουσι Κύρτωνες· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα τῷ πολίσματι φασιν εἶναι Κυρτώνην. ὤκισται δὲ ἐπὶ ὄρους ὕψηλοῦ, καὶ Απόλλωνός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ναὸς τε καὶ ἄλσος· ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ Απόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστίν. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐκ πέτρας ἀνερχόμενον· νυμφῶν δὲ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ καὶ ἄλσος οὐ μέγα ἐστίν, ἡμερα δὲ ὁμοίως πάντα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει δένδρα.

[5] ἐκ δὲ Κυρτώνων ὑπερβάλλοντι τὸ ὄρος πόλισμα ἐστὶ Κορσεΐα, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ δένδρων ἄλσος οὐχ ἡμέρων· πρῖνοι τὸ πολὺ εἰσιν. Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἄλσους ἔστηκε. τοῦτο ἀπέχει Κορσεΐας ὅσον τε ἡμισυ σταδίου. καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλὸν ποταμὸς Πλατάνιος καλούμενος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν· ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔσχατοι ταύτῃ πόλισμα οἰκοῦσιν Ἀλὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσει, ἢ τὴν Λοκρίδα ἡπειρον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐβοίας διείργει.

25. Θηβαίοις δὲ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγύτατα τῶν Νηιστῶν Μενοικέως μνήμα τοῦ Κρέοντος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ἔκουσίως αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ μάντευμα τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἥνικα Πολυνείκης καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἀφίκοντο ἐξ Ἀργούς. τοῦ δὲ Μενοικέως ἐπιπέφυκε ροιὰ τῷ μνήματι· τοῦ καρποῦ δὲ ὄντος πεπεῖρου διαρρήξαντί σοι τὸ ἐκτὸς λοιπόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν τὸ ἔνδον αἵματι ἐμφερές. αὕτη μὲν δὴ τεθηλὸς δένδρον ἐστὶν ἡ ροιὰ· ἄμπελον δὲ φῦναι μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παρὰ σφίσι πρῶτοις φασὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀποφῆναι δὲ οὐδέν ἔτι ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπόμνημα

εἶχον.

[2] τοῦ δὲ Μενουκέως οὐ πόρρω τάφου τοὺς παῖδας λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδος μονομαχήσαντας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων: σημεῖον δὲ τῆς μάχης αὐτῶν κίων, καὶ ἀσπίς ἔπεστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθου. δείκνυνται δὲ τι χωρίον ἔνθα Ἦραν Θηβαῖοί φασιν Ἡρακλεῖ παιδί ἐτι ἐπισχεῖν γάλα κατὰ δὴ τινα ἀπάτην ἐκ Διός: καλεῖται δὲ ὁ σύμπας οὗτος τόπος Σῦρμα Ἀντιγόνης: ὥς γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Πολυνεϊκούς ἄρασθαί οἱ προθυμουμένη νεκρὸν οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ῥαστώνη, δεύτερα ἐπενόησεν ἔλκειν αὐτόν, ἐς ὃ εἵλκυσέ τε καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους ἐξημμένην τὴν πυράν. [3] διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν καλούμενον ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τῆς Λύκου Δίρκην — ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ ἔχει λόγος Ἀντιόπην κακοῦσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιόπης παίδων συμβῆναι τῇ Δίρκῃ τὴν τελευταίην —, διαβᾶσιν οὖν τὴν Δίρκην οἰκίας τε ἐρείπια τῆς Πινδάρου καὶ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ἱερὸν, Πινδάρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀριστομήδους τε καὶ Σωκράτους Θηβαίων. μιᾷ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστων ἐτῶν ἡμέρα καὶ οὐ πέρα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοίγειν νομίζουσιν: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀφικέσθαι τε ἐξεγεγόνει τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον λίθου τοῦ Πεντελεῆσι καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν θρόνον.

[4] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Νηιστῶν τὸ μὲν Θέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου, τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς Μοιρῶν, τὸ δὲ Ἀγοραίου Διός: οὗτος μὲν δὴ λίθου πεποιήται, ταῖς Μοίραις δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάλματα. καὶ ἀπωτέρω μικρὸν Ἡρακλῆς ἔστηκεν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Ῥινοκολούστης ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων, ὅτι τῶν κηρύκων, ὥς οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπέτεμεν ἐπὶ λῶβῃ τὰς ῥίνας, οἱ παρὰ Ὀρχομενίων ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ δασμοῦ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν.

[5] σταδίους δὲ αὐτόθεν πέντε προελθόντι καὶ εἴκοσι Δήμητρος Καβειραίας καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἄλλος: ἐσελθεῖν δὲ τοῖς τελεσθεῖσιν ἔστι. τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἄλλους ἐπτά που σταδίους τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφέστηκεν. οἵτινες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ Κάβειροι καὶ ὅποια ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ Μητρὶ τὰ δρώμενα, σιωπὴν ἄγοντι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συγγνώμη παρὰ ἀνδρῶν φιληκῶν ἔστω μοι.

[6] τοσοῦτο δὲ δηλῶσαι με καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐκώλυσεν οὐδέν, ἦντινα λέγουσιν ἀρχὴν οἱ Θηβαῖοι γενέσθαι τοῖς δρωμένοις. πόλιν γὰρ ποτε ἐν τούτῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἄνδρας ὀνομαζομένους Καβείρους, Προμηθεὶ δὲ ἐνὶ τῶν Καβείρων καὶ Αἰτναίῳ τῷ Προμηθέως ἀφικομένην Δήμητρα ἐς γνῶσιν παρακαταθέσθαι σφίσιν: ἥτις μὲν δὴ ἦν ἡ παρακαταθήκη καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν γινόμενα, οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ὅσιόν μοι γράφειν, Δήμητρος δ' οὖν Καβειραίοις δῶρόν ἐστιν ἡ τελετή. [7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐπιγόνων στρατείαν καὶ ἄλωσιν τῶν Θηβῶν ἀνέστησαν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ Καβειραῖοι, ἐξελείφθη δὲ ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ καὶ ἡ τελετή. Πελαργὴν δὲ ὕστερον τὴν Ποτνιέως καὶ Ἰσθμιάδην Πελαργῇ συνοικοῦντα καταστήσασθαι μὲν τὰ ὄργια αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, μετενεγκεῖν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλεξιάρουν καλούμενον: [8] ὅτι δὲ τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἐμύησεν ἡ Πελαργὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων, Τηλώνδης καὶ ὅσοι γένους τοῦ Καβειριτῶν ἐλείποντο κατήλθον αὐθις ἐς τὴν Καβειραίαν. Πελαργῇ μὲν δὴ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δωδώνης καὶ ἄλλα ἔμελλεν ἐς τιμὴν καταστήσασθαι καὶ ἡ θυσία, φέρον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἱερεῖον: τὸ δὲ μήνιμα τὸ ἐκ τῶν Καβείρων ἀπαραίτητόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὥς ἐπέδειξε δὴ πολλαχῇ. [9] τὰ γὰρ δὴ δρώμενα ἐν Θήβαις ἐτόλμησαν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ κατὰ ταῦτα ιδιώται δρᾶσαι, καὶ σφᾶς οὐ

μετὰ πολὺ ἐπέλαβεν ἡ δίκη. ὅσοι δὲ ὁμοῦ Μαρδονίῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Ξέρξου περὶ Βοιωτίαν ἐλείφθησαν, τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Καβείρων τάχα μὲν που καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐλπίδι, τὸ πλεόν δὲ ἔμοι δοκεῖν τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὀλιγορίᾳ, τούτοις παραφρονῆσαι τε συνέπεσεν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀπώλοντο ἐς θάλασσαν τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ἑαυτοὺς ῥίπτοντες. [10] Ἀλεξάνδρου δέ, ὡς ἐνίκησε τῇ μάχῃ, Θήβας τε αὐτὰς καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν Θηβαΐδα διδόντος πυρί, ἄνδρες τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐλθόντες ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱερὸν ἄτε ἐν γῇ τῇ πολεμία κεραυνοῖς τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστραπαῖς ἐφθάρησαν.

26. οὕτω μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅγιον· τοῦ Καβειρίου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ πεδίον ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμον Τηνέρου μάντεως, ὃν Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Μελίας νομίζουσι, καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν μέγα ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἴπποδέτου· τοὺς τε γὰρ Ὀρχομενίους φασὶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀφίχθαι στρατιᾷ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα νύκτωρ τοὺς ἵππους λαβόντα συνδῆσαι σφισι τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρμασι. [2] προελθόντων δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶν ὅθεν τὴν Σφίγγα λέγουσιν ὀρμαῖσθαι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἀρπαζομένων αἰνιγμα ἄδουσιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ ληστείαν σὺν δυνάμει ναυτικῇ πλανωμένην φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀνθηδόνι σχεῖν θάλασσαν, καταλαβοῦσαν δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρπαγαῖς χρῆσθαι, πρὶν ἐξεῖλεν Οἰδίπους αὐτὴν ὑπερβαλόμενος πλήθει στρατιᾶς ἣν ἀφίκετο ἔχων ἐκ Κορίνθου. [3] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς νόθη Λαΐου θυγάτηρ εἴη, καὶ ὡς τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν Κάδμῳ δοθέντα ἐκ Δελφῶν διδάξειεν αὐτὴν κατὰ εὐνοίαν ὁ Λάιος· ἐπίστασθαι δὲ πλὴν τοὺς βασιλέας οὐδένα ἄλλον τὸ μάντευμα. ὁπότε οὖν τῇ Σφιγγὶ ἀμφισβητήσων τις ἀφίκοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς — γενέσθαι γὰρ τῷ Λαΐῳ ἐκ παλλακῶν υἱοὺς καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐς Ἐπικάστην μόνην καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔχειν παῖδας — , τὴν οὖν Σφίγγα χρῆσθαι σοφίσμασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὡς τὸν Κάδμῳ γενόμενον χρησμὸν εἰδεῖεν ἂν Λαΐου γε ὄντες· [4] οὐκ ἔχοντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνασθαι θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ἅτε οὐ προσηκόντως ἀμφισβητοῦντας γένους τε καὶ ἀρχῆς. Οἰδίπους δὲ ἄρα ἀφίκετο ὑπὸ ὄνειρατος δεδιδραγμένος τὸν χρησμόν. [5] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα σταδίους πόλεως ἐρείπια Ὀγγηστοῦ· φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ὀγγηστόν. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ποσειδῶνος ἐλείπετο Ὀγγηστίου καὶ τὸ ἄλσος, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐπῆνεσε.

[6] τραπομένῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καβειρίου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ προελθόντι ὡς πεντήκοντα σταδίους Θέσπια ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ὥκιστα. θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι Θέσπιαν λέγουσιν Ἀσωποῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Θέσπιόν φασιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐλθόντα τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει δοῦναι· [7] γεγονέναι δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐρεχθέως αὐτόν. Θεσπιεῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει Σαώτου Διός ἐστι χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα· ἐπιλέγουσι δὲ ὡς λυμαينوμένου τὴν πόλιν ποτὲ αὐτοῖς δράκοντος προστάξειεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κλήρῳ τῶν ἐφήβων κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον λαχόντα δίδοσθαι τῷ θηρίῳ. τῶν μὲν δὴ διαφθαρέντων μνημονεύειν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐ φασιν· ἐπὶ δὲ Κλεοστράτῳ λαχόντι τὸν ἐραστὴν αὐτοῦ Μενέστρατον λέγουσιν ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι. [8] χαλκοῦν θώρακα ἐποίησατο ἔχοντα ἐπὶ ἐκάστη τῶν φολίδων ἄγκιστρον ἐς τὸ ἄνω νεῖον· τοῦτον τὸν θώρακα ἐνδὺς παρέδωκε τῷ δράκοντι ἐκουσίως αὐτόν, παραδοὺς δὲ ἀπολεῖσθαι τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολεῖν

ἔμελλε τὸ θηρίον. ἀντὶ τούτου μὲν τῷ Διὶ γέγονεν ἐπὶ κλησὶς Σαώτης· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ Διονύσου καὶ αὖθις Τύχης, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ὑγείας * *, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Ἐργάνην καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ Πλούτὸν οἱ παρεστηκότα ἐποίησε * * *.

27. θεῶν δὲ οἱ Θεσπιεῖς τιμᾶσιν Ἐρωτα μάλιστα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ σφισιν ἄγαλμα παλαιότατόν ἐστιν ἀργὸς λίθος. ὅστις δὲ ὁ καταστησάμενος Θεσπιεῦσιν Ἐρωτα θεῶν σέβεσθαι μάλιστα, οὐκ οἶδα. σέβονται δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν καὶ Ἑλλησποντίων Παριανοί, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἀπωκισμένοι, τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τελοῦντες ἐς Ῥωμαίους. [2] Ἐρωτα δὲ ἄνθρωποι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νεώτατον θεῶν εἶναι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης παῖδα ἤγηνται· Λύκιος δὲ Ὠλὴν, ὃς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἐποίησεν Ἑλλήσιν, οὗτος ὁ Ὠλὴν ἐν Εἰλειθυίας ὕμνῳ μητέρα Ἐρωτος τὴν Εἰλειθυϊάν φησιν εἶναι. Ὠλῆνος δὲ ὕστερον Πάμφως τε ἔπη καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐποίησαν· καὶ σφισιν ἀμφοτέροις πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐς Ἐρωτα, ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις Λυκομίδαι καὶ ταῦτα ᾄδωσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπελεξάμην ἀνδρὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν δαδουχοῦντι. καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐ πρόσω ποιήσομαι μνήμην· Ἡσιόδῳ δὲ ἢ τὸν Ἡσιόδῳ Θεογονίαν ἐσποίησαντα οἶδα γράψαντα ὡς Χάος πρῶτον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Γῇ τε καὶ Τάρταρος καὶ Ἐρως γένοιτο· [3] Σαπφῷ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐς Ἐρωτα ἦσε. Θεσπιεῦσι δὲ ὕστερον χαλκοῦν εἰργάσατο Ἐρωτα Λύσιππος, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τούτου Πραξιτέλης λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσι. καὶ ὅσα μὲν εἶχεν ἐς Φρύνην καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Πραξιτέλει τῆς γυναικὸς σόφισμα, ἐτέρωθι ἤδη μοι δεδήλωται· πρῶτον δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα κινῆσαι τοῦ Ἐρωτος λέγουσι Γάιον δυναστεύσαντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κλαυδίου δὲ ὀπίσω Θεσπιεῦσιν ἀποπέμψαντος Νέρωνα αὖθις δεύτερα ἀνάσπαστον ποιῆσαι. [4] καὶ τὸν μὲν φλόξ αὐτόθι διέφθειρε· τῶν δὲ ἀσεβησάντων ἐς τὸν θεὸν ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ στρατιώτῃ διδοὺς αἰεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σύνθημα μετὰ ὑπούλου χλευασίας ἐς τοσοῦτο προήγαγε θυμοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὥστε σύνθημα διδόντα αὐτὸν διεργάζεται, Νέρωνι δὲ παρὲξ ἢ τὰ ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐς γυναῖκας γαμετὰς ἐναγῇ τε καὶ ἀνέραστα τολμήματα. τὸν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἐρωτα ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος Μηνόδωρος, τὸ ἔργον τὸ Πραξιτέλους μιμούμενος. [5] ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοῦ Πραξιτέλους Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Φρύνης ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, λίθου καὶ ἡ Φρύνη καὶ ἡ θεός. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι Ἀφροδίτης Μελαίνιδος ἱερὸν καὶ θεατρόν τε καὶ ἀγορὰ θεάς ἄξια· ἐνταῦθα Ἡσιόδος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς. τῆς ἀγορᾶς τε οὐ πόρρω Νίκη τε χαλκοῦ καὶ ναὸς Μουσῶν ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ μικρὰ λίθου πεποιημένα. [6] καὶ Ἡρακλέους Θεσπιεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτοῦ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐπιλάβῃ τὸ χρεὼν αὐτήν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τοιόνδε, Ἡρακλέα ταῖς θυγατράσι πεντήκοντα οὔσαις ταῖς Θεστίου συγγενέσθαι πάσαις πλὴν μιᾶς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί· ταύτην δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαί οἱ τὴν μίαν μιχθῆναι· τὸν δὲ ὕβρισθῆναι νομίζοντα δικάσαι μένειν παρθένον πάντα αὐτὴν τὸν βίον ἱερωμένην αὐτῷ.

[7] ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον λόγον, ὥς διὰ πασῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶν Θεστίου παρθένων διεξέλθοι τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί καὶ ὥς ἄρσενας παῖδας αὐτῷ πᾶσαι τέκοιεν, διδύμους δὲ ἢ τε νεωτάτη καὶ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη· ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡγήσομαι πιστόν, Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ὀργῆς ἀνδρὸς φίλου

θυγατρί ἀφικέσθαι: πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡνίκα ἔτι ἦν μετ' ἀνθρώπων, τιμωρούμενός τε ἄλλους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γε κατεστήσατο αὐτῷ ναόν τε καὶ ἱέρειαν ὥσπερ δὴ θεός. [8] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφαίνετό μοι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι τὸν Ἀμφιτρώωνος, καὶ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ καλουμένου τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἐρυθραῖους τοὺς ἐν Ἰωνία καὶ Τυρίους ἱερὰ ἔχοντας εὕρισκον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἠγνόουν τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅπου γε αὐτοὶ τῆς Μυκαλησσίας Δῆμητρος Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἰδαίῳ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγουσιν.

28. ὁ δὲ Ἑλικῶν ὁρῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐστὶν εὐγεως καὶ δένδρων ἡμέρων ἀνάπλεως: καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀνδράχχου θάμνοι παρέχονται τῶν πανταχοῦ καρπὸν αἰξίν ἥδιστον. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες καὶ ἀπάσας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τὰς πόας καὶ τὰς ρίζας ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου θανάτῳ φύεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὄφεσι τὸν ἰὸν ποιοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀσθενέστερον αἰ νομαί, ὥστε καὶ διαφεύγουσι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ δηχθέντες, ἦν ἀνδρὶ Λίβυι γένους τοῦ Ψύλλων ἢ καὶ ἄλλως προσφόροις ἐπιτύχῃσι τοῖς φαρμάκοις. [2] ἔστι μὲν δὴ ὁ ἰὸς τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις τῶν ὄφεων καὶ ἄλλως ὀλέθριος ἐς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ ζῶα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα, συντελοῦσι δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς ἰσχύν σφισι τοῦ ἰοῦ καὶ αἰ νομαί, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀκούσας οἶδα Φοίνικος ὥς ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ τῇ Φοινίκῃς ἀγριωτέρους τοὺς ἔχεις ποιοῦσιν αἱ ρίζαι. ἔφη δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸς ἀποφεύγοντα ὀρμὴν ἔχεως, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τι ἀναδραμεῖν δένδρον, τὸν δὲ ἔχιν, ὥς ἦλθεν ὕστερος, ἀποπνεῦσαι πρὸς τὸ δένδρον τοῦ ἰοῦ καὶ οὐ ζῆν ἔτι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [3] τούτου μὲν τοιαῦτα ἤκουσα: ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀράβων ὅσοι τῶν ἔχεων περὶ τὰ δένδρα τὰ πάλσαμα οἰκοῦσι, τοιάδε ἄλλα ἐς αὐτοὺς συμβαίνοντα οἶδα. μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ μυρσίνης θάμνον τὰ πάλσαμά ἐστι, φύλλα δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόαν τὸ σάμψουχον: ἔχεων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ κατὰ ποσοὺς καὶ πλείονες καὶ ἐλάσσονες ὑπὸ ἕκαστον αὐλίζονται δένδρον: τροφή γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ τῶν παλσάμων ἐστὶν ὁπὸς ἡδίστη, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλως τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν φυτῶν χαίρουσιν. [4] ἐπὰν οὖν συλλέγειν τοῦ παλσάμου τὸν ὁπὸν ἀφίκεται τοῖς Ἀραψιν ὥρα, ξύλων δύο ἕκαστος σκυτάλας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχεις ἐσφέρει, κροτοῦντες δὲ τὰ ξύλα ἀπελαύνουσι τοὺς ἔχεις: ἀποκτείνειν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἱεροὺς τῶν παλσάμων νομίζοντες. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ ἔχεων δηχθῆναί τῳ συμβῆ, τὸ μὲν τραῦμά ἐστιν ὁποῖον καὶ ὑπὸ σιδήρου, δεῖμα δὲ ἅπεστι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ: ἅτε γὰρ σιτουμένοις τοῖς ἔχεσι μύρων τὸ εὖοσμότατον, μετακεράννυται σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ θανατώδους ἐς τὸ ἥπιώτερον ὁ ἰός.

29. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχοντά ἐστιν οὕτω, θῆσαι δὲ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μούσαις πρῶτους καὶ ἐπονομάσαι τὸ ὄρος ἱερὸν εἶναι Μουσῶν Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Ὠτον λέγουσιν, οἰκίσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀσκρην: καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἡγησίονους ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐποίησεν, “Ἀσκρη δ’ αὖ παρέλεκτο Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,

ἢ δὴ οἱ τέκε παῖδα περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν

Οἶοκλον, ὃς πρῶτος μετ’ Ἀλωέος ἔκτισε παῖδων

Ἀσκρην, ἣ θ’ Ἑλικῶνος ἔχει πόδα πιδακόντα.

“Hegesinus Atthis, unknown location. [2] ταύτην τοῦ Ἡγησίου τὴν ποίησιν οὐκ ἐπελεξάμην, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἄρα ἐκλελοιπυῖα ἦν πρὶν ἢ ἐμέ γενέσθαι: Κάλλιππος δὲ Κορίνθιος ἐν τῇ ἐς Ὁρχομενίους συγγραφῇ μαρτύρια ποιεῖται

τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἥγησίνου ἔπη, ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πεποιεῖμεθα παρ' αὐτοῦ Καλλίππου διδασχέντες. Ἀσκηρὸς μὲν δὴ πύργος εἷς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο ἐς μνήμην, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλωέως παῖδες ἀριθμόν τε Μούσας ἐνόμισαν εἶναι τρεῖς καὶ ὀνόματα αὐταῖς ἔθεντο Μελέτην καὶ Μνήμην καὶ Ἀοιδήν. [3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερόν φασι Πίερον Μακεδόνα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ὀνόμασται τὸ ὄρος, τοῦτον ἐλθόντα ἐς Θεσπιάς ἐννέα τε Μούσας καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ νῦν μεταθέσθαι σφίσι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐνόμιζεν οὕτως ὁ Πίερος ἢ σοφώτερά οἱ εἶναι φανέντα ἢ κατὰ τι μάντευμα ἢ παρὰ του διδασχέις τῶν Θρακῶν: δεξιώτερον γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα ἐδόκει τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι πάλαι τὸ Θράκιον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐς τὰ θεῖα ὀλίγων. [4] εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ αὐτῷ θυγατέρας ἐννέα Πιέρῳ γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἅπερ ταῖς θεαῖς τεθῆναι καὶ ταύταις, καὶ ὅσοι Μουσῶν παῖδες ἐκλήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, θυγατρίδοὺς εἶναι σφᾶς Πιέρου: Μίμνερμος δέ, ἔλεγεία ἐς τὴν μάχην ποιήσας τὴν Σμυρναίων πρὸς Γύγην τε καὶ Λυδοὺς, φησὶν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ θυγατέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιοτέρας Μούσας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας. [5] ἐν Ἑλικῶνι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος ἰόντι τῶν Μουσῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀγανίππη πηγὴ — θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἀγανίππην τοῦ Τερμησοῦ λέγουσι, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Τερμησὸς περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα —, τὴν δὲ εὐθεῖαν ἐρχομένῳ πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος ἔστιν εἰκὼν Εὐφήμης ἐπειρασμένη λίθῳ: τροφὸν δὲ εἶναι τὴν Εὐφήμην λέγουσι τῶν Μουσῶν. [6] ταύτης τε οὖν εἰκὼν καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Λίνος ἔστιν ἐν πέτρᾳ μικρᾷ σπηλαίου τρόπον εἰργασμένη: τοῦτ' ἔτι κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πρὸ τῆς θυσίας τῶν Μουσῶν ἐναγίζουσι. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὁ Λίνος οὗτος παῖς μὲν Οὐρανίας εἴη καὶ Ἀμφιμάρου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, μεγίστην δὲ τῶν τε ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον ἐγένοντο λάβοι δόξαν ἐπὶ μουσικῇ, καὶ ὡς Ἀπόλλων ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτὸν ἐξισούμενον κατὰ τὴν ᾠδὴν. [7] ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Λίνου τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος διήλθεν ἄρα καὶ ἄχρι τῆς βαρβάρου πάσης, ὡς καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις ἄσμα γενέσθαι Λίνον: καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ ἄσμα Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ Μανέρων. οἱ δὲ Ἑλλησιν ἔπη ποιήσαντες, Ὅμηρος μὲν, ἅτε ἄσμα Ἑλλησιν ὃν ἐπιστάμενος τοῦ Λίνου τὰ παθήματα, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἔφη τῇ ἀσπίδι ἄλλα τε ἐργάσασθαι τὸν Ἥφαιστον καὶ κιθαρωδὸν παῖδα ἄδοντα τὰ ἐς Λίνον: “τοῖσι δ' ἐνὶ μέσσοισι πάϊς φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ

ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε, Λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν:

“Hom. II.

18.569-701 [8] Πάμφως δέ, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, οὗτος ἀκμᾶζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ πένθους Οἰτόλινον ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν. Σαπφὴ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία τοῦ Οἰτολίνου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Πάμφω μαθοῦσα Ἀδωνιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Οἰτόλινον ἤσεν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ λέγουσι παρὰ σφίσι ταφῆναι τὸν Λίνον, καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὸ πταῖσμα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου κατὰ δὴ τινα ὄψιν ὀνείρατος τὰ ὅσα ἀνελόμενος τοῦ Λίνου κομίσειεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν: [9] ἐκεῖνον μὲν δὴ αὖθις ἐξ ἐνυπνίων ἄλλων ὀπίσω τοῦ Λίνου τὰ ὅσα ἐς Θήβας ἀποστεῖλαι, τὰ δὲ ἐπιθήματα τοῦ τάφου, καὶ ὅσα σημεῖα ἄλλα ἦν, ἀνὰ χρόνον φασὶν ἀφανισθῆναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, ὡς τοῦ Λίνου τούτου γένοιτο ὕστερον ἕτερος Λίνος καλούμενος Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἔτι παῖς

ὦν ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον μουσικῆς ὄντα. ἔπη δὲ οὔτε ὁ Ἀμφιμάρου Λίνος οὔτε ὁ τούτου γενόμενος ὕστερον ἐποίησαν· ἢ καὶ ποιηθέντα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα οὐκ ἦλθεν.

30. ταῖς Μούσαις δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν πρῶτά ἐστι Κηφισοδότου τέχνη πάσαις, προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ τρεῖς μὲν εἰσιν αὐθις Κηφισοδότου, Στρογγυλίωνος δὲ ἕτερα τοσαῦτα, ἀνδρὸς βοῦς καὶ ἵππους ἄριστα εἰργασμένου· τὰς δὲ ὑπολοίπους τρεῖς ἐποίησεν Ὀλυμπιοσθένης. καὶ Ἀπόλλων χαλκοὺς ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι καὶ Ἑρμῆς μαχόμενοι περὶ τῆς λύρας, καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ μὲν Λυσίππου, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε Σύλλας τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ὀρθόν, ἔργον τῶν Μύρωνος θεάς μάλιστα ἄξιον μετὰ γε τὸν Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρεχθέα· ἀνέθηκε δὲ οὐκ οἴκοθεν, Ὀρχομενίους δὲ ἀφελόμενος τοὺς Μινύας. τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενον θυμιάμασιν ἀλλοτρίοις τὸ θεῖον σέβεσθαι. [2] ποιητὰς δὲ ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπὶ μουσικῇ, τοσῶνδε εἰκόνας ἀνέθεσαν· Θάμυριν μὲν αὐτὸν τε ἤδη τυφλὸν καὶ λύρας κατεαγνίας ἐφαπτόμενον, Ἀρίων δὲ ὁ Μηθυμαῖός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δελφίνος. ὁ δὲ Σακάδα τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸν ἀνδριάντα πλάσας, οὐ συνεῖς Πινδάρου τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν προοίμιον, ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μῆκος τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τῶν αὐλῶν μείζονα τὸν αὐλητήν.

[3] κάθηται δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδος κιθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχων, οὐδέν τι οἰκεῖον Ἡσιόδῳ φόρημα· δηλὰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ ράβδου δάφνης ἦδε. περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὀμήρου πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐ μοι γράφειν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα ὅσοι κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἐπῶν καθεστήκεσαν. [4] Ὀρφεὶ δὲ τῷ Θρακί πεποίηται μὲν παρεστῶσα αὐτῷ Τελετή, πεποίηται δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν λίθου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ θηρία ἀκούοντα ἄδοντας. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πιστεύουσιν οὐκ ὄντα Ἑλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀρφέα Καλλιόπης τε εἶναι Μούσης καὶ οὐ τῆς Πιέρου καὶ οἱ τὰ θηρία ἰέναι πρὸς τὸ μέλος ψυχαγωγούμενα, ἐλθεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἄϊδην ζῶντα αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν κάτω θεῶν τὴν γυναῖκα αἰτοῦντα. ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν

ὑπερέβαλετο ἐπῶν κόσμῳ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἰσχύος οἷα πιστεύομενος εὐρηκέναι τελετὰς θεῶν καὶ ἔργων ἀνοσίων καθαρμούς νόσων τε ἰάματα καὶ τροπὰς μηνιμάτων θείων. [5] τὰς δὲ γυναῖκάς φασι τῶν Θρακῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν μὲν αὐτῷ θάνατον, ὅτι σφῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀκολουθεῖν ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ πλανωμένῳ, φόβῳ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ τολμᾷ· ὥς δὲ ἐνεφορήσαντο οἶνου, ἐξεργάζονται τὸ τόλμημα, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ τούτου κατέστη μεθυσκομένους ἐς τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασι κεραυνωθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευταίην Ὀρφεῖ· κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἔνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐ πρότερον ἀκηκόοντας ἀνθρώπους. [6] ἄλλοις δὲ εἰρημένον ἐστὶν ὥς προαποθανούσης οἱ τῆς γυναίκος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄορνον δι' αὐτὴν τὸ ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ἀφίκετο· εἶναι γὰρ πάλαι νεκυομαντεῖον αὐτόθι· νομίζοντα δὲ οἱ ἔπεσθαι τῆς Εὐρυδίκης τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντα ὥς ἐπεστράφη, αὐτόχειρα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Θραῖκες, ὅσοι τῶν ἀηδόνων ἔχουσι νεοσσιάς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ὀρφέως, ταῦτας ἥδιον καὶ μεῖζόν τι ἄδειν. [7] Μακεδόνων δὲ οἱ χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν

Περιάν ἔχοντες καὶ πόλιν Δῖον, φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γενέσθαι τὴν τελευτήν· ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὀρφεῖ· ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Δίου τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος καὶ στάδια προελθούτι· εἴκοσι κίων τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ὑδρία λίθου, ἔχει δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἡ ὑδρία, καθὰ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι. [8] ρεῖ δὲ καὶ

ποταμὸς Ἑλικῶν· ἄχρι σταδίων ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε προελθόντι τὸ ρεῦμα ἀφανίζεται τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τῆς γῆς· διαλιπὼν δὲ μάλιστα δύο καὶ εἴκοσι στάδια ἄνεισι τὸ ὕδωρ αὐθις, καὶ ὄνομα Βαφύρας ἀντὶ Ἑλικῶνος λαβὼν κάτεισιν ἐς θάλασσαν ναυσίπορος. τοῦτον οἱ Διασταὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιρρεῖν διὰ παντός τῇ γῇ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασί· τὰς γυναῖκας δὲ αἱ τὸν Ὀρφέα ἀπέκτειναν ἐναπονόμισθαί οἱ θελήσαι τὸ αἷμα, καταδύναί τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοῦ φόνου καθάρσια τὸ ὕδωρ παράσχηται. [9] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐν Λαρίσῃ λόγον, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ. πόλις οἰκοῖτο Λιβηθρα, ἥ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας τέτραπται τὸ ὄρος, καὶ εἶναι οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως μνημα· ἀφικέσθαι δὲ τοῖς Λιβηθρίοις παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου μάντευμα ἐκ Θράκης, ἐπειδὴν ἴδη τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἥλιος, τηνικαῦτα ὑπὸ συὸς ἀπολείσθαι Λιβηθρίοις τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν δι' οὐ πολλῆς φροντίδος ἐποιοῦντο τὸν χρησμόν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι θηρίον οὕτω μέγα καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες ὡς ἐλεῖν σφισι τὴν πόλιν, σὺν δὲ θρασύτητος μετεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσχύος. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει τῷ θεῷ, συνέβαινέ σφισι τοιάδε. ποιμὴν περὶ μεσοῦσαν μάλιστα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπικλίνων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ Ὀρφέως τὸν τάφον, ὁ μὲν ἐκάθευδεν ὁ ποιμὴν, ἐπῆρει δὲ οἱ καὶ καθεύδοντι ἔπη τε ἄδειν τῶν Ὀρφέως καὶ μέγα καὶ ἡδὺ φωνεῖν. οἱ οὖν ἐγγύτατα νέμοντες ἢ καὶ ἀροῦντες ἕκαστοι τὰ ἔργα ἀπολείποντες ἡθροίζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιμένος τὴν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὥδην· καὶ ποτε ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐρίζοντες ὅστις ἐγγύτατα ἔσται τῷ ποιμένι ἀνατρέπουσι τὸν κίονα, καὶ κατεάγη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεσοῦσα ἡ θήκη καὶ εἶδεν ἥλιος ὅ τι ἦν τῶν ὀστέων τοῦ Ὀρφέως λοιπόν. [11] αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπερχομένῃ νυκτὶ ὅ τε θεὸς κατέχει πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Σῦς — τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπον χειμάρρων καὶ ὁ Σῦς ἐστι — , τότε οὖν οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς κατέβαλε μὲν τὰ τεῖχη Λιβηθρίοις, θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ καὶ οἴκους ἀνέτρεψεν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπέπνιξε δὲ τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ζῶα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα. ἀπολλυμένων δὲ ἤδη Λιβηθρίων, οὕτως οἱ ἐν Δίῳ Μακεδόνες κατὰ γε τὸν λόγον τοῦ Λαρισαίου ξένου ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίζουσι τοῦ Ὀρφέως. [12] ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἤδη, τοὺς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους οἶδεν ὄντας ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βραχύτατον καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὐκ ἐς ἀριθμὸν πολλὸν πεποιημένους· Λυκομίδαι δὲ ἴσασι τε καὶ ἐπάδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις. κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροντο ἂν μετὰ γε Ὀμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους, τιμῆς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐκείνων ἤκουσι.

31. καὶ Ἀρσινόης ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι εἰκὼν, ἣν Πτολεμαῖος ἔγχευεν ἀδελφὸς ὢν. τὴν δὲ Ἀρσινόην στρουθὸς φέρει χαλκῇ τῶν ἀπτήνων· περὰ μὲν γε καὶ αὗται κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς ἄλλαις φύουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ βάρους καὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐχ οἷά τέ ἐστὶν ἀνέχειν σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀέρα τὰ πτερὰ. [2] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Τηλέφῳ τῷ Ἡρακλέους γάλα ἐστὶν ἔλαφος παιδὶ μικρῷ διδοῦσα καὶ βοῦς τε παρ' αὐτὸν

καὶ ἄγαλμα Πριάπου θέας ἄξιον. τούτῳ τιμαὶ τῷ θεῷ δέδονται μὲν καὶ ἄλλως, ἔνθα εἰσὶν αἰγῶν νομαὶ καὶ προβάτων ἢ καὶ ἐσμοὶ μελισσῶν: Λαμψακηνοὶ δὲ ἐς πλεόν ἢ θεοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζουσι, Διονύσου τε αὐτὸν παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λέγοντες.

[3] ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἑλικῶνι καὶ ἄλλοι τρίποδες κεῖνται καὶ ἀρχαιότατος, ὃν ἐν Χαλκίδι λαβεῖν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ λέγουσιν Ἡσίοδον νικήσαντα ᾧδῃ. περιοικοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ ἐορτὴν τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσπιεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι Μουσεῖα: ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἑρωτι, ἅθλα οὐ μουσικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς τιθέντες. ἐπαναβάντι δὲ στάδια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλσους τούτου ὡς εἴκοσιν ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ Ἴππου καλουμένη κρήνη: ταύτην τὸν Βελλεροφόντου ποιῆσαι φασιν ἵππον ἐπιψάυσαντα ὀπλῇ τῆς γῆς.

[4] Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες παρελημμένα δόξῃ λέγουσιν ὡς ἄλλο Ἡσίοδος ποιήσειεν οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ Ἔργα: καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐς τὰς Μούσας ἀφαιροῦσι προοίμιον, ἀρχὴν τῆς ποιήσεως εἶναι τὸ ἐς τὰς Ἑρίδας λέγοντες: καὶ μοι μόλυβδον ἐδείκνυσαν, ἔνθα ἡ πηγὴ, τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελυμασμένον: [5] ἐγγέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ Ἔργα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα κεχωρισμένη τῆς προτέρας, ὡς πολὺν τινα ἐπῶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἀριθμὸν ποιήσειεν, ἐς γυναικᾶς τε ἀδόμενα καὶ ἄς μεγάλας ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἠοίας, καὶ Θεογονίαν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν μάντιν Μελάμποδα, καὶ ὡς Θησεὺς ἐς τὸν Ἄϊδην ὁμοῦ Πειρίθῳ καταβαίῃ παραινέσεις τε Χίρωνος ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὴ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ Ἔργοις τε καὶ ἡμέραις. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι καὶ ὡς μαντικὴν Ἡσίοδος διδαχθεῖη παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων: καὶ ἔστιν ἔπη Μαντικά, ὅποσα τε ἐπελεξάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐξηγήσεις ἐπὶ τέρασιν. [6] ἐναντία δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡσίοδου τὴν τελευταίην ἔστιν εἰρημένα. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παῖδες τοῦ Γανύκτορος Κτίμενος καὶ Ἄντιφος ἔφυγον ἐς Μολυκρίαν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου διὰ τοῦ Ἡσίοδου τὸν φόνον καὶ αὐτόθι ἀσεβήσασιν ἐς Ποσειδῶνα ἐγένετο τῇ Μολυκρίδι σφίσιν ἡ δίκη, τάδε μὲν καὶ οἱ πάντες κατὰ ταῦτα εἰρήκασι: τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν τῶν νεανίσκων οἱ μὲν ἄλλου τοῦ φασιν αἰσχύναντος Ἡσίοδον λαβεῖν οὐκ ἄληθῇ τὴν τοῦ ἀδικήματος δόξαν, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἡσίοδον καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔπη διάφορα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο εἴρηται: [7] ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας ἔστιν ὁ Λάμος. Θεσπιέων δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡ Δονακὼν ἔστιν ὀνομαζόμενος: ἐνταῦθα ἔστι Ναρκίσσου πηγὴ, καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον ἰδεῖν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ φασίν, οὐ συνέντα δὲ ὅτι ἑώρα σκιὰν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λαθεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐρασθέντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ οἱ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευταίην. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παντάπασιν εὐθες, ἡλικίας ἤδη τινὰ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἤκοντα ὡς ὑπὸ ἔρωτος ἀλίσκεσθαι μηδὲ ὁποῖόν τι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁποῖόν τι ἀνθρώπου σκιὰ διαγνῶναι: [8] ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἕτερος ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, ἦσσαν μὲν τοῦ προτέρου γνώριμος, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ἀδελφὴν γενέσθαι Ναρκίσσῳ δίδυμον, τά τε ἄλλα ἐς ἅπαν ὅμοιον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὡσαύτως κόμην εἶναι καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐοικυῖαν αὐτοὺς ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν ἰέναι μετὰ ἀλλήλων: Νάρκισσον δὲ ἐρασθῆναι τῆς ἀδελφῆς, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανεν ἡ παῖς, φοιτῶντα ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν συνιέναι μὲν ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκιὰν ἑώρα, εἶναι δὲ οἱ καὶ συνιέντι ῥαστώνῃ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἅτε οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ σκιὰν δοξάζοντι ἀλλὰ εἰκόνα ὁρᾶν τῆς

ἀδελφῆς. [9] νάρκισσον δὲ ἄνθος ἡ γῆ καὶ πρότερον ἔφυνεν ἔμοι δοκεῖν, εἰ τοῖς Πάμφω τεκμαίρεσθαι χρή τι ἡμᾶς ἔπει: γεγονὼς γὰρ πολλοῖς πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἢ Νάρκισσος ὁ Θεσπιεὺς Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρός φησιν ἀρπασθῆναι παίζουσιν καὶ ἄνθη συλλέγουσαν, ἀρπασθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἴοις ἀπατηθεῖσαν ἀλλὰ νάρκισσοις.

32. τοῖς δὲ ἐν Κρεῦσιδι, ἐπινείῳ τῷ Θεσπιέων, οἰκοῦσιν ἐν κοινῷ μὲν ἔστιν οὐδέν, ἐν ιδιώτου δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἄγαλμα ἦν Διονύσου γύψου πεποιημένον καὶ ἐπικεκοσμημένον γραφῇ. πλοῦς δὲ ἐς Κρεῦσίν ἔστιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου σκολιός τε καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ εὐδιος: ἄκραι τε γὰρ ἀνέχουσιν ὥς μὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς θαλάσσης περαιοῦσθαι καὶ ἅμα ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν καταπνέουσιν ἄνεμοι βίαιοι. [2] πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Κρεῦσιδος οὐκ ἄνω, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Βοιωτίαν, πόλις ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θίσβη. πρῶτα μὲν ὁρος ἔστι πρὸς θαλάσση, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπερβαλόντα πεδίον σε ἐκδέξεται καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄλλο ὁρος: ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις ἔστιν ἡ πόλις. Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν ἐνταυθὰ ἔστι λίθου, καὶ Ἡράκλεια ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι.

[3] τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐκώλυεν οὐδὲν ἂν λίμνην ὑπὸ πλήθους εἶναι τοῦ ὕδατος, εἰ μὴ διὰ μέσου χῶμά σφισιν ἐπεποιήτο ἰσχυρόν: καὶ οὕτω παρὰ ἔτος ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χώματος ἐκτρέπουσι τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα αὐτοῦ γεωργοῦσι. Θίσβην δὲ λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον εἶναι νύμφην, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν. [4] παραπλέοντι δὲ αὐτόθεν πόλισμά ἔστιν οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ θαλάσση Τίφα: Ἡρακλείον τε Τιφαιεῦσιν ἔστι καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον. οὗτοι Βοιωτῶν μάλιστα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὰ θαλάσσια ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι σοφοί, Τίφον ἄνδρα μνημονεύοντες ἐπιχώριον ὥς προκριθεῖν γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀργοῦς κυβερνήτης: ἀποφαίνουσι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔνθα ἐκ Κόλχων ὀπίσω κομιζομένην ὁρμίσασθαι τὴν Ἀργὼ λέγουσιν.

[5] ἀπὸ δὲ Θεσπίας ἰόντι ἄνω πρὸς ἡπειρον ἔστιν Ἀλιάρτος. ὅστις δὲ Ἀλιάρτου γέγονε καὶ Κορωνείας οἰκιστής, οὗ με ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Ὀρχομενίους ἐχόντων εἰκὸς ἦν χωρίζειν: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου φρονήσασιν Ἀλιαρτίοις τὰ Ἑλλήνων μοῖρα τῆς Ξέρξου στρατιᾶς γῆν τέ σφισιν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεξῆλθε καίουσα. ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ δὲ ἔστι Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου μνήμα: προσβαλὼν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος στρατιᾶς ἐκ τε Θηβῶν ἐνούσης ἔνδον καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐπεξελθόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

[6] Λύσανδρον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαινέσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ πικρῶς ἔστι μέμψασθαι. σοφίαν μὲν γε τοιαύτην ἐπεδείξατο: ἡγούμενος Πελοποννησίων ταῖς τριήρεσιν Ἀντίοχον κυβερνήτην ὄντα Ἀλκιβιάδου, φυλάξας Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀπόντα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, τῆνικαῦτα τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐπηγάγετο ἐς ἐλπίδα ὥς ὄντα ἀξιόμαχον ναυμαχῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἀναγαγόμενον ὑπὸ θράσους τε καὶ ἀλαζονίας ἐνίκησεν αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κολοφωνίων ἄστεως. [7] ὥς δὲ καὶ δεύτερα ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀφίκετο ἐκ Σπάρτης, ἡμερώσατο μὲν οὕτω Κῦρον ὥς χρήματα, ὅποτε ἐς τὸ ναυτικὸν αἰτοίῃ, παρεῖναι οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονα: ὁρμούντων δὲ ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς Ἀθηναίων, εἶλεν αὐτῶν τὰ πλοῖα, ἐσκεδασμένους ἐπὶ τε ὕδωρ τοὺς ναύτας καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγορὰν φυλάξας. παρέσχετο δὲ καὶ ἔργον τοιόνδε ἐς δικαιοσύνην. [8]

Αὐτολύκῳ τῷ παγκρατιάσαντι, οὗ δὴ καὶ εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν πρυτανείῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ὅτου δὴ κτήματος Ἑτεόνικος ἦλθεν ὁ Σπαρτιάτης· ὥς δὲ ἄρα λέγων ἠλίσκετο οὐ δίκαια — ἦν γὰρ δὴ τηνικαῦτα Ἀθηναίοις τῶν τριάκοντα ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ παρὴν ἔτι ὁ Λύσανδρος — τούτων ἔνεκα Ἑτεόνικος πληγὼν τε ἄρχειν ἐπήρθη καὶ ἀμυνάμενον τὸν Αὐτόλυκον ἦγεν ἐπὶ Λύσανδρον, παντάπασιν ἐκείνον ἐς χάριν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δικάσειν ἐλπίζων· Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀδικεῖν Ἑτεόνικον κατέγνω καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν ἀτιμάσας τῷ λόγῳ. [9] τάδε μὲν Λυσάνδρῳ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ὑπάρχοντα ἦν, ἄλλα δὲ τοσάδε ὄνειδι. Φιλοκλέα γὰρ Ἀθηναῖον ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς καὶ αὐτὸν στρατηγοῦντα καὶ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τετρακισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους ὄντας ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Λύσανδρος καὶ σφισιν οὐδὲ ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐπήνεγκε γῆν, ὃ καὶ Μήδων τοῖς ἀποβάσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ὑπῆρξε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἐκ βασιλέως Ξέρξου. μείζονα δὲ ἔτι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄνειδι γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τε δεκαδρχαῖς ἃς κατέστησε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἀρμοσταῖς. [10] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ χρήματα οὐ νομιζόντων κτᾶσθαι κατὰ δὴ τι μάντευμα, ὥς ἡ φιλοχρηματία μόνῃ γένοιτο ἂν ἀπώλεια τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ὁ δὲ καὶ χρημάτων πόθον σφισιν ἐνεποίησεν ἰσχυρόν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαις τε ἐπόμενος καὶ δικάζων νόμῳ γε τῷ ἐκείνων βλάβος κρίνω Λακεδαιμονίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφέλειαν γενέσθαι Λύσανδρον·

33. ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ δὲ τοῦ τε Λυσάνδρου μνῆμα καὶ Κέκροπος τοῦ Πανδίωνός ἐστιν ἡρῶν.

τὸ δὲ ὅρος τὸ Τιλφούσιον καὶ ἡ Τιλφοῦσα καλουμένη πηγὴ σταδίους μάλιστα Ἀλιάρτου πεντήκοντα ἀπέχουσι. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἀργεῖους μετὰ τῶν Πολυνείκους παίδων ἐλόντας Θήβας ἐς Δελφοὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν λαφύρων καὶ Τειρεσίαν ἄγειν, καὶ — εἶχετο γὰρ δίψη — καθ' ὁδόν φασιν αὐτὸν πίνοντα ἀπὸ τῆς Τιλφούσης ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν· καὶ ἔστι τάφος αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ. [2] τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ Τειρεσίου δοθῆναι μὲν φασὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων, προστάξαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἰωνίας ἐς τὴν Κολοφωνίαν περαιωθῆναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτόθι συνώκησεν ἡ Μαντῶ Ῥακίῳ Κρητί· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς Τειρεσίαν, ἐτῶν τε ἀριθμὸν ὧν γεγράφεσιν αὐτὸν βῖῶναι καὶ ὥς ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐς ἄνδρα ἡλλάγη καὶ ὅτι Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ συνετὸν εἶναι γνώμην Τειρεσίαν τῶν ἐν Ἄϊδου μόνον, ταῦτα μὲν καὶ οἱ πάντες ἴσασιν ἀκοῇ. [3] Ἀλιαρτίοις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ θεῶν ἱερὸν ἃς Πραξιδικας καλοῦσιν· ἐνταῦθα ὁμνύουσι μὲν, ποιοῦνται δὲ οὐκ ἐπίδρομον τὸν ὄρκον. ταύταις μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῷ Τιλφουσίῳ τὸ ἱερὸν· ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ δὲ εἰσι ναοί, καὶ σφισιν οὐκ ἀγάλματα ἔνεστιν, οὐκ ὄροφος ἔπεστιν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἷς τις ἐποιήθησαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἡδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. [4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ ποταμὸς Λόφιος. λέγεται δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐχμηρᾶς οὔσης τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕδατος οὐκ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρα τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐλθόντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπερέσθαι τρόπον ὅντινα ὕδωρ εὐρήσουσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν προστάσσειν, ὃς ἂν ἐπανήκοντι ἐς Ἀλιάρτον ἐντύχη οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, τούτου δεῖν φονέα γενέσθαι αὐτόν. ἐντυχεῖν τε δὴ αὐτῷ παραγενομένῳ τὸν υἱὸν Λόφιν καὶ τὸν οὐ μελλήσαντα τῷ

ξίφει τὸν νεανίσκον παῖσαι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἔτι ἔμπνουν περιθεῖν, ὅπου δὲ ῥυῆναι τὸ αἷμα, ὕδωρ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Λόφρις·

[5] Ἀλαλκομεναὶ δὲ κόμη μὲν ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη, κεῖται δὲ ὄρους οὐκ ἄγαν ὑψηλοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἐσχάτοις. γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀλαλκομενέως ἀνδρὸς αὐτόχθονος, ὑπὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθηναῖν τραφῆναι λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὴν Ἀλαλκομενίαν τῶν Ὠγύγου θυγατέρων φασίν. ἀπωτέρω δὲ τῆς κόμης ἐπεποιήτο ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον ἐλέφαντος. [6] Σύλλα δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἀνῆμερα καὶ ἦθους ἀλλότρια τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, εὐοκίτα δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἐς Θηβαίους τε καὶ Ὀρχομενίους· προσεξεργάσατο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαλκομεναῖς, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα αὐτὸ συλήσας. τοῦτον μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔς τε Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων ἐκμανέντα ἐπέλαβεν ἀχαριστοτάτῃ νόσος πασῶν· φθειρῶν γὰρ ἦνθησεν, ἥ τε πρότερον εὐτυχία δοκοῦσα ἐς τοιοῦτο περιῆλθεν αὐτῷ τέλος. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαλκομεναῖς ἡμελήθη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἄτε ἡρημωμένον τῆς θεοῦ. [7] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τοιόνδε ἐς κατάλυσιν τοῦ ναοῦ· κισσὸς οἱ προσπεφυκὼς μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς διέλυσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν καὶ διέσπα τοὺς λίθους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγας χεῖμαρρος· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ Τρίτωνα αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τραφῆναι παρὰ ποταμῷ Τρίτῳ ἔχει λόγος, ὥς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Τρίτωνα ὄντα καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Λιβύων, ὃς ἐς τὴν πρὸς Λιβύη θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐκ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης.

34. πρὶν δὲ ἐς Κορώνειαν ἐξ Ἀλαλκομενῶν ἀφικέσθαι, τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν· καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος, καὶ ἐς τὸν κοινὸν συνίασιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σύλλογον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰωνίας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα· τέχνη δὲ Ἀγορακρίτου, μαθητοῦ τε καὶ ἐρωμένου Φειδίου. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Χαρίτων ἀγάλματα ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. [2] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε, Ἰοδάμαν ἱερωμένην τῇ θεῷ νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐσελθεῖν καὶ αὐτῇ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φανῆναι, τῷ χιτῶνι δὲ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν Μεδούσης ἐπεῖναι τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλῇ· Ἰοδάμαν δέ, ὥς εἶδε, γενέσθαι λίθον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτιθεῖσα γυνὴ πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοδάμας τὸν βωμὸν ἐς τρεῖς ἐπιλέγει τῇ Βοιωτῶν φωνῇ Ἰοδάμαν ζῆν καὶ αἰτεῖν πῦρ. [3] Κορώνεια δὲ παρείχετο μὲν ἐς μνήμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἑρμοῦ βωμὸν Ἐπιμηλίου, τὸν δὲ ἀνέμων. κατωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ἦρας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον, Πυθοδώρου τέχνη Θηβαίου, φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ Σειρήνας· τὰς γὰρ δὴ Ἀχελώου θυγατέρας ἀναπαισθείσας φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἦρας καταστῆναι πρὸς τὰς Μούσας ἐς ᾧδης ἔργον· αἱ δὲ ὥς ἐνίκησαν, ἀποτίλασαι τῶν Σειρήνων τὰ περὰ ποιήσασθαι στεφάνους ἀπ' αὐτῶν λέγονται.

[4] Κορωνεῖας δὲ σταδίου ὥς τεσσαράκοντα ὅρος ἀπέχει τὸ Λιβήθριον, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μουσῶν τε καὶ νυμφῶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐστὶ Λιβηθρίων· καὶ πηγαὶ — τὴν μὲν Λιβηθριάδα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα †Πέτρα — γυναικὸς μαστοῖς εἰσιν εἰκασμένα, καὶ ὅμοιον γάλακτι ὕδωρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνευσιν. [5] ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Λαφύστιον καὶ ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαφυστίου τὸ τέμενός εἰσιν ἐκ Κορωνεῖας στάδιοι μάλιστα εἴκοσι. λίθου μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν· Ἀθάμαντος δὲ

θύειν Φρίξον καὶ Ἑλλην ἐνταῦθα μέλλοντος πεμφθῆναι κριὸν τοῖς παισὶ φασιν ὑπὸ Διὸς ἔχοντα τὸ ἔριον χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τούτου. ἀνωτέρω δέ ἐστιν Ἡρακλῆς Χάρον ἐπὶ κλησιν: ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ λέγουσιν ἀναβῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἄγοντα τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα. ἐκ δὲ Λαφυστίου κατιόντι ἐς τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἱερὸν ποταμὸς ἐστὶ Φάλαρος ἐς τὴν Κηφισίδα ἐκδιδοὺς λίμνην.

[6] τοῦ δὲ ὄρους τοῦ Λαφυστίου πέραν ἐστὶν Ὀρχομενός, εἴ τις Ἑλληνιστὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἐπιφανῆς καὶ αὕτη ἐς δόξαν. εὐδαιμονίας δέ ποτε ἐπὶ μέγιστον προαχθεῖσαν ἔμελλεν ἄρα ὑποδέξεσθαι τέλος καὶ ταύτην οὐ πολὺ τι ἀποδέον ἢ Μυκῆνας τε καὶ Δῆλον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων τοιαῦτ' ἦν ὅποσα καὶ μνημονεύουσιν. Ἄνδρέα πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα Πηνειοῦ παῖδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγουσιν ἐποικῆσαι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν γῆν Ἀνδρηίδα ὀνομασθῆναι:

[7] παραγενομένου δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν Ἀθάμαντος, ἀπένειμε τῆς αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀθάμαντι τὴν τε περὶ τὸ Λαφύστιον χώραν καὶ τὴν νῦν Κορώνειαν καὶ Ἀλιαρτίαν. Ἀθάμας δὲ ἄτε οὐδένα οἱ παῖδων τῶν ἀρσένων λελεῖσθαι νομίζων — τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Λεαρχόν τε καὶ Μελικέρτην ἐτόλμησεν αὐτός, Λεύκωνι δὲ ὑπὸ νόσου τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, Φρίξον δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἢ αὐτὸν περιόντα ἢ γένος ὑπολειπόμενον Φρίξου — τούτων ἔνεκα ἐποίησατο Ἀλιάρτον καὶ Κόρωνον τοὺς Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Σισύφου: Σισύφου γὰρ ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Ἀθάμας. [8] ὕστερον δὲ ἀναστρέψαντος ἐκ Κόλχων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ Φρίξου φασίν, οἱ δὲ Πρέσβωνος — γεγονέναι δὲ Φρίξῳ τὸν Πρέσβωνα ἐκ τῆς Αἰήτου θυγατρὸς — οὕτω συγχωροῦσιν οἱ Θερσάνδρου παῖδες οἶκον μὲν τὸν Ἀθάμαντος Ἀθάμαντι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ ἐκείνου

προσῆκιν: αὐτοὶ δὲ — μοῖραν γὰρ δίδωσί σφισιν Ἀθάμας τῆς γῆς — Ἀλιάρτου καὶ Κορωνείας ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί. [9] πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων Ἄνδρεὺς Εὐύπην θυγατέρα Λεύκωνος λαμβάνει παρὰ Ἀθάμαντος γυναῖκα, καὶ υἱὸς Ἑτεοκλῆς αὐτῇ γίνεται, Κηφισοῦ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν φήμην, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ποιησάντων τινὲς Κηφισιάδην τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα ἐκάλεσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. [10] οὗτος ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἀνδρέως ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα εἶασε, φυλὰς δὲ Κηφισιάδα, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἄλμῳ τῷ Σισύφου δίδωσιν οἰκῆσαι τῆς χώρας οὐ πολλήν, καὶ κόμη τότε ἐκλήθησαν Ἄλμωνες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄλμου τούτου: χρόνῳ δὲ ἐξενίκησεν ὕστερον ὄνομα εἶναι τῇ κόμῃ Ὀλμωνας.

35. τὸν δὲ Ἑτεοκλέα λέγουσιν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ Χάρισιν ἀνθρώπων θῦσαι πρῶτον. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τρεῖς εἶναι Χάριτας κατεστήσατο ἴσασιν, ὀνόματα δὲ οἷα ἔθετο αὐταῖς οὐ μνημονεύουσιν: ἐπεὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γε εἶναι Χάριτας δύο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνα ιδρύσασθαι τὸν Ταυγέτης φασὶν αὐτάς καὶ ὀνόματα θέσθαι Κλήταν καὶ Φαένναν. [2] εἰκότα μὲν δὴ Χάρισιν ὀνόματα καὶ ταῦτα, εἰκότα δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους: τιμῶσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Χάριτας Ἀῤῥῶ καὶ Ἥγεμόνην. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Καρποῦς ἐστὶν οὐ Χάριτος ἀλλὰ Ὠρας ὄνομα: τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα τῶν Ὠρῶν νέμουσιν ὁμοῦ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ τιμὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Θαλλῶ τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζοντες. [3] παρὰ δὲ Ἑτεοκλέους τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου μαθόντες τρισὶν ἤδη νομίζομεν Χάρισιν εὐχεσθαι: καὶ Ἀγγελίων τε καὶ Τεκταῖος† ὅσοι γε

Διονύσου ἥτον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐργασάμενοι Δηλίοις τρεῖς ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ Χάριτας· καὶ Ἀθήνησι πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐσόδου Χάριτες εἰσι καὶ αὗται τρεῖς, παρὰ δὲ αὐταῖς τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπόρρητον. [4] Πάμφως μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν ἦσεν ἐς Χάριτας, πέρα δὲ οὔτε ἀριθμοῦ πέρι οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεποιημένον: Ὅμηρος δὲ — ἐμνημόνευσε γὰρ Χαρίτων καὶ οὗτος — τὴν μὲν Ἥφαιστου γυναῖκα εἶναι λέγει καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῇ τίθεται Χάριν, Πασιθέας δὲ εἶναί φησιν ἐραστὴν Ὑπνον, ἐν δὲ Ὑπνου τοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν” ἢ μὲν μοι δώσειν Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτεράων.

“Hom. II.

14.270-6 τουτου δε ἔνεκα ὑπόνοια δὴ παρέστη τισὶν ὡς Χάριτας ἄρα καὶ πρεσβυτέρας οἶδεν ἄλλας Ὅμηρος. [5] Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐν Θεογονίᾳ — προσιέσθω δὲ ὅτῳ φίλον τὴν Θεογονίαν — , ἐν δ’ οὖν τῇ ποιήσει ταύτη τὰς Χάριτας φησιν εἶναι Δίος τε καὶ Εὐρυνόμης καὶ σφισιν ὀνόματα Εὐφροσύνην τε καὶ Ἀγλαΐαν εἶναι καὶ Θαλίαν. κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ ἐν ἔπεσιν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ὀνομακρίτου. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ οὔτε ἀριθμὸν Χαρίτων οὔτε ὀνόματα εἰπὼν Αἰγλῆς εἶναι θυγατέρας καὶ Ἥλιου φησὶν αὐτάς. Ἑρμειάνακτι δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐλεγεία γράψαντι τοσόνδε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρότερον δόξαν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πεποιημένον, ὡς ἡ Πειθὼ Χαρίτων εἴη καὶ αὐτὴ μία. [6] ὅστις δὲ ἦν ἀνθρώπων ὁ γυμνὰς πρῶτος Χάριτας ἦτοι πλάσας ἢ γραφῇ μιμησάμενος, οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐγένετο πυθέσθαι με, ἐπεὶ τά γε ἀρχαιότερα ἐχούσας ἐσθῆτα οἱ τε πλάσται καὶ κατὰ ταῦτά ἐποιοῦν οἱ ζωγράφοι· καὶ Σμυρναίοις τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Νεμέσεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων χρυσοῦ Χάριτες ἀνάκεινται, τέχνη Βουπάλου, τοῦτο δὲ σφισιν ἐν τῷ Ὠιδεῖῳ Χάριτός ἐστιν εἰκὼν, Ἀπελλοῦ γραφή, Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ὡσαύτως ἐν τῷ Ἀττάλου θαλάμῳ, Βουπάλου καὶ αὗται: [7] καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ Πυθίῳ Χάριτες καὶ ἐνταυθὰ εἰσι Πυθαγόρου γράψαντος Παρίου: Σωκράτης τε ὁ Σωφρονίσκου πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐσόδου Χαρίτων εἰργάσατο ἀγάλματα Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα ἐν ἐσθῇτι, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον — οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ’ ὅτῳ — μεταβεβλήκασι τὸ σχῆμα αὐταῖς: Χάριτας γοῦν οἱ κατ’ ἐμὲ ἔπλασσόν τε καὶ ἔγραφον γυμνάς.

36. γενομένης δὲ Ἑτεοκλεῖ τῆς τελευτῆς ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἄλμου γένος. Ἄλμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν θυγατέρες Χρυσογένεια ἐγένετο καὶ Χρῦση: Χρῦσης δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ἄρεως ἔχει φήμη γενέσθαι Φλεγύαν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑτεοκλέους ἀποθανόντος ἄπαιδος ὁ Φλεγύας ἔσχεν οὗτος. τῇ μὲν δὴ χώρα τῇ πάσῃ Φλεγυαντίδα ὄνομα εἶναι μετέθεντο ἀντὶ Ἀνδρηίδος, [2] πόλις δὲ ἐγένετο ἢ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκισθεῖσα ἢ Ἀνδρηῖς καὶ προσέκτισεν ὁ Φλεγύας ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀρίστους Ἑλλήνων συλλέξας ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ἀπέστησάν τε ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ὀρχομενίων ὑπὸ ἀνοίας καὶ τόλμης οἱ Φλεγύαι καὶ ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς προσοίκους: τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συλήσοντες στρατεύουσι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὅτε καὶ Φιλάμμων λογάσιν Ἀργείων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς βοηθήσας αὐτός τε ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀργείων λογάδες. [3] τοὺς δὲ Φλεγύας πολέμῳ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χαίρειν μαρτυρεῖ μοι καὶ ἔπη τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι περὶ Ἄρεως καὶ Φόβου τοῦ Ἄρεως πεποιημένα,” τὼ μὲν ἄρ’ εἰς Ἐφύρους πόλεμον μετὰ θωρήσσεσθον

ἥ μετὰ Φλεγυᾶς μεγαλήτορας:

“Hom. II.

13.301-2 Ἐφύρους δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔμοι δοκεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ἠπεῖρω λέγει. τὸ μὲν δὴ Φλεγυῶν γένος ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων ὁ θεὸς κερανοῖς συνεχέσι καὶ ἰσχυροῖς σεισμοῖς: τοὺς δὲ ὑπολειπομένους νόσος ἐπιπεσοῦσα ἔφθειρε λοιμώδης, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα διαφεύγουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν. [4] Φλεγυὰ δὲ οὐ γενομένων παίδων ἐκδέχεται Χρύσης τὴν ἀρχήν, Χρυσογενείας τε ὦν τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. τούτῳ δὲ υἱὸς γίνεται τῷ Χρῦση Μινύας, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Μινύαι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὧν ἦρχεν ὀνομάζονται. πρόσδοι δὲ ἐγίνοντο τῷ Μινύᾳ τηλικαῦται μέγεθος ὥς ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλούτῳ: θησαυρόν τε ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἴσμεν Μινύας πρῶτος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν χρημάτων ὠκοδομήσατο.

[5] Ἕλληνες δὲ ἄρα εἰσι δεινοὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια ἐν θαύματι τίθεσθαι μείζονι ἢ τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὅποτε γε ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν πυραμίδας μὲν τὰς παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἐξηγήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, θησαυρόν δὲ τὸν Μινύου καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἤγαγον μνήμης, οὐδὲν ὄντα ἐλάττονος θαύματος. [6] Μινύου δὲ ἦν Ὁρχομενός, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἦ τε πόλις Ὁρχομενός καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκλήθησαν Ὁρχομενιοὶ: διέμεινε δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν καὶ Μινύας ἐπονομάζεσθαι σφᾶς ἐς διάκρισιν ἀπὸ Ὁρχομενίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν Ὁρχομενὸν βασιλεύοντα Ὑήττος ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ἀργούς, φεύγων ἐπὶ τῷ Μολούρου φόνῳ τοῦ Ἀρίσβαντος, ὄντινα ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ γυναικὶ ἐλὼν γαμετῇ: καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς χώρας ἀπένευμεν Ὁρχομενός ὅση νῦν περὶ τὴν Ὑήττον ἐστὶ τὴν κώμην καὶ ἡ ταύτη προσεχῆς.

[7] Ὑήττου δὲ ἐποίησατο μνήμην καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη συνθεὶς ἅς μεγάλας Ἡοίας καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες: “Ὑήττος δὲ Μόλουρον Ἀρίσβαντος φίλον υἱόν

κτείνας ἐν μεγάροις εὐνῆς ἔνεχ’ ἧς ἀλόχοιο,
οἶκον ἀποπρολιπὼν φεῦγ’ Ἀργεὸς ἵπποβότοιο,
ἶξεν δ’ Ὁρχομενὸν Μινυήιον: καὶ μιν ὁ γ’ ἦρωας
δέξατο καὶ κτεάνων μοῖραν πόρεν ὥς ἐπιεικές.

“The Great Eoeae, unknown location. [8] πρῶτος δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ὑήττος δίκην μοιχείας λαβὼν δηλὸς ἐστὶ: καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον Δράκοντος Ἀθηναῖος θεσμοθετήσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου κατέστη νόμων, οὓς ἔγραφεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄλλων τε ὁπόσων ἄδειαν εἶναι χρῆ καὶ δὴ καὶ τιμωρίας μοιχοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τῶν Μινυῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἤδη προῆκτο, ὥστε καὶ Νηλεὺς Κρηθέως βασιλεύων Πύλου γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ὁρχομενοῦ Χλῶριν Ἀμφίονος τοῦ Ἰασίου.

37. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα παυσθῆναι καὶ τὸ Ἄλμου γένος: οὐχ ὑπολείπεται γὰρ παῖδα Ὁρχομενός, καὶ οὕτως ἐς Κλύμενον τὸν Πρέσβωνος τοῦ Φρίξου περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή. Κλυμένου δὲ γίνονται παῖδες, πρεσβύτατος μὲν Ἐργῖνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Στράτιος καὶ Ἄρρων καὶ Πύλεος, νεώτατος δὲ Ἀξεύς. Κλύμενον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ὀγχηστίου Ποσειδῶνος Θηβαίων φονεύουσιν ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀφορμῆς μικρᾶς ἐς ἅπαν θυμοῦ προαχθέντες: Ἐργῖνος δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Κλυμένου παίδων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει. [2] δύναμιν δὲ αὐτίκα αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ συλλέξαντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας: καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐκράτησαν, τὸ δὲ

ἀπὸ τούτου χωροῦσιν ἐς ὁμολογίαν Θηβαίους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον τελεῖν δασμὸν τοῦ Κλυμένου φόνου. Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐπιτραφέντος ἐν Θήβαις, οὕτω τοῦ δασμοῦ τε ἡλευθερώθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ Μινύαι μεγάλως τῷ πολέμῳ προσέπταισαν: [3] Ἐργίνος δὲ ἅτε κεκακωμένων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐποίησατο εἰρήνην, πλοῦτον δὲ τὸν πρότερον καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκείνην ἀνασώσασθαι ζητῶν ἡμέλησεν ἀπάντων ὁμοίως τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε καὶ ἔλαθεν ἄγαμος καὶ ἅπαις ἀφικόμενος ἐς γῆρας. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ χρήματα συνείλεκτο, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησέν οἱ γενέσθαι παῖδας: [4] ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐρομένῳ περὶ παίδων χρᾶ τάδε ἡ Πυθία: “Εργῖνε Κλυμέναιο πάι Πρεσβωνιάδαο,

ὄψ’ ἤλθες γενεὴν διζήμενος, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ἰστοβοῇ γέροντι νέην ποτίβαλλε κορώνην.

“λαβόντι δὲ αὐτῷ νέαν γυναῖκα κατὰ τὸ μάντευμα Τροφώνιος γίνεται καὶ Ἀγαμήδης. [5] λέγεται δὲ ὁ Τροφώνιος Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι καὶ οὐκ Ἐργίνου: καὶ ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅστις παρὰ Τροφώνιον ἦλθε δὴ μαντευσόμενος. τούτους φασίν, ὥς ἠϋξήθησαν, γενέσθαι δεινοὺς θεοῖς τε ἱερὰ κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ βασιλεία ἀνθρώποις: καὶ γὰρ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν ναὸν ὠκοδόμησαν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὑριεῖ τὸν θησαυρόν. ἐποίησαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τῶν λίθων ἓνα εἶναί σφισιν ἀφαιρεῖν κατὰ τὸ ἐκτός: καὶ οἱ μὲν αἰεὶ τι ἀπὸ τῶν τιθεμένων ἐλάμβανον: Ὑριεὺς δὲ εἶχετο ἀφασία, κλεῖς μὲν καὶ σημεῖα τὰ ἄλλα ὀρῶν ἀκίνητα, τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν αἰεὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλάττωνα. [6] ἴστησιν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγγείων, ἐν οἷς ὁ τε ἀργυρος ἐνῆν καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς οἱ, πάγας ἢ τι καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τὸν ἐσελθόντα καὶ ἀπτόμενον τῶν χρημάτων καθέξειν ἔμελλεν. ἐσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τὸν μὲν ὁ δεσμός κατεῖχε, Τροφώνιος δὲ ἀπέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅπως μὴ ἡμέρας ἐπισχούσης ἐκεῖνος γένοιτο ἐν αἰκίαις καὶ αὐτὸς μηνυθεὶ μετέχων τοῦ τολμήματος. [7] καὶ Τροφώνιον μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐδέξατο ἡ γῆ διαστᾶσα, ἐνθα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῷ ἐν Λεβαδεΐᾳ βόθρος τε Ἀγαμήδους καλούμενος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ στήλη: τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῶν Ὀρχομένων ἔσχεν Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος Ἄρεως εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μητρὸς δὲ Ἀστυόχης ἦσαν τῆς Ἄκτορος τοῦ Ἀζέως τοῦ Κλυμένου: καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἡγεμόσι Μινύαι στρατεύουσιν ἐς Τροίαν. [8] μετέσχον Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ τοῖς Κόδρου παισὶν ἐς Ἰωνίαν τοῦ στόλου. γενομένους δὲ ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Θηβαίων κατήγαγεν αὖθις ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἔμελλεν αἰεὶ ῥέψειν.

38. Ὀρχομενίοις δὲ πεποιήται καὶ Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερόν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πέτρας σέβουσὶ τε μάλιστα καὶ τῷ Ἐτεοκλεῖ αὐτὰς πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φασιν: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ σὺν κόσμῳ πεποιημένα ἀνετέθη μὲν ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ, λίθου δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα. [2] ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ κρήνη θέας ἀξία: καταβαίνουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὕδωρ οἴσοντες. θησαυρὸς δὲ ὁ Μινύου, θαῦμα ὃν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρωθι οὐδενὸς ὕστερον, πεποιήται τρόπον τοιόνδε: λίθου μὲν εἵργασται, σχῆμα δὲ περιφερές ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη: τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἁρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι. [3] τάφοι δὲ Μινύου τε καὶ Ἡσιόδου: καταδέξασθαι δὲ φασιν οὕτω τοῦ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ὀστᾶ. νόσου καταλαμβανούσης

λοιμώδους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀποστέλλουσι θεωροὺς παρὰ τὸν θεόν· τούτοις δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Πυθίαν, Ἡσιόδου τὰ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς Ναυπακτίας ἀγαγοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶναι σφίσι οὐδὲν ἴαμα. τότε δὲ ἐπερέσθαι δεύτερα, ὅπου τῆς Ναυπακτίας αὐτὰ ἐξευρήσουσι· καὶ αὐθις τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν ὥς μηνύσοι κορώνη σφίσιν. [4] οὕτω τοῖς θεοπρόποις ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν πέτραν τε οὐ πόρρω τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ φασὶν ὀφθῆναι· καὶ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου δὲ τὰ ὅσα εὗρον ἐν χηραμῶ τῆς πέτρας, καὶ ἐλεγείᾳ ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἐπεγέγραπτο: “Ἀσκηρὴ μὲν πατρίς πολυλήιος, ἀλλὰ θανόντος

ὅστέα πληξίππων γῇ Μινυῶν κατέχει

Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλείστον ἐν Ἑλλάδι κῦδος ὀρεῖται

ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνῳ σοφίης.

“ [5] περὶ δὲ Ἀκταίωνος λεγόμενα ἦν Ὀρχομενίοις λυμαίνεσθαι τὴν γῆν πέτρας ἔχον εἰδωλον· ὥς δὲ ἐχρῶντο ἐν Δελφοῖς, κελεύει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ἀνευρόντας εἴ τι ἦν Ἀκταίωνος λοιπὸν κρύψαι γῇ, κελεύει δὲ καὶ τοῦ εἰδώλου χαλκῇν ποιησαμένους εἰκόνα πρὸς πέτρα σιδήρῳ δῆσαι. τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς δεδεμένον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον· καὶ τῷ Ἀκταίῳ ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

[6] σταδίου δὲ ἀφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀρχομενοῦ ναὸς τε Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα. ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Μέλανός εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί, καὶ ὁ Μέλας ἐς λίμνην καὶ οὗτος τὴν Κηφισίδα ἐκδίδωσιν. ἐπέχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλως τῆς Ὀρχομενίας τὸ πολὺ ἢ λίμνη, χειμῶνος δὲ ὥρα νότου τὰ πλεῖω πνεύσαντος ἔπεισιν ἐπὶ πλεόν τῆς χώρας τὸ ὕδωρ.

[7] Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Κηφισὸν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἀποστραφῆναι τὸ Ὀρχομένιον· τέως δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιέναι, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸ χάσμα ἐμφράξαι τὸ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐπίσταται μὲν οὖν καὶ Ὀμηρος λίμνην ἄλλως τὴν Κηφισίδα οὔσαν καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους πεποιημένην, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε εἶρηκε”λίμνη κεκλιμένος Κηφισίδι:

“Hom. II.

5.709 [8] ἔχει δὲ οὐδὲ εἰκότα λόγον τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους μὴ καὶ τὸ χάσμα ἐξευρεῖν καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναρρήξαντας τὸ ἔργον ἀποδοῦναι τὴν διέξοδον τῷ Κηφισῷ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ἄχρι τῶν Τρωικῶν χρήμασιν ἀδυνάτως εἶχον. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐν Ἀχιλλέως ἀποκρίσει πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρέσβεις:”οὐδ’ ὅς’ ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται,

“Hom. II.

9.381 δῆλα δῆπουθεν ὥς καὶ τότε προσιόντων τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις χρημάτων πολλῶν. [9] Ἀσπληδόνα δὲ ἐκλιπεῖν τοὺς οἰκήτοράς φασιν ὕδατος σπανίζοντος· γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀσπληδόνης τῇ πόλει, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι νύμφης τε Μιδείας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ ἔπη σφίσιν ἃ ἐποίησε Χερσίας, ἀνὴρ Ὀρχομένιος:”ἐκ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἀγακλειτῆς τε Μιδείης

Ἀσπληδῶν γένεθ’ υἱὸς ἀν’ εὐρύχορον πτολίεθρον.

“Chersias of Orchomenus, unknown location.

[10] τοῦδε τοῦ Χερσίου τῶν ἐπῶν οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι κατ’ ἐμὲ μνήμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς Ὀρχομενίους:

τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χερσίου καὶ ἐπίγραμμα οἱ Ὅρχομενιοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡσιόδου τάφῳ μνημονεύουσιν.

39. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῶν ὀρῶν Φωκεῖς ὑπερικοῦσιν Ὅρχομενίων, ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ Λεβάδεια ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁμορος. αὕτη τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὤκειτο ἐπὶ μετεώρου καὶ ὠνομάζετο Μίδεια ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσπληδόνης μητρός· Λεβάδου δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἀφικομένου κατέβησάν τε ἐς τὸ χθαμαλὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκλήθη Λεβάδεια ἡ πόλις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. πατέρα δὲ τοῦ Λεβάδου, καὶ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἴσασιν ἄλλο ἢ γυναῖκα εἶναι Λεβάδου Λαονίκην. [2] κεκόσμηται μὲν δὴ τὰ ἄλλα σφίσιν ἡ πόλις ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα εὐδαίμοσι, διείργει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Τροφωνίου ποταμὸς Ἑρκυνα. φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα Ἑρκυναν ὁμοῦ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παίζουσιν καὶ ἔχουσιν χῆνα ἀφεῖναι τοῦτον ἄκουσαν· ἐς δὲ ἄντρον κοῦλον ἐσπᾶντος καὶ ὑπὸ λίθον ἀποκρύψαντος αὐτὸν ἐσελθοῦσα ἡ Κόρη λαμβάνει τὸν ὄρνιθα ὑπὸ τῷ λίθῳ κατακείμενον· ρύηναί τε δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ὅθεν ἀνείλετο ἡ Κόρη τὸν λίθον καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν Ἑρκυναν. [3] καὶ ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ναὸς Ἑρκύνης, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος χῆνα ἔχουσα ἐν ταῖς χερσίν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τε αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὀρθά, περιειλιγμένοι δὲ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν τοῖς σκήπτροις δράκοντες. ταῦτα εἰκάσαι μὲν ἂν τις Ἀσκληπιῶν τε εἶναι καὶ Ὑγείας, εἶεν δ' ἂν Τροφώνιος καὶ Ἑρκυνα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τοὺς δράκοντας Ἀσκληπιῶν μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ Τροφωνίου νομίζουσιν ἱεροὺς εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ μνημᾶ ἐστὶν Ἀρκεσιλάου· Λήϊτον δὲ ἀνακομίσαι φασὶ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκ Τροίας. [4] τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει Τροφωνίου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐστίν, Ἀσκληπιῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰκασμένον· Πραξιτέλης δὲ ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Εὐρώπης καὶ Ζεὺς Ὑέτιος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. ἀναβᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα καὶ Διὸς Βασιλέως ναὸς. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον ἀφεΐκασιν ἡμίεργον· ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ ναῷ Κρόνου καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν. [5] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον τοιάδε γίνεται. ἐπειδὴν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τοῦ Τροφωνίου κατιέναι δόξη, πρῶτα μὲν τεταγμένων ἡμερῶν δίαίταν ἐν οἰκῇματι ἔχει, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα Δαίμονός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς· διαιτῶμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ τε ἄλλα καθαρεύει καὶ λουτρῶν εἴργεται θερμῶν, τὸ δὲ λουτρὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐστὶν ἢ Ἑρκυνα· καὶ οἱ καὶ κρέα ἄφθονά ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν θυσίων, θύει γὰρ δὴ ὁ κατιὼν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Τροφωνίῳ καὶ τοῦ Τροφωνίου τοῖς παισὶ, πρὸς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνί τε καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἥρᾳ τε Ἠνιόχῃ καὶ Δήμητρὶ ἣν ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐρώπην τοῦ Τροφωνίου φασὶν εἶναι τροφόν.

[6] καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἀνὴρ μάντις παρὼν ἐς τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐνορᾷ, ἐνιδὼν δὲ προθεσπίζει τῷ κατιόντι εἰ δὴ αὐτὸν εὐμενῆς ὁ Τροφώνιος καὶ ἰλεως δέξεται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἄλλων ἱερέων τὰ σπλάγχνα οὐχ ὁμοίως δηλοῖ τοῦ Τροφωνίου τὴν γνώμην: ἐν δὲ νυκτὶ ἥ κάτεισιν ἕκαστος, ἐν ταύτῃ κριὸν θύουσιν ἐς βόθρον, ἐπικαλοῦμενοι τὸν Ἀγαμήδην. θυμάτων δὲ τῶν πρότερον πεφηνότων αἰσίων λόγος ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ κριοῦ τὰ σπλάγχνα τὸ αὐτὸ θέλοι λέγειν: ὁμολογοῦντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, τότε ἕκαστος ἤδη κάτεισιν εὐελπὺς, κάτεισι δὲ οὕτω. [7] πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ αὐτὸν ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν Ἑρκυναν, ἀγαγόντες δὲ ἐλαίῳ χρίουσι καὶ λούουσι δύο παῖδες τῶν ἀστῶν ἑτὶ τρία πού καὶ δέκα γεγονότες, οὓς Ἑρμᾶς ἐπονομάζουσιν: οὗτοι τὸν καταβαίνοντά εἰσιν οἱ λούοντες καὶ ὅποσα χρή διακονούμενοι ἅτε παῖδες. τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐπὶ δὲ ὕδατος πηγᾶς ἄγεται: αἱ δὲ ἐγγύτατά εἰσιν ἀλλήλων. [8] ἐνταῦθα δὴ χρή πιεῖν αὐτὸν Λήθης τε ὕδωρ καλούμενον, ἵνα λήθῃ γένηταί οἱ πάντων ἃ τέως ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄλλο αὖθις ὕδωρ πίνειν Μνημοσύνης: ἀπὸ τούτου τε μνημονεύει τὰ ὀφθέντα οἱ καταβάντι. θεασάμενος δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁ ποιῆσαι Δαίδαλόν φασιν — ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ ἐπιδείκνυται πλὴν ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν Τροφώνιον μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι — τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα ἰδὼν καὶ θεραπεύσας τε καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον, χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκὼς λινοῦν καὶ ταινίαις τὸν χιτῶνα ἐπιζωσθεὶς καὶ ὑποδησάμενος ἐπιχωρίας κρηπίδας. [9] ἔστι δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους. κρηπὶς μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβέβληται λίθου λευκοῦ, περίοδος δὲ τῆς κρηπίδος κατὰ ἄλων τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἐστίν, ὕψος δὲ ἀποδέουσα δύο εἶναι πῆγχει: ἐφεσθήκασιν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι ὀβελοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ χαλκοὶ καὶ αἱ συνέχουσιν σφᾶς ζῶναι, διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν θύραι πεποιήνται. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς χάσμα γῆς ἐστὶν οὐκ αὐτόματον ἀλλὰ σὺν τέχνῃ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ὠκοδομημένον. [10] τοῦ δὲ οἰκοδομήματος τούτου τὸ σχῆμα εἰκασταὶ κριβάνῳ: τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἢ διάμετρος αὐτοῦ τέσσαρας παρέχοντο ἂν ὥς εἰκάσαι πῆγχει: βάθος δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκάζοι τις ἐς πλεον ὀκτὼ καθήκειν πηχῶν. κατάβασις δὲ οὐκ ἔστι πεποιημένη σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος: ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὸν Τροφώνιον, κλίμακα αὐτῷ κομίζουσιν στενὴν καὶ ἐλαφράν. καταβάντι δὲ ἐστὶν ὁπὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἔδαφους καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος: σπιθαμῶν τὸ εὖρος δύο, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἐφαίνετο εἶναι σπιθαμῆς. [11] ὁ οὖν κατιὼν κατακλίνας ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἔχων μάζας μεμαγμένας μέλιτι προεμβάλλει τε ἐς τὴν ὀπὴν τοὺς πόδας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιχωρεῖ, τὰ γόνατά οἱ τῆς ὀπῆς ἐντὸς γενέσθαι προθυμούμενος: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα αὐτίκα ἐφειλκύσθη τε καὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἐπέδραμεν, ὥσπερ ποταμῶν ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ὠκύτατος συνδεθέντα ὑπὸ δίνης ἀποκρύψειεν ἂν ἄνθρωπον. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀδύτου γενομένοις οὐχ εἷς οὐδὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ἐστὶν ὅτῳ διδάσκονται τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλὰ πού τις καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἄλλος ἤκουσεν. ἀναστρέψαι δὲ ὀπίσω τοῖς καταβάσι διὰ στομίου τε ἔστι τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ προεκθεόντων σφίσι τῶν ποδῶν. [12] ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐδένα τῶν καταβάντων λέγουσιν ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν Δημητρίου τινὰ δορυφόρων: τοῦτον δὲ οὕτε ποιῆσαι περὶ τὸ ἱερόν φασιν οὐδὲν τῶν νενομισμένων οὔτε χρησόμενον τῷ

θεῶ καταβῆναι, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον ἐκκομεῖν ἐλπίσαντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τούτου τὸν νεκρὸν ἐτέρωθι ἀναφανῆναι καὶ οὐ κατὰ στόμα ἐκβληθῆναι τὸ ἱερόν. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον λεγομένων καὶ ἄλλων εἰρηταί μοι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα: [13] τὸν δὲ ἀναβάντα παρὰ τοῦ Τροφωνίου παραλαβόντες αὐτῆς οἱ ἱερεῖς καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ θρόνον Μνημοσύνης μὲν καλούμενον, κεῖται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀδύτου, καθεσθέντα δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνερωτῶσιν ὅποσα εἶδε τε καὶ ἐπύθετο: μαθόντες δὲ ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτὸν ἤδη τοῖς προσήκουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον διητᾶτο παρὰ τε Τύχῃ καὶ Δαίμονι ἀγαθοῖς, ἐς τοῦτο ἀράμενοι κομίζουσι κάτοχόν τε ἔτι τῷ δείματι καὶ ἀγνώτῃ ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν πέλας. ὕστερον μέντοι τὰ τε ἄλλα οὐδέν τι φρονήσει μείον ἢ πρότερον καὶ γέλως ἐπάνεισιν οἱ. [14] γράφω δὲ οὐκ ἀκοὴν ἀλλὰ ἐτέρους τε ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Τροφωνίῳ χρησάμενος. τοὺς δὲ ἐς τοῦ Τροφωνίου κατελθόντας, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς, ὅποσα ἤκουσεν ἕκαστος ἢ εἶδεν, ἀναθεῖναι γεγραμμένα ἐν πίνακι. λείπεται δ' ἔτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἀσπίς: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια ἐγένετο, ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τοῦ λόγου.

40. τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τοῦτο οὐ πεπυσμένοι πρότερον ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύδε ἔγνωσαν. θεωρὸν ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφούς: οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφισιν ἔτος δεύτερον ὕεν ὁ θεός. τούτοις αἰτοῦσιν ἐπ' ἀνὸρθωμα τοῦ αὐχμοῦ προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία παρὰ Τροφώνιον ἐς Λεβιάδειαν ἐλθοῦσιν εὖρασθαι παρὰ ἐκείνου τὸ ἱάμα. [2] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λεβιάδειαν ἐλθόντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο εὗρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐξ Ἀκραιφνίου πόλεως Σάων — οὗτος δὲ ἦν καὶ ἡλικία τῶν θεωρῶν πρεσβύτατος — εἶδεν ἐσμὸν μελισσῶν, καὶ παρέστη οἱ, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἀποτράπωνται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεσθαι. αὐτίκα δὴ τὰς μελίσσας ἐς τοῦτο ἐσπετομένας ὄρᾳ τῆς γῆς, καὶ συνεσῆλθέ σφισιν ἐς τὸ μαντεῖον. τοῦτον τὸν Σάωνα καὶ τὴν ἱεουργίαν τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν, καὶ ὅποσα περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δρῶσιν ἄλλα, διδαχθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ Τροφωνίου φασίν. [3] Δαιδάλου δὲ τῶν ἔργων δύο μὲν ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, Ἡρακλῆς τε ἐν Θήβαις καὶ παρὰ Λεβαδεῦσιν ὁ Τροφώνιος, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα ξόανα ἐν Κρήτῃ, Βριτόμαρτις ἐν Ὀλοῦντι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Κνωσσίοις: παρὰ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀριάδνης χορός, οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι μνήμην ἐποιήσατο, ἐπειρασμένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. καὶ Δηλίοις Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα ξόانون, λελυμασμένον τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου: κάτεισι δὲ ἀντὶ ποδῶν ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα.

[4] πείθομαι τοῦτο Ἀριάδην λαβεῖν παρὰ Δαιδάλου, καὶ ἥνικα ἠκολούθησε τῷ Θησεῖ, τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπεκομίζετο οἴκοθεν: ἀφαιρεθέντα δὲ αὐτῆς τὸν Θησεῖα οὕτω φασίν οἱ Δῆλιοι τὸ ξόانون τῆς θεοῦ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ, ἵνα μὴ οἴκαδε ἐπαγόμενος ἐς ἀνάμνησίν τε Ἀριάδνης ἐφέλκηται καὶ ἀεὶ νέας ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι εὐρίσκηται τὰς συμφοράς. πέρα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὑπόλοιπα ὄντα τῶν Δαιδάλου: τοῖς γὰρ ἀνατεθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ ἐς Γέλαν τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ κομισθεῖσιν ἐξ Ὀμφάκης, ἀφανισθῆναι σφισιν ὁ χρόνος καθέστηκεν αἴτιος. [5] Λεβαδέων δὲ ἔχονται Χαιρωνεῖς. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ τούτοις Ἄρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον: θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι λέγουσιν Αἰόλου τὴν Ἄρνην, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης κληθῆναι καὶ ἐτέραν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλιν: τὸ δὲ νῦν τοῖς

Χαιρωνεύσιν ὄνομα γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Χαίρωνος, ὃν Ἀπόλλωνός φασιν εἶναι, μητέρα δὲ αὐτοῦ Θηρῶ τὴν Φύλαντος εἶναι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἡοίας ποιήσας:

[6] “Φύλας δ’ ὥπνιεν κούρην κλειτοῦ Ἰολάου
† λειπεφιληνὴν εἶδος Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν ὅμοιον,
Ἰππότην δέ οἱ υἱὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτικτεν
Θηρῶ τ’ εὐειδῆ, ἱκέλην φαέεσσι σελήνης.
Θηρῶ δ’ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐς ἀγκοίνῃσι πεσοῦσα
γείνατο Χαίρωνος κρατερὸν μένος ἵπποδάμοιο.

“The Great Eoeae, unknown location. Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐπιστάμενος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Χαίρωνεῖαν τε ἤδη καὶ Λεβάδειαν καλουμένας, ὅμως τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐχρήσατο ὀνόμασιν ἐς αὐτάς, καθότι καὶ Αἴγυπτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἶπεν, οὐ Νεῖλον. [7] Χαίρωνεῦσι δὲ δύο ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τρόπαια, ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Σύλλας ἔστησαν Ταξίλον καὶ στρατιὰν τὴν Μιθριδάτου κρατήσαντες. Φίλιππος δὲ οὐκ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντου τρόπαιον οὔτε ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ὀπόσας μάχας ἄλλας βαρβάρους ἢ καὶ Ἑλληνας ἐνίκησεν: οὐ γάρ τι Μακεδόσιν ἰστάναι τρόπαια ἦν νενομισμένον.

[8] λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων Καρανὸν βασιλεύοντα ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κρατῆσαι μάχῃ Κισσέως, ὃς ἐδυνάστευεν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ὁμόρῳ: καὶ ὁ μὲν τρόπαιον ὁ Καρανὸς κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἀργείων ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ: ἐπελθόντα δὲ φασιν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου λέοντα ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸ τρόπαιον καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, συνεῖναι τε γνώμῃ [9] Καρανὸν δὲ οὐκ εὖ βουλευσασθαι βαρβάροις τοῖς περιοικοῦσιν ἐς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντα ἀδιάλλακτον,

καταστήναι τε χρῆναι γὰρ μήτε ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ Καρανοῦ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον βασιλευσόντων Μακεδονίας τρόπαια ἵστασθαι, εἰ ἐς εὐνοίαν ποτε τοὺς προσχώρους ὑπάξονται. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἀναστήσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ τρόπαια οὔτε ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς νίκαις. [10] προσιόντων δὲ τῇ πόλει πολυάνδριον Θηβαίων ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀγῶνι ἀποθανόντων. ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα οὐδέν, ἐπίθημα δ’ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ λέων: φέροι δ’ ἂν ἐς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα τὸν θυμόν: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄπεστιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐοικότα τῇ τόλμῃ σφίσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος ἠκολούθησε.

[11] θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαίρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Δίῃ φησιν Ὅμηρος Ἥφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἑρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλῳπα δὲ Ἀτρεΐ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρέα Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα: τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, Δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θεϊότερον οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ: [12] φασὶ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὐρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὑρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένους ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἠλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πειθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ δημοσία πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὁ ἱερόμενος ἐν οἰκῇματι ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον: καὶ οἱ θυσίαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ περμάτων πλήρης.

41. ὅποσα δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ἡφαίστου ποιηταὶ τε ἄδουσι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠκολούθηκεν ἢ φήμη, τούτων, ὅτι μὴ τὸ Ἀγαμέμνωνος σκῆπτρον, ἄλλο γε οὐδὲν ἀξιοχρεῶν ἐστὶν ἐς πίστιν. Λύκιοι μὲν γε ἐν Πατάροις ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος χαλκοῦν ἐπιδεικνύουσι κρατῆρα, ἀνάθημα εἶναι φάμενοι Τηλέφου καὶ ἔργον Ἡφαίστου· καὶ σφᾶς, ὥς γε εἰκός, λέληθε Θεόδωρον καὶ Ῥοῖκον Σαμίους εἶναι τοὺς διαχέαντας χαλκὸν πρώτους. [2] Πατρεῖς δὲ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἡφαίστου ποίημά ἐστιν ἡ λάρναξ ἣν Εὐρύπυλος ἥνεγκεν ἐξ Ἰλίου, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐ παρέχουσιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθαι. ἔστι δὲ Ἀμαθοῦς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλις, Ἀδώνιδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον· ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὄρμον Ἀρμονίᾳ μὲν δοθέντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐριφύλῃς, ὅτι αὐτὴ δῶρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρί· ὃν ἀνέθεσαν μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἐς Δελφοὺς οἱ Φηγέως — τρόπον δὲ ὄντινα ἐκτήσαντο αὐτόν, ἐδήλωσεν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἔχοντα —, ἐσυλήθη δὲ ὑπὸ τυράννων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν. [3] οὐ μὴν παρὰ Ἀμαθουσίους γε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστίν· ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι μὲν γάρ ἐστι λίθοι χλωροὶ συνδέοντος χρυσοῦ σφᾶς ὁ ὄρμος, τὸν δὲ τῇ Ἐριφύλῃ δοθέντα Ὅμηρός φησιν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ πεποιῆσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ἔχει·”ἢ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήντα.

“Hom. Od.

11.327 [4] οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡγνόμενους τοὺς ὄρμους τοὺς ποικίλους· ἐν μὲν γε τοῖς Εὐμαίου λόγοις πρὸς Ὀδυσσεά, πρὶν ἢ ἐκ Πύλου Τηλέμαχον ἀφικέσθαι σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐστὶν “ἦλυθ’ ἀνὴρ πολυδίρις ἐμοῦ πρὸς δώματα πατρός

χρῦσεον ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ’ ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο,

“Hom. Od.

15.459 [5] καὶ ἐν Πηνελόπης δώροις — ἄλλους τε γὰρ τῶν μνηστήρων δῶρα καὶ Εὐρύμαχον διδόντα Πηνελόπη πεποίηκεν—”ὄρμον δ’ Εὐρύμαχος πολυδαίδαλον αὐτίκ’ ἔνευκε

χρῦσεον, ἠλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον, ἠέλιον ὥς:

“Hom. Od.

18.295 Ἐριφύλῃν δὲ οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλον δέξασθαι φησιν ὄρμον. οὕτω τὸ εἰκὸς τῷ σκῆπτρῳ πρόσσεστιν εἶναι μόνον ποίημα Ἡφαίστου. [6] ἐστὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κρημνὸς Πετραχὸς καλούμενος· Κρόνον δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπατηθῆναι δεξάμενον ἀντὶ Διὸς πέτρων παρὰ τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἄγαλμα Διὸς οὐ μέγα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους.

[7] ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Χαιρωνείᾳ μύρα ἀπὸ ἀνθῶν ἔψουσι κρίνου καὶ ρόδου καὶ ναρκίσσου καὶ ἵρεως· ταῦτα ἀλγηδόνων ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις γίνεται. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ρόδων ποιούμενον, εἰ καὶ ἀγάλματα εἰργασμένα ξύλου χρίοις, ρύεται καὶ ταῦτα σηπεδόνος. ἢ δὲ ἴρις φύεται μὲν ἐν ἔλεσι, μέγεθος δ’ ἐστὶν ἴση κρίνῳ, χροῖαν δὲ οὐ λευκὴν, καὶ ὁσμὴν ἀποδεῖ κρίνου.

BOOK X.

Φωκικά, Λοκρῶν Ὀζόλων

1. γῆς δὲ τῆς Φωκίδος, ὅσον μὲν περὶ Τιθορέαν καὶ Δελφούς ἐστιν αὐτῆς, ἐκ παλαιοτάτου φανερά τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο εἰληφυῖα ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος· ἔτεσι δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἐξενίκησε καὶ ἀπάσῃ γενέσθαι τῇ ἐφ' ἡμῶν καλουμένη Φωκίδι, Αἰγινήτων ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν χώραν διαβάντων ὁμοῦ Φώκῳ τῷ Αἰακοῦ. [2] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπαντικρὺ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς, τῇ μὲν ἐς Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν, τῇ δ' ἐπὶ Ἀντίκυραν πόλιν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ κόλπου Λοκροὶ σφᾶς παραθαλασσίους οἱ Ὑποκνημίδιοι κωλύουσιν εἶναι· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ εἰσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπεροικούντες, Σκαρφεῖς μὲν τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἐλατείας, ὑπὲρ δὲ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Ἄβας οἱ πόλιν τε Ὀποῦντα καὶ Ὀπουντίων ἐπίνειον νεμόμενοι Κῦνον. [3] τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα Φωκεῦσιν ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ· πολέμου γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ μετεσχῆκασι, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐναντία ἐπολέμησαν πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐλάσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐπεδείξαντο οἱ Φωκεῖς ἔργα ἐς μνήμην. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ὑάμπολιν, ἧ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς προσεδέχοντο ἐμβαλεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὑδρίας κεράμου πεποιημένας κατορύξαντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτάς γῆν ἐπιφορήσαντες ὑέμενον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν· οἱ δέ, ἅτε οὐ προπετυσμένοι τῶν Φωκέων τὴν τέχνην, ἐπελάσαντες τοὺς ἵππους λανθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑδρίας. ἐνταῦθα ἀπεχολοῦντο μὲν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ποδῶν ἐσπιπτόντων σφισιν ἐς τὰς ὑδρίας, ἐκτείνοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπέπιπτον οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.

[4] ὥς δὲ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ μεῖζονι ἢ τὰ πρότερα ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας χρώμενοι τῇ ὀργῇ συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐν οὐ μικρῷ ποιούμενοι δείματι τὴν τε ἄλλην τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὴν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῆς ἵππου τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ αὐτῶν μελέτην τῶν ἱπέων, ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφούς αἰτοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο μάντευμα· “συμβαλέω θνητὸν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον μαχέσασθαι,

νίκην δ' ἀμφοτέροις δώσω, θνητῷ δὲ νυ μᾶλλον.

“ [5] ταῦτα ὥς ἐπύθοντο οἱ Φωκεῖς, λογάδας τριακοσίους καὶ Γέλωνα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄρτι ἀρχομένης νυκτός, προστάξαντές σφισι κατοπτεῦσαι τε τὰ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ὄντινα ἀφανέστατον δύναιντο τρόπον καὶ αὔθις ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἐπανήκειν κατὰ τῶν ὁδῶν τὴν μάλιστα ἄγνωστον, μηδὲ ἐκόντας μάχης ἄρχειν. οὗτοι ὑπὸ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ λογάδες ἀπώλοντο ἄθροοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ ἡγούμενός σφισι Γέλων, συμπατούμενοί τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φονευόμενοι. [6] καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ σφῶν

κατάπληξιν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Φωκέων τηλικαύτην ἐνεποίησεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ὅσα τῶν κτημάτων ἄγειν ἦν

σφίσιν ἢ φέρειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν ἐς ταῦτο συλλέξαντες πυρὰν ὡς μεγίστην ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἀπολείπουσι: [7] προσετέτακτο δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, εἰ ἡττᾶσθαι τοὺς Φωκέας συμβαίνοι τῇ μάχῃ, τότε δὴ προαποσφάζει μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ὡς ἱερεῖα ἀναθέντας ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν καὶ ἐνέντας πῦρ οὕτως ἦδη διαφθαρῆναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἦτοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ ἐς τὴν ἵππον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἐσπίπτοντας. ἀντὶ τούτου μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ ἀνάληγτα βουλευόμενα ἀπόνεια ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζεται Φωκική, τότε δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐποιοῦντο αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔξοδον: [8] στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἦσαν σφίσι Ῥοῖός τε Ἀμβροσσεὺς καὶ Ὑαμπολίτης Δαΐφάντης, οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ ἵππῳ, δυνάμεως δὲ τῆς πεζῆς ὁ Ἀμβροσσεὺς. ὁ δὲ χώραν ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔχων τὴν μεγίστην μάντις ἦν Τελλίας ὁ Ἥλειος, καὶ ἐς τὸν Τελλίαν τοῖς Φωκεῦσι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπέκειντο αἱ ἐλπίδες. [9] ὥς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἐγένετο ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα δόξαντα, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ σφίσιν ἐώρων σαλεύουσιν καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα ἐς παντοῖα ἀφικνοῦντο τολμήματα: προσγενομένου δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐκ θεῶν εὐμενοῦς νίκην τῶν τότε ἀνείλοντο ἐπιφανεστάτην. [10] τό τε λόγιον τὸ γεγενημένον τοῖς Φωκεῦσι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἐγνώσθη: τὸ γὰρ σύνθημα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγούντων ἐδίδото ἐν ταῖς μάχαις Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναῖς Ἰτωνίας, τοῖς δὲ ὁ ἐπώνυμος Φῶκος. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀναθήματα οἱ Φωκεῖς ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Τελλίαν τότε τὸν μάντιν καὶ ὅσοι μαχομένοις ἄλλοι σφίσιν ἐστρατήγησαν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥρωας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: ἔργα δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες Ἀριστομέδοντός εἰσιν Ἀργεῖου. [11] εὐρέθη δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν οὐκ ἀποδέον σοφία τῶν προτέρων. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀντεκάθητο περὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσβολήν, λογάδες Φωκέων πεντακόσιοι φυλάσσοντες πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, αὐτοὶ τε ἀληλιμμένοι γύψῳ καὶ ἐνδεδυκότες ὄπλα λευκὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γύψῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἐξεργασθῆναι φόνον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν λέγεται πλεῖστον, θειότερόν τι ἡγουμένων ἢ κατὰ ἔφοδον πολεμίων τὸ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ συμβαῖνον. ὁ δὲ Ἥλειος ἦν Τελλίας ὃς καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἐμηχανήσατο ἐς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς.

2. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς διέβη, λέγεται τοὺς Φωκέας φρονῆσαι μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὰ βασιλέως, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν Μήδων καὶ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ Πλαταιᾶσι παρατάξασθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ζημιωθῆναι χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων: οὐδὲ ἔχω τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξευρεῖν εἴτε ἀδικήσασιν ἐπεβλήθη σφίσιν εἴτε Θεσσαλοὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μῖσος γενέσθαι τὴν ζημίαν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἦσαν οἱ πράξαντες.

[2] ἐχόντων δὲ ἀθύμως αὐτῶν πρὸς τῆς ζημίας τὸ μέγεθος, Φιλόμηλος σφᾶς ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Θεοτίμου, Φωκέων οὐδενὸς ἀζιώματι ὕστερος — πατρίς δὲ αὐτῷ Λέδων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἦν πόλεων — οὗτος οὖν ὁ Φιλόμηλος τὴν τε ἔκτισιν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον ἀπέφηνε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἀνέπειθε τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαβεῖν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, λέγων καὶ ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ὡς τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκ

Λακεδαιμόνος ἐπιτήδεια ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος κατασταίῃ σφίσιν ἐς πόλεμον, περιέσεσθαι καὶ ἀρετῇ σφᾶς καὶ δαπάνῃ χρημάτων. [3] ταῦτα τοῦ Φιλομήλου λέγοντος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀκούσια τῷ πλήθει τῶν Φωκέων, εἴτε τὴν γνώμην σφίσι τοῦ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος εἴτε καὶ αὐτοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐπίπροσθεν εὐσεβείας τὰ κέρδη ποιεῖσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν Δελφῶν κατάληψιν ἐποίησαντο οἱ Φωκεῖς Ἡρακλείδου μὲν πρυτανεύοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἣν Πρῶρος ἐνίκα Κυρηναῖος στάδιον. [4] καταλαβοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ξενικὰ τε αὐτίκα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἡθροίσθη καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι σφίσιν ἐς πόλεμον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καθεστήκεσαν, διάφοροι καὶ τὰ πρότερα ὄντες. χρόνος μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο ὃν ἐπολέμησαν δέκα ἔτη συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ πολέμου μήκει πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ξενικὰ ἐνίκησε, πολλάκις δὲ ἦν τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπικρατέστερα· γενομένης δὲ κατὰ Νεῶνα πόλιν συμβολῆς ἐτράποντο οἱ Φωκεῖς, καὶ ὁ Φιλόμηλος ρίπτει τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ κατὰ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου κρημνοῦ καὶ ἀφίησιν οὕτω τὴν ψυχὴν· ἐτέτακτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς Ἀμφικτύουσιν ἐς τοὺς συλῶντας αὕτη ἡ δίκη.

[5] μετὰ δὲ Φιλόμηλον τελευτήσαντα Ὀνομάρχῳ μὲν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διδόασιν οἱ Φωκεῖς, ἐς δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν συμμαχίαν προσεχώρησε Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου· καὶ — ἐκράτησε γὰρ Φίλιππος τῆς συμβολῆς — φεύγων ὁ Ὀνομαρχος καὶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηκοντίσθη τῶν οἰκείων, ὥς τὴν ἥσάν σφίσιν ὑπὸ ἀτολμίας συμβᾶσαν τῆς ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατηγεῖν ἀπειρίας. [6] Ὀνομάρχῳ μὲν τέλος τοῦ βίου τοιοῦτον ἐπήγαγεν ὁ δαίμων, στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα εἶλοντο ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ὀνομάρχου Φάυλον. λέγουσι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Φάυλον παρεληλυθέναι τε δὴ ἄρτι ἐπὶ τῶν Φωκέων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὄψιν ὀνειράτος ἰδεῖν τοιάνδε. ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μίμημα ἦν χαλκοῦν ἀνδρὸς χρονιωτέρου, κατερρυηκός τε ἤδη τὰς σάρκας καὶ τὰ ὁστὰ ὑπολειπομένου μόνα· ἀνάθημα δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Ἱπποκράτους ἐλέγετο εἶναι τοῦ ἱατροῦ. τοῦτῳ δὴ ἑαυτὸν εοικέναι τῷ ἀναθήματι ἔδοξεν ὁ Φάυλος· αὐτίκα δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα αὐτὸν φθοῶδης νόσος ἐπετέλει τοῦ ἐνυπνίου τὴν μαντείαν. [7] Φαύλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἐς Φάλαικον τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ περιεχώρησεν ἡ ἐν Φωκεῦσι δυναστεία· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἔσχεν ὁ Φάλαικος αἰτίαν ἰδίᾳ περιποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, διαβὰς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐς Κρήτην ὁμοῦ Φωκέων τοῖς ἡρημένοις τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ μοῖρα τοῦ ξενικοῦ, Κυδωνία προσκαθήμενος — οὐ γάρ οἱ διδόναι χρήματα ἐβούλοντο αἰτοῦντι — τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἀπόλλυσι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο.

3. δεκάτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν ἐπέθηκεν ὁ Φίλιππος πέρας τῷ πολέμῳ, Φωκιῶ τε καὶ ἱερῷ κληθέντι τῷ αὐτῷ, Θεοφίλου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, ὀγδόης δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ἔτει πρώτῳ, ἣν Πολυκλῆς ἐνίκα στάδιον Κυρηναῖος. καὶ ἐς ἑδαφος ἀλοῦσαι κατεβλήθησαν τῶν Φωκέων αἱ πόλεις· ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν Λίλαια καὶ Ὑάμπολις καὶ Ἀντίκυρα καὶ Παραποτάμιοι καὶ Πανοπεὺς τε καὶ Δαυλῖς. τούτων μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὼν ἔνεκα τῶν Ὀμήρου· [2] τὰς δὲ

αὐτῶν ἡ στρατιὰ καταπρήσασα ἢ μετὰ Ξέρξου γνωριμωτέρας οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπῶν ἔνεκα τῶν Ὀμήρου: τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στρατιὰ καταπρήσασα ἢ μετὰ Ξέρξου γνωριμωτέρας ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐποίησεν, Ἐρωχὸν καὶ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἀμφίκλειαν καὶ Νεῶνας καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Δρυμαίαν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πλὴν γε δὴ Ἑλατείας τὰ πρότερα οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν, Τραχίς τε ἡ Φωκικὴ καὶ Μεδεῶν ὁ Φωκικὸς καὶ Ἑχεδάμεια καὶ Ἀμβροσσος καὶ Λέδων καὶ Φλυγόνιον ἔτι καὶ Στῆρις. τότε δὲ κατεσκάφησάν τε αἱ κατειλεγμένοι καὶ ἐς κόμας πλὴν Ἄβας ὤκισθησαν αἱ ἄλλαι: Ἀβαίοις δὲ ἐκτὸς ἀσεβείας ὑπῆρχε καθεστηκέναι, καὶ οὔτε τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς καταλήψεως οὔτε τοῦ πολέμου μετεσχήκεσαν. [3] ἀφηρέθησαν δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ μετεῖναι σφισιν ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ συνόδου τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ τὰς ψήφους αὐτῶν Μακεδόσιν ἔδοσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν αἱ πόλεις ἀνωκίσθησαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατήχθησαν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνοικισθῆναι τινὰς ἐκώλυσεν ἀσθένειά τε ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῇ τότε ἔνδεια: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι σφᾶς ἦσαν οἱ κατάγοντες, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ συμβῆναι πταῖσμα Ἑλλήσι. [4] καὶ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μετέσχον οἱ Φωκεῖς, καὶ ὕστερον περὶ Λάμιαν καὶ ἐν Κραννῶνι ἐναντία Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐμαχέσαντο: Γαλάτας δὲ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν στρατιάν προθυμώτατα ἡμύνοντο Ἑλλήνων, θεῶ τε τιμωροῦντες τῇ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἅμα ἔμοι δοκεῖν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐγκλημάτων.

4. τοῦτοις μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχεν ἐς μνήμην: στάδια δὲ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας εἴκοσιν ἐς Πανοπέας ἐστὶ πόλιν Φωκέων, εἶγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν, οὐ θέατρον οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην, ἀλλὰ ἐν στέγαις κοίλαις κατὰ τὰς καλύβας μάλιστα τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ. ὅμως δὲ ὅροι γε τῆς χώρας εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ὁμούς, καὶ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον συνέδρους καὶ οὗτοι πέμπουσι τὸν Φωκικόν. καὶ γενέσθαι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπειοῦ πατρός, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ Φωκεῖς, Φλεγύαι δὲ εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν διαφυγεῖν φασὶ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενίας. [2] Πανοπέων δὲ τὸν ἀρχαῖον θεώμενοι περίβολον ἐπτὰ εἶναι σταδίων μάλιστα εἰκάζομεν: ὑπῆι τε ἐπῶν ἡμᾶς τῶν Ὀμήρου μνήμη ὣν ἐποίησεν ἐς Τιτυόν, καλλίχορον τῶν Πανοπέων ὀνομάσας τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὥς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ τε ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλου νεκρῷ καὶ Σχεδίων τὸν Ἰφίτου βασιλεύοντα Φωκέων καὶ ἀποθανόντα ὑφ' Ἑκτορος κατοικεῖν εἶπεν ἐν τῷ Πανοπεῖ. τοῦτο μὲν δὲ ἐφαίνετο ἡμῖν ἔχειν αἰτίαν, φόβῳ τῶν Βοιωτῶν — κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἢ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσβολὴ ῥάστη — ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἄτε φρουρίῳ τῷ Πανοπεῖ χρώμενον: [3] τὸ ἕτερον δὲ οὐκ ἐδυνήθην συμβαλέσθαι πρότερον, ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλλίχορον τὸν Πανοπέα εἴρηκε, πρὶν ἢ ἐδιδάχθην ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίους καλουμένων Θυιάδων. αἱ δὲ Θυιάδες γυναῖκες μὲν εἰσὶν Ἀττικάι, φοιτᾶσαι δὲ ἐς τὸν Παρνασσὸν παρὰ ἔτος αὐταῖ τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες Δελφῶν ἄγουσιν ὄργια Διονύσῳ. ταύταις ταῖς Θυιάσι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὁδὸν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ χοροὺς ἰστάναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πανοπεῦσι καθέστηκε: καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις ἢ ἐς τὸν Πανοπέα Ὀμήρου ὑποσημαίνειν τῶν Θυιάδων δοκεῖ τὸν χορόν. [4] Πανοπεῦσι δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ πλίνθου τε ὠμῆς

οἶκημα οὐ μέγα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἄγαλμα, ὃν Ἀσκληπιόν, οἱ δὲ Προμηθέα εἶναι φασί: καὶ παρέχονται γε τοῦ λόγου μαρτύρια. λίθοι κεῖνται σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ χαράδρᾳ, μέγεθος μὲν ἑκάτερος ὡς φόρτον ἀποχρῶντα ἀμάξης εἶναι, χρῶμα δὲ ἐστὶ πηλοῦ σφισιν, οὐ γεώδους ἀλλ' οἷος ἂν χαράδρας γένοιτο ἢ χειμάρρου ψαμμώδους, παρέχονται δὲ καὶ ὁσμὴν ἐγγύτατα χρωτὶ ἀνθρώπου: ταῦτα ἐτι λείπεσθαι τοῦ πηλοῦ λέγουσιν ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἅπαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ γένος πλασθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

[5] ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῇ χαράδρᾳ καὶ Τιτυοῦ μνημῆα ἐστὶ: περίοδος μὲν τοῦ χώματος τρίτον μάλιστα τὸ σταδίον, τὸ δὲ ἔπος τὸ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ “κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ: ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα

“Hom. Od.

11.577 οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγέθει πεποιῆσθαι τοῦ Τιτυοῦ φασιν, ἀλλ' ἐνθα ὁ Τιτυὸς ἐτέθη, Πλέθρα ἐννέα ὄνομα εἶναι τῷ χωρίῳ. [6] Κλέων δὲ ἀνὴρ Μάγνης, οἱ τῷ Ἑρμῷ προσοικοῦσιν, ἔφασκεν ἐς τὰ παράδοξα ἀπίστους εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἂν μὴ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν γένηται βίον θεάμασιν ἐπιτυχεῖν λόγου μείζουσιν: αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Τιτυὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἔφη πειθεσθαι γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν φήμην: τυχεῖν γὰρ δὴ ὦν ἐν Γαδεΐροις, καὶ ἐκπλεῦσαι μὲν αὐτός τε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πάντα ὄχλον ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ τὸ Ἑρακλέους πρόσταγμα, ὡς δὲ αὐθις ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὰ Γάδαιρα, ἄνδρα εὐρεῖν θαλάσσιον ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐς τὴν γῆν: τοῦτον πλέθρα μὲν πέντε μάλιστα ἐπέχειν, κεραυνωθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καίεσθαι. [7] οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Πανοπέως δὲ ὅσον στάδια εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ ἀπέχει Δαυλίδας. οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωποι πληθὸς μὲν εἰσιν οὐ πολλοί, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ ἀλκῇ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐτι δοκιμώτατοι Φωκέων. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει τεθῆναι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ Δαυλίδος νύμφης, θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ τὴν Δαυλίδα. τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὡς τὸ χωρίον, ἐνθα ἡ πόλις ὤκισθη, παρείχετο συνεχῇ δένδρα, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ δασέα ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι δαῦλα: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλον τὰ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἀνθηδονίου γένεια ὑπήνην ὀνομακέναι δαῦλον.

[8] ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Δαυλίδι παραθεῖναι τῷ Τηρεῖ τὸν παῖδα αἱ γυναῖκες λέγονται, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ μiasμάτων τοῦτο ἥρξεν. ὁ δὲ ἔπος ἐς ὃν ἔχει λόγος τὸν Τηρέα ἀλλαγῆναι, οὗτος ὁ ὄρνις μέγεθος μὲν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ὄρτυγα, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ οἱ τὰ πτερά ἐς λόφου σχῆμα ἐξήρται. [9] θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ χελιδόνες οὔτε τίκτουσιν οὔτε ἐκλέπουσί γε τὰ ῥά, οὐδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν πρὸς οἰκήματος ὁρόφῳ νεοσιανὴν χελιδὼν ποιῆσαιτο: λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς ὡς τῇ Φιλομήλᾳ καὶ ὄρνιθι οὔσῃ Τηρέως δεῖμα ἐφάνη καὶ οὕτω τῆς πατρίδος ἀπέστη τῆς Τηρέως. Δαυλιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον: τὸ δὲ ξόανον τὸ ἐτι παλαιότερον λέγουσιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Πρόκνην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. [10] ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς Δαυλίας χώρα καλουμένη Τρωνίς: ἐνταῦθα ἡρῶν ἥρω Ἀρχηγέτου πεποιήται: τὸν δὲ ἥρω τοῦτον Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἀφανῆ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον, οἱ δὲ Φῶκον εἶναι τὸν Ὀρνυτιώνοιο τοῦ Σισύφου φασίν. ἔχει δ' οὖν ἐπὶ ἡμέρᾳ τε πάσῃ τιμὰς καὶ ἄγοντες ἱερεῖα οἱ Φωκεῖς τὸ μὲν αἶμα δι' ὁπῆς ἐσχέουσιν ἐς τὸν τάφον, τὰ δὲ κρέα ταύτῃ σφίσιν ἀναλοῦν καθέστηκεν.

5. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος διὰ τῆς Δαυλίδος ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ

μακροτέρα τῆς ἐκ Δελφῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα χαλεπή. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δελφῶν εὐθείαν ἀναστρέψαντι ἐκ Δαυλίδος καὶ ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω, ἔστιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καλούμενον Φωκικόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπὸ ἐκάστης πόλεως συνίασιν οἱ Φωκεῖς.

[2] μεγέθει μὲν μέγα τὸ οἶκημα, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ κίονες κατὰ μῆκος εἰσιν ἑστηκότες· ἀναβασμοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κιόνων ἀνήκουσιν ἐς ἑκάτερον τοῖχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν τούτων οἱ συνιόντες τῶν Φωκέων καθέζονται. πρὸς δὲ τῷ πέρατι κίονες μὲν οὐκ εἰσιν οὐδὲ ἀναβασμοί, Διὸς δὲ ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας, τὸ μὲν ἐν θρόνῳ τοῦ Διὸς, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ ἡ μὲν κατὰ δεξιὰ, ἡ δὲ κατὰ ἀριστερὰ παρεστῶσα ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ πεποίηται. [3] προῖον δὲ αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ ὁδὸν ἀφίξι καλουμένην Σχιστὴν· ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῇ ὁδῷ τὰ ἐς τὸν φόνον τοῦ πατρὸς Οἰδίποδι εἰργάσθη. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα παθημάτων τῶν Οἰδίποδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπολειφθῆναι μνημόσυνα. τεχθέντος μὲν γε διαπείραντες διὰ τῶν σφυρῶν κέντρα ἐκτιθέασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα, ὅρος τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα· Κόρινθος δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ χώρα τροφὸς τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἐγένετο· γῇ δὲ ἡ Φωκίς καὶ ὁδὸς ἡ Σχιστὴ τοῦ πατρῷου φόνου τὸ μῖασμα ὑπεδέξατο· Θηβαίοις δὲ καὶ ἐς πλέον γάμων τέ σφισι τῶν Οἰδίποδος καὶ ἀδικίας τῆς Ἑτεοκλέους ἔστιν ἡ φήμη.

[4] Οἰδίποδι μὲν ὁδὸς ἡ Σχιστὴ καὶ τόλμημα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ κακῶν ἦρχε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λαῖου μνήματα καὶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπομένου ταῦτα ἔτι ἐν μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς τριόδου ἔστι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λίθοι λογάδες σεσωρευμένοι· Δαμασίστρατον δὲ ἄνδρα ἐν Πλαταιαῖς βασιλεύοντα ἐπιτυχεῖν τε κειμένοις τοῖς νεκροῖς καὶ θάψαι φασὶν αὐτοῦς. [5] ἡ δὲ λεωφόρος αὐτόθεν ἡ ἐς Δελφούς καὶ προσάντης γίνεται μᾶλλον καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζῶνῳ χαλεπωτέρα. λέγεται δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ διάφορα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δελφούς, πλείω δὲ ἔτι ἐς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ μαντεῖον. φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα Γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ Δαφνίδα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τετάχθαι πρόμαντιν ὑπὸ τῆς Γῆς:

[6] εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὅρος νυμφῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἑλλησι ποίησις, ὄνομα μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἔστιν Εὐμολπία, Μουσαίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιοφῆμου προσποιούσι τὰ ἔπη· πεποιημένον οὖν ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις Ποσειδῶνος ἐν κοινῷ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ τὴν μὲν χρᾶν αὐτὴν, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ὑπρέτην ἐς τὰ μαντεύματα εἶναι Πύρκωνα. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη:”αὐτίκα δὲ Χθονίης φωνὴ πινυτὸν φάτο μῦθον,

σὺν δὲ τε Πύρκων ἀμφίπολος κλυτοῦ Ἑννοσιγαίου.

“Musaeus, Eumolpiaχρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσον τῇ Γῇ μετῆν, δοθῆναι Θέμειδι ὑπ’ αὐτῆς λέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ παρὰ Θέμιδος λαβεῖν δωρεάν· Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ μαντείου Καλαύρειαν ἀντιδοῦναι φασιν αὐτὸν τὴν πρὸ Τροιζήνου. [7] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρες ποιμαίνοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν τῷ μαντείῳ, καὶ ἔνθεοί τε ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ καὶ ἐμαντεύσαντο ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος. μεγίστη δὲ καὶ παρὰ πλείστων ἐς Φημονόην δόξα ἐστίν, ὡς πρόμαντις γένοιτο ἡ Φημονόη τοῦ θεοῦ πρώτη καὶ πρώτη τὸ ἐξάμετρον ἦσεν. Βοιῶ δὲ ἐπιχωρία γυνὴ ποιήσασα ὕμνον Δελφοῖς ἔφη κατασκευάσασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ὡλήνα· τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μαντεύσασθαι πρῶτον καὶ ὅσαι πρῶτον τὸ ἐξάμετρον. [8] πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ Βοιῶ

τοιάδε: “ἐνθα τοι εὖμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο

παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων Παγασὸς καὶ διὸς Ἀγνιεύς.

“Boeo, work unknownἐπαριθμοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ ὕμνου τὸν Ὡλήνα ὠνόμασεν: “Ὡλήν θ’, ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοῖβοιο προφάτας,

πρῶτος δ’ ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτάναντ’ αἰοιδάν.

“Boeo, work unknownπρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ ὕμνου τὸν Ὡλήνα ὠνόμασεν: “Ὡλήν θ’, ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοῖβοιο προφάτας, πρῶτος δ’ ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτάναντ’ αἰοιδάν. [9] ποιηθῆναι δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ ἀρχαιότατον δάφνης φασί, κομισθῆναι δὲ τοὺς κλάδους ἀπὸ τῆς δάφνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι: καλύβης δ’ ἂν σχῆμα οὗτός γε ἂν εἴη παρεσχηματισμένος ὁ ναός. δευτέρα δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μελισσῶν τὸν ναὸν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ κηροῦ τῶν μελισσῶν καὶ ἐκ πετρῶν: πεμφθῆναι δὲ ἐς Ὑπερβορέους φασὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. [10] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος λόγος, ὡς τὸν ναὸν κατεσκεύασατο ἀνὴρ Δελφός, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Πτερᾶν εἶναι: κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ναῷ τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Πτερᾶ καὶ πόλιν Κρητικὴν προσθήκη γράμματος Ἀπτερεοῦς φασὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν αὐξομένην πτέριν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς πόας ταύτης χλωρᾶς ἔτι διεπλέξαντο ναόν, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν προσίεμαι τὸν λόγον τούτου. [11] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν τρίτον τῶν ναῶν, ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐκ χαλκοῦ, θαῦμα οὐδέν, εἴ γε Ἀκρίσιος μὲν θάλαμον χαλκοῦν τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐποίησατο, Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν Χαλκιοίκου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι λείπεται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ κατασκευῆς τῆς ἄλλης θαῦμα οὖσα παρέχεται τὸν ὄροφον χαλκοῦν: οὕτω καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι οὐκ ἂν ἄπο γε τοῦ εἰκότος εἴη γενέσθαι χαλκοῦν. [12] τὰ μὲντοι ἄλλα με οὐκ ἔπειθεν ὁ λόγος ἢ Ὑφαίστου τὸν ναὸν τέχνην εἶναι ἢ τὰ ἐς τὰς ὤδους τὰς χρυσᾶς, ἃ δὴ Πίνδαρος ἦσεν ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ναῷ:”χρῦσεται δ’ ἐξὑπερθ’ αἰετοῦ

ἄειδον Κηληδόνας.

“Pindar, work unknownοὗτος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐς μίμησιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ Σειρήνων ἐποίησεν: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τρόπον ὄντινα ἀφανισθῆναι συνέπεσε τῷ ναῷ, κατὰ ταῦτά εἰρημένα εὗρισκον: καὶ γὰρ ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς τακῆναι λέγουσιν. [13] τέταρτος δὲ ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου μὲν εἰργάσθη καὶ Ἀγαμήδους, λίθου δὲ αὐτὸν ποιηθῆναι μνημονεύουσι: κατεκαύθη δὲ Ἐρξικλείδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, πρῶτῳ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτει καὶ πεντηκοστῆς, ἣν Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκᾳ Διόγνητος. τὸν δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν τῷ θεῷ ναὸν ὠκοδόμησαν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες χρημάτων, ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τις Σπίνθαρος ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Κορίνθιος.

6. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαιοτάτην οἰκισθῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Παρνασσοῦ, Κλεοδώρας δὲ εἶναι νύμφης παῖδα αὐτόν: καὶ οἱ πατέρας, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων, Ποσειδῶνά τε θεὸν καὶ

Κλεόπομπον ἄνδρα ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τῷ τε ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα τεθῆναι λέγουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Παρνασσίαν ὀνομασθῆναι νάπην: τῶν πετομένων τε ὀρνίθων * * τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν μαντεῖαν γενέσθαι Παρνασσοῦ τὸ εὔρημα. [2] ταύτην μὲν οὖν κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν

ὀμβρων τῶν κατὰ Δευκαλίωνα συμβάντων: τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι διαφυγεῖν τὸν χειμῶνα ἠδυνήθησαν, λύκων ὠρυγαῖς ἀπεσώθησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τὰ ἄκρα ὑπὸ ἡγεμόσι τῆς πορείας τοῖς θηρίοις, πόλιν δὲ ἦν ἔκτισαν ἐκάλεσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Λυκώρειαν. [3] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος διάφορος λόγος τῷ προτέρῳ, Ἀπόλλωνι ἐκ νύμφης Κωρυκίας γενέσθαι Λύκωρον, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Λυκώρου πόλιν Λυκώρειαν, τὸ ἄντρον δὲ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ Κωρύκιον ἀπὸ τῆς νύμφης. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, Κελαινὴ θυγατέρα Ὑάμῳ τῷ Λυκώρου γενέσθαι, Δελφὸν δέ, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστίν, Κελαινοῦς τε αὐτὸν τῆς Ὑάμου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι. [4] οἱ δὲ Καστάλιόν τε ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα καὶ θυγατέρα ἐθέλουσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Θυίαν, καὶ ἱερᾶσθαι τε τὴν Θυίαν Διονύσῳ πρῶτον καὶ ὄργια ἀγαγεῖν τῷ θεῷ: ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ὅσαι τῷ Διονύσῳ μαίνονται Θυιάδας καλεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων: Ἀπόλλωνος δ' οὖν παῖδα καὶ Θυίας νομίζουσιν εἶναι Δελφόν. οἱ δὲ μητρὸς μὲν Μελαίνης φασὶν αὐτόν, θυγατρὸς Κηφισοῦ. [5] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Πυθῶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ Δελφοὺς μόνον ἐκάλεσαν οἱ περιοικοῦντες, καθὰ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐν καταλόγῳ Φωκῶν ἐστίν. οἱ μὲν δὴ γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πάντα ἐθέλοντες παῖδα εἶναι Δελφοῦ Πύθην καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου βασιλεύσαντος γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἡγηνται: λόγος δὲ ὃς ἡκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς, τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοξευθέντα σῆπessθαι φησὶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι Πυθῶ: πύθεσθαι γάρ δὴ τὰ σηπόμενα οἱ τότε ἔλεγον, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα Ὀμηρὸς πεποίηκεν ὥς ἡ τῶν Σειρήνων νῆσος ἀνάπλεως ὅστων εἴη, ὅτι οἱ τῆς ᾠδῆς αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες ἐπύθοντο ἄνθρωποι. [6] τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ποιηταὶ μὲν δράκοντα εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μαντεῖῳ φύλακα ὑπὸ Γῆς τετάχθαι φασί: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς Κριοῦ δυναστεύοντος ἀνδρὸς περὶ Εὐβοίαν παῖς γένοιτο ὕβριστής, καὶ ἐσύλησε μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ οἴκους ἀνδρῶν εὐδαιμόνων. ὥς δὲ ἐπεστράτεψε καὶ δεύτερον, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Δελφοὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἰκέτευον ἀμύναι σφίσι τὸν ἐπὶόντα κίνδυνον: [7] καὶ ἡ Φημονόη πρόμαντις τηνικαῦτα οὕσα ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ σφίσιν ἔχρησεν: ἄγχοῦ δὴ βαρὺν ἰὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι Φοῖβος ἐφήσει

σίντη Παρνησσοῖο: φόνου δέ ἐ Κρήσιοι ἄνδρες
χεῖρας ἀγιστεῦσουσι: τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται.

7. ἔοικε δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβεβουλευθῆναι πλείστον ἤδη. οὗτός τε ὁ Εὐβοεύς ληστής καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Φλεγυῶν, ἐτι δὲ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δυνάμεως μοῖρα τῆς Ξέρξου, καὶ οἱ χρόνον τε ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐν Φωκεῦσι δυνάσται, καὶ ἡ Γαλατῶν στρατιά. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα οὐδὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἐς πάντα ὀλιγορίας ἀπειράτως ἔξειν, ὃς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πεντακοσίας θεῶν τε ἀναμιξ ἀφείλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς. [2] ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἀγώνισμα γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσι καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ πρῶτον ἄθλα ἔθεσαν, ἅσαι ὕμνον ἐς τὸν θεόν: καὶ ἦσε καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἄδων Χρυσόθεμις ἐκ Κρήτης, οὗ δὴ ὁ πατὴρ λέγεται Καρμάνωρ καθῆραι Ἀπόλλωνα. Χρυσοθέμιδος δὲ ὕστερον Φιλάμμωνά τε ᾠδῇ μνημονεύουσι νικῆσαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Θάμυριν τὸν Φιλάμμωνος. Ὀρφέα δὲ σεμνολογία τῇ

ἐπὶ τελεταῖς καὶ ὑπὸ φρονήματος τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ Μουσαῖον τῇ ἐς πάντα μιμήσει τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὐκ ἐθέλησαί φασιν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι μουσικῆς ἐξετάζεσθαι.

[3] φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθήρα ἀνελέσθαι Πυθικὴν νίκην μέγα καὶ ἡδὺ φωνοῦντα, ἐπεὶ ὀδεῖν γε αὐτὸν οὐχ αὐτοῦ τὴν ᾠδὴν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος ἅτε οὐ κιθαρίζειν ὁμοῦ τῇ ᾠδῇ δεδιδαγμένον. Ὅμηρος δὲ ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησόμενος ὅποσα καὶ ἐδεῖτο, ἔμελλε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κιθαρίζειν διδασχθέντι ἀχρεῖον τὸ μάθημα ὑπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς συμφορᾶς γενήσεσθαι. [4] τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδόης, ἣν Γλαυκίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησε, ταύτης ἔτει τρίτῳ ἄθλα ἔθεσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες κιθαρωδίας μὲν καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλωδίας ἀγώνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν: ἀνηγορεύθησαν δὲ νικῶντες Κεφαλὴν τε Μελάμπους κιθαρωδία καὶ αὐλωδὸς Ἀρκὰς Ἐχέμβροτος, Σακάδας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐλοῖς: ἀνείλετο δὲ ὁ Σακάδας οὗτος καὶ ἄλλας δύο τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύτης πυθιάδας. [5] ἔθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄθλα τότε ἀθληταῖς πρῶτον, τὰ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πλὴν τεθρίππου καὶ αὐτοὶ νομοθετήσαντες δολίχου καὶ διαύλου παισὶν εἶναι δρόμον. δευτέρᾳ δὲ πυθιάδι οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄθλοις ἐκάλεσαν ἔτι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, στεφανίτην δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τούτου κατεστήσαντο: καὶ αὐλωδίαν τότε κατέλυσαν, καταγόντες οὐκ εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα εὐφημον: ἡ γὰρ αὐλωδία μέλη τε ἦν αὐλῶν τὰ σκυθρωπότατα καὶ ἐλεγεία θρήνοι προσαδόμενα τοῖς αὐλοῖς. [6] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ἐχεμβρότου τὸ ἀνάθημα, τρίπους χαλκοῦς ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν Θήβαις: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὁ τρίπους εἶχεν: "Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς θῆκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ

νικήσας τόδ' ἄγαλμ' Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἀέθλοις,

"Ἐλλησι δ' αἰείδων μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους.

"κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς αὐλωδίας ἐπαύσθη τὸ ἀγώνισμα: προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἵππων δρόμον, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι Κλεισθένης ὁ Σικυῶνος τυραννήσας. [7] ὀγδόῃ δὲ πυθιάδι προσενομοθέτησαν κιθαριστὰς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κρουμάτων τῶν ἀφώνων: καὶ Τεγεάτης ἐστεφανοῦτο Ἀγέλαος, τρίτη δὲ πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι προστιθέασιν ὀπλίτην δρόμον: καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τιμαίνετος ἐκ Φλιοῦντος ἀνείλετο τὴν δάφνην, Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὕστερον πέντε ἢ Δαμάρετος Ἡραιεὺς ἐνίκησεν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πυθιάδι καὶ συνωρίδος εἶναι κατεστήσαντο δρόμον: καὶ Ἐξηκεστίδου Φωκέως ἐνίκησεν ἡ συνωρίς. πέμπτη δὲ πυθιάδι ἀπὸ ταύτης πῶλους ἔξευξαν ὑπὸ ἄρματι: καὶ παρέδραμεν Ὀρφώνδα Θηβαίου τέθριππον. [8] παγκράτιον δ' ἐν παισὶ καὶ συνωρίδα τε πῶλων καὶ πῶλον κέλῃτα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον κατεδέξαντο Ἡλείων, τὸ μὲν πρώτη πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα, καὶ Ἰολαΐδας ἐνίκα Θηβαῖος: διαλιπόντες δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης μίαν κέλῃτι ἔθεσαν δρόμον πῶλῳ, ἐνάτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα συνωρίδι πωλικῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πῶλῳ τῷ κέλῃτι Λυκόρμας ἀνηγορεύθη Λαρισαῖος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ συνωρίδι Μακεδών: ἔχαιρον γὰρ δὴ Μακεδόνες οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλούμενοι βασιλεῖς, καθάπερ γε ἦσαν. δάφνης δὲ στέφανος ἐπὶ τῶν Πυθίων τῇ νίκῃ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ τῆς Λάδωνος θυγατρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐραστῆναι κατέσχηκεν ἡ φήμη.

8. καταστήσασθαι δὲ συνέδριον ἐνταῦθα Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Δευκαλίωνος νομίζουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἐπικλήσιν Ἀμφικτύονας γενέσθαι, Ἀνδροτίων δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἔφη συγγραφῇ ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δελφοὺς παρὰ τῶν προσοικούντων συνεδρεύοντες, καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν Ἀμφικτίονας τοὺς συνελθόντας, ἐκνικῆσαι δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὸ νῦν σφισιν ὄνομα. [2] ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἀμφικτύονος αὐτοῦ φασιν ἐς συνέδριον κοινὸν τσαδὲ γένη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ συναχθῆναι, Ἴωνας Δόλοπας Θεσσαλοὺς Αἰνιᾶνας Μάγνητας Μαλιέας Φθιώτας Δωριεῖς Φωκέας Λοκροὺς τῇ Φωκίδι ὁμόρους ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι· καταλαβόντων δὲ Φωκέων τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὕστερον δεκάτῳ ἔτει λαβόντος πέρας τοῦ πολέμου, μεταβολὴν καὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἔσχε. Μακεδόνες μὲν γὰρ τελεῖν ἐς Ἀμφικτύονας εὗραντο, Φωκέων δὲ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετασχόντες ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμφικτυονίας, οἱ μὲν τοῦ τολμήματος ἕνεκα οἱ Φωκεῖς, οἱ δὲ συμμαχίας εὗραντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῆς Φωκέων ζημίαν. [3] Βρέννου δὲ τὸν Γαλατῶν στρατὸν ἀγαγόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς προθυμίαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Φωκεῖς πλείστην τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ παρέσχοντο, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου μετασχεῖν Ἀμφικτυονίας αὐθις καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἀξίωμα αὐτοῖς ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον. βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὐγουστος μετεῖναι καὶ Νικοπολίταις τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἠθέλησε· Μάγνητας μὲν οὖν καὶ Μαλιεῖς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Φθιώτας Θεσσαλοῖς συντελεῖν, τὰς ψήφους δὲ ὅσαι τούτων τε καὶ Δολόπων — οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν Δολόπων γένος — Νικοπολίταις φέρειν. [4] οἱ δὲ Ἀμφικτύονες οἱ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τριάκοντα ἀριθμῷ ἦσαν· ἐκ Νικοπόλεως μὲν καὶ Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλῶν, ἀπὸ ἐκάστων ἀριθμῷ ἦσαν ἕξ, ἐκ δὲ Βοιωτῶν — Θεσσαλίαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα ᾤκησαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο — καὶ ἐκ Φωκέων τε καὶ Δελφῶν, παρὰ τούτων δύο ἐκάστων· εἰς δ' ἐκ Δωρίδος τῆς ἀρχαίας. [5] πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ Λοκροὶ οἱ τε καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι καὶ οἱ πέραν Εὐβοίας ἕνα ἕκατεροι, καὶ Εὐβοεὺς ἐστὶν εἷς· Πελοποννησίων δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ Κορίνθου σὺν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐστὶν εἷς καὶ εἷς Ἀθηναῖος. αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις Ἀθῆναι καὶ Δελφοὶ καὶ ἡ Νικόπολις, αὗται μὲν ἀποστέλλουσι συνεδρεύοντας ἐς Ἀμφικτυονίαν πᾶσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ ἐθνῶν τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐκάστη πόλει ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ ἐν χρόνου περιόδῳ συντελεῖν ἔστιν. [6] ἐσελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν ἐφεξῆς ναοί· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτῶν ἐρείπια ἦν, ὁ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ κενὸς καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἀνδριάντων· ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βασιλευσάντων εἶχεν οὐ πολλῶν τινῶν εἰκόνας, ὁ τέταρτος δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καλεῖται Προνοίας. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τὸ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἀνάθημά ἐστι, μεγέθει τοῦ ἔνδον ἀγάλματος μείζον. οἱ δὲ Μεσσαλιῶται Φωκαέων εἰσὶν ἄποικοι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, μοῖρα καὶ αὕτη τῶν ποτε Ἄρπαγον τὸν Μῆδον φυγόντων ἐκ Φωκαίας· γενόμενοι δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπικρατέστεροι Καρχηδονίων τήν τε γῆν ἣν ἔχουσιν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀφίκοντο εὐδαιμονίας.

[7] τῶν μὲν δὴ Μασσαλιωτῶν χαλκοῦν τὸ ἀνάθημά ἐστι· χρυσοῦ δὲ ἀσπίδα ὑπὸ Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Προνοίᾳ δοθεῖσαν, ἐλέγετο ὑπὸ τῶν Δελφῶν ὡς Φιλόμηλος αὐτὴν ἐσύλησε. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Προνοίας

Φυλάκου τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος· καὶ ὁ Φύλακος οὗτος ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἔχει φήμην κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν σφίσιν ἀμῦναι τὴν Περσῶν. [8] ἐν δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ πεφυκέναι ποτὲ ἀγρίαν φασὶν ὕλην, καὶ Ὀδυσσέα, ἥνικα ὡς τὸν Αὐτόλυκον ἀφικόμενος μετὰ τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τῶν παιδῶν ἐθήρευε, τότε αὐτὸν τὸ τραῦμα τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γόνατος ἐνταῦθα σχεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συός. τραπομένῳ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ ὑποκαταβάντι οὐ πλέον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ τρία στάδια, ποταμός ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενος Πλεῖστος· οὗτος ὁ Πλεῖστος ἐπὶ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν καὶ τὴν ταύτην κάτεισι θάλασσαν. [9] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου τὴν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνιόντι ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Κασταλίας, καὶ πιεῖν ἢ δὴ καὶ λουῖσθαι καλόν. δοῦναι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πηγῇ γυναῖκα λέγουσιν ἐπιχωρίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρα Καστάλιον· Πανύασσις δὲ ὁ Πολυάρχου πεπονηκὼς ἐς Ἡρακλέα ἔπη θυγατέρα Ἀχελώου τὴν Κασταλίαν φησὶν εἶναι. λέγει γὰρ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους·”Παρνησσὸν νιφόνετα θοοῖς διὰ ποσσὶ περήσας

ἵκετο Κασταλῆς Ἀχελωΐδος ἄμβροτον ὕδωρ.

“Panyassis, work unknown [10] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ Κασταλίᾳ ποταμοῦ δῶρον εἶναι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ. τοῦτο ἐποίησε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν προοιμίῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα· βεβαιοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Λιλαίεις, οἱ ἐς τοῦ Κηφισοῦ τὴν πηγὴν πέμματα ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα νομίζουσιν ἀφίαισιν ἐν τισιν εἰρημέναις ἡμέραις, καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Κασταλίᾳ φασὶν αὐτὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι.

9. Δελφοῖς δὲ ἡ πόλις ἄναντες διὰ πάσης παρέχεται σχῆμα, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ τῇ πόλει τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς περίβολος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. οὗτος δὲ μεγέθει μέγας καὶ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ ἁστεῶς ἐστὶ· τέμνεται δὲ καὶ ἐξοδοὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ συνεχεῖς, ὅποσα δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων εἶναι μοι λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἐφαίνετο, ποιησόμεθα

αὐτῶν μνήμην. [2] ἀθλητὰς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσαι ἀγωνισταὶ μουσικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐγίνοντο μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ, μετὰ τῆς οὐ πάνυ τι ἡγοῦμαι σπουδῆς ἀξίους· ἀθλητὰς δὲ ὅποσοι τι καὶ ὑπελείποντο ἐς δόξαν, ἐν λόγῳ σφᾶς ἐδήλωσα τῷ ἐς Ἥλειους. Φαῦλῳ δὲ Κροτωνιάτῃ — Ὀλυμπίασι μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ νίκη, τὰς δὲ Πυθοῖ πεντάθλου δύο ἀνείλετο καὶ σταδίου τὴν τρίτην· ἐναυμάχησε δὲ καὶ ἐναντία τοῦ Μήδου ναῦν τε παρασκευασάμενος οἰκείαν καὶ Κροτωνιατῶν ὅποσοι ἐπεδήμουν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀνέβιβασεν — τούτου ἐστὶν ἀνδριάς ἐν Δελφοῖς. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Κροτωνιάτην οὕτως εἶχεν, ἐσελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ τέμενος [3] χαλκοῦς ταῦρος τέχνη μὲν Θεοπρόπου ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου, Κορκυραίων δὲ ἀνάθημα. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ταῦρος ἐν τῇ Κορκύρᾳ καταλιπὼν τὰς ἄλλας βοῦς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς κατερχόμενος ἐμυκᾶτο ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ· γινομένου δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρᾳ πάσῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάτεισιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ εἶδεν ἰχθύων τῶν θύννων ἀτέκμαρτόν τι ἀριθμῷ πλῆθος. [4] καὶ ὁ μὲν δηλα τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορκυραίοις ἐποίησεν· οἱ δὲ — ἔλεῖν γὰρ τοὺς θύννους προαιρούμενοι τὴν ἄλλως ταλαιπωρίαν εἶχον — θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς· καὶ οὕτω Ποσειδῶνι τε ἐκείνῳ θύουσι τὸν ταῦρον καὶ αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν αἰροῦσι τοὺς ἰχθῦς, καὶ σφισι τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ δεκάτη τῆς ἄγρας. [5] ἐφεξῆς δὲ Τεγεατῶν ἀναθήματα ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ καὶ Νίκη

καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τῶν ἡρώων, Καλλιστῶ τε ἡ Λυκάωνος καὶ Ἀρκὰς ὁ ἐπώνυμος τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος παῖδες Ἑλατος καὶ Ἀφείδας καὶ Ἀζάν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Τρίφυλος· τούτῳ δὲ ἦν οὐκ Ἐρατὼ τῇ Τριφύλῳ μήτηρ, ἀλλὰ Λαοδάμεια ἡ Ἀμύκλα τοῦ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι βασιλεύσαντος· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Ἑρασος Τριφύλου παῖς. [6] οἱ δὲ εἰργασμένοι τὰ ἀγάλματα Πausανίας ἐστὶν Ἀπολλωνιάτης, οὗτος μὲν τὸν τε Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Καλλιστῶ, τὴν δὲ Νίκην καὶ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος τὴν εἰκόνα ὁ Σικυώνιος Δαίδαλος· Ἀντιφάνης δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Σαμόλας Ἀρκὰς, οὗτος μὲν τὸν Τρίφυλον καὶ Ἀζᾶνα, Ἑλατον δὲ καὶ Ἀφείδαντά τε καὶ Ἑρασον ὁ Ἀργεῖος. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ Τεγεᾶται ἔπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς, Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτε ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐστρατεύσαντο αἰχμαλώτους ἐλόντες· [7] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τούτων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν ἅπ' Ἀθηναίων Διόσκουροι καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Λύσανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Ἀγίας τε ὃς τῇ Λυσάνδρῳ τότε ἐμαντεύετο καὶ Ἑρμῶν ὁ τὴν ναὺν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν στρατηγίδα κυβερνῶν. [8] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἑρμῶνα Θεόκοσμος ποιήσιν ἐμελλεν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἅτε ὑπὸ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐγγραφέντα ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν· οἱ δὲ Διόσκουροι Ἀντιφάνους εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ μάντις τέχνη Πίσωνος ἐκ Καλαυρείας τῆς Τροιζηνίων· Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ καὶ Δαμέας, ὁ μὲν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τε καὶ Ποσειδῶνα εἰργάσατο, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Λύσανδρον, Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν Δία· [9] οὗτοι δὲ Ἀρκάδες εἰσὶν ἐκ Κλείτορος. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν τῶν κατειλεγμένων ὅσοι συγκατειργάσαντο τῇ Λυσάνδρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἢ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχησάντων, εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε· Ἄρακος μὲν καὶ Ἐριάνθης, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, ὁ δὲ Ἐριάνθης Βοιωτίας * * * ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίμαντος, ἐντεῦθεν μὲν Ἀστυκράτης, Χῖοι δὲ Κηφισοκλῆς καὶ Ἑρμόφαντός τε καὶ Ἰκέσιος, Τίμαρχος δὲ καὶ Διαγόρας Ῥόδιοι, Κνίδιος δὲ Θεόδαμος, ἐκ δὲ Ἐφέσου Κιμμέριος, καὶ Μιλήσιος Αἰαντίδης. [10] τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐποίησε Τίσανδρος, τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς Ἄλυπος Σικυώνιος, Θεόπομπον Μύνδιον καὶ Κλεομήδην Σάμιον καὶ ἐξ Εὐβοίας Ἀριστοκλέα τε Καρύστιον καὶ Αὐτόνομον Ἑρετρίεα καὶ Ἀριστόφαντον Κορίνθιον καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον Τροιζήνιον καὶ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου Δίωνα τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι. ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων Ἀξιόνικός ἐστιν Ἀχαιὸς ἐκ Πελλήνης, ἐκ δὲ Ἑρμιόνης Θεάρης, καὶ Φωκεὺς τε Πυρρίας καὶ Κώμων Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Ἀγασιμένης Σικυώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Κορίνθου τε καὶ Λευκάδος Τηλυκράτης καὶ Πυθόδοτος Κορίνθιος καὶ Ἀμβρακιώτης Εὐαντίδας· τελευτᾷ δὲ Ἐπικυδίδας καὶ Ἑτεόνικος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· Πατροκλέους δὲ καὶ Κανάχου φασὶν ἔργα. [11] τὴν δὲ πληγὴν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς οὐ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου συμβῆναι σφισιν ὁμολογοῦσι· προδοθῆναι γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγησάντων, Τυδέα δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἀδείμαντον οἱ τὰ δῶρα ἐδέξαντο παρὰ Λυσάνδρου. καὶ ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ λόγου Σιβύλλης παρέχονται τὸν χρησμόν· “καὶ τότε” Ἀθηναίοισι βαρύστονα κῆδεα θῆσει

Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, οὐπὲρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,
νηυσὶ φερεπτολέμοισι μάχην καὶ δημοτῆτα
ὀλλυμέναις δολεροῖσι τρόποις, κακότητι νομήων.

“τὰ δὲ ἕτερα ἐκ Μουσαίου χρησμῶν μνημονεύουσι:” καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισιν ἐπέρχεται ἄγριος ὄμβρος

ἡγεμόνων κακότητι, παραιφασίη δέ τις ἔσται

ἥτης: οὐ λήσουσι πόλιν, τίσουσι δὲ ποινὴν.

“^[12] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω: τὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καλουμένης Θυρέας Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγῶνα καὶ Ἀργείων, Σίβυλλα μὲν καὶ τοῦτον προεθέσπισεν ὡς συμβήσοιτο ἐξ ἴσου ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἐσχηκέναι πλέον ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ χαλκοῦν ἵππον — τὸν δούρειον δῆθεν — ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς: τὸ δὲ ἔργον Ἀντιφάνους ἐστὶν Ἀργείου.

10. τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ τῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον δὴ ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ δεκάτης τοῦ Μαραθωνίου ἔργου τεθῆναι τὰς εἰκόνας: εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖα τε καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ἀνὴρ τῶν στρατηγησάντων Μιλτιάδης: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων Ἐρεχθεὺς τε καὶ Κέκροψ καὶ Πανδίων, οὗτοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεῶς τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐκ Μήδας Ἡρακλεῖ γενόμενος τῆς Φύλαντος, ἔτι δὲ Αἰγεὺς τε καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησεῶς Ἀκάμας, οὗτοι μὲν καὶ φυλαῖς Ἀθήνησιν ὀνόματα κατὰ μάντευμα ἔδοσαν τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν: ὁ δὲ Μελάνθου Κόδρος καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Νηλεὺς ἐστὶν, οὗτοι δὲ οὐκέτι τῶν ἐπωνύμων εἰσὶ. ^[2] τοὺς μὲν δὴ κατεileγμένους Φειδίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ δεκάτη καὶ οὗτοι τῆς μάχης εἰσὶν: Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα Δημήτριον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς, τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ εὐνοία τινὶ ἐς αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τῷ ἐς αὐτοὺς δέει. ^[3] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματά ἐστιν Ἀργείων, οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐς Θήβας ὁμοῦ Πολυνείκει στρατευσάντων, Ἄδραστος τε ὁ Ταλαοῦ καὶ Τυδεὺς Οἰνέως καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Προίτου καὶ Καπανεὺς Ἰππόνου καὶ Ἐτέοκλος ὁ Ἴφιος, Πολυνείκης τε καὶ ὁ Ἴππομέδων ἀδελφῆς Ἀδράστου παῖς: Ἀμφιαράου δὲ καὶ ἄρμα ἐγγὺς πεποιῆται καὶ ἐφεστηκὸς Βάτων ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι ἡνίοχός τε τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ καὶ ἄλλως προσήκων κατὰ οἰκειότητα: τελευταῖος δὲ Ἀλιθέρης ἐστὶν αὐτῶν.

^[4] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ὑπατοδώρου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονός εἰσιν ἔργα, καὶ ἐποίησαν σφᾶς, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἦντινα ἐν Οἰνότη τῇ Ἀργείᾳ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπίκουροι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνίκησαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔμοι δοκεῖν ἔργου καὶ τοὺς Ἐπιγόνους ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι: κεῖνται γὰρ δὴ εἰκόνες καὶ τούτων, Σθένελος καὶ Ἀλκμαίων, κατὰ ἡλικίαν ἔμοι δοκεῖν πρὸ Ἀμφιλόχου τετιμημένος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Πρόμαχος καὶ Θέρσανδρος καὶ Αἰγιαλεὺς τε καὶ Διομήδης: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ Διομήδους καὶ τοῦ Αἰγιαλέως ἐστὶν Εὐρύαλος. ^[5] ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνδριάντες τε εἰσὶν ἄλλοι: τούτους δὲ ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσηνίων Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδα μετασχόντες. ἡρώων δὲ εἰσιν αἱ εἰκόνες, Δαναὸς μὲν βασιλέων ἰσχύσας τῶν ἐν Ἀργεὶ μέγιστον, Ὑπερμήστρα δὲ ἅτε καθαρὰ χεῖρας μόνη τῶν ἀδελφῶν: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ Λυγκεὺς καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ἐφεξῆς αὐτῶν γένος τὸ ἐς Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ ἔτι πρότερον καθῆκον ἐς Περσέα. ^[6] Ταραντίνων δὲ οἱ ἵπποι οἱ χαλκοῖ καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι γυναῖκες ἀπὸ Μεσσαιπίων εἰσὶν, ὁμόρων τῇ Ταραντίνων βαρβάρων, Ἀγελάδα δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀργείου. Τάραντα δὲ ἀπόκισαν μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο Σπαρτιάτης Φάλανθος, στελλομένῳ δὲ ἐς ἀποικίαν τῷ Φαλάνθῳ λόγιον ἦλθεν

ἐκ Δελφῶν: ὕετοῦ αὐτὸν αἰσθόμενον ὑπὸ αἵθρα, τηνικαῦτα καὶ χώραν κτήσασθαι καὶ πόλιν.

[7] τὸ μὲν δὴ παραυτίκα οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τὸ μάντευμα ἐπισκεψάμενος οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐξηγητῶν τινα ἀνακοινώσας κατέσχε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν: ὥς δέ οἱ νικῶντι τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἐγένετο οὔτε τινὰ ἐλεῖν τῶν πόλεων οὔτε ἐπικρατῆσαι χώρας, ἐς ἀνάμνησιν ἀφικνεῖτο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐνόμιζεν οἱ τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι: μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐν καθαρῷ καὶ αἰθρίῳ τῷ ἀέρι ὑσθῆναι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντα — ἠκολουθήκει γὰρ οἴκοθεν — τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο καὶ ἐς τὰ γόνата ἐσθεμένη τὰ αὐτῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξέλεγε τοὺς φθειρας: καὶ πῶς ὑπὸ εὐνοίας δακρῦσαι παρίσταται τῇ γυναικὶ ὁρώση τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐς οὐδὲν προχωροῦντα τὰ πράγματα. [8] προέχει δὲ ἀφειδέστερον τῶν δακρῶν καὶ — ἔβρεχε γὰρ τοῦ Φαλάνθου τὴν κεφαλὴν — συνήισι τε τῆς

μαντείας — ὄνομα γὰρ δὴ ἦν Αἶθρα τῇ γυναικὶ — καὶ οὕτω τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ Τάραντα τῶν βαρβάρων εἴλε μεγίστην καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλεων. Τάραντα δὲ τὸν ἥρω Ποσειδῶνός φασι καὶ ἐπιχωρίας νύμφης παῖδα εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἥρωος τεθῆναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ πόλει τε καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ: καλεῖται γὰρ δὴ Τάρας κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει καὶ ὁ ποταμός.

11. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ἀναθήματος τοῦ Ταραντίνων Σικυωνίων ἐστὶ θησαυρός: χρήματα δὲ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα ἴδοις ἂν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν. Κνίδιοι δὲ ἐκόμισαν ἀγάλματα ἐς Δελφοὺς Τριόπαν οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κνίδου παρεστῶτα ἵπῳ καὶ Λητῷ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἀφιέντας τῶν βελῶν ἐπὶ Τιτυόν: ὁ δὲ καὶ τετρωμένος ἐστὶν ἤδη τὸ σῶμα. [2] ταῦτα ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν Σικυωνίων θησαυρόν: ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Σιφνίων ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιαύδε θησαυρός. Σιφνίοις ἡ νῆσος χρυσοῦ μέταλλα ἦνεγκε, καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν προσιόντων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀποφέρειν δεκάτην ἐς Δελφοὺς: οἱ δὲ τὸν θησαυρόν ὠκοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀπέφερον τὴν δεκάτην. ὥς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπληστίας ἐξέλιπον τὴν φοράν, ἐπικλύσασα ἡ θάλασσα ἀφανῆ τὰ μέταλλά σφισιν ἐποίησεν.

[3] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας Λιπαραῖοι ναυμαχίᾳ κρατήσαντες Τυρρηνῶν. οἱ δὲ Λιπαραῖοι οὗτοι Κνιδίων μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι, τῆς δὲ ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι φασὶν ἄνδρα Κνίδιον: ὄνομα δὲ εἶναι οἱ Πένταθλον Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ξενοφάνους Συρακούσιος ἐν τῇ Σικελιώτιδι συγγραφῇ φησι. λέγει δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ Παχύνῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῇ ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίσαντες πόλιν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐκπίπτουσιν ὑπὸ Ἑλύμων καὶ Φοινίκων πολέμῳ πιεσθέντες, τὰς νήσους δὲ ἔσχον ἐρήμους ἔτι ἢ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἃς καὶ κατὰ τὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρεια Αἰόλου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ὀνομάζουσι. [4] τούτων Λιπάραν μὲν κτίσαντες πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν, Ἰέραν δὲ καὶ Στρογγύλην καὶ Διδύμας γεωργοῦσι διαβαίνοντες ναυσὶν ἐς αὐτάς. ἐν δὲ τῇ Στρογγύλῃ καὶ πῦρ δηλὸν ἐστὶν ἀνιὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς: καὶ ἐν Ἰέρα δὲ πῦρ τε αὐτόματον ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἀνακαίεται τῆς νήσου καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ λουτρά ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ δέξεται σε ἡπίως τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε χαλεπὸν ὑπὸ ζεστότητός ἐστιν ἐμβαίνεισθαι. [5] οἱ δὲ θησαυροὶ Θηβαίων ἀπὸ ἔργου τῶν ἐς πόλεμον, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐστὶν ὡσαύτως: Κνιδίους δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἐπὶ νίκη τινὶ ἢ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν εὐδαιμονίας ὠκοδομήσαντο, ἐπεὶ Θηβαίοις γε ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντων ὁμοῦ Δάτιδι εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί. Κλεωναῖοι δὲ ἐπιέσθησαν μὲν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους, κατὰ δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἔθυσαν τράγον ἀνίσχοντι ἔτι τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ — εὖραντο γὰρ λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ — τράγον χαλκοῦν ἀποπέμπουσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Ποτιδαιατῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Συρακουσίῳ, τῶν μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πταίσματος, Ποτιδαῖται δὲ εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησαν.

[6] ὠκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι στοὰν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τε Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσαι Πελοποννησίους ἦσαν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ σύμμαχοι. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ πλοίων τὰ ἄκρα κοσμήματα καὶ ἀσπίδες χαλκαῖ· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμεῖ τὰς πόλεις ἀφ' ὧν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέστειλαν, τὴν τε Ἡλείων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων Σικυῶνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Πελληνέας Ἀχαιῶν Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Λευκάδα καὶ αὐτὴν Κόρινθον· γενέσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν τούτων καὶ θυσίαν Θησεῖ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ Ῥίῳ. καὶ μοι φαίνεται τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου ἔχειν καὶ ἐς τοῦ Φορμίωνος τὰ ἔργα.

12. πέτρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνίσχουσα ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς· ἐπὶ ταύτῃ Δελφοὶ σταῶσάν φασιν ἄσαι τοὺς χρησμοὺς γυναῖκα ὄνομα Ἥροφίλην, Σίβυλλαν δὲ ἐπικλήσιν. τὴν δὲ πρότερον γενομένην, ταύτην ταῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως οὖσαν ἀρχαίαν εὕρισκον, ἣν θυγατέρα Ἑλλήνες Διὸς καὶ Λαμίας τῆς Ποσειδῶνός φασιν εἶναι, καὶ χρησμούς τε αὐτὴν γυναικῶν πρώτην ἄσαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων Σίβυλλαν λέγουσιν ὀνομασθῆναι.

[2] ἡ δὲ Ἥροφίλη νεωτέρα μὲν ἐκείνης, φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονυῖα καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Τρωικοῦ, καὶ Ἑλένην τε προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς, ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης τραφήσοιτο ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ὡς Ἴλιον ἀλώσεται δι' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. Δῆλιοι δὲ καὶ ὕμνον μέμνηνται τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα. καλεῖ δὲ οὐχ Ἥροφίλην μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν αὐτήν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γυνὴ γαμετή, τοτὲ δὲ ἀδελφὴ καὶ αὐθις θυγάτηρ φησὶν εἶναι. [3] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ μαινομένη τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος πεποίηκεν· ἐτέρωθι δὲ εἶπε τῶν χρησμῶν ὡς μητρὸς μὲν ἀθανάτης εἶη μιᾷς τῶν ἐν Ἰδῇ νυμφῶν, πατρὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οὕτω λέγει τὰ ἔπη·”εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γεγαυῖα μέσον θνητοῦ τε θεᾶς τε,

νύμφης δ' ἀθανάτης, πατρὸς δ' αὖ κητοφάγοιο,
μητρόθεν Ἰδογενής, πατρὶς δέ μοι ἐστὶν ἐρυθρή
Μάρπησος, μητρὸς ἱερῆ, ποταμός τ' Αἰδωνεύς.

“[4] ἦν δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῇ Τρωικῇ πόλεως Μαρπήσσου τὰ ἐρείπια καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκήτορες ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἄνθρωποι· ὑπέρυθρος δὲ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν Μάρπησσον γῆ καὶ δεινῶς ἐστὶν αὐχμώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῷ Αἰδωνεῖ ποταμῷ καταδύεσθαι τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνασχόντι τὸ αὐτὸ αὐθις πάσχειν, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς, αἴτιον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι λεπτή τε κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ σηραγώδης ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰδῇ. ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι τεσσαράκοντα ἢ Μάρπησος καὶ διακόσια στάδια. [5] τὴν δὲ Ἥροφίλην οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ταύτῃ νεωκόρον τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος γενέσθαι τοῦ Σμινθέως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνείρατι τῷ Ἐκάβῃς χρῆσαι φασιν αὐτὴν ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐπιτελεσθέντα

ἴσμεν. αὕτη ἡ Σίβυλλα ᾤκησε μὲν τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βίου ἐν Σάμῳ, ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἐς Κλάρον τὴν Κολοφωνίων καὶ ἐς Δῆλόν τε καὶ ἐς Δελφούς· ὁπότε δὲ ἀφίκοιτο, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἵσταμένη τῆς πέτρας ἦδε. [6] τὸ μέντοι χρεῶν αὐτὴν ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι, καὶ οἱ τὸ μνημα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τοῦ Σμινθέως ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης·”ᾧδ’ ἐγὼ ἅ Φοίβοιο σαφηγορίς εἰμι Σίβυλλα

τῷδ’ ὑπὸ λαϊνέφ σάματι κευθομένα,
παρθένος αὐδάεσσα τὸ πρὶν, νῦν δ’ αἰὲν ἄναυδος,
μοῖρα ὑπὸ στιβαρᾷ τάνδε λαχοῦσα πέδαν.
ἀλλὰ πέλας Νύμφαισι καὶ Ἑρμῇ τῷδ’ ὑπόκειμαι,
μοῖραν ἔχοισα κάτω τὰς τότε’ ἀνακτορίας.

“ὁ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τὸ μνημα ἔστηκεν Ἑρμῆς λίθου τετράγωνον σχῆμα· ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς δὲ ὕδωρ τε κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην καὶ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. [7] Ἑρυθραῖοι δὲ — ἀμφισβητοῦσι γὰρ τῆς Ἡροφίλης προθυμότητα Ἑλλήνων — Κώρυκόν τε καλούμενον ὄρος καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει σπήλαιον ἀποφαίνουσι, τεχθῆναι τὴν Ἡροφίλην ἐν αὐτῷ λέγοντες, Θεοδώρου δὲ ἐπιχωρίου ποιμένος καὶ νύμφης παῖδα εἶναι· Ἰδαίαν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν γενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ δασέα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδας τότε ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τὸ ἐς τὴν Μάρπηττον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Αἰδωνέα, τοῦτο οἱ Ἑρυθραῖοι τὸ ἔπος ἀφαιροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν. [8] τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ χρησμούς κατὰ ταῦτα εἰποῦσαν ἐκ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικοῖς εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Δημῶ συνέγραψεν Ὑπέροχος ἀνὴρ Κυμαῖος. χρησμὸν δὲ οἱ Κυμαῖοι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἐς οὐδένα εἶχον ἐπιδειξασθαι, λίθου δὲ ὕδριαν ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ δεικνύουσιν οὐ μεγάλην, τῆς Σιβύλλης ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι φάμενοι τὰ ὁστᾶ.

[9] ἐπετράφη δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τῆς Δημοῦς παρ’ Ἑβραίοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς Παλαιστίνης γυνὴ χρησμολόγος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Σάββη· Βηρόσου δὲ εἶναι πατρός καὶ Ἑρμάνθηος μητρός φασὶ Σάββην· οἱ δὲ αὐτὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Σίβυλλαν καλοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίαν. [10] Φαεννὶς δὲ θυγάτηρ βασιλεύσαντος ἀνδρὸς ἐν Χάοσι καὶ αἱ Πέλεια παρὰ Δωδωναίοις ἐμαντεύσαντο μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ αὗται, Σίβυλλαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκλήθησαν. τῆς μὲν δὴ πυθέσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς χρησμούς * * * Ἀντιόχου γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀλῶναι Δημήτριον αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένου γέγονε Φαεννὶς. τὰς Πελειάδας δὲ Φημονόης τε ἔτι προτέρας γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ ἄσαι γυναικῶν πρῶτας τάδε τὰ ἔπη·”Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστίν, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ.

Γὰ καρπὸς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε Ματέρα γαῖαν.

“

[11] χρησμολόγους δὲ ἄνδρας Κύπριόν τε Εὐκλουν καὶ Ἀθηναίους Μουσαῖον τὸν Ἀντιοφῆμου καὶ Λύκον τὸν Πανδίωνος, τούτους τε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας Βάκιν φασὶ κατάσχετον ἄνδρα ἐκ νυμφῶν· τούτων πλήν Λύκου τῶν ἄλλων ἐπελεξάμην τοὺς χρησμούς.

τοσαῦται μὲν ἄχρι ἐμοῦ λέγονται γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ θεοῦ μαντεύσασθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ πολλῷ καὶ αἰθῆς γένοιτο ἂν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα.

13. βίσωνος δὲ ταύρου τῶν Παιονικῶν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην κεφαλὴν Ἀρωπίων Λέοντος ἔπεμψεν ἐς

Δελφούς βασιλεὺς Παιόνων. οὗτοι οἱ βίσωνες χαλεπώτατοι θηρίων εἰσὶν ἀλίσκεσθαι ζῶντες, καὶ δίκτυα οὐκ ἂν οὕτω γένοιτο ἰσχυρὰ ὥς ἀντισχεῖν τῇ ἐμβολῇ. θηρεύονται δὲ οὗτοι τρόπον τοιόνδε. ἐπειδὰν χωρίον οἱ ἀγρεύοντες πρὰνὲς εὖρωσι καθήκον ἐς κοιλότητα, πρῶτα μὲν φράγματι ἰσχυρῷ ἐπὶ ὥχρῳσαντο, δευτέρον δὲ τὸ κάταντες καὶ τὸ περὶ τῷ πέρατι ὁμαλὸν αὐτοῦ νεοδάρτοις βύρσαις κατεστόρεσαν· ἦν δὲ τύχῳσιν ἀποροῦντες βυρσῶν, τότε καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν δερμάτων ὑπὸ ἐλαίου σφίσιν ὀλισθηρὰ ποιεῖται.

[2] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μάλιστα ἵππεύειν ἀγαθοὶ συναλύνουσιν ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον τοὺς βίσωνας· οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς πρώταις τῶν βυρσῶν ὀλισθόντες κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς κυλίνδονται, ἕως κατενεχθῶσιν ἐς τὸ ὁμαλόν. ἐρριμμένοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡμέλνεται κατ' ἀρχάς· τετάρτη δὲ ἡ πέμπτη μάλιστα ἡμέρα τῶν μὲν ἤδη τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ πολὺ ὁ λιμὸς ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ ἡ ταλαιπωρία, οἱ δὲ σφισιν, οἷς [3] τέχνη τιθασεύειν, προσφέρουσιν ἔτι κειμένοις πίτυος τῆς ἡμέρου καρπὸν προεκλέξαντες ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐλύτρων· ἐτέρας δὲ οὐκ ἂν τροφῆς τό γε παραντίκα ἄψαιτο τὰ θηρία· τέλος δὲ διαλαβόντες δεσμοῖς ἄγουσι. [4] καὶ τοὺς μὲν τρόπον αἰροῦσι τὸν εἰρημένον, τοῦ βίσωνος δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταντικρὺ τῆς χαλκῆς ἀνδριάς ἐστὶ θώρακά τε ἐνδεδικῶς καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπὶ τῷ θώρακι· Ἀνδρίων δὲ ἀνάθημα οἱ Δελφοὶ λέγουσιν Ἀνδρέα εἶναι τὸν οἰκιστήν. τό τε ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Φωκέων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν ἀπὸ Θεσσαλῶν ὁμόρων τε — πλὴν ὅσον οἱ Λοκροὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἐπικνημίδιοι διείργουσι — καὶ αἰεὶ πολεμίων ὄντων. [5] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Μακεδόνων οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Πιερίᾳ πόλιν Δῖον οἰκοῦντες Κυρηναῖοί τε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὗτοι μὲν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι ἄγαλμα Ἄμμωνος, Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Δίῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὃς εἰλημμένος ἐστὶ τῆς ἐλάφου, Φαρσάλιοι δὲ Ἀχιλλέα τε ἐπὶ ἵππῳ καὶ ὁ Πάτροκλος συμπαραθεῖν οἱ καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ. Κορινθιοὶ δὲ οἱ Δωριεῖς ὥκοδόμησαν θησαυρὸν καὶ οὗτοι· [6] καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ὁ ἐκ Λυδῶν ἀνέκειτο ἐνταῦθα. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀνάθημά ἐστι Θηβαίων, ὅτε Φωκεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον. εἰσὶ καὶ εἰκόνες χαλκαῖ Φωκέων ἀναθέντων, ἡνίκα δευτέρᾳ συμβολῇ τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐτρέψαντο τὸ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας. Φλιάσιοι δὲ ἐκόμισαν ἐς Δελφούς Δία τε χαλκοῦν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ Διὶ ἄγαλμα Αἰγίνης. ἐκ δὲ Μαντινείας τῆς Ἀρκάδων Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα· οὗτος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κορινθίων ἐστὶ θησαυροῦ. [7] Ἡρακλῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἔχονται τοῦ τρίποδος καὶ ἐς μάχην περὶ αὐτοῦ καθίστανται· Λητῶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἄρτεμις Ἀπόλλωνα, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ Ἡρακλέα ἐπέχουσι τοῦ θυμοῦ. Φωκέων καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα, ὅτε σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς Τελλίας ἡγήσατο Ἥλεϊος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἀγάλματα Διὶ ἄλλος τε ἐν κοινῷ καὶ Ἀμυκλαῖος, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Χίονίς ἐστιν εἰργασμένος· Κορινθίους δὲ εἶναί φασιν αὐτούς.

[8] λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐλθόντι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὴν πρόμαντιν Ξενόκλειαν οὐκ ἐθέλησαι οἱ χρᾶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τὸν φόνον· τὸν δὲ ἀράμενον τὸν τρίποδα ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ φέρειν ἔξω, εἰπεῖν τε δὴ τὴν πρόμαντιν· “ἄλλος ἄρ' Ἡρακλῆς Τιρύνθιος, οὐχὶ Κανωβεύς·

“πρότερον γὰρ ἔτι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἡρακλῆς ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφούς. τότε δὲ ὁ

Ἀμφιτρύωνος τὸν τε τρίποδα ἀποδίδωσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ξενοκλείας ὅποσα ἐδεῖτο ἐδιδάχθη. παραδεξάμενοι δὲ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν λόγον μάχην Ἡρακλέους πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τρίποδος ἄδουσιν. [9] ἐν κοινῷ δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες χρυσοῦν τρίποδα δράκοντι ἐπικείμενον χαλκῷ. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χαλκὸς ἦν τοῦ ἀναθήματος, σῶον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἦν: οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν οἱ Φωκέων ὑπελίποντο ἡγεμόνες.

[10] Ταραντῖνοι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην δεκάτην ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ βαρβάρων Πευκετίων ἀπέστειλαν: τέχνη μὲν τὰ ἀναθήματα Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου καὶ Ἀγελάδα ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀργείου, εἰκόνες δὲ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων, βασιλεὺς Ἰαπύγων Ὠπὶς ἦκων τοῖς Πευκετίοις σύμμαχος. οὗτος μὲν δὴ εἵκασται τεθνεῶτι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ κειμένῳ ἐφεστηκότες ὁ ἦρως Τάρας ἐστὶ καὶ Φάλανθος ὁ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Φαλάνθου δελφίς: πρὶν γὰρ δὴ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ ναυαγία τε ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῷ Κρισαίῳ τὸν Φάλανθον χρῆσασθαι καὶ ὑπὸ δελφίνος ἐκκομισθῆναι φασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν.

14. οἱ δὲ πελέκεις Περικλύτου τοῦ Εὐθυμάχου Τενεδίου ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ λόγῳ ἀνάθημά εἰσιν ἀρχαίῳ. Κύκνον παῖδα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ βασιλεύειν φασὶν ἐν Κολώναις: αἱ δὲ ὥκοῦντο ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Τρωάδι αἱ Κολῶναι κατὰ νῆσον κείμεναι Λεύκοφρυν. [2] ἔχοντος δὲ θυγατέρα ὄνομα Ἡμιθέαν τοῦ Κύκνου καὶ υἱὸν καλούμενον Τέννην ἐκ Προκλείας — ἡ Κλυτίου μὲν ἦν θυγάτηρ, ἀδελφὴ δὲ Καλήτορος, ὃν Ὀμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἀποθανεῖν φησιν ὑπὸ Αἴαντος, ὅτε ὑπὸ τὴν Πρωτεσιλάου ναῦν ἔφερεν ὁ Καλήτωρ τὸ πῦρ — ταύτης οὖν προαποθανούσης ἡ ἐπεισελθοῦσα Φιλονόμη ἡ Κραγάσου — διήμαρτε γὰρ ἔρασθεισα τοῦ Τέννου — ψεύδεται πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὥς αὐτὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, τὸν δὲ αὐτῇ Τέννην συγγενέσθαι θελήσαντα: καὶ ὁ Κύκνος πείθεται τῇ ἀπάτῃ, καὶ ἐς λάρνακα ἐνθήμενος ὁμοῦ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Τέννην ἐς θάλασσαν σφᾶς ἀφίησι. [3] σώζονται τε δὴ πρὸς τὴν νῆσον οἱ παῖδες τὴν Λεύκοφρυν καὶ ὄνομα ἡ νῆσος τὸ νῦν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τέννου. Κύκνος δὲ — οὐ γὰρ τὸν πάντα ἔμελλε χρόνον ἀγνοήσιν ἀπατώμενος — ἔπλει παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν ἄγνοιάν τε ὁμολογήσων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ παραιτησόμενος τὸ ἁμάρτημα: προσορμισαμένου δὲ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἐξάψαντος ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πρὸς τινα ἢ πέτραν ἢ δένδρον τοὺς κάλους, Τέννης πελέκει σφᾶς ἀπέκοπεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ. [4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀρνούμενους στερεῶς λέγεσθαι καθέστηκεν ὥς ὁ δεῖνα ὅστις δὴ Τενεδίῳ πελέκει τόδε τι ἀποκόψειεν. Τέννην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀποθανεῖν ἀμύνοντα τῇ οἰκείᾳ φασὶν Ἕλληνες: Τενεδιοὶ δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ Τρωάδι ἔχουσιν. [5] Ἕλληνες δὲ οἱ ἐναντία βασιλέως πολεμήσαντες ἀνέθεσαν μὲν Δία ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀπόλλωνα ἀπὸ ἔργων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τε Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀφίκοιτο ἐς Δελφοὺς λαφύρων τῶν Μηδικῶν κομίζων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι: ἐρωτήσαντα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναθημάτων εἰ ἐντὸς ἀναθήσει τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ἢ Πυθίᾳ τὰ παράπαν ἀποφέρειν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. καὶ ἔχει οὕτω τὰ ἐς τοῦ τοῦ χρησμοῦ: ”μή μοι Περσῆος σκύλων περικαλλέα κόσμον νηφ' ἐγκαταθῆς: οἶκόνδ' ἀπόπεμπε τάχιστα.

[6] θαῦμα οὖν ἐποιούμεθα εἰ ἀπηξίωσεν ἐκείνου μόνου μὴ προσέσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπάσασθαι ἂν τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἅπαντα ὁμοίως ἡγοῦντο ὅσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου, εἰ ὥσπερ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρότερον ἢ ἀναθεῖναι σφᾶς ἐπήρνοντο τὸν Απόλλωνα: οἱ δὲ εἰδότα τὸν θεὸν ὅτι ἰκέτης τοῦ Πέρσου γενήσοιτο ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ δῶρα ἔφασαν οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι λαβεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναθέντι τὸ ἔχθος ἅπανστον ποιήσῃ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου. στρατεῖαν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔστιν εὐρεῖν προρρηθεῖσαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βάκιδος χρησιμοῖς, πρότερον δ' ἔτι Εὐκλῳ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιημένα ἐστίν. [7] Δελφῶν δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστιν αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου λύκος χαλκοῦς. λέγουσι δὲ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων συλήσαντα ἄνθρωπον, τὸν μὲν ὁμοῦ τῷ χρυσίῳ κατακρύψαντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἔνθα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μάλιστα ἦν συνεχὲς ὑπὸ ἀγρίων δένδρων, λύκον δὲ ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καθεύδοντι, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὁσημέραι φοιτῶν ὠρύετο ὁ λύκος: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ παραγίνεσθαι σφισιν ὑπελάμβανον, οὕτως ἐπακολουθοῦσι τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ ἀνευρίσκουσι τε τὸ ἱερὸν χρυσίον καὶ ἀνέθεσαν λύκον τῷ θεῷ χαλκοῦν.

15. Φρύνης δὲ εἰκόνα ἐπίχρυσον Πραξιτέλης μὲν εἰργάσατο ἐραστής καὶ οὗτος, ἀνάθημα δὲ αὐτῆς Φρύνης ἐστίν ἡ εἰκὼν. τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτη, τὰ μὲν ἀγάλματα τοῦ Απόλλωνος Ἐπιδαύριοι τὸ ἕτερον οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἀπὸ Μήδων, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν Μεγαρεῖς ἀνέθεσαν Ἀθηναίους μάχῃ πρὸς Νισαία κρατήσαντες: Πλαταιέων δὲ βοῦς ἐστίν, ἡνίκα ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ οὗτοι Μαρδόνιον τὸν Γωβρύου μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἡμύναντο ἄλλων. καὶ αὐθις δύο Απόλλωνος, τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλεωτῶν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ, τὸ δὲ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐστίν, ὅτε Φωκεῦσιν ἐπεργαζομένοις τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπέβαλον χρημάτων ζημίαν:

[2] ὁ δὲ Απόλλων οὗτος καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Σιτάλκας, μέγεθος δὲ πέντε πηχῶν καὶ τριάκοντά ἐστι. στρατηγοὶ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς, δύο τε Απόλλωνος ἀγάλματα ἔστιν Αἰτωλῶν, ἡνίκα σφίσι ἐξειργάσθη τὰ ἐς Γαλάτας. στρατιὰν δὲ τὴν Κελτῶν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης διαβήσοιτο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν πόλεων, Φαεννίς προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς γενεᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον: [3] “ἦ τότε ἄμειψάμενος στεῖνὸν πόρον Ἑλλησπόντου

† αὐδήσει Γαλατῶν ὁλοὸς στρατός, οἳ ῥ' ἀθεμίστως

Ἀσίδα πορθήσουσι: θεὸς δ' ἔτι κύντερα θήσει

πάγχυ μάλ', οἳ ναίουσι παρ' ἡϊόνεσσι θαλάσσης —

εἰς ὀλίγον: τάχα γάρ σφιν ἀοσσητῆρα Κρονίων

ὀρμήσει, ταύροιο διοτρεφέος φίλον υἱόν,

ὃς πᾶσιν Γαλάτῃσιν ὀλέθριον ἦμαρ ἐφήσει.

“παῖδα δὲ εἶπε ταύρου τὸν ἐν Περγάμῳ βασιλεύσαντα Ἄτταλον: τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ ταυρόκερων προσεῖρηκε χρηστήριον. [4] ἵππικου δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ ἵππους Φεραῖοι παρὰ τῷ Απόλλωνι ἔστησαν τρεψάμενοι τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἵππον.

τὸν δὲ φοίνικα ἀνέθεσαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν χαλκοῦν, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς

ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ τῷ φοίνικι, ἀπὸ ἔργων ὧν ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πεζῇ, τὸ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ κατώρθωσαν. τούτου τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνιαχοῦ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρυσὸν ἐθεώμην λελυμασμένον.

[5] ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐς κακούργους τε ἦγον καὶ φῶρας ἀνθρώπους: Κλειτόδημος δέ, ὅποσοι τὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐπιχώρια ἔγραψαν ὁ ἀρχαιότατος, οὗτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ φησὶ τῷ Ἀττικῷ, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ Σικελίᾳ τὸν στόλον, ὡς ἔθνος τι ἄπειρον κοράκων κατῆρε τότε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ περιέκοπτόν τε τοῦ ἀγάλματος τούτου καὶ ἀπέρρησσαν τοῖς ῥάμφεσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν χρυσόν: λέγει δὲ καὶ ὡς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὰς γλαυκάς καὶ ὅσος καρπὸς ἐπὶ τῷ φοίνικι ἐπεποιήτο ἐς μίμησιν τῆς ὀπώρας, κατακλάσαιεν καὶ ταῦτα οἱ κόρακες. [6] Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα μὴ ἐκπλεῦσαι σφᾶς ἀπαγορεύοντα ἐς Σικελίαν διηγῆσατο ὁ Κλειτόδημος, Κυρηναῖοι δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς Βάττον ἐπὶ ἄρματι, ὃς ἐς Λιβύην ἦγαγε σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκ Θήρας. ἡνίοχος μὲν τοῦ ἄρματός ἐστι Κυρήνη, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἄρματι Βάττος τε καὶ Λιβύη στεφανοῦσά ἐστιν αὐτόν: ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀμφίων Ἀκέστορος Κνώσσιος. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄκισε Βάττος τὴν Κυρήνην, λέγεται καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι οἱ τοιονδεῖ ἴαμα: ἐπιὼν τῶν Κυρηναίων τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτῆς ἐρήμοις ἔτι οὔσι θεᾶται λέοντα, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δεῖμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς θέας βοησαι σαφές καὶ μέγα ἠνάγκασεν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Βάττου καὶ ἄλλον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀπόλλωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδικήματος τοῦ ἐς τὸν θεὸν τῶν Φωκέων.

16. τῶν δὲ ἀναθημάτων ἃ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Λυδῶν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν αὐτῶν εἰ μὴ σιδηροῦν μόνον τὸ ὑπόθημα τοῦ Ἀλυάττου κρατῆρος. τοῦτο Γλαύκου μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον τοῦ Χίου, σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἀνδρὸς εὐρόντος: ἔλασμα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ὑποθήματος ἐλάσματι ἄλλῳ προσεχῆς οὐ περόναις ἐστὶν ἢ κέντροις, μόνη δὲ ἡ κόλλα συνέχει τε καὶ ἐστὶν αὕτη τῷ σιδήρῳ δεσμός. [2] σχῆμα δὲ τοῦ ὑποθήματος κατὰ πύργον μάλιστα ἐς μούρον ἀνιόντα ἀπὸ εὐρυτέρου τοῦ κάτω: ἐκάστη δὲ πλευρὰ τοῦ ὑποθήματος οὐ διὰ πάσης πέφρακται, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶν αἱ πλάγαι τοῦ σιδήρου ζῶναι ὥσπερ ἐν κλίμακι οἱ ἀναβασμοί: τὰ δὲ ἐλάσματα τοῦ σιδήρου τὰ ὀρθὰ ἀνέστραπται κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐς τὸ ἐκτός, καὶ ἔδρα τοῦτο ἦν τῷ κρατῆρι. [3] τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλούμενον Ὀμφαλὸν λίθου πεποιημένον λευκοῦ, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ γῆς πάσης αὐτοῖς τε λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ καὶ ἐν ᾧδῃ τινι Πίνδαρος ὁμολογοῦντά σφισιν ἐποίησεν.

[4] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον, Ἑρμιόνη ἢ Μενελάου θυγάτηρ, ἢ συνοικήσασα Ὀρέστη τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως. Εὐρύδαμον δὲ στρατηγόν τε Αἰτωλῶν καὶ στρατοῦ τοῦ Γαλατῶν ἐναντία ἡγησάμενον ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Αἰτωλοί. [5] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἑλυρος πόλις: οὗτοι οὖν αἶγα χαλκῇν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς, δίδωσι δὲ νηπίοις ἢ αἰῖξ Φυλακίδῃ καὶ Φιλάνδρῳ γάλα: παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦς οἱ Ἑλurioί φασιν Ἀπόλλωνός τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀκακαλλίδος νύμφης, συγγενέσθαι δὲ τῇ Ἀκακαλλίδι Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν πόλει Τάρρᾳ καὶ οἴκῳ Καρμάνορος.

[6] Καρύστιοι δὲ οἱ Εὐβοεῖς βούν καὶ οὔτοι χαλκοῦν παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔστησαν ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ Μηδικοῦ: βούς δὲ οἱ Καρύστιοι καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς τὰ

ἀναθήματα ἐποιήσαντο, ὅτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον τὴν τε ἄλλην βεβαίως ἐκτήσαντο εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀροῦν ἐλευθέραν τὴν γῆν. στρατηγῶν δὲ εἰκόνας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν ἀπέστειλαν καταστρεψάμενοι τοὺς ὁμόρους σφίσιν Ἀκαρῶνας.

[7] παραλογώτατον δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην ὑπάρξαν Λιπαραίοις ἐς Τυρσηνοῦς. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ Λιπαραίους ἐναντία ναυμαχῆσαι τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ναυσὶν ὡς ἐλαχίσταις ἐκέλευσεν ἡ Πυθία. πέντε οὖν ἀνάγονται τριήρεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τυρσηνοῦς· οἱ δὲ — ἀπηξίουσι γὰρ μὴ ἀποδεῖν Λιπαραίων τὰ ναυτικά — ἀντανάγονται σφισιν ἴσαις ναυσί. ταύτας τε οὖν αἰροῦσιν οἱ Λιπαραῖοι καὶ ἄλλας πέντε ὑστέρας σφίσιν ἀνταναχθείσας, καὶ τρίτην νεῶν πεντάδα καὶ ὡσάυτως τετάρτην ἐχειρώσαντο. ἀνέθεσαν οὖν ἐς Δελφοὺς ταῖς ἀλούσαις ναυσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἴσα Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγάλματα.

[8] Ἐχεκρατίδης δὲ ἀνὴρ Λαρισαῖος τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἀνέθηκε τὸν μικρόν· καὶ ἀπάντων πρῶτον τεθῆναι τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦτό φασιν οἱ Δελφοί.

17. βαρβάρων δὲ τῶν πρὸς τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ οἱ ἔχοντες Σαρδῶ, εἰκόνα οὗτοι χαλκῇν τοῦ ἐπωνύμου σφίσιν ἀπέστειλαν. ἡ δὲ Σαρδῶ μέγεθος μὲν καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἐστὶν ὁμοία ταῖς μάλιστα ἐπαινουμέναις· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὃ τι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγένετο οὐκ οἶδα, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἐσπλέοντες Ἰχνοῦσσαν ἐκάλεσαν, ὅτι τὸ σχῆμα τῇ νήσῳ κατ' ἶχνος μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου. μῆκος δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς εἴκοσι στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατὸν εἰσι καὶ χίλιοι, εὖρος δὲ ἐς εἴκοσιν τε καὶ τετρακοσίους προήκει.

[2] πρῶτοι δὲ διαβῆναι λέγονται ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον Λίβυες· ἡγεμὼν δὲ τοῖς Λίβυσιν ἦν Σάρδος ὁ Μακλήριδος, Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐπονομασθέντος ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. Μακλήριδι μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ὁδὸς ἐγένετο ἢ ἐς Δελφοῦς· Σάρδῳ δὲ ἡγεμονία τε ὑπῆρξε τῶν Λιβύων ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἰχνοῦσσαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σάρδου τούτου μετέβαλεν ἡ νῆσος. οὐ μέντοι τοὺς γε αὐτόχθονας ἐξέβαλεν ὁ τῶν Λιβύων στόλος, σύνοικοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπελθόντες ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ εὐνοίας ἐδέχθησαν. καὶ πόλεις μὲν οὔτε οἱ Λίβυες οὔτε τὸ γένος τὸ ἐγχώριον ἠπίσταντο ποιήσασθαι· σποράδες δὲ ἐν καλύβαις τε καὶ σπηλαίοις, ὡς ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν, ὤκησαν. [3] ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ τοὺς Λίβυας ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς τὴν νῆσον οἱ μετ' Ἀρισταίου. παῖδα δὲ λέγουσιν Ἀρισταῖον Ἀπόλλωνός τε εἶναι καὶ Κυρήνης· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος περισσῶς ἀλγήσαντα τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ Βοιωτία τε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατὰ ταυτὰ ἀχθόμενον, οὕτως ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ μετοικῆσαί φασιν αὐτόν. [4] οἱ δὲ καὶ Δαίδαλον ἀποδρᾶναι τηνικαῦτα ἵκαί οἱ οἶκου διὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τὴν Κρητῶν καὶ ἀποικίας ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ μετασχεῖν τῷ Ἀρισταίῳ νομίζουσιν· ἔχει δ' ἂν λόγον οὐδένα Αὐτόνόῃ τῇ Κάδμου συνοικήσαντι τῷ Ἀρισταίῳ Δαίδαλον ἢ ἀποικίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς μετεσχηκένοι, ὃς ἡλικίαν κατὰ Οἰδίποδα ἦν βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θήβαις. πόλιν δ' οὖν οἰκίζουσιν οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' οὗτοι, ὅτι ἀριθμῷ τε καὶ ἰσχύϊ ἐλάσσονες ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ κατὰ πόλεως ἦσαν οἰκισμὸν. [5] μετὰ δὲ Ἀρισταῖον Ἰβηρες ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ διαβαίνουσιν ὑπὸ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοῦ στόλου Νώρακι, καὶ ὤκισθη Νώρα πόλις ὑπὸ αὐτῶν· ταύτην πρῶτην γενέσθαι πόλιν μνημονεύουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, παῖδα δὲ Ἐρυθείας τε τῆς Γηρυόνου καὶ Ἐρμού λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Νώρακα. τετάρτη δὲ μοῖρα Ἰολάου

Θεσπιέων τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς στρατιὰ κατήρην ἐς Σαρδῶ, καὶ Ὀλβίαν μὲν πόλιν οἰκίζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ὀγρύλῃν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διασώζοντες τῶν δῆμων τῶν οἴκοι τινὸς τὸ ὄνομα: ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ στόλου μετεῖχεν Ὀγρύλος. ἔστι δ' οὖν καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι χωρία τε Ἰολαία ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ καὶ Ἰόλαος παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἔχει τιμὰς. [6] Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλίσκομένης ἄλλοι τε ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Τρώων καὶ οἱ ἀποσωθέντες μετὰ Αἰνείου: τούτων μοῖρα ἀπενεχθεῖσα ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς Σαρδῶ ἀνεμίχθησαν τοῖς προενοικοῦσιν Ἑλλήσι. καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς μάχην τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς βαρβάρους: παρασκευῇ τε γὰρ ἴσοι τῇ ἀπάσῃ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἦσαν καὶ ὁ Θόρσος ποταμὸς διὰ μέσου σφίσι ῥέων τῆς χώρας ἐπ' ἴσης καὶ ἀμφοτέροις διαβαίνειν παρεῖχε δέος. [7] ὕστερον μέντοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν οἱ Λίβυες ἐπεραιώθησάν τε αὐθις ἐς τὴν νῆσον στόλῳ μείζονι καὶ ἥρξαν ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πολέμου. τὸ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ἅπαν ἐπέλαβε φθαρῆναι, ἢ ὀλίγον ἐγένετο ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑπολειφθέν: οἱ δὲ Τρῶες ἐς τῆς νήσου τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναφεύγουσι, καταλαβόντες δὲ ὄρη δύσβατα ὑπὸ σκολόπων τε καὶ κρημνῶν Ἰλιεῖς μὲν ὄνομα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἔχουσι, Λίβυσι μέντοι τὰς μορφὰς καὶ τῶν ὄπλων τὴν σκευὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν ἐοίκασιν. [8] ἔστι δὲ νῆσος οὐ πολλὴ ἀπέχουσα τῆς Σαρδοῦς, Κύρνος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὑπὸ δὲ Λιβύων τῶν ἐνοικούντων καλουμένη Κορσική. ἐκ ταύτης μοῖρα οὐκ ἐλαχίστη στάσει πιεσθεῖσα ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ, καὶ ὤκησαν τῆς χώρας ἀποτεμόμενοι τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν: ὑπὸ μέντοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ τῷ ὀνόματι ὀνομάζονται τῷ οἴκοθεν Κορσοί.

[9] Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ὅτε ναυτικῷ μάλιστα ἴσχυσαν, κατεστρέψαντο μὲν καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ πλὴν Ἰλιέων τε καὶ Κορσῶν — τούτοις δὲ μὴ ἐς δουλείαν ὑπαχθῆναι τὸ ἐχυρὸν ἥρκεσε τῶν ὀρῶν — , ὤκισαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ πόλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Κάραλιν τε καὶ Σύλκους. τοῦ δὲ ἐπικουρικοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων Λίβυες ἢ Ἰβηρες ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν λαφύρων ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ὥς εἶχον ὀργῆς ἀποστάντες ἐσφκίσαντο ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ οὗτοι τῆς νήσου. Βαλαροὶ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Κυρνίων: Βαλαροὺς γὰρ τοὺς φυγάδας καλοῦσιν οἱ Κύρνιοι. [10] γένη μὲν τοσαῦτα τὴν Σαρδῶ καὶ ἐσφκισμένα οὕτω νέμεται, τῆς δὲ νήσου τὰ πρὸς τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ ἡπείρου τῆς κατὰ Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶν ὄρη δύσβατα τὰ πέρατα συνάπτοντα ἀλλήλοις: καὶ ἦν παραπλήρης, ναυσὶν οὔτε ὄρμους παρέχεται κατὰ τοῦτο ἡ νῆσος πνεύματά τε ἄτακτα καὶ ἰσχυρὰ αἱ ἄκραι τῶν ὀρῶν καταπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν.

[11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα διὰ μέσης αὐτῆς ὄρη χθαμαλώτερα. ὁ δὲ ἀῆρ ὁ ἐνταῦθα θολερός τε ὥς ἐπίπαν ἐστὶ καὶ νοσώδης: αἴτιοι δὲ οἷ τε ἄλεις οἱ πηγνύμενοι καὶ ὁ νότος βαρὺς καὶ βίαιος ἐγκείμενος, οἱ ἄνεμοί τε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸν τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν πρὸς τῆς Ἰταλίας κωλύονται πνέοντες θέρους ὥρα τὸν τε ἀέρα τὸν ταύτη καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀναψύχειν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Κύρνον σταδίους φασὶν οὐ πλέονας ἀπὸ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἢ ὀκτὼ τῇ θαλάσῃ διείργεσθαι, ὀρεινὴν τε οὖσαν καὶ ἐς ὕψος διὰ πάσης ἀνήκουσαν: τὸν Ζέφυρον οὖν καὶ Βορέαν ὑπὸ τῆς Κύρνου κωλύεσθαι νομίζουσι μὴ καὶ ἄχρι τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐξικνεῖσθαι. [12] ὄφεις δὲ οὔτε ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τῇ ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ὅσον ἀνώλεθρον αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ οἱ λύκοι τρέφεσθαι πεφύκασιν. οἱ δὲ τράγοι ἄγριοι μέγεθος μὲν τοὺς ἐτέρωθι οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσιν, εἶδος δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὅποιον ἐν

πλαστικῇ τις ἂν τῇ Αἰγιναίᾳ ποιήσειεν ἀγρίου κριοῦ: τὰ μέντοι ἀμφὶ τὸ στήθος δασυτέρᾳ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἢ ὡς πρὸς Αἰγιναίαν τέχνην εἰκάσαι: κέρατα δὲ οὐ διεστηκότα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ παρὰ τὰ ὄτα ἔχουσιν ἐλθλιγμένα: ὠκύτητι δὲ ἅπαντα τὰ θηρία ὑπερήρκασι. [13] πλὴν δὲ ἡ βοτάνης μιᾶς καθαρεύει καὶ ἀπὸ φαρμάκων ἢ νήσος ὅσα ἐργάζεται θάνατον: ἡ πόα δὲ ἢ ὀλέθριος σελίνῳ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐμφορῆς, τοῖς φαγοῦσι δὲ γελῶσιν ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Ὅμηρός τε καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ ὑγιεῖ Σαρδάνιον γέλῳτα ὀνομάζουσι. φύεται δὲ μάλιστα ἡ πόα περὶ τὰς πηγάς, οὐ μέντοι μεταδίδωσί γε καὶ τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ ἰοῦ.

τὸν μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Σαρδοῦς λόγον ἐπεισηγαγόμεθα ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα συγγραφὴν, ὅτι οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ ἐς ταύτην οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν νῆσον ἀνηκόως εἶχον:

18. τὸν δὲ ἵππον, ὃς ἐφεξῆς τῇ εἰκόνι ἐστὶ τοῦ Σάρδου, Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας Λυσιμαχίδου πατρὸς ἀναθεῖναι φησιν ἰδίᾳ περιποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου χρήματα. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἀνέθεσαν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα πόλιν τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ παραστησάμενοι πολιορκία: τῇ πόλει δὲ ἦν εἶλον Φάνα τοῦνομα ἦν. γενέσθαι δὲ χρόνον φασὶν οὐκ ὀλίγον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ: καὶ ὡς ἀδυνάτως εἶχον ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο μάντευμα: [2] “γῆς Πέλοπος ναέται καὶ Ἀχαιῖδος, οἱ ποτὶ Πυθῶ

ἦλθετε πειυσόμενοι ὥς κε πτολίεθρον ἔλῃτε,

ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ φράζεσθε λάχος πόσον ἤμαρ ἕκαστον

λαῶν πινόντων ῥύεται πόλιν, ἡ δὲ πέπωκεν:

οὕτω γάρ κεν ἔλοιτε Φάναν πυργήρεα κόμην.

“ [3] οὐ συνιέντες οὖν ὁποῖον τι ἤθελεν ὁ χρησμός λέγειν, οἱ μὲν οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐβουλεύοντο διαλύσαντες τὴν πολιορκίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους οἷ τε ἄλλοι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ σφᾶς ἐνεποιοῦντο καὶ γυνὴ πρόεισιν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει λαβεῖν πίδακος. ἐπιδραμόντες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰχμάλωτόν τε τὴν γυναῖκα αἰροῦσι καὶ διδάσκονται παρ’ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ὅτι τὸ ὀλίγον τὸ ἐκ τῆς πίδακος ὕδωρ, ὁπότε ἐφ’ ἐκάστης λάβοιεν τῆς νυκτός, διεμετροῦντο αὐτό, καὶ ἄλλο ἦν τοῖς ἔνδον ἀλέξιμα οὐδὲν ἐς δίψαν. οὕτω δὴ συγγέαντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὸ πόλισμα αἰροῦσιν. [4] Ῥόδιοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστησαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀβρακιῶται χαλκοῦν ὄνον, νυκτομαχίᾳ Μολοσσοὺς νικήσαντες. λόχον μὲν σφισιν ἐν νυκτὶ οἱ Μολοσσοὶ παρεσκεύασαν: ὄνου δέ, ὃς ἐλαυνόμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τότε ἔτυχεν, ὄνον θήλειαν διώκοντος σὺν ὕβρει τε τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τραχύτητι τοῦ φθέγματος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃς τὸν ὄνον ἤλαυνε βοῶντος ἀσαφῆ τε καὶ ἄκοσμα, οὕτως οἷ τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τῶν Μολοσσῶν ἐξανίστανται ταραχθέντες καὶ οἱ Ἀμβρακιῶται φωράσαντες τὰ ἐπὶ σφίσι βεβουλευμένα ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί, καὶ ἐκράτησαν μάχῃ τῶν Μολοσσῶν.

[5] Ὅρνεᾷται δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι πολέμῳ σφᾶς Σικυωνίων πιεζόντων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι εὗξαντο, εἰ ἀπώσαιντο ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τῶν Σικυωνίων τὸν στρατόν, πομπήν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ στελεῖν ὁσημέραι καὶ ἱερεῖα θύσειν οἷα δὴ καὶ ὅσα ἀριθμόν. νικῶσί τε δὴ μάχῃ τοὺς Σικυωνίους, καὶ ὥς σφισιν ἐφ’

ἡμέρας πάσης ἀποδιδούσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν δαπάνη τε ἣν μεγάλη καὶ μείζων ἔτι τοῦ ἀναλώματος ἢ ταλαιπωρία, οὕτω δὴ σόφισμα εὐρίσκουσιν ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν τε καὶ πομπὴν χαλκᾷ ποιήματα.

[6] ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄθλων τῶν Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕδραν, ἀνάθημά τε ὁμοῦ Τισαγόρου καὶ τέχνη, σιδήρου καὶ ἡ ὕδρα καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς. σιδήρου δὲ ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐπὶ ἀγάλμασι χαλεπωτάτην καὶ πόνου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι πλείστου: θαύματος μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦ Τισαγόρου τὸ ἔργον, ὅστις δὴ ὁ Τισαγόρας, θαύματος δὲ οὐκ ἐλαχίστου καὶ ἐν Περιγὰμ λέοντός τε καὶ ὕδρος ἀγρίου κεφαλαί, σιδήρου καὶ αὗται: Διονύσῳ δὲ ἀνάθηματα σφᾶς ἐποίησαντο.

[7] Φωκέων δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες Ἐλάτειαν — ἀντέσχον γὰρ τῇ Κασσάνδρῳ πολιορκία Ὀλυμπιοδώρου σφίσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀμύνοντος — λέοντα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χαλκοῦν ἀποπέμπουσιν ἐς Δελφούς. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ λέοντος Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἀπαρχὴ ναυμαχίας.

πεποιήται δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν τρόπαιόν τε καὶ γυναικὸς ἄγαλμα ὠπλισμένης, ἡ Αἰτωλία δῆθεν: ταῦτα ἀνέθεσαν ἐπιθέντες οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ Γαλάταις δίκην ὁμότητος τῆς ἐς Καλλιέας. ἐπίχρυσος δὲ εἰκὼν, ἀνάθημα Γοργίου τοῦ ἐκ Λεοντίνων, αὐτὸς Γοργίας ἐστὶν εἰκὼν.

19. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Γοργίαν ἀνάθημά ἐστὶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Σκιωναῖος Σκύλλης, ὃς καταδύναι καὶ ἐς τὰ βαθύτατα θαλάσσης πάσης ἔχει φήμην: ἐδιδάξατο δὲ καὶ Ὑδραν τὴν θυγατέρα δύεσθαι.

[2] οὗτοι περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πήλιον ἐπιπεσόντος ναυτικῷ τῷ Ξέρξῳ βιαίου χειμῶνος προσεξιεργάσαντό σφισιν ἀπώλειαν, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἔρυμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἦν ὑφέλκοντες. ἀντὶ τούτου μὲν οἱ Ἀμφικτυόνες καὶ αὐτὸν Σκύλλιν καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἀνέθεσαν: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὀπόσους Νέρων ἔλαβεν ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐν τούτοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῆς Ὑδνης ἀπεπλήρωσεν ἡ εἰκὼν. καταδύονται δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν γένους τοῦ θήλεος αἱ καθαρῶς ἔτι παρθένοι. [3] τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἔρχομαι διηγησόμενος λόγον Λέσβιον. ἁλιεῦσιν ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τὰ δίκτυα ἀνείλκυσε ἐκ θαλάσσης πρόσωπον ἐλαίας ξύλου πεποιημένον: τοῦτο ἰδέαν παρείχετο φέρουσαν μὲν τοὶ ἐς τὸ θεῖον, ξένην δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θεοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς οὐ καθεστῶσαν. εἶροντο οὖν οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι τὴν Πυθίαν ὅτου θεῶν ἢ καὶ ἡρώων ἐστὶν ἡ εἰκὼν: ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι Διόνυσον Φαλλῆνα ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι ξόανον μὲν τὸ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης παρὰ σφίσιν ἔχοντες καὶ θυσίαις καὶ εὐχαῖς τιμῶσι, χαλκοῦν δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν ἐς Δελφούς.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητώ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Μοῦσαι δύσιν τε Ἡλίου καὶ Διόνυσός τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Θυιάδες. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα αὐτῶν Ἀθηναῖος Πραξίας μαθητὴς Καλάμιδός ἐστιν ὁ ἐργασάμενος: χρόνου δὲ ὡς ὁ ναὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐγγινομένου Πραξίαν μὲν ἔμελλεν ἀπάξειν τὸ χρεῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενα τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς κόσμου ἐποίησεν Ἀνδροσθένης, γένος μὲν καὶ οὗτος Ἀθηναῖος, μαθητὴς δὲ Εὐκάδμου. ὅπλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων χρυσᾷ, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἀνέθεσαν, Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ τὰ τε ὅπισθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Γαλατῶν δὴ ὅπλα: σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτω τῶν Περσικῶν γέρρων.

[5] Γαλατῶν δὲ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιστρατείας ἔχει μὲν τινα μνήμην καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἡμῖν τὸ Ἀττικὸν συγγραφή· προάγειν δὲ ἐς τὸ σαφέστερον τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἠθέλησα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Δελφούς, ὅτι ἔργων τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὰ μέγιστα Ἕλλησιν ἐνταῦθα ἦν. ὑπερόριον μὲν οἱ Κελτοὶ στρατείαν πρώτην ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι ἐποιήσαντο Καμβαύλῃ· προελθόντες δὲ ἄχρι τῆς Θράκης τὸ πρόσω τῆς πορείας οὐκ ἀπεθάρσησαν, καταγνόντες αὐτῶν ὅτι ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι κατ' ἀριθμὸν Ἕλλησιν.

[6] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐπιφέρειν ἐδόκει ὄπλα ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλων — ἐνῆγον δὲ μάλιστα οἱ ὁμοῦ Καμβαύλῃ ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἅτε λησטיῶν τε ἤδη γεγευμένοι καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ κερδῶν ἐς ἔρωτα ἦκοντες — , πολὺς μὲν δὴ πεζός, οὐκ ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ἡθροίσθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱππικόν· ἐς μοίρας οὖν τρεῖς ἔνεμον οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἄλλος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἄλλην ἐτέτακτο ἰέναι χώραν. [7] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν Θράκας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Τριβαλλῶν ἔμελλε Κερέθριος ἡγήσασθαι· τοῖς δὲ ἐς Παιονίαν ἰοῦσι Βρέννος ἦσαν καὶ Ἀκιχώριος ἄρχοντες· Βόλγιος δὲ ἐπὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἦλασε, καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον κατέστη τότε ἔχοντα τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὃς Σέλευκόν τε ἐδόλοφόνησε τὸν Ἀντιόχου, καταπεφευγὼς ὅμως ἰκέτης ὡς αὐτόν, καὶ εἶχεν ἐπὶ κλησιν Κεραυνὸς διὰ τὸ ἄγαν τολμηρόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτός τε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγένετο οὐκ ἐλάχιστη φθορά· προελθεῖν δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδὲ τότε ἐθάρσθησαν οἱ Κελτοί, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος οὕτω στόλος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν. [8] ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Βρέννος πολὺς μὲν ἐν συλλόγοις τοῖς κοινοῖς, πολὺς δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἦν τῶν ἐν τέλει Γαλατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπαίρων στρατεύεσθαι, ἀσθένειάν τε Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι διηγούμενος καὶ ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, πλείονα δὲ ἐν ἱεροῖς τά τε ἀναθήματα καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός ἐστιν ἐπίσημος· ἀνέπεισε τε δὴ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ αὐτῷ συνάρχοντας ἄλλους τε προσεῖλετο τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τὸν Ἀκιχώριον. [9] ὁ δὲ ἡθροισθεὶς στρατὸς πεζοὶ μὲν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο πεντεκαίδεκα προσόντων σφίσι δισχιλίων, οἱ δὲ ἱππεύοντες τετρακόσιοι καὶ δισμύριοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἦσαν τῶν ἱππέων τὸ αἰεὶ ἐνεργόν, ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἀληθὴς διακόσιοί τε καὶ χίλιοι καὶ ἑξ μυριάδες· δύο γὰρ οἰκέται περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἱππευόντων ἦσαν, ἀγαθοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἱππικὰ καὶ ἵππους ὁμοίως ἔχοντες. [10] Γαλατῶν δὲ τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν ἀγῶνος συνεστηκόςτος ὑπομένοντες τῆς τάξεως ὀπισθεν οἱ οἰκέται τοσάδε σφίσιν ἐγίνοντο χρήσιμοι· τῷ γὰρ ἱππεῖ συμβὰν ἢ τῷ ἵππῳ πεσεῖν, τὸν μὲν ἵππον παρεῖχεν ἀναβῆναι τῷ ἀνδρί, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ δοῦλος ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότου τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαινε· εἰ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἐπιλάβοι τὸ χρεών, ἐνταῦθα ἔτοιμος ἦν ἱππεύς. λαμβανόντων δὲ τραύματα αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν ὑπεξῆγε τῶν δούλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸν τραυματίαν, ὁ δὲ καθίστατο ἐς τὴν τάξιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπελθόντος. [11] ταῦτα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐνομίσθη τοῖς Γαλάταις ἐς μίμησιν τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις ἀριθμοῦ τῶν μυρίων, οἱ ἐκαλοῦντο Ἀθάνατοι. διάφορα δὲ ἦν, ὅτι κατελέγοντο ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ὑπὸ μὲν Περσῶν τῆς μάχης ὕστερον, Γαλάταις δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὴν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἀκμὴν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἀπεπληροῦτο τῶν ἱππέων. τοῦτο ὀνόμαζον τὸ σύνταγμα τριμαρκισίαν τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ· καὶ ἵππῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἴστω τις μάρκαν ὄν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν.

[12] παρασκευῇ μὲν τοσαύτῃ καὶ μετὰ διανοίας τοιαύτης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ Βρέννος ἤλανε: τοῖς δέ γε Ἑλλήσι κατεπεπτώκει μὲν ἐς ἅπαν τὰ φρονήματα, τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ δείματος προήγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀμύνειν. ἐώρων δὲ τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγῶνα οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας γενησόμενον, καθὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μῆδου ποτέ, οὐδὲ δοῦσιν ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτου σφίσιν ἄδειαν φέροντα: ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἐς Μακεδόνας καὶ Θρᾶκας καὶ Παίονας τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας καταδρομῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔτι σφίσιν ἔκειτο ἐν μνήμῃ, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὰ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς παρανομήματα ἀπηγγέλλετο. ὥς οὖν ἀπολωλέναι δέον ἢ δ' οὖν ἐπικρατεστέρους εἶναι, κατ' ἄνδρα τε ἰδίᾳ καὶ αἱ πόλεις διέκειντο ἐν κοινῷ.

20. πάρεστι δέ, ὅστις ἐθέλοι καὶ ἀνταριθμῆσαι τοὺς τε ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ξέρξην ἐς Πύλας καὶ τοὺς τότε ἐναντία Γαλατῶν ἀθροισθέντας. ἐπὶ μὲν γε τὸν Μῆδον ἀφίκοντο τοσοῖδε Ἑλλήνων: Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ μετὰ Λεωνίδου τριακοσίων οὐ πλείονες, Τεγεᾶται πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἐκ Μαντινείας ἴσοι, παρὰ δὲ Ὀρχομενίων Ἀρκάδων εἰκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων χίλιοι τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλεων, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ ἐκ Μυκηνῶν καὶ ἐκ Φλιοῦντος διακόσιοι, διπλάσιοι δὲ τούτων Κορίνθιοι: παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἑπτακόσιοι ἐκ δὲ Θεσπείας καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν τετρακόσιοι. χίλιοι δὲ Φωκέων ἐφύλασσαν μὲν τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ, προσέστω δὲ τῷ παντὶ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὁ τούτων.

[2] Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὐχ ὑπήγαγεν ἐς ἀριθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἀφικέσθαι σφᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν ἔφη τῶν πόλεων: τεκμήρασθαι δὲ ἀριθμὸν καὶ τούτων ἔστιν ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀληθοῦς: ἐς Μαραθῶνα γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι σὺν ἡλικία τε τῇ ἀχρεΐᾳ καὶ δούλοις ἐνακισχιλίων ἀφίκοντο οὐ πλείους, τὸ οὖν μάχιμον Λοκρῶν τὸ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἔλθον οὐκ ἂν ὑπὲρ γε ἑξακισχιλίους ἀριθμοῖη τις. οὕτω γένοιτο ἂν ὁ σύμπας στρατὸς διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. φαίνονται δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτοι τὸν χρόνον πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τῶν Πυλῶν καταμείναντες: πλὴν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Θεσπιέων καὶ Μυκηναίων προαπέλιπον τὸ πέρας τῆς μάχης οἱ λοιποί. [3] ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ βαρβάρους τοσοῖδε ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀφίκοντο Ἕλληνες: ὀπλίται μύριοι καὶ ἵππος πεντακοσία παρὰ Βοιωτῶν: ἐβιοιωτάρχουν δὲ Κηφισόδοτος καὶ Θεαρίδας καὶ Διογένης καὶ Λύσανδρος. ἐκ δὲ Φωκέων ἵππεις πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἐς τρισχιλίους ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν πεζῶν: στρατηγοὶ δὲ Φωκέων Κριτόβουλος τε ἦν καὶ Ἀντίοχος. [4] Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀταλάντῃ τῇ νήσῳ Μειδίας ἦγεν: ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἑπτακόσιοι, καὶ ἱππικὸν σφίσιν οὐ προσῆν. παρὰ δὲ Μεγαρέων ἀφίκοντο ὀπλίται τετρακόσιοι: τούτων ἦγε τὸ ἱππικὸν Μεγαρεὺς. Αἰτωλῶν δὲ πλείστη τε ἐγένετο στρατιὰ καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν μάχης ἰδέαν, ἢ μὲν ἵππος οὐ λέγουσιν ὀπόση, ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι, πλέονες δὲ ἑπτακισχιλίων ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλιτεύοντες: Αἰτωλοὺς δὲ ἦγον Πολύαρχος καὶ Πολύφρων τε καὶ Λακράτης. [5] Ἀθηναίων δὲ στρατηγὸς μὲν Κάλλιππος ἦν ὁ Μοιροκλέους, καθὰ ἐδήλωσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τοῦ λόγου, δύναμις δὲ τριήρεις τε αἱ πλώιμοι πᾶσαι, πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱππικόν, χίλιοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς: καὶ

ἡγεμονίαν οὗτοι κατ' ἀξίωμα εἶχον τὸ ἀρχαῖον. βασιλέων δὲ ξενικὰ

πεντακόσιοι τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἴσοι σφίσιν ἀφίκοντο ἀριθμόν: ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν μὲν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου πεμφθέντων Ἀριστόδημος ἦν Μακεδών, τῶν δὲ παρὰ Ἀντιόχου τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Τελέσαρχος τῶν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ Σύρων. [6] τοῖς δὲ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἄθροισθεῖσιν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς ἐπύθοντο περὶ τε Μαγνησίαν καὶ γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν ὄντα ἤδη τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸν στρατόν, ἔδοξεν ἤδη ψιλούς τε ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἐς τὴν ἵππον ἀπολέξαντας ἀποστελεῖν σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σπερχειόν, ἵνα μηδὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἄνευ ἀγῶνός τε καὶ κινδύνων ἐγγένηται. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες τὰς γεφύρας τε καταλύουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Βρέννος οὔτε πάντα ἀσύνετος οὔτε ἀπείρως εἶχεν ὥς ἂν τις βάρβαρος σοφίσματα ἐς πολεμίους ἐξευρεῖν.

[7] εὐθὺς οὖν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, οὐ καθότι ἦν τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῷ ποταμῷ ζεύγματα ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ κάτω, ὡς μή τις τοῖς Ἑλλήσι διαβαινόντων γένοιτο αἴσθησις, καὶ ἥ μάλιστα ὁ Σπερχειὸς διερχεῖτο ἐς πλεόν τοῦ πεδίου καὶ ἔλος τε ἐποίει καὶ λίμνην ἀντὶ βιαίου καὶ στενοῦ ρεύματος, κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ Βρέννος ὅσον μυρίους τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπέστειλεν, ὅποσοι τε νεῖν ἠπίσταντο ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅστις τῷ μήκει τοῦ σώματος ἐτύγχανεν ὦν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς: εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Κελτοὶ μακρῷ πάντας ὑπερηρκότες μήκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. [8] οὗτοι οὖν διαβαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί διανηγρόμενοι ὧδε τὸ λιμνώδες τοῦ ποταμοῦ: καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους θυρεούς, ἐποιεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀντὶ σχεδίας, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μήκιστοι διελθεῖν ἐμβαδὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐδυνήθησαν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σπερχειῷ — πυνθάνονται γὰρ ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ἔλος διέβη μοῖρα τῶν βαρβάρων — αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἀναχωροῦσι, Βρέννος δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μαλιακὸν κόλπον οἰκοῦσι ζευγνύναι τὸν Σπερχειὸν ἐπέτασεν: οἱ δὲ ἦνουν τὸ ἔργον σπουδῇ, τῷ τε ἐκείνου δέει καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφίσιν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τοὺς βαρβάρους μηδὲ ἐπὶ πλεόν κακουργεῖν μένοντας. [9] ὁ δὲ ὡς κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὴν στρατιάν, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν: καὶ διήρπασαν μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας οἱ Γαλάται καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐφόνευσαν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ οὐχ εἶλον. ἔτει γὰρ πρότερον τούτων οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συντελεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας ἠνάγκασαν ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικόν: τότε οὖν ἡμύνοντο ὡς περὶ πόλεως οὐδέν τι Ἡρακλεώταις μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ αὐτοῖς προσηκούσης.

ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ Βρέννῳ τὰ μὲν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἐλάσσοнос φροντίδος, ἀγώνισμα δὲ ἐποιεῖτο ἐξελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν στενῶν τοὺς ἀντικαθημένους καὶ παρελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς Θερμοπυλῶν Ἑλλάδα.

21. προελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείας — ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ παρὰ αὐτομόλῳ τοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐς Πύλας ἀπὸ ἐκάστης πόλεως — ὑπερεφρόνει τε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ ἦρχεν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν μάχης ἅμα ἀνίσχοντι τῷ ἡλίῳ, οὔτε Ἑλληνα ἔχων μάντιν οὔτε ἱεροῖς ἐπιχωρίοις χρώμενος, εἰ δὴ ἔστι γε μαντεία Κελτική. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν σιγῇ τε ἐπήεσαν καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ: καὶ ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐς χεῖρας, οὔτε σφίσιν οἱ πεζοὶ τοσοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐξέθεον ὥστε τὴν φάλαγγα ἐπιταράσσειν τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ οἱ ψилоὶ μένοντες κατὰ χώραν τὰ τε ἀκόντια ἔπεμπον καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν τόξων ἢ σφενδονῶν. [2] τὰ δὲ ἵππικὰ ἀμφοτέροις ἀχρεῖα ἐγένετο ἅτε οὐ στενοῦ μόνον χωρίου τοῦ μετὰ τὰς

Πύλας ὄντος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτοφουῶς πέτρας λείου καὶ διὰ τῶν ρευμάτων τὸ συνεχές τὰ πλείονα καὶ ὀλισθηροῦ. τοῖς δὲ Γαλάταις τὰ μὲν τῆς σκευῆς ἀσθενέστερα ἦν — θυρεοὺς γὰρ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους εἶχον, καὶ ἄλλο σφίσιν οὐκ ἦν ὄπλον σκέπη σώματος — , πλεόν δὲ ἔτι ἐμπειρία τῇ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀπέδεδον. [3] οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ θυμῷ μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ καθάπερ τὰ θηρία ἐχώρουν: καὶ οὔτε πελέκεσι διαιρουμένους ἢ ὑπὸ μαχαίρων ἢ ἀπόνεια τοὺς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας ἔτι ἀπέλειπεν, οὔτε ὅσοι βέλεσι καὶ ἀκοντίοις διεπείροντο, ὑψήρουν τοῦ θυμοῦ, μέχρι οὗ παρέμενεν ἡ ψυχὴ: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τὰ δόρατα οἷς ἐβέβληντο ἀνασπῶντες ἠφίεσάν τε ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐχρῶντο ἐκ χειρός. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων Ἀθηναῖοι μόγις μὲν καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνου, παραπλευσάντες δὲ ὁμως διὰ τῆς ἰλῦος, ἢ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπέχει τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῶν βαρβάρων σχόντες, βέλεσί τε παντοίοις ἐς τὰ πλάγια καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο. καμνόντων δὲ λόγου μειζόνως τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ ἅτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ μικρὰ μὲν δρώντων, διπλάσια δὲ καὶ τετραπλάσια πασχόντων, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήμαινόν σφισιν οἱ ἡγεμόνες. οἱ δὲ ἀτάκτως καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ ἀναστρέφοντες κόσμῳ πολλοὶ μὲν συνεπατήθησαν ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὸ τέλμα ἐμπεσόντες ἠφανίσθησαν κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ, καὶ ἀπώλεια οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἀναχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῦ ἀγῶνος συνέβη τῇ ἀκμῇ. [5] τοὺς μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνας τὸ Ἀττικὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἀρετῇ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην: αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Κυδίας μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἀγαθός, νέος τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τότε ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθὼν πολέμου πρῶτον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Δίί, καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα:”†ημαρλα δὴ ποθέουσα νέαν ἔτι Κυδίου ἦβην

ἀσπίς ἀριζήλου φωτός, ἄγαλμα Δίί,

ἅς διὰ δὴ πρῶτας λαιὸν τότε πῆχυν ἔτεινεν,

εὐτ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἤκμασε θοῦρος Ἄρης.

“

[6] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεεγράπτο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας: τότε δὲ ἐν ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς τε αὐτῶν ἔθαπτον καὶ ἐσκύλευον τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ Γαλάται δὲ οὔτε ὑπὲρ ἀναιρέσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐποιοῦντό τε ἐπ’ ἴσης γῆς σφᾶς τυχεῖν ἢ θηρία τε αὐτῶν ἐμφορηθῆναι καὶ ὅσον τεθνεῶσι πολέμιόν ἐστιν ὀρνίθων. [7] ὀλιγώρως δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τῶν ἀπογινομένων ἔχειν τὰς ταφὰς δύο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὰ ἀναπειθόντα ἦν, πολεμίους τε ἄνδρας ἐκπληξαι καὶ ὅτι ἔστι τεθνεώτων οὐ δι’ ἔθους οἶκτος αὐτοῖς. ἀπέθανον δὲ παρὰ τὴν μάχην τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀκριβῶς ἐξευρεῖν: πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀφανισθὲν κατὰ τῆς ἰλῦος ἐγένετο ἐξ αὐτῶν.

22. ἐβδόμη δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν μάχην λόχος τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὴν Οἶτην ἐπεχείρησε κατὰ Ἡράκλειαν: ἀτραπὸς δὲ στενὴ καὶ ταύτη μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἐρείπια ἀνήκει τὰ Τραχῖνος: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Τραχινίδος καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔς τε οὖν τὴν Οἶτην ἀναβήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἠλπίζον καὶ ἅμα προσέσεσθαι σφισιν ἐν παρέργῳ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ

ιεροῦ * * * τὴν φρουρὰν οἰομένου Τελεσάρχῳ. καὶ νικῶσι μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἔπεσεν ὁ Τελέσαρχος, ἀνὴρ εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος πρόθυμος ἐς τὰ Ἑλλήνων. [2] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἡγεμόνες τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἄλλοι κατεπεπλήγεσαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἠπόρουν ἅμα ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων, ἐς οὐδὲν σφισι πλέον προχωροῦντα ὀρώντες τὰ ἐν χερσί: τῷ δὲ Βρέννω λογισμὸς παρίστατο ὥς εἰ ἀναγκάσει τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἀναχωρῆσαι, ῥᾶων ἤδη γενήσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἀπολέξας οὖν τῆς στρατιᾶς μυριάδας τοὺς πεζοὺς τέσσαρας καὶ ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους ἱππείας, Ὀρεστώριον τε αὐτοῖς καὶ Κόμβουτιν ἐφίστησιν ἄρχοντας, οἱ ὀπίσω κατὰ τοῦ Σπερχειοῦ τὰς γεφύρας καὶ

[3] αὐθις διὰ Θεσσαλίας ὁδεύσαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν: καὶ τὰ ἐς Καλλιέας Κόμβουτις οἱ ἐργασάμενοι καὶ Ὀρεστώριος ἦσαν, ἀνοσιώτατά τε ὧν ἀκοῇ ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὅμοια. γένος μὲν γε πᾶν ἐξέκοψαν τὸ ἄρσεν, καὶ ὁμοίως γέροντές τε καὶ τὰ νήπια ἐπὶ τῶν μητέρων τοῖς μαστοῖς ἐφονεύετο: τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλακτος πióτερα ἀποκτείνοντες ἐπινόν τε οἱ Γαλάται τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἤπτοντο τῶν σαρκῶν. [4] γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν παρθένων, ὅσαι μὲν φρονήματός τι αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἐαυτὰς ἐφθησαν ὥς ἡλίσκετο ἡ πόλις διειργασμένοι: τὰς δὲ ἔτι περιούσας ἐς ἰδέαν ὕβρεως πᾶσαν μετὰ ἀνάγκης ἦγον ἰσχυρᾶς, ἅτε ἴσον μὲν ἐλέου, ἴσον δὲ τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἔρωτος ἀπέχοντες. καὶ ὅσαι μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς μαχαίραις τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπετύγχανον, αὐτοχειρία τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν: ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεὼν ἐμελλεν ἢ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἀυπνία, ἀστέγων βαρβάρων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὑβρίζοντων: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀφιείσαις τὰς ψυχὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἤδη νεκραῖς συνεγίνοντο ὅμως. [5] Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πεπυσμένοι τε παρὰ ἀγγέλων ἦσαν ὅποιοι σφᾶς κατεῖληφesan συμφοραὶ καὶ αὐτίκα ὥς τάχους εἶχον ἀναστήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἠπειγόντο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, τὰ τε παθήματα τῶν Καλλιέων ἐν ὀργῇ ποιούμενοι καὶ πλέον ἔτι τὰς οὐχ ἐαλωκυίας πῶ διασώσασθαι πόλεις προθυμούμενοι. ἐξεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἴκοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἀναμειγμένοι δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τε καὶ φρονήματος καὶ οἱ γεγηρακότες: συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ σφισι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκουσίως, πλέον ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ θυμῷ χρώμεναι.

[6] ὥς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι συλήσαντες τοὺς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐνέντες πῦρ ἐς τὸ Κάλλιον ἐκομίζοντο τὴν αὐτήν, ἐνταῦθα Πατρεῖς μὲν ἐπικουροῦντες Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι προσέκειντο ἐξ ἐναντίας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἅτε ὀπλιτεύειν δεδιδαγμένοι, καὶ ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀπονοίας μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρησαν: οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Αἰτωλαὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν τεταγμένοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐσηκόντιζόν τε ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐχόντων θυρεοὺς ὀλίγα αὐτῶν ἡμάρτανον, διώκοντάς τε ἀπέφευγον οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἐπέκειντο αὐθις σπουδῇ. [7] Καλλιῦσι δὲ καίπερ δεινὰ οὕτω παθοῦσιν ὥς μὴδὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου πεποιημένα ἐς τε Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ ἐς Κύκλωπα ἐκτὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν ἀληθείας, ὅμως κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγίνετο ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκη: ἀπὸ γὰρ τεσσάρων μυριάδων προσόντων σφίσιν ὀκτακοσίων ἐλάσσονες ἡμίσεων ἐς τὸ

στρατόπεδον οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ πρὸς Θερμοπύλαις ἀπεσώθησαν. [8] περὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις συνέβαιναν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. ἀτραπὸς ἐστὶ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Οἴτης, μία μὲν ἡ ὑπὲρ Τραχίνος ἀπότομός τε τὰ πλείω καὶ ὄρθιος δεινῶς, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ διὰ τῆς Αἰνιάνων ὁδεῦσαι στρατῷ ῥᾶων, δι' ἧς καὶ Ὑδάρνης ποτὲ Μῆδος κατὰ νότου τοῖς περὶ Λεωνίδην ἐπέθετο Ἑλλησι.

[9] κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἄξειν Βρέννον οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Αἰνιᾶνες, οὐ κακονοία τῇ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τοὺς δὲ Κελτοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφίσιν ἀπελθεῖν μηδὲ ἐγκαθημένους φθεῖρειν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι. καὶ μοι φαίνεται Πίνδαρος ἀληθῆ καὶ ἐν τῷδε εἰπεῖν, ὃς πάντα τινὰ ὑπὸ κακῶν οἰκείων ἔφη πιέζεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀλλοτρίοις κήδεσιν ἀπήμαντον εἶναι. [10] τότε δὲ ἡ τῶν Αἰνιάνων καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ὑπόσχεσις ἐπήγειρε τὸν Βρέννον: καὶ Ἀκιχώριον μὲν κατέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, προειπὼν, ἐπειδὴν περιλάβωσιν αὐτοὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τῆνικα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐφόδου καιρὸν εἶναι: ἀπολέξας δὲ αὐτὸς μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ τέσσαρας ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς ἀτραποῦ. [11] καὶ πῶς ἐπ' ἐκείνης συνέβαινε τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν τε ὁμίχλην κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους καταχεῖσθαι πολλὴν καὶ ἄμαυρόν ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε τῶν Φωκέων τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὴν φρουρὰν οὐ πρότερον ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι παρέσχοντο αἴσθησιν πρὶν ἢ πλησίον ἐγεγόνεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ μὲν μάχης ἤρχον, οἱ δὲ ἡμύνοντο ἐρρωμένως, τέλος δὲ ἐβιάσθησαν καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀτραποῦ: καταδραμόντες μέντοι παρὰ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαντες τὰ παρόντα ἔφθησαν πρὶν ἢ ἀκριβῆ καὶ πανταχόθεν τελέαν γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὴν κύκλωσιν. [12] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων Ἀθηναῖοι φθάνουσιν ὑπεξαγαγόντες ἐκ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, ὁ δὲ Βρέννος οὐδένα ἔτι ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ σὺν τῷ Ἀκιχωρίῳ παραγενέσθαι, τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς Δελφοὺς. οἱ δὲ καταφεύγουσιν ὑπὸ δέιματος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον: καὶ ὁ θεὸς σφᾶς οὐκ εἶα φοβεῖσθαι, φυλάξειν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. [13] οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι τιμωρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τοσοῖδε ἐγένοντο Ἑλλήνων: Φωκεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμφίσσης ὀπλίται τετρακόσιοι, παρὰ δὲ Αἰτωλῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες αὐτίκα, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο ἐς τὸ πρόσω χωροῦντας τοὺς βαρβάρους, διακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους Φιλόμηλος ἤγαγεν ὕστερον. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐτράπετο ἐπὶ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀκιχωρίου στρατιάν, καὶ μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἤρχον, ὁδεύοντων δὲ ἐπέκειντο αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἀρπάζοντές τε τὰ τῶν σκευαγωγούντων καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας φονεύοντες: καὶ ἡ πορεία κατὰ ταύτην μάλιστα ἐγένετό σφισι βραδεῖα τὴν αἰτίαν. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ὁ Ἀκιχώριος μοῖραν, οἱ ἔμελλον φρουρῆσαι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου χρήματα.

23. Βρέννω δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀθροισθέντες ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀντεστήμιναι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχύ τε καὶ ὧν ἴσμεν φανερώτατα. ἡ τε γὰρ γῆ πᾶσα, ὅσῃν ἐπεῖχεν ἡ τῶν Γαλατῶν στρατιὰ, βιαίως καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐσεῖετο τῆς ἡμέρας, βρονταὶ τε καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο: [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπληττόν τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ

δέχεσθαι τοῖς ὥσὶ τὰ παραγγελόμενα ἐκώλουν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ ἐς ὄντινα κατασκήψαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐξῆπτε. τὰ τε τῶν ἡρώων τηνικαυτὰ σφισιν ἐφάνη φάσματα, ὁ Ὑπέροχος καὶ ὁ Λαόδοκός τε καὶ Πύρρος· οἱ δὲ καὶ τέταρτον Φύλακον ἐπιχώριον Δελφοῖς ἀπαριθμοῦσιν ἥρωα. [3] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τῶν Φωκέων ἄλλοι τε ἀριθμὸν πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀλεξίμαχος, ὃς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων ἡλικίας τε τῷ ἀκμάζοντι καὶ ἰσχύϊ σώματος καὶ τῷ ἐρρωμένῳ τοῦ θυμοῦ κατεχρήσατο ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν φόνον· Φωκεῖς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀλεξιμάχου ποιησάμενοι ἀπέστειλαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δελφούς. [4] τοιούτοις μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν παθήμασί τε καὶ ἐκπλήξει συνείχοντο· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πολλῷ σφᾶς ἔμελλεν ἀλγεινότερα ἐπιλήψεσθαι. ῥῖγός τε γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ νιφετὸς ἦν ὁμοῦ τῷ ῥίγῃ, πέτραι τε ἀπολισθάνουσαι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μεγάλαι τε καὶ κρημνοὶ καταρρηγνύμενοι σκοπὸν τοὺς βαρβάρους εἶχον, καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ κατὰ ἓνα ἢ δύο ἀλλὰ κατὰ τριάκοντα καὶ ἔτι πλείοσιν, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φρουροῦντες ἢ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι τύχοιεν, ἀθρόοις ἢ ἀπώλεια ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τῶν κρημνῶν.

[5] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπήεσαν σφισιν ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα εὐθεῖαν, οἱ Φωκεῖς δὲ ἅτε καὶ μᾶλλον ἔχοντες τῶν χωρίων ἐμπείρως κατέβησαν τε διὰ τῆς χιόνος κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ καὶ ἔλαθον κατὰ νότου γενόμενοι τοῖς Κελτοῖς, ἡκόντιζόν τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐτόξευον σὺν οὐδενὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων δείματι. [6] οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένης μὲν τῆς μάχης, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βρέννον — οὗτοι δὲ μήκιστοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀλκιμώτατοι τῶν Γαλατῶν — τότε μὲν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἔτι ἀντεῖχον βαλλόμενοί τε πανταχόθεν καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥίγους, μάλιστα οἱ τραυματίαι, ταλαιπωροῦντες· ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ Βρέννος ἔλαβε τραύματα, ἐκεῖνον μὲν

λιποψυχήσαντα ἐκκομίζουσιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπέφευγόν τε ἄκοντες καὶ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἀδυνάτους διὰ τραύματα ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἀρρωστίαν φονεύουσιν. [7] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἔνθα νῦν κατελάμβανεν ἀναχωροῦντας, ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ φόβος σφίσιν ἐμπίπτει Πανικός· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς δείματα ἐκ τούτου φασὶ γίνεσθαι. ἐνέπεσε μὲν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἡ ταραχὴ περὶ βαθεῖαν τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ ὀλίγοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγένοντο οἱ παραχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ, ἐδόξαζόν τε οὗτοι κτύπου τε ἐπελαννομένων ἵππων καὶ ἐφόδου πολεμίων αἰσθάνεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας διέδρα ἡ ἄγνοια. [8] ἀναλαβόντες οὖν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ διαστάντες ἐκτεινόν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκτείνοντο, οὔτε γλώσσης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου συνιέντες οὔτε τὰς ἀλλήλων μορφὰς οὔτε τῶν θυρεῶν καθορῶντες τὰ σχήματα· ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς τάξεσιν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγνοίας οἱ τε ἄνδρες οἱ ἀνθεστηκότες εἶναι σφισιν Ἑλληνες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐφαίνοντο καὶ Ἑλλάδα ἀφιέναι τὴν φωνήν, ἣ τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μανία πλείστον ἐξεργάσατο ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς Γαλάταις τὸν φόνον. [9] τῶν δὲ Φωκέων ὅσοι κατελείποντο κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φυλακτῆς βοσκημάτων ἔνεκα, πρῶτοί τε ἦσθοντο καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὰ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατασχόντα τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀναθαρσήσαντες δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς προθυμότερον

ἔτι ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Κελτοῖς: διὰ φυλακῆς τε πλείονος τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τὰ ἐς βίου χρεῖαν οὐ περιεώρων σφᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀμαχεῖ λαμβάνοντας, ἐγεγόνει τε αὐτίκα τοῖς Γαλάταις διὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ σίτου καὶ ὅσα ἐς τροφήν ἄλλα ἔνδεια ἰσχυρά. [10] πλῆθος δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι αὐτῶν ἀναλωθέν, ὀλίγῳ μὲν ἐξακισχιλίων ἐλάσσονες οἱ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ χειμερίῳ διαφθαρέντες νυκτὶ καὶ ὕστερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανικῷ δείματι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ. [11] Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἄνδρες ἐπισκεπτόμενοι μὲν ἀφίκοντο ἐν Δελφοῖς: τότε δὲ ἐπανήκοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα ἡγγέλλον ὅποια συμβεβήκει τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατειληφότα. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ τε ἐξεστρατεύοντο καὶ ὥς τὴν Βοιωτίαν διώδευον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σφισιν ἀνεμίχθησαν: οὕτω δὴ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐλόχων τε καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐσχάτους.

[12] τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ὁμοῦ τῷ Βρένῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκιχώριον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἀνεμίχθησαν: βραδεῖαν γὰρ τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησάν σφισιν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τοῖς τε ἀκοντίοις ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον καὶ ὅτῳ τύχοιεν καὶ ἄλλῳ χρώμενοι, ὥστε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ μοῖρα οὐ πολλὴ διέφυγεν ἐξ αὐτῶν. τῷ δὲ Βρένῳ κατὰ μὲν τὰ τραύματα ἐλείπετο ἔτι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς: τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν φόβῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ αἰδοῖ πλεόν, ἅτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κακῶν αἴτιον, ἐκουσίως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκράτου πίνοντα τοῦ οἴνου. [13] καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Σπερχεῖοις χαλεπῶς ἐκομίσθησαν, τῶν Αἰτωλῶν βιαίως σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων: ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Σπερχεῖον, οἱ ἐντεῦθεν ὑποκαθήμενοι Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς ἐνεφορήθησαν οὕτω σφῶν ὥς μηδένα οἴκαδε ἀποσωθῆναι. [14] ἐγένετο δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν στρατεία τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια Ἀναξικράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἦν Λάδας Αἰγιδεύς ἐνίκα στάδιον: τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ἐφεξῆς Δημοκλέους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβαίνουσιν οἱ Κελτοί.

24. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γενόμενα ἴστω τις: ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάφῳ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ὠφελήματα ἀνθρώποις ἐς βίον, ἐγράφη δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὓς γενέσθαι σοφοὺς λέγουσιν Ἑλλήνες. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐκ μὲν Ἰωνίας Θαλῆς τε Μιλήσιος καὶ Πριηνεὺς Βίας, Αἰολέων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ Πιττακὸς Μιτυληναῖος, ἐκ δὲ Δωριέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Κλεόβουλος Λίνδιος, καὶ Ἀθηναῖός τε Σόλων καὶ Σπαρτιάτης Χίλων: τὸν δὲ ἔβδομον Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου τοῦ Κυψέλου Μύσωνα κατεῖλοχε τὸν Χηνέα: κώμη δὲ ἐν τῇ Οἰτῇ τῷ ὄρει ὠκοῦντο αἱ Χῆναι. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰ ἄδόμενα Γνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ Μηδὲν ἄγαν. [2] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔγραψαν τὰ εἰρημένα, θεάσαιο δ' ἂν καὶ εἰκόνα Ὀμήρου χαλκῆν ἐπὶ στήλῃ καὶ ἐπιλέξει τὸ μάντευμα ὃ γενέσθαι τῷ Ὀμήρῳ λέγουσιν: ὅλβιε καὶ δύσδαιμον — ἔφυς γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι — ,

πατρίδα δίξῃαι. μητρὶς δέ τοι, οὐ πατρὶς ἐστίν.

ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος μητρὸς πατρὶς, ἣ σε θανόντα

δέξεται. ἀλλὰ νέων παιδῶν αἰνιγμα φύλαξαι.

“δεικνύουσι δὲ οἱ Ἰῆται καὶ Ὀμήρου μνήμα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἐτέρωθι

Κλυμένης, τὴν Κλυμένην μητέρα εἶναι τοῦ Ὀμήρου λέγοντες.

[3] Κύπριοι δὲ — οἰκιοῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι Ὅμηρον — Θεμιστώ τε αὐτῷ μητέρα εἶναι τῶν τινα ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν λέγουσι καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐκλίου προθεσπισθῆναι τὰ ἐς τὴν γένεσιν τὴν Ὀμήρου φασὶν ἐν τοῖσδε:”καὶ τότε” ἐν εἰναλίῃ Κύπρῳ μέγας ἔσσειτ’ αἰοιδός,

ὃν τε Θεμιστώ τέξει ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ διὰ γυναικῶν
νόσφι πολυκτεάνοιο πολύκλειτον Σαλαμῖνος.

Κύπρον δὲ προλιπὼν διερός θ’ ὑπὸ κύμασιν ἀρθεῖς,

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου μῦθος κακὰ πρῶτος αἰείσας

ἔσσεται ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος ἥματα πάντα.

“ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντές τε καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς χρησμούς ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λόγον οὔτε ἐς πατρίδα οὔτε περὶ ἡλικίας Ὀμήρου γράφομεν. [4] ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ πεποιήται μὲν Ποσειδῶνος βωμός, ὅτι τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἀρχαιότατον κτῆμα ἦν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἔσθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο: ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης Ζεὺς τε Μοιραγέτης καὶ Απόλλων σφίσι παρέστηκε Μοιραγέτης. θεάσαιο δ’ ἂν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐστίαν, ἐφ’ ἣ Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπέκτεινε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τὴν τελευτὴν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐτέρωθι εἰρημένα.

[5] ἀνάκειται δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς ἐστίας θρόνος Πινδάρου: σιδήρου μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ θρόνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ φασιν, ὅποτε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς Δελφοὺς, καθέζεσθαι τε τὸν Πίνδαρον καὶ ἄδειν ὅποσα τῶν ᾠμάτων ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐστὶν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἐσωτάτω, παρίασί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ὀλίγοι καὶ χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἕτερον ἄγαλμα ἀνάκειται. [6] ἐξελθόντι δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τραπέντι ἐς ἀριστερὰ περίβολός ἐστι καὶ Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐν αὐτῷ τάφος: καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ Δελφοί. ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας: τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὁσημέραι καταχέουσι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἐκάστην ἔρια ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀργά: ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόξα ἐς αὐτὸν δοθῆναι Κρόνῳ τὸν λίθον ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ὡς αὐθις ἤμεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κρόνος.

[7] ἰοῦσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐθις μετὰ τοῦ λίθου τὴν θέαν ἐστὶν ἡ Κασσοτὶς καλουμένη πηγὴ: τεῖχος δὲ οὐ μέγα ἐπ’ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ ἄνοδος διὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν. ταύτης τῆς Κασσοτίδος δῦεσθαι τε κατὰ τῆς γῆς λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς γυναῖκας μαντικὰς ποιεῖν: τὴν δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ δεδωκυῖαν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν νυμφῶν φασιν εἶναι.

25. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Κασσοτίδα ἐστὶν οἴκημα γραφὰς ἔχον τῶν Πολυγνώτου, ἀνάθημα μὲν Κνιδίων, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Λέσχη, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα συνιόντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον τά τε σπουδαιότερα διελέγοντο καὶ ὅποσα μυθώδη: τοιαῦτ’ εἶναι πολλὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ὅμηρος ἐν Μελανθοῦς λοιδορίᾳ πρὸς Ὀδυσσεά ἐδήλωσεν:”οὐδ’ ἐθέλεις εὔδειν χαλκήιον ἐς δόμον ἐλθὼν

ἠέ που ἐς λέσχην, ἀλλ’ ἐνθάδε πόλλ’ ἀγορεύεις.

“Hom. Od.

18.328

[2] ἐς τοῦτο οὖν ἐσελθόντι τὸ οἶκημα τὸ μὲν σύμπαν τὸ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς γραφῆς Ἰλιός τέ ἐστιν ἐαλωκυῖα καὶ ἀπόπλους ὁ Ἑλλήνων. Μενελάῳ δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν

ἀναγωγὴν εὐτρεπίζουσι, καὶ ναῦς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένη καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς ναύταις καὶ ἀναμίξ παῖδες, ἐν μέσῃ δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ νηὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης Φρόντις κοντοὺς δύο ἔχων. Ὁμηρος δὲ Νέστορα ἐποίησεν ἄλλα τε διαλεγόμενον πρὸς Τηλέμαχον καὶ περὶ τοῦ Φρόντιδος· πατρὸς μὲν Ὀνήτορος, Μενελάου δὲ ἦν κυβερνήτης, δοκιμώτατος δὲ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, καὶ ὡς Σούνιον ἤδη τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ παραπλέοντα ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν· καὶ τῶς ὁμοῦ Νέστορι ὁ Μενέλαος πλέων τότε κατὰ αἰτίαν ἀπελείφθη ταύτην, ἵνα μνήματος καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ νεκροῖς ἄλλα ἀξιώσειε τὸν Φρόντιν. [3] οὗτός τε οὖν ἐν τοῦ Πολυγνώτου τῇ γραφῇ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἰθαιμένης τέ τις κομίζων ἐσθῆτα καὶ Ἐχούαζ διὰ τῆς ἀποβάθρας κατιῶν ἐστίν, ὑδρίαν ἔχων χαλκῇν. καταλύουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μενελάου τὴν σκηνὴν οὐ πόρρω τῆς νεῶς οὖσαν Πολίτης καὶ Στρόφιός τε καὶ Ἄλφιος. καὶ ἄλλην διαλύων σκηνὴν ἐστὶν Ἀμφιάλος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιάλου τοῖς ποσὶ κάθηται παῖς· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῷ παιδί, γένεια δὲ μόνῳ τῷ Φρόντιδι. καὶ μόνου τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ὀδυσσέα ποιήσεως ἔμαθε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἔμοι δοκεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα συνέθηκεν αὐτὸς ὁ Πολύγνωτος. [4] Βρισηὶς δὲ ἐστῶσα καὶ Διομήδῃ τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ Ἴφιδι πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων εἰκόασιν ἀνασκοπούμενοι τὸ Ἑλένης εἶδος. κάθηται δὲ αὕτη τε ἡ Ἑλένη καὶ Εὐρυβάτης πλησίον· τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς εἶναι κήρυκα εἰκάζομεν, οὐ μὴν εἶχεν ἤδη γένεια. θεράπαινα δὲ Ἥλέκτρα καὶ Πανθαλίς, ἡ μὲν τῇ Ἑλένῃ παρέστηκεν, ἡ δὲ ὑποδεῖ τὴν δέσποιναν ἡ Ἥλέκτρα· διάφορα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ἡ Ὀμηρὸς ἔθετο ἐν Ἰλιάδι, ἔνθα καὶ Ἑλένην καὶ ἰούσας ὁμοῦ τῇ Ἑλένῃ τὰς δούλας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος πεποίηκεν.

[5] κάθηται δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλένην πορφυροῦν ἀνὴρ ἀμπεχόμενος ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα κατηφής· Ἐλενον εἶναι τεκμήριο ἂν τὸν Πριάμου καὶ πρὶν ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιλέξασθαι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἑλένου Μέγης ἐστί· τέτρωται δὲ τὸν βραχίονα ὁ Μέγης, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λέσχεως ὁ Αἰσχυλίνου Πυρραῖος ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι ἐποίησε· τρωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην τοῦτον, ἦν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐμαχέσαντο οἱ Τρῶες, ὑπὸ Ἀδμήτου φησὶ τοῦ Αὐγείου. [6] γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Λυκομήδης παρὰ τὸν Μέγητα ὁ Κρέοντος, ἔχων τραῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ· Λέσχεως δ' οὕτω φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀγήνορος τρωθῆναι. δηλὰ οὖν ὡς ἄλλως γε οὐκ ἂν ὁ Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν οὕτω τὰ ἔλκη σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐπελέξατο τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ Λέσχεω· προσεπέθηκε μέντοι καὶ σφυροῦ τῷ Λυκομήδει καὶ τρίτον τραῦμα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ. τέτρωται δὲ καὶ Εὐρύαλος ὁ Μηκιστέως κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ τὸν καρπὸν. [7] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀνωτέρω τῆς Ἑλένης εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ· ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ἑλένῃ μήτηρ τε ἡ Θησέως ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένη καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησέως Δημοφῶν ἐστὶ φροντίζων, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, εἰ ἀνασώσασθαι οἱ τὴν Αἴθραν ἐνέσται. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σίνιδος θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι Θησεῖ Μελάνιππον λέγουσι, καὶ ὡς ἀνέλοιτο ὁ Μελάνιππος δρόμου νίκην, ὅτε οἱ

Ἐπίγονοι καλούμενοι Νέμεια δεύτεροι οὗτοι ἔθεσαν μετὰ Ἀδραστον. [8] Λέσχεως δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴθραν ἐποίησεν, ἥνικα ἠλίσκετο Ἴλιον, ὑπεξεληθοῦσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων γνωρισθῆναι τῶν Θησέως, καὶ ὡς παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος αἰτήσαι Δημοφῶν αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐθέλειν χαρίζεσθαι, ποιήσιν δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔφη πρὶν

Ἑλένην πείσαι: ἀποστείλαντι δὲ αὐτῷ κήρυκα ἔδωκεν Ἑλένη τὴν χάριν. ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Εὐρυβάτης ὁ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἀφίχθαι τε ὡς τὴν Ἑλένην τῆς Αἴθρας ἔνεκα καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀπαγγέλλειν. [9] γυναῖκες δὲ αἱ Τρωάδες αἰχμαλώτοις τε ἤδη καὶ ὀδυρομέναις εἴοικασι. γέγραπται μὲν Ἀνδρομάχῃ, καὶ ὁ παῖς οἱ προσέστηκεν ἐλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ — τούτῳ Λέσχεως ῥιφθέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευτήν: οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ Νεοπτόλεμον αὐτόχειρα ἐβελῆσαι γενέσθαι — , γέγραπται δὲ Μηδεσικάστῃ, θυγατέρων μὲν Πριάμου καὶ αὕτη τῶν νόθων, ἐξωκίσθαι δὲ ἐς Πήδαιον πόλιν φησὶν αὐτὴν Ὅμηρος Ἰμβρίῳ Μέντορος παιδὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐς Πήδαιον συνοικοῦσαν.

[10] ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀνδρομάχῃ καὶ ἡ Μηδεσικάστῃ καλύμματά εἰσιν ἐπικείμεναι, Πολυξένη δὲ κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα παρθένοις ἀναπέπλεκται τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας: ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματι ποιηταὶ τε ἄδουσι καὶ γραφὰς ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ Περγάμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Καῖκου θεασάμενος οἶδα ἐχούσας ἐς τῆς Πολυξένης τὰ παθήματα. [11] γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Νέστορα τῇ κεφαλῇ τε ἐπικείμενον πῖλον καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχοντα: καὶ ἵππος κονίεσθαι μέλλοντος παρέχεται σχῆμα: ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἵππου αἰγιαλός τε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ψηφίδες ὑποφαίνονται, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν οὐκέτι ἔοικεν εἶναι θάλασσα.

26. τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τῶν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Αἴθρας καὶ Νέστορος, εἰσὶν ἄνωθεν τούτων αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ αὗται Κλυμένη τε καὶ Κρέουσα καὶ Ἀριστομάχῃ καὶ Ξενοδίκῃ. Κλυμένην μὲν οὖν Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι κατηρίθηκεν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀριστομάχην ἐποίησεν ἐν Νόστοις θυγατέρα μὲν Πριάμου, Κριτολάου δὲ γυναῖκα εἶναι τοῦ Ἰκετάονος: Ξενοδίκης δὲ μνημονεύσαντα οὐκ οἶδα οὔτε ποιητὴν οὔτε ὅσοι λόγων συνθέται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Κρεοῦσῃ λέγουσιν ὡς ἡ θεῶν μήτηρ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ δουλείας ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ἐρρύσαντο, εἶναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Αἰνείου τὴν Κρέουσαν γυναῖκα: Λέσχεως δὲ καὶ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια διδόασιν Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα Αἰνεΐα. [2] γεγραμμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης ὑπὲρ ταύτας Δηινόμη τε καὶ Μητιόχῃ καὶ Πεισίσ ἐστι καὶ Κλεοδίκῃ: τούτων ἐν Ἰλιάδι καλουμένη μικρὰ μόνῃς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Δηινόμης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν συνέθηκε τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ Πολύγνωτος. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἐπειὸς γυνὸς καταβάλλων ἐς ἔδαφος τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος: ἀνέχει δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἵππου μόνῃ τοῦ δουρείου. Πολυποίτης δὲ ὁ Πειρίθου δεδεμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν ταινία καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀκάμας ἐστὶν ὁ Θησέως ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος: [3] λόφος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει πεποίηται. καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς τέ ἐστι * * καὶ ἐνδεδυκε θώρακα Ὀδυσσεὺς. Αἴας δὲ ὁ Οἰλέως ἔχων ἀσπίδα βωμῷ προσέστηκεν, ὁμνύμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματος: ἡ δὲ κάθηται τε ἡ Κασσάνδρα χαμαὶ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, εἶγε δὴ ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων τὸ ξόανον, ὅτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεσίας αὐτὴν ὁ Αἴας ἀφεῖλκε. γεγραμμένοι δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν οἱ Ἀτρέως, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ οὗτοι κράνη, Μενελάῳ δὲ ἀσπίδα ἔχοντι δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι ἐστὶν εἰργασμένος τοῦ ἐν Αὐλίδι φανέντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερείοις τέρατος ἔνεκα. ὑπὸ τούτοις τοῖς τὸν Αἴαντα ἐξορκοῦσιν, κατ' εὐθὺ δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ [4] παρὰ τῷ Νέστορι Νεοπτόλεμος ἀπεκτονῶς ἐστὶν Ἑλασον, ὅστις δὴ ὁ Ἑλασος. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὀλίγον ἐμπνέοντι ἔτι εἴκασται: Ἀστυνοὸν δέ, οὗ δὴ

ἐποίησατο καὶ Λέσχεως μνήμην, πεπτωκότα ἐς γόνυ ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ξίφει παίει. Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ μόνον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ φονεύοντα ἔτι τοὺς Τρῶας ἐποίησεν ὁ Πολύγνωτος, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τὸν τάφον ἡ γραφὴ πᾶσα ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τῷ παιδί Ὅμηρος μὲν Νεοπτόλεμον ὄνομα ἐν ἀπάσῃ οἱ τίθεται τῇ ποιήσει: τὰ δὲ Κύπρια ἔφη φησὶν ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους μὲν Πύρρον, Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ ὄνομα ὑπὸ Φοίνικος αὐτῷ τεθῆναι, ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡλικία ἔτι νέος πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο. [5] γέγραπται δὲ βωμός τε καὶ ὑπὸ δείματος παῖς μικρὸς ἐχόμενος τοῦ βωμοῦ: κεῖται δὲ καὶ θώραξ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χαλκοῦς. κατὰ δὲ ἡμὲ σπάνιον τῶν θωράκων τὸ σχῆμα ἦν τούτων, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἔφερον αὐτούς. δύο ἦν χαλκᾶ ποιήματα, τὸ μὲν στέρνω καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀρμόζον, τὸ δὲ ὡς νώτου σκέπην εἶναι — γύαλα ἐκαλοῦντο — : τὸ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν τὸ δὲ ὀπίσθεν προσῆγον, ἔπειτα περόναι συνῆπτον πρὸς ἄλληλα. [6] ἀσφάλειαν δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν ἐδόκει παρέχεσθαι καὶ ἀσπίδος χωρίς: ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ Ὅμηρος Φόρκυνα τὸν Φρύγα οὐκ ἔχοντα ἀσπίδα ἐποίησεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ γυαλοθώραξ ἦν. ἐγὼ δὲ γραφῇ μεμιμημένον τοῦτον ἔθεασάμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυγνώτου, καὶ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας Καλλιφῶν ὁ Σάμιος Πατρόκλῳ τοῦ θώρακος τὰ γύαλα ἀρμοζούσας ἔγραψε γυναῖκας. [7] τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Λαοδίκην ἔγραψεν ἐστῶσαν. ταύτην οὔτε ὑπὸ ποιητοῦ κατεिलεγμένην ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ταῖς Τρῳάσιν εὔρισκον οὔτε ἄλλως ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν μοι τὸ εἶκος ἢ ἀφεθῆναι τὴν Λαοδίκην ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. Ὅμηρος μὲν γε ἐδήλωσεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Μενελάου καὶ Ὀδυσσέως ξενίαν παρὰ Ἀντήνορι καὶ ὡς Ἑλικάονι ἢ Λαοδίκη συνοικοίῃ τῷ Ἀντήνορος:

[8] Λέσχεως δὲ τετρωμένον τὸν Ἑλικάονα ἐν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ γνωρισθῆναί τε ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἐξαχθῆναι ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς μάχης φησὶν. ἔποιτο ἂν οὖν τῇ Μενελάου καὶ Ὀδυσσέως κηδεμονία περὶ οἶκον τὸν Ἀντήνορος μηδὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἑλικάονος τὴν γυναῖκα ἔργον δυσμενὲς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου γενέσθαι: Εὐφορίων δὲ ἀνὴρ Χαλκιδεὺς σὺν οὐδενὶ εἰκότι τὰ ἐς τὴν Λαοδίκην ἐποίησεν. [9] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Λαοδίκη ὑποστάτης τε λίθου καὶ λουτήριον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑποστάτῃ χαλκοῦν, Μέδουσα δὲ κατέχουσα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τὸ ὑπόστατον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους κάθηται: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πριάμου θυγατρᾶσιν ἀριθμῆσαι τις ἂν καὶ ταύτην κατὰ τοῦ Ἱμεραίου τὴν ᾠδὴν. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Μέδουσαν ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένη πρεσβῦτις ἢ ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶν εὐνοῦχος, παιδίον δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει γυμνόν: τὸ δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ δείματος ἐπίπροσθε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πεποιῖται.

27. νεκροὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν γυμνὸς Πῆλις ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτόν ἐστιν ἐρριμμένος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Πῆλιν Ἥιονεύς τε κεῖται καὶ Ἄδμητος ἐνδεδυκότες ἔτι τοὺς θώρακας: καὶ αὐτῶν Λέσχεως Ἥιονέα ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλοκτῆτου φησὶν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Ἄδμητον. ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνωτέρω τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν τὸ λουτήριον Λεώκριτός ἐστιν ὁ Πουλιδάμαντος τεθνεὼς ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως, ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἥιονέα τε καὶ Ἄδμητον Κόροιβος ὁ Μύγδονος: τούτου μνήμᾳ τε ἐπιφανὲς ἐν ὅροις πεποιῖται Φρυγῶν Στεκτορηνῶν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιηταῖς Μύγδονας ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῖς Φρυξὶ τίθεσθαι καθέστηκεν. ἀφίκετο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν Κασσάνδρας ὁ Κόροιβος γάμον, ἀπέθανε δέ, ὡς μὲν ὁ πλείων λόγος, ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, Λέσχεως δὲ ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἐποίησεν. [2] εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ

Κοροΐβου Πρίαμος καὶ Ἀξίων τε καὶ Ἀγήνωρ. Πρίαμον δὲ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ἔφη Λέσχεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου, ἀλλὰ ἀποσπασθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βομοῦ πάρεργον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι θύραις. ἐς δὲ Ἑκάβην Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι ἐποίησεν ἐς Λυκίαν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὴν κομισθῆναι. Ἀξίονα δὲ παῖδα εἶναι Πριάμου Λέσχεως καὶ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Εὐαίμονός φησι: τοῦ Ἀγήνωρος δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ποιητὴν Νεοπτόλεμος αὐτόχειρ ἐστί: καὶ οὕτω φαίνοιτο ἂν Ἑχεκλος μὲν φονευθεὶς ὁ Ἀγήνωρος ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, Ἀγήνωρ δὲ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου. [3] Λαομέδοντος δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Σίνων τε ἐταῖρος Ὀδυσσεώς καὶ Ἀγχιάλος εἰσιν ἐκκομίζοντες. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τεθνεώς: ὄνομά οἱ Ἑρεσος: τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρεσὸν τε καὶ Λαομέδοντα, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἐπιστάμεθα, ἦσεν οὐδεὶς. ἔστι δὲ οἰκία τε ἡ Ἀντήνωρος καὶ παρδάλεως κρεμάμενον δέρμα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσόδου, σύνθημα εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπέχεσθαι σφᾶς οἴκου τοῦ Ἀντήνωρος. γέγραπται δὲ Θεανὼ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες, Γλαῦκος μὲν καθημένος ἐπὶ θώρακι γυάλοις συνηρμοσμένῳ, Εὐρύμαχος δὲ ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ. [4] παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστηκεν Ἀντήνωρ καὶ ἐφεξῆς θυγάτηρ Ἀντήνωρος Κρινώ: παιδίον δὲ ἡ Κρινὼ φέρει νήπιον. τῶν προσώπων δὲ ἅπασιν οἶον ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ σχῆμά ἐστι. κιβωτὸν δὲ ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἄλλα τῶν σκευῶν εἰσιν ἀνατιθέντες οἰκέται: κάθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄνου παιδίον μικρόν. κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐστι Σιμωνίδου: γράψε Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφῶντος

υἱός, περθομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν.

“Simonides, unknown location.

28. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς γραφῆς τὸ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς χειρός, ἔστιν Ὀδυσσεὺς καταβεβηκὼς ἐς τὸν Ἄϊδην ὀνομαζόμενον, ὅπως Τειρεσίου τὴν ψυχὴν περὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπέρηται σωτηρίας: ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὴν γραφήν. ὕδωρ εἶναι ποταμὸς ἔοικε, δῆλα ὡς ὁ Ἀχέρων, καὶ κάλαμοι τε ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκότες καὶ ἰχθύες: ἔστι δ' ἄμυδρὰ οὕτω δὴ τι τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἰχθύων ὡς σκιάς μᾶλλον ἢ ἰχθὺς εἰκάσεις. καὶ ναῦς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ὁ πορθμεὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς κώπαις. [2] ἐπηκολούθησε δὲ ὁ Πολύγνωτος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ποιήσει Μινυάδι: ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Μινυάδι ἐς Θησέα ἔχοντα καὶ Πειρίθουν ἔνθ' ἦτοι νέα μὲν νεκυάμβατον, ἣν ὁ γεραῖος

πορθμεὺς ἦγε Χάρων, οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐνδοθεν ὄρμου.

“Minyad, an unknown work. ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν καὶ Πολύγνωτος γέροντα ἔγραψεν ἤδη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Χάρωνα. [3] οἱ δὲ ἐπιβεβηκότες τῆς νεῶς οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς ἅπαν εἰσὶν οἷς προσήκουσι. Τέλλης μὲν ἡλικίαν ἐφήβου γεγωνὼς φαίνεται, Κλεόβοια δὲ ἔτι παρθένος, ἔχει δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὁποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δήμητρι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸν Τέλλιν τοσοῦτον ἤκουσα ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπόγονος εἴη τρίτος Τέλλιδος, Κλεόβοιαν δὲ ἐς Θάσον τὰ ὄργια τῆς Δήμητρος ἐνεγκεῖν πρῶτην ἐκ Πάρου φασίν. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος τῇ ὄχθῃ μάλιστα θεὰς ἄξιον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Χάρωνος τὴν ναῦν ἀνὴρ οὐ δίκαιος ἐς πατέρα ἀγχόμενός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. περὶ πλείστου γὰρ δὴ ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πάλαι γονεάς, ὥσπερ ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε τεκμήρασθαι καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ τοῖς καλουμένοις Εὐσεβέσιν, οἳ, ἡνίκα ἐπέρρει τῇ Κατάνῃ πῦρ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Αἴτης, χρυσὸν μὲν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐν οὐδενὸς μερίδι ἐποίησαντο, οἱ δὲ

ἔφευγον ὁ μὲν ἀράμενος μητέρα, ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν πατέρα: προϊόντας δὲ οὐ σὺν ῥαστώνῃ καταλαμβάνει σφᾶς τὸ πῦρ ἐπειγόμενον τῇ φλογί: καὶ — οὐ γὰρ κατετίθεντο οὐδ' οὕτω τοὺς γονέας — διχῇ σχισθῆναι λέγεται τὸν ῥύακα, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς νεανίσκους, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς τοὺς γονέας τὸ πῦρ οὐδὲν σφισι λυμηνάμενον παρεξήλθεν.

[5] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τιμᾶς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι παρὰ Καταναίων ἔχουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολυγνώτου γραφῇ πλησίον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃς τῷ πατρὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐν Ἄιδου κακὰ ἀναπίμπλησι, τούτου πλησίον ἱερὰ σεσυληκῶς ἀνὴρ ὑπέσχε δίκην: γυνὴ δὲ ἡ κολάζουσα αὐτὸν φάρμακα ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐς αἰκίαν οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων. [6] περισσῶς δὲ ἄρα εὐσεβεῖα θεῶν ἔτι προσέκειντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι τε δῆλα ἐποίησαν, ἡνίκα εἶλον Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐν Συρακούσαις ἱερόν, οὔτε κινήσαντες τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν τὸν ἱερέα τε τὸν Συρακούσιον φύλακα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐάσαντες: ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Μῆδος Δᾶτις λόγοις τε οὓς εἶπε πρὸς Δηλίους καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡνίκα ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηὶ ἄγαλμα εὐρῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπέδωκεν αὐθις Ταναγραίοις ἐς Δῆλιον. οὕτω μὲν τὸ θεῖον καὶ οἱ πάντες τότε ἦγον ἐν τιμῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιούτῳ τὰ ἐς τὸν συλήσαντα ἱερὰ ἔγραψε Πολύγνωτος. [7] ἔστι δὲ ἀνωτέρω τῶν κατειλεγμένων Εὐρύνομος: δαίμονα εἶναι τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου φασὶν οἱ Δελφῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν Εὐρύνομον, καὶ ὥς τὰς σάρκας περιεσθίει τῶν νεκρῶν, μόνῃ σφίσιν ἀπολείπων τὰ ὀστέα. ἡ δὲ Ὀμήρου ποιήσις ἐς Ὀδυσσέα καὶ ἡ Μινυὰς τε

καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι — μνήμη γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταύταις καὶ Ἄιδου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων ἐστὶν — ἴσασιν οὐδένα Εὐρύνομον δαίμονα. τοσοῦτο μέντοι δηλώσω, ὁποῖός τε ὁ Εὐρύνομος καὶ ἐπὶ ποίου γέγραπται τοῦ σχήματος: κυανοῦ τὴν χροάν μεταξύ ἐστὶ καὶ μέλανος, ὁποῖα καὶ τῶν μυῶν αἱ πρὸς τὰ κρέα εἰσὶ προσιζάνουσαι, τοὺς δὲ ὀδόντας φαίνει, καθεζομένῳ δὲ ὑπέστρωται οἱ δέρμα γυπός.

[8] ἐφεξῆς δὲ μετὰ τὸν Εὐρύνομον ἡ τε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας Αὐγὴ καὶ Ἴφιμεδεία ἐστὶ: καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Τεύθραντα ἡ Αὐγὴ ἀφίκετο ἐς Μυσίαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ὁπόσαις ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἡρακλέα ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσι, μάλιστα δὴ παῖδα εἰκότα ἔτεκε τῷ πατρί: τῇ δ' Ἴφιμεδείᾳ γέρα δέδοται μεγάλα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μυλάσοις Καρῶν.

29. τῶν δὲ ἤδη μοι κατειλεγμένων εἰσὶν ἀνώτεροι τούτων ἱερεῖα καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως Περιμήδης καὶ Εὐρύλοχος φέροντες: τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ μέλανες κριοὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα. μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ καθήμενος, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ὅκνον εἶναι λέγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον: πεποιῆται μὲν πλέκων σχοινίον, παρέστηκε δὲ θήλεια ὄνος ἐπεσθίουσα τὸ πεπλεγμένον αἰεὶ τοῦ σχοινίου. τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Ὅκνον φίλεργόν φασιν ἄνθρωπον, γυναῖκα δὲ ἔχειν δαπανηράν: καὶ ὅποσα συλλέξαιτο ἐργαζόμενος, οὐ πολὺ δὴ ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἐκείνης ἀνήλωτο. [2] τὰ οὖν ἐς τοῦ Ὅκνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐθέλουσιν αἰνίζασθαι τὸν Πολύγνωτον. οἶδα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, ὅποτε ἰδοιέν τινα πονοῦντα ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ ὄνησιν φέροντι, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρημένον ὥς ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος συνάγει τοῦ Ὅκνου τὴν θώμιγγα. ὅκνον δ' οὖν καὶ μάντεων οἱ ὀρῶντες τοὺς οἰωνοὺς καλοῦσιν τινα ὄρνιθα: καὶ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ὅκνος μέγιστος μὲν καὶ κάλλιστος ἐρωδιῶν, εἰ δὲ ἄλλος τις ὀρνίθων σπάνιός ἐστι καὶ οὗτος. [3] γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Τιτυδὸς οὐ κολαζόμενος ἔτι, ἀλλὰ

ὕπὸ τοῦ συνεχοῦς τῆς τιμωρίας ἐς ἅπαν ἐξανηλωμένος, ἀμυδρὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ὀλόκληρον εἶδωλον.

ἐπιόντι δὲ ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ἔστιν ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρέφοντος τὸ καλῶδιον Ἀριάδην: κάθηται μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας, ὁρᾷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Φαίδραν, τό τε ἄλλο αἰωρουμένην σῶμα ἐν σειρᾷ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς σειρᾶς ἐχομένην: παρείχε δὲ τὸ σχῆμα καίπερ ἐς τὸ εὐπρεπέστερον πεποιημένον συμβάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐς τῆς Φαίδρας τὴν τελευτήν. [4] τὴν δὲ Ἀριάδην ἢ κατὰ τινα ἐπιτυχὸν δαίμονα ἢ καὶ ἐπίτηδες αὐτὴν λοχήσας ἀφείλετο Θησέας ἐπιπλεύσας Διόνυσος στόλῳ μείζονι, οὐκ ἄλλος κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ ὁ πρῶτος μὲν ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Ἴνδοὺς στρατεία, πρῶτος δὲ Εὐφράτην γεφυρώσας ποταμόν: Ζεῦγμά τε ὠνομάσθη πόλις καθ' ὃ τι ἐξεύχθη τῆς χώρας ὁ Εὐφράτης, καὶ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ κάλως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐν ᾧ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔξευξεν, ἀμπελίνους ὁμοῦ πεπλεγμένος καὶ κισσοῦ κλήμασι. [5] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Διόνυσον πολλὰ ὑπὸ τε Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενα καὶ ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων ἐστίν: ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν Φαίδραν ἐστὶν ἀνακεκλιμένη Χλῶρις ἐπὶ τῆς Θυίας γόνασιν. οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ὅστις φησὶ φιλίαν εἶναι ἐς ἀλλήλας, ἥνικα ἔτυχον αἱ γυναῖκες ζῶσαι: ἦσαν γὰρ δὴ ἡ μὲν ἐξ Ὁρχομενοῦ τοῦ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ἡ Χλῶρις, ἡ δὲ Κασταλίου θυγάτηρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ. εἶπον δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον, τῇ μὲν συγγενέσθαι Ποσειδῶνα τῇ Θυίᾳ, Χλῶριν δὲ Ποσειδῶνος παιδί Νηλεῖ συνοικῆσαι. [6] παρὰ δὲ τὴν Θυίαν Πρόκρις τε ἔστηκεν ἡ Ἐρεχθέως καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Κλυμένη: ἐπιστρέφει δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ νῶτα ἡ Κλυμένη. ἔστι δὲ πεποιημένα ἐν Νόστοις Μινύου μὲν τὴν Κλυμένην θυγατέρα εἶναι, γήμασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Κεφάλῳ τῷ Δηίονος καὶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν Ἴφικλον παῖδα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Πρόκριν καὶ οἱ πάντες ἄδουσιν, ὥς προτέρα Κεφάλῳ ἡ Κλυμένη συνώκησε καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός. [7] ἐσωτέρῳ δὲ τῆς Κλυμένης Μεγάραν τὴν ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄψει: ταύτην γυναῖκα ἔσχεν Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Μεγάραν καὶ ἀπεπέμψατο ἀνὰ χρόνον, ἅτε παίδων τε ἐστερημένος τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὴν ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀμείνονι τῷ δαίμονι γῆμαι.

γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν κατευλεγμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ τε Σαλμωνέως θυγάτηρ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεζομένη καὶ Ἐριφύλη παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἐστῶσα, διὰ μὲν τοῦ χιτῶνος ἀνέχουσα ἄκρους παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον τοὺς δακτύλους, τοῦ χιτῶνος δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις εικάσεις τῶν χειρῶν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ ἐκείνουν τὸν ὄρμον αὐτὴν ἔχειν. [8] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἔγραψεν Ἑλπήνορά τε καὶ Ὀδυσσεά ὀκλάζοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσίν, ἔχοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ βόθρου τὸ ξίφος: καὶ ὁ μάντις Τειρεσίας πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν βόθρον. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Τειρεσίαν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἡ Ὀδυσσεὺς μήτηρ Ἀντίκλειά ἐστιν: ὁ δὲ Ἑλπήνωρ ἀμπέχεται φορμὸν ἀντὶ ἐσθῆτος, σύνηθες τοῖς ναύταις φόρημα. [9] κατωτέρῳ δὲ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπὶ θρόνων καθεζόμενοι Θησεὺς μὲν τὰ ξίφη τό τε Πειρίθου καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὰ ξίφη βλέπων ἐστὶν ὁ Πειρίθους: εικάσαις ἂν ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν αὐτὸν ὥς ἀχρείοις καὶ ὀφελὸς σφισιν οὐ γεγενημένοις ἐς τὰ τολμήματα. Πανύασσις δὲ ἐποίησεν ὥς Θησεὺς καὶ Πειρίθους ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων παράσχοντο σχῆμα οὐ κατὰ δεσμώτας, προσφύεσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἀντὶ δεσμῶν σφισιν ἔφη τὴν πέτραν. [10] Θησεὺς δὲ καὶ Πειρίθου τὴν λεγομένην φιλίαν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ἐδήλωσεν

Ὅμηρος ταῖς ποιήσῃσι, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν πρὸς Φαίακας λέγων ἐστὶ “καὶ νῦν κ’ ἔτι προτέρους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὓς ἔθελόν περ,

Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε, θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα:

“Hom. Od.

11.631 foll. πεποιήται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ὁ Νέστωρ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Ἀχιλλέως νουθεσία καὶ ἔπη τάδε εἰρηκώς:”οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι

οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν

Καινέα τ’ Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον

Θησέα τ’ Αἰγείδην ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν.

“Hom. Il.

1.262 foll.

30. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὰς Πανδάρῳ θυγατέρας ἔγραψεν ὁ Πολύγνωτος. Ὁμήρῳ δὲ ἐν Πηνελόπης λόγοις ἐστὶν ὡς ἀποθάνοιεν μὲν ταῖς παρθένοις οἱ γεινάμενοι κατὰ μήνιμα ἐκ θεῶν, αὐτὰς δὲ ὀρφανὰς τραφεῖναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἄλλων θεῶν, Ἥρας μὲν φρονεῖν τε ἱκανὰς εἶναι καὶ εἶδος καλὰς, μῆκος δὲ τοῦ σώματος Ἄρτεμιν φησιν αὐταῖς δωρήσασθαι, ἔργα δὲ γυναιξὶν ἀρμόζοντα ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς διδασθῆναι. [2] Ἀφροδίτην μὲν οὖν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀνέρχεσθαι, παρὰ Διὸς γάμον εὐδαίμονα ἐθέλουσαν ταῖς παισὶν εὖρασθαι, τὰς δὲ ἀπούσης ἐκείνης ἀρπασθῆναι τε ὑπὸ Ἀρπυιῶν καὶ Ἑρινύσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δοθῆναι. τάδε μὲν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὰς Ὁμήρῳ πεποιημένα, Πολύγνωτος δὲ κόρας τε ἐστεφανωμένας ἄνθεσι καὶ παιζούσας ἔγραψεν ἀστραγάλοις, ὄνομα δὲ αὐταῖς Καμειρῷ τε καὶ Κλυτίῃ. τὸν δὲ Πανδάρῳ Μιλήσιόν τε ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ὄντα ἵστω τις καὶ ἀδικήματος ἐς τὴν κλοπὴν Ταντάλῳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ μετασχόντα σοφίσματος. [3] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Πανδάρῳ τὰς κόρας Ἀντίλοχος τὸν μὲν ἕτερον ἐπὶ πέτρας τῶν ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἔχων ἐστίν, Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντίλοχον σκῆπτρῳ τε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀριστερὰν μασχάλην ἐρειδόμενος καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπανεχὼν ῥάβδον: Πρωτεσίλαος δὲ πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἀφορᾷ καθεζόμενος. καὶ ὁ Πρωτεσίλαος τοιοῦτον παρέχεται σχῆμα, ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Πάτροκλός ἐστιν ἐστηκώς. οὗτοι πλὴν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος οὐκ ἔχουσι γένεια οἱ ἄλλοι. [4] γέγραπται δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς Φῶκος τε ἡλικίαν μειράκιον καὶ Ἰασεὺς γενεῶν μὲν εὖ ἔχων, δακτύλιον δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς τοῦ Φώκου περιαιρούμενος χειρὸς ἐπὶ τοιῷδὲ ἐστὶ λόγῳ. Φώκῳ τῷ Αἰακοῦ διαβάντι ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἐς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Φωκίδα, καὶ ἀνθρώπων τε ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ταύτῃ κτήσασθαι καὶ αὐτῷ θέλοντι ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι, ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὁ Ἰασεὺς φιλίας, καὶ οἱ δῶρα ἄλλα τε ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐδωρήσατο καὶ λίθου σφραγίδα ἐνδεδεμένην χρυσῷ: Φώκῳ δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνακομισθέντι ἐς Αἴγιναν Πηλεὺς αὐτίκα ἐβούλευσε τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτήν. καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐς ἀνάμνησιν ἐκείνης τῆς φιλίας ὃ τε Ἰασεὺς τὴν σφραγιδά ἐστὶν ἐθέλων θεάσασθαι καὶ ὁ Φῶκος παρεῖς λαβεῖν αὐτήν. [5] ὑπὲρ τούτους Μαῖρά ἐστιν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ καθεζομένη: περὶ δὲ αὐτῆς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐν Νόστοις ἀπελθεῖν μὲν παρθένον ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτήν εἶναι Προΐτου τοῦ

Θερσάνδρου, τὸν δὲ εἶναι Σισύφου. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῆς Μαίρας Ἀκταίων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀρισταίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος μήτηρ, νεβρὸν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἐλάφου καὶ ἐπὶ δέρματι ἐλάφου καθεζόμενοι: κύων τε θηρευτικὴ παρακατάκειται σφισι βίου τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τρόπον.

[6] ἀποβλέψαντι δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς γραφῆς, ἔστιν ἐφεξῆς μετὰ τὸν Πάτροκλον οἷα ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς Ὀρφεὺς καθεζόμενος, ἐφάπτεται δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ κιθάρας, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ ἰτέας ψαύει: κλῶνές εἰσιν ὧν ψαύει, προσανακέκλιται δὲ τῷ δένδρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἄλσος ἔοικεν εἶναι τῆς Περσεφόνης, ἔνθα αἶγειροι καὶ ἰτέαι δόξῃ τῇ Ὀμήρου πεφύκασιν: Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, καὶ οὐτε ἡ ἐσθῆς οὐτε ἐπίθημά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ Θράκιον.

[7] τῷ δένδρῳ δὲ τῇ ἰτέᾳ κατὰ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος προσανακεκλιμένος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ Προμέδων. εἰσὶ μὲν δὴ οἱ νομίζουσι καθάπερ ἐς ποιήσιν ἐπεσῆχθαι τὸ Προμέδοντος ὄνομα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυγνώτου: τοῖς δὲ εἰρημένον ἐστὶν ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν γενέσθαι φιλήκοον μουσικὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ψῳδῇ μάλιστα τῇ Ὀρφέως. [8] κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς Σχεδῖος ὁ Φωκεὺς ἠγησάμενος ἐς Τροίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Πελίας ἐστὶν ἐν θρόνῳ καθεζόμενος, τὰ γένεια ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πολίος, ἐνορᾷ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀρφέα: ὁ δὲ Σχεδῖος ἐγχειρίδιόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἄγρωστίν ἐστιν ἐστεφανωμένος. Θαμύριδι δὲ ἐγγὺς καθεζομένῳ τοῦ Πελίου διεφθαρμένοι αἱ ὄψεις καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐς ἅπαν σχῆμά ἐστι καὶ ἡ κόμη πολλὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πολλὴ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γενείοις: λύρα δὲ ἔρριπται πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ, κατεαγότες αὐτῆς οἱ πῆχεις καὶ αἱ χορδαὶ κατερρωγυῖαι. [9] ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεζόμενος Μαρσύας, καὶ Ὀλυμπος παρ' αὐτὸν παιδός ἐστιν ὠραίου καὶ αὐλεῖν διδασκομένου σχῆμα ἔχων. οἱ δὲ ἐν Κελαιναῖς Φρύγες ἐθέλουσι μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς διέξεισιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνόν ποτε εἶναι τὸν αὐλητὴν, ἐθέλουσι δὲ καὶ εὖρημα εἶναι τοῦ Μαρσύου τὸ Μητρῶον αὐλημα: φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν Γαλατῶν ἀπώσαιντο στρατείαν τοῦ Μαρσύου σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕδατι τε ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ μέλει τῶν αὐλῶν ἀμύναντος.

31. εἰ δὲ ἀπίδοις πάλιν ἐς τὸ ἄνω τῆς γραφῆς, ἔστιν ἐφεξῆς τῷ Ἀκταίῳ Αἴας ὁ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ Παλαμήδης τε καὶ Θερσίτης κύβοις χρώμενοι παιδιᾷ, τοῦ Παλαμήδους τῷ εὐρήματι: Αἴας δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὀρᾷ παίζοντας. τούτῳ τῷ Αἴαντι τὸ χρῶμά ἐστιν οἷον ἂν ἀνδρὶ ναυαγῷ γένοιτο ἐπανθούσης τῷ χρωτὶ ἔτι τῆς ἄλμης. [2] ἐς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἤγαγεν ὁ Πολύγνωτος: ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Ὀδυσσέως δυσμένειαν ὁ τοῦ Ὀϊλέως Αἴας, ὅτι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν Ὀδυσσεὺς παρήνει καταλιθῶσαι τὸν Αἴαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματι: Παλαμήδην δὲ ἀποπνιγῆναι προελθόντα ἐπὶ ἰχθύων θήραν, Διομήδην δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι καὶ Ὀδυσσέα ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν ἔπεσιν οἶδα τοῖς Κυπρίοις. [3] Μελεάγρος δὲ ὁ Οἰνέως ἀνωτέρω μὲν ἢ ὁ τοῦ Ὀϊλέως Αἴας ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ἔοικε δὲ ὀρᾶν ἐς τὸν Αἴαντα. τούτοις πλὴν τῷ Παλαμήδει γένειά ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τὴν τελευτὴν Ὀμήρῳ μὲν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα ὡς Ἑρινὺς καταρῶν ἀκούσαι τῶν Ἀλθαίας καὶ ἀποθάνοι κατὰ ταύτην ὁ Μελεάγρος τὴν αἰτίαν, αἱ δὲ Ὅοιαι τε καλοῦμεναι καὶ ἡ Μινυὰς ὠμολογήκασιν ἀλλήλαις: Ἀπόλλωνα γὰρ δὴ αὐταὶ φασιν αἱ ποιήσεις ἀμῦναι Κούρησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ

ἀποθανεῖν Μελέαγρον ὑπὸ Απόλλωνος. [4] τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δαλῷ λόγον, ὡς δοθείη μὲν ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν τῇ Ἀλθαίᾳ, Μελεάγρῳ δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔδει τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι πρὶν ἢ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀφανισθῆναι τὸν δαλὸν καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ καταπρήσειεν αὐτὸν ἢ Ἀλθαία, τοῦτον τὸν λόγον Φρύνιχος ὁ Πολυφράδμονος πρῶτος ἐν δράματι ἔδειξε Πλευρωνίαις: “κρυερὸν γὰρ οὐκ

ἦλυξεν μόρον, ὥκεῖα δὲ νιν φλόξ κατεδαίσατο,
δαλοῦ περθομένου ματρὸς ὑπ’ αἰνᾶς κακομηχάνου.

“Polyphradmon, Pleuronian Women, unknown location. οὐ μὴν φαίνεται γε ὁ Φρύνιχος προαγαγὼν τὸν λόγον ἐς πλεον ὡς εὔρημα ἂν τις οἰκεῖον, προσασάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνον ἅτε ἐς ἅπαν ἤδη διαβεβοημένου τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. [5] ἐν δὲ τοῖς κάτω τῆς γραφῆς μετὰ τὸν Θρᾷκά εἰσι Θάμυριν Ἔκτωρ μὲν καθεζόμενος — ἀμφοτέρας ἔχει τὰς χεῖρας περὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν γόνυ, ἀνιωμένου σχῆμα ἐμφαίνων — , μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Μέμνων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πέτρα καθεζόμενος καὶ Σαρπηδὼν συνεχῆς τῷ Μέμνωνι: ἐπικέκλιται δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας ὁ Σαρπηδὼν, ἢ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Μέμνωνος ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμῳ τοῦ Σαρπηδόνοιο κεῖται.

[6] γένεια μὲν πᾶσιν ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῦ Μέμνονος τῇ χλαμύδι καὶ ὄρνιθές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι: Μεμνονίδες ταῖς ὄρνισιν ἔστιν ὄνομα, κατὰ δὲ ἔτος οἱ Ἑλλησπόντιοί φασιν αὐτὰς ἐν εἰρημέναις ἡμέραις ἰέναι τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέμνονος τὸν τάφον, καὶ ὅποσον τοῦ μνήματος δένδρων ἔστιν ἢ πῶας ψιλόν, τοῦτο καὶ σαίρουνσι αἱ ὄρνιθες καὶ ὑγροῖς τοῖς πτεροῖς τοῦ Αἰσῆπου τῷ ὕδατι ραίνουσι. [7] παρὰ δὲ τῷ Μέμνονι καὶ παῖς Αἰθίοψ πεποιήται γυμνός, ὅτι ὁ Μέμνων βασιλεὺς ἦν τοῦ Αἰθιόπων γένους. ἀφίκετο μέντοι ἐς Ἴλιον οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίας ἀλλὰ ἐκ Σούσων τῶν Περσικῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπου ποταμοῦ, τὰ ἔθνη πάντα ὅσα ᾤκει μεταξὺ ὑποχείρια πεποιημένοι: Φρύγες δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔτι ἀποφαίνουσι δι' ἧς τὴν στρατιάν ἤγαγε τὰ ἐπίτομα ἐκλεγόμενος τῆς χώρας: τέμνεται δὲ διὰ τῶν μονῶν ἡ ὁδός. [8] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα τε καὶ Μέμνονα, ἔστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πάρις οὐκ ἔχων πῶ γένεια: κροτεῖ δὲ ταῖς χερσίν, οἷος ἂν γένοιτο ἀνδρὸς ἀγροίκου κρότος: εοικέναι τὸν Πάριν φήσεις τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν χειρῶν Πενθεσίλειαν παρ' αὐτὸν καλοῦντι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Πενθεσίλεια ὁρῶσα ἐς τὸν Πάριν, τοῦ προσώπου δὲ εοικε τῷ νεύματι ὑπερορᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς τίθεσθαι λόγῳ: τὸ δὲ σχῆμά ἐστι τῇ Πενθεσιλείᾳ παρθένος τόξον ἔχουσα τοῖς Σκυθικοῖς ἐμφερὲς καὶ παρδάλεως δέρμα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων.

[9] αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Πενθεσίλειαν φέρουσαι μὲν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἐν κατεαγόνισιν ὀστράκοις, πεποιήται δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔτι ὥραία τὸ εἶδος, ἡ δὲ ἥδη τῆς ἡλικίας προήκουσα: ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ ἔστιν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέραις εἶναι σφᾶς τῶν οὐ μεμνημένων γυναικῶν. [10] ἀνωτέρῳ τούτων ἔστιν ἡ Λυκάονος Καλλιστὼ καὶ Νομία τε καὶ ἡ Νηλέως Πηρώ: ταύτης ἔδνα τῶν γάμων βοῦς ὁ Νηλεὺς ἦται τὰς Ἰφίκλου. τῇ Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν στρωμνῆς ἔστιν αὐτῇ δέρμα ἄρκτου, τοὺς πόδας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Νομίας γόνασιν ἔχει κειμένους. ἐδήλωσε δὲ μοι τὰ πρότερα τοῦ λόγου φάναι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας Νομίαν εἶναι φασὶν ἐπιχώριον νύμφην: τὰς νύμφας δὲ εἶναι πολὺν μὲν τινα ἀριθμὸν βιούσας ἐτῶν, οὐ μέντοι παράπαν γε ἀπηλλαγμένας θανάτου, ποιητῶν ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὰς λόγος.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καλλιστὼ καὶ ὅσαι σὺν ἐκείνῃ γυναῖκες, κρημνοῦ τε σχῆμά ἐστι καὶ ὁ Αἰόλου Σίσυφος ἀνῶσαι πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν βιαζόμενος τὴν πέτραν. [11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Πίθος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ ἔτι παῖς, καὶ γυναῖκες, νέα μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ πέτρᾳ, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτην εοικυῖα ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν: οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι φέρουσιν ὕδωρ, τῇ δὲ γρὰ κατεᾶχθαι τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰκάσεις: ὅσον δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐκχέουσά ἐστιν αὐθις ἐς τὸν Πίθον. ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτους τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἑλευσίνι ἐν οὐδενὶ θεμένων λόγῳ: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἑλευσινίαν πάντων ὁπόσα ἐς εὐσέβειαν ἤκει τοσοῦτῳ ἦγον ἐντιμότερον ὅσῳ καὶ θεοὺς ἐπίπροσθεν ἡρώων. [12] ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Πίθῳ Τάνταλος καὶ ἄλλα ἔχων ἔστιν ἀλγεῖνᾶ ὁπόσα Ὀμηρὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρόσεστιν οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπηρτημένου λίθου δεῖμα. Πολύγνωτος μὲν δηλὸς ἔστιν ἐπακολουθήσας τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ λόγῳ: Ἀρχιλόχος δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ἐδιδάχθη παρὰ ἄλλων τὰ ἐς τὸν λίθον εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ποίησιν ἐσηνέγατο.

τοσαύτη μὲν πλῆθος καὶ εὐπρεπείας ἐς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἤκουσα ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ γραφή:

32. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θέατρον ἔχεται θέας ἄξιον, ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου * * Διονύσου δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα Κνιδίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα. στάδιον δὲ σφισιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως τοῦτό ἐστιν: ἐπεποιήτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ὅποια περὶ τὸν Παρνασσόν εἰσιν αἱ πολλαί, ἄχρις Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρώδης λίθῳ τῷ Πεντελῆσιν αὐτὸ μετεκόσμησεν.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀνήκοντα ἐς συγγραφὴν τοσαῦτά τε καὶ τοιαῦτα κατ' ἐμὲ ἦν τὰ δὲ λειπόμενα ἐν Δελφοῖς:

[2] ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, σταδίοις μὲν ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἀπωτέρω Δελφῶν ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, καὶ ῥᾶων εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἡμίονοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἐστὶν ἄνοδος τὸ Κωρύκιον. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄντρῳ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ νύμφης Κωρυκίας ἐδήλωσα ὀλίγον τι ἔμπροσθεν: σπηλαίων δὲ ὧν εἶδον θέας ἄξιον μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο εἶναι μοι. [3] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τε αἰγιαλοῖς καὶ ἀγχιβαθεῖ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τούτων μὲν οὐδὲ ἀριθμὸν ἂν τις ἐθέλων ἐξεύροι, ὀνομαστότατα δὲ ἐν τε Ἑλλήσιν καὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ βαρβάρων ἐστί: Φρύγες οἱ ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Πηγκέλα, τὰ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ Ἀζάνων ἐς ταύτην ἀφικόμενοι τὴν χώραν, δεικνύουσιν ἄντρον καλούμενον Στεῦνος περιφερές τε καὶ ὕψους ἔχον εὐπρεπῶς: Μητρὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, καὶ ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς πεποιήται. [4] Θεμισώνιον δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ Λαοδικείας Φρύγες μὲν καὶ τοῦτο οἰκοῦσιν: ὅτε δὲ ὁ Γαλατῶν στρατὸς ἔφερε καὶ ἦγεν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἰωνίας τὰ ὄμορα, οἱ Θεμισωνεῖς φασιν αὐτοῖς Ἡρακλέα βοηθὸν καὶ Απόλλωνα γενέσθαι καὶ Ἑρμῆν: τούτους γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἄντρον τε δι' ὀνειράτων δεῖξαι καὶ ἀποκρυφθῆναι Θεμισωνεῦσι καὶ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶν ἐς τοῦτο προστάξαι τὸ ἄντρον. [5] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου σφίσιν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Απόλλωνος, Σπηλαῖται καλούμενοι: τὸ δὲ ἀπέχει ὅσον τριάκοντα τοῦ ἄστεως σταδίου, ὕδατος δὲ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῷ πηγαί: οὔτε δὲ ἔσδοτος ἐς αὐτὸ φέρει οὔτε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἢ αὐγὴ δίδεισι τοῦ ἡλίου, τοῦ τε ὀρόφου τὰ πλείονα ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ ἐδάφους γίνεται. [6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ληθαίῳ Μάγνησιν Αὐλαὶ καλούμενον χωρίον: ἐνταῦθα Απόλλωνι ἀνεῖται σπήλαιον, μεγέθους μὲν εἵνεκα οὐ πολλοῦ θαύματος, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Απόλλωνος τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παρέχεται παντί: καὶ αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν τε ἀποτόμων καὶ πετρῶν πηδῶσιν ὑψηλῶν καὶ ὑπερμήκη δένδρα ἐριπόντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν κατὰ τὰ στενώτατα τῶν ἀτραπῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄχθεσιν ὁδεύουσι. [7] τὸ δὲ ἄντρον τὸ Κωρύκιον μεγέθει τε ὑπερβάλλει τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ὁδεύσαι δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνευ λαμπτήρων: ὁ τε ὄροφος ἐς αὐτάρκες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀνέστηκε, καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ μὲν ἀνερχόμενον ἐκ πηγῶν, πλέον δὲ ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρόφου στάζει, ὥστε καὶ δῆλα ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει σταλαγμῶν τὰ ἵχνη διὰ παντός ἐστι τοῦ ἄντρον. ἱερὸν δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Κωρυκίων τε εἶναι Νυμφῶν καὶ Πανὸς μάλιστα ἡγνῆται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Κωρυκίου χαλεπὸν ἤδη καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ: τὰ δὲ νεφῶν τέ ἐστὶν ἀνωτέρω τὰ ἄκρα καὶ αἱ Θυιάδες ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Απόλλωνι μαίνονται. [8] Τιθορέα δὲ ἀπωτέρω

Δελφῶν ὀγδοήκοντα ὥς εἰκάσαι σταδίοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἰόντι τὴν διὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ· τὴν δὲ οὐ πάντα ὀρεινὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀχήμασιν ἐπιτῆδειον πλεόνων ἐτι ἐλέγετο εἶναι σταδίον. διάφορα ἐς τὸ ὄνομα οἶδα τῆς πόλεως Ἡροδότῳ τε εἰρημένα ἐν ἐπιστρατεία τοῦ Μήδου καὶ Βάκιδι ἐν χρησιμοῖς.

[9] Βάκις μὲν γε Τιθορέας τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἐκάλεσεν ἀνθρώπους· Ἡροδότου δὲ ὁ ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος ἐπιόντος φησὶ τοῦ βαρβάρου τοὺς ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντας ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὴν κορυφὴν, ὄνομα δὲ Νεῶνα μὲν τῇ πόλει, Τιθορέαν δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τῇ ἄκρᾳ. εἰσὶν οὖν ἀνὰ χρόνον πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τῇ ἀπάσῃ χώρᾳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ ἀνफीκίσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν, ἐκνικῆσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Τιθορέαν μὴδὲ ἐτι Νεῶνα ὀνομάζεσθαι· Τιθορέα δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τεθῆναί φασιν ἀπὸ Τιθορέας νύμφης, οἷαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον λόγῳ τῷ ποιητῶν ἐφύοντο ἀπὸ τε ἄλλων δένδρων καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν δρυῶν. [10] γενεᾷ δὲ ἡ μεγενέσθαι μᾶλλον πρότερον ἐς τὸ χεῖρον ἔτρεψεν ὁ δαίμων τὰ ἐν τῇ Τιθορέᾳ. θεάτρου μὲν δὴ καὶ κατασκευὴ καὶ περίβολός ἐστιν ἀγορᾶς ἀρχαιότερας· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει μάλιστα ἐς μνήμην ἦκοντα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἄλσος καὶ ναὸς τε καὶ ἄγαλμα· καὶ ἐς μνήμην Ἀντιόπης μνημῆα ἐστὶ καὶ Φώκου. καὶ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἔχοντα ἐς Θηβαίους ἐδήλωσε μὲν ὥς ἡ Ἀντιόπη δι' ὀργὴν ἐκ Διονύσου μανεῖη, καὶ κατὰ αἰτίαν ἦντινα ἐπεσπάσατο ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μήνιμα, ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐρασθέντι Φώκῳ [11] τῷ Ὀρνυτίωνος συνώκησε καὶ τέθαιπται ὁμοῦ τῷ Φώκῳ, καὶ Βάκιδι ὅποιά ἐστι τῷ χρησμολόγῳ κοινὰ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν τάφον καὶ ἐς τὸν Ζήθου τε ἐν Θήβαις καὶ Ἀμφίονος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς συγγραφὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ πολισμίῳ ὅτι μὴ τὰ εἰρημένα ἄλλο ἦν οὐδέν, ποταμὸς δὲ παρὰ τῶν Τιθορέων ῥέων τὴν πόλιν ποτόν σφισι γίνεται καταβαίνουσί τε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην καὶ ἀρυομένοις τὸ ὕδωρ· ὄνομα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Καχάλης. [12] σταδίοις δὲ ἀπωτέρω Τιθορέας ἐβδομήκοντα ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀρχαγέτας· τιμᾶς δὲ παρὰ αὐτῶν ἔχει Τιθορέων καὶ ἐπ' ἴσης παρὰ Φωκέων τῶν ἄλλων. ἐντὸς μὲν δὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τοῖς τε ἱκέταις καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλοι, τούτοις μὲν ἐνταῦθά εἰσι καὶ οἰκήσεις· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ὁ τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου πεποιημένον, γένεια ἔχον μέγεθος καὶ ὑπὲρ δύο πόδας· κλίνη δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ κεῖται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, θύειν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως νομίζουσι πλὴν αἰγῶν.

[13] τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίου περίβολος καὶ ἄδυτον ἱερὸν Ἰσίδος, ἀγιώτατον ὅποσα Ἑλληνες θεῶ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ πεποιήνται· οὔτε γὰρ περιοικεῖν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Τιθορεεῖς νομίζουσιν οὔτε ἔσοδος ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἄλλοις γε ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐστὶν οὓς ἂν αὕτῃ προτιμήσασα ἡ Ἰσις καλέσῃ σφᾶς δι' ἐνυπνίων. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου πόλεσι θεοὶ ποιοῦσιν οἱ καταχθόνιοι· οὓς γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὰ ἄδυτα εἰσέναι θελήσωσιν, ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ὄνειράτων ὄψεις.

[14] ἐν δὲ τῇ Τιθορέᾳ καὶ δις ἐκάστου τοῦ ἔτους τῇ Ἰσιδι πανηγυρὶν ἄγουσι, τὴν μὲν τῷ ἥρῳ, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινήν· τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον κατὰ ἑκατέραν τῶν πανηγύρεων, ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐσελθεῖν ἄδεια, τὸ ἄδυτον ἐκκαθαίρουσι τρόπον τινὰ ἀπόρρητον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἱερείων ἂ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐνεβλήθη πανηγύρεως, τούτων ὅποσα ἂν ὑπολειπόμενα εὗρωσι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ αἰεὶ χωρίον καὶ κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα· δύο τε ἀπὸ τοῦ

ἀδύτου στάδια ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ χωρίον. [15] ταῦτη μὲν δὴ τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ τοσαῦτα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δρῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ σκηναὶ οἱ καπηλεύοντες
 ποιοῦνται καλάμου τε καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης αὐτοσχεδίου: τῇ τελευταίᾳ δὲ τῶν
 τριῶν πανηγυρίζουσι πιπράσκοντες καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ κτήνη τὰ πάντα, ἔτι δὲ
 ἐσθῆτας καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν: [16] μετὰ δὲ μεσοῦσαν τὴν ἡμέραν τρέπονται
 πρὸς θυσίαν. θύουσι δὲ καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἐλάφους οἱ εὐδαιμονέστεροι, ὅσοι δὲ
 εἰσιν ἀποδέοντες πλούτῳ, καὶ χῆνας καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μελεαγρίδας: οἷσι δὲ ἐς
 τὴν θυσίαν οὐ νομίζουσιν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ χρῆσθαι καὶ αἰξίν. ὅσοις μὲν δὴ
 καθαγίσασιν τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἀποστεῖλαι * * * πεπονημένους ἀρχήν,
 καθελίζαι δεῖ σφᾶς τὰ ἱερεῖα λίνου τελαμῶσιν ἢ βύσσου: τρόπος δὲ τῆς
 σκευασίας ἐστὶν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος. [17] πομπεύει τε δὴ πάντα ὅσα ἔθυσαν καὶ οἱ μὲν
 ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐσπέμπουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ ἀδύτου καθαγίζουσι
 τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν αὐτοὶ σπουδῇ. καὶ φασὶ ποτε ἄνθρωπον οὐ τῶν
 καταβαινόντων ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον, βέβηλον δέ, ἡνίκα ἤρχετο ἢ πυρὰ καίεσθαι,
 τηνικαῦτα ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ὑπὸ πολυπραγμοσύνης τε καὶ τόλμης: καὶ οἱ
 πάντα ἀνάπλεα εἰδῶλων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀναστρέψαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν
 Τιθορέαν, διηγησάμενον δὲ ἃ ἐθεάσατο ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν. [18] εὐοκία δὲ
 ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα Φοίνικος, ἄγειν τῇ Ἰσιδι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν ἑορτήν, ὅτε αὐτὴν
 τὸν Ὅσιριν πενθεῖν λέγουσι: τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος ἀναβαίνειν σφίσιν
 ἄρχεται, καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοῖς ἐστὶν εἰρημένα ὥς τὰ αὖξοντα τὸν
 ποταμὸν καὶ ἄρδεν τὰς ἀρούρας ποιοῦντα δάκρυά ἐστι τῆς Ἰσιδος. τότε οὖν
 τὸν Ῥωμαῖον, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, ἄνδρα ἔφη χρήμασιν ἀναπείσαντα ἐς
 τὸ ἄδυτον καταπέμψαι τῆς Ἰσιδος τὸ ἐν Κόπτῳ: καὶ ὁ ἐσπεμφθεὶς ἀνέστρεψε
 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, διηγησάμενον δὲ ὅποσα ἐθεάσατο καὶ τοῦτον αὐτίκα
 ἐπυνθανόμην τελευτῆσαι. τὸ ἔπος οὖν ἀληθεύειν ἔοικε τὸ Ὀμήρου, σὺν
 οὐδενὶ αἰσιφ' τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐναργῶς ὁράσθαι. [19] τὸ δὲ
 ἔλαιον τὸ ἐν τῇ Τιθορέῳ ἀποδεῖ μὲν πλήθει τοῦ τε Ἀττικοῦ καὶ τοῦ
 Σικυωνίου, χροὰ δὲ ὑπερβάλλει καὶ ἡδονῇ τὸ Ἰβηρικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς νήσου
 τῆς Ἰστρίας: καὶ μύρα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παντοῖα ἐψοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ὥς βασιλέα
 ἄγουσιν.

33. ἐτέρα δὲ ἐκ Τιθορέας ὁδὸς ἢ ἐπὶ Λέδοντά ἐστιν: πόλις δὲ ποτε
 ἐνομίζετο καὶ αὕτη, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ἐξελελοίπεσαν οἱ Λεδόντιοι
 τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα οἱ οἰκοῦντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ Κηφισῷ:
 Λέδων δ' οὖν ὄνομα ταῖς οἰκῆσεσιν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Φωκέων
 σύλλογον κοινὸν τελεῖν ἡζιώνται καὶ οὗτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ οἱ Πανοπεῖς. τῶν
 δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῇ Κηφισῷ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἀνωτέρω
 σταδίοις Λέδοντος τῆς ἀρχαίας τὰ ἐρείπια, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς λαβεῖν
 τὴν πόλιν φασὶν αὐτόχθονος. [2] κακῶν δὲ ἀπέλαυσαν μὲν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἄλλαι
 πόλεις δι' ἀδικίαν ἐπιχωρίων ἀνδρῶν: ἐς τελέαν δὲ ἀπώλειαν ὤλισθον Ἴλιον
 μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐς Μενέλαον ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μιλήσιον δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὰς
 ἐπιθυμίας Ἑστιαίου πρόχειρον καὶ ἔρωτα ἄλλοτε μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἠδωνοῖς πόλεως,
 τότε δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου σύμβουλον, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἐπανάκειν ἐς Ἰωνίαν: καὶ δὴ καὶ
 Λεδοντίους Φιλόμηλος ἀσέβειαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δημοσίᾳ παρέσχε σφίσιν
 ἀναμάξασθαι. [3] Λίλαια δὲ ἡμέρας μὲν ὁδὸν καὶ ὥρα χειμῶνος ἀπέχει Δελφῶν

κατιοῦσι διὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, στάδια δὲ ἑτεκμαιρόμεθα ὀγδοήκοντα εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἑκατόν. τοὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀνγκίσθη αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις, ἀτύχημα ἐκ Μακεδονίας δεύτερον σφᾶς ἐμελλεν ἐπιλήψεσθαι. πολιορκηθέντες γὰρ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου παρέστησαν κατὰ συνθήκας, καὶ ἐσήχθη φρουρά σφισιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἕως οὗ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιχώριος — ὄνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Πάτρων — τοὺς τε ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν συνέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ κρατήσας τοὺς Μακεδόνας μάχῃ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπελθεῖν σφᾶς ὑποσπόνδους· Λιλαίεις δὲ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφούς.

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λιλαίᾳ θέατρον καὶ ἀγορά τε καὶ λουτρά· ἔστι δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος· ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ ἐργασίας τε τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Πεντελῆσι λιθοτομίας. Λίλαιαν δὲ τῶν καλουμένων Ναϊδῶν καὶ θυγατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νύμφης τὸ ὄνομα τεθῆναι τῇ πόλει φασί. [5] καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει τὰς πηγὰς· ἄνεσις δὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐ τὰ πάντα μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ἀλλ' ὥς τὰ πλείω συμβαίνειν μεσουσης μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας παρέχεται φωνὴν ἀνερχόμενος· εἰκάσαις ἂν μυκωμένῳ ταύρῳ τὸν ἦχον τοῦ ὕδατος. ἔχει δὲ ἡ Λίλαια καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας μετοπώρου καὶ ἐν θέρει καὶ ἥρος ἐπιτηδείως· τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μὴ ὁμοίως ἥπιον γίνεσθαι κωλύει τὸ ὄρος ὁ Παρνασσός. [6] Χαράδρα δὲ εἴκοσιν ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ὑψηλοῦ κειμένη κρημνοῦ, καὶ ὕδατος οἱ ἐνταῦθα σπανίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι, ποτὸν δὲ σφισι ποταμὸς ἐστὶ Χάραδρος κατερχομένοις ὅσον τρία ἐπ' αὐτὸν στάδια· ἐκδίδωσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Κηφισόν, καὶ μοι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθῆναι τοῦ Χαράδρου τῇ πόλει. Χαραδραίοις δὲ Ἑρώων καλουμένων εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ βωμοί, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν Διοσκούρων, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχωρίων εἶναι φασιν ἥρώων.

[7] γῇ δὲ διακεκριμένη ἀρίστη τῆς Φωκίδος ἐστὶν ἡ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν καὶ φυτεῦσαι καὶ σπεῖρειν καὶ ἀνεῖναι νομάς· καὶ γεωργεῖται ταῦτα μάλιστα τῆς χώρας, ὥστε καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ πόλιν μὲν Παραποταμίους μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν γεωργούντων πεποιθῆσθαι τὸ ἔπος, “οἳ τ' ἄρα παρὰ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν διὸν ἔναιον.

“Hom. II.

2.522 [8] τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διάφορα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἡροδότου συγγραφῇ, διάφορα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς Πυθικαῖς μνημονεύουσιν· Ἀμφικτύονες γὰρ Πύθια ἐτίθεσαν πρῶτον, καὶ Αἰχμέας Παραποτάμιος πυγμὴν ἐνίκησεν ἐν παισίν· ὡσαύτως δὲ Ἡρόδοτος καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐνέπρησε, καὶ Παραποταμίους κατεῖλοχεν ἐν αὐταῖς πόλιν. οὐ μέντοι οἱ Παραποτάμιοί γε ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἀνγκίσθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατενεμήθησαν ὑπὸ τε ἀσθενείας καὶ σπάνει χρημάτων.

Παραποταμίῳ μὲν δὴ οὔτε ἐρείπια ἔτι ἦν οὔτε ἔνθα τῆς χώρας ὤκισθη ἡ πόλις μνημονεύουσιν· [9] ὁδὸς δὲ ἡ ἐς Ἀμφίκλειαν σταδίων ἐκ Λιλαίας ἐστὶν ἐξήκοντα. ταύτην τὴν Ἀμφίκλειαν ἐλυμήναντο οἱ τε ἐπιχώριοι τῷ ὀνόματι, καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μὲν Ἀμφίκλειαν ἐκάλεσεν ἐπόμενος τῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων, Ἀμφικτύονες δὲ δόγμα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πόλεων ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν

ἐξενεγκόντες ὄνομα ἔθεντο αὐτῇ Ἀμφίκλειαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι τοιαύδε ἐπ' αὐτῇ λέγουσι: δυνάστην ἄνδρα ἐπιβουλὴν ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτεύσαντα ἐς νήπιον παῖδα καταθέσθαι τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἀγγεῖον, καὶ ἀποκρύψαι τῆς χώρας ἔνθα οἱ ἄδειαν ἔσσεσθαι πλείστην ἡπίστατο. λύκον μὲν δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ παιδί, δράκοντα δὲ ἰσχυρὰν ἔχειν τὴν φρουρὰν ἐσπειραμένον περὶ τὸ ἀγγεῖον. [10] ὥς δὲ ὁ πατήρ ἦλθε τοῦ παιδός, τὸν δράκοντα ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ παιδί ἐλπίζων ἀφήσιν τὸ ἀκόντιον, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ δράκοντι τὸν παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε: διδάχθεις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμαίνοντων ὥς εὐεργέτην καὶ φύλακα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεκτονῶς εἶη, πυρὰν τῷ δράκοντι καὶ τῷ παιδί ἐποίησεν ἐν κοινῷ. τό τε δὴ χωρίον εἰκέναι καὶ ἐς τότε καιομένη πυρὰ φασὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου τὴν πόλιν ἐθέλουσιν Ὀφιτεῖαν ὀνομασθῆναι. [11] ἥ μάλιστα ἄξιον Διονύσῳ δρῶσιν ὄργια, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον οὐδὲ ἐν φανερῷ σφισιν ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔστι. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφικλειέων μάντιν τέ σφισι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καὶ βοηθὸν νόσων καθεστηκέναι: τὰ μὲν δὴ νοσήματα αὐτοῖς Ἀμφικλειεῦσι καὶ τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἰᾶται δι' ὀνειράτων, πρόμαντις δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐστὶ, χρῶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος. [12] Ἀμφικλείας δὲ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις πεντεκαίδεκά ἐστι Τιθρώνιον ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη: παρέχεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην. ἐκ Τιθρωνίου δὲ εἴκοσιν ἐς Δρυμαίαν στάδιοι: καθ' ὃ τι δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἐς Δρυμαίαν ἐξ Ἀμφικλείας ἡ εὐθεῖα περὶ τὸν Κηφισὸν συμμίσγουσιν, ἔστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Τιθρωνεῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλσος τε καὶ βωμοί. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ναός: ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν.

ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀμφικλείας ἡ Δρυμαία σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα ἀποτραπέντι ἐς ἀριστερά * * * κατὰ Ἡροδότου τοὺς λόγους, Ναυβολεῖς δὲ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα: καὶ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι σφίσι Φώκου παῖδά φασὶ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ. Δήμητρος δὲ Θεσμοφόρου Δρυμαίοις ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου πεποιήται, καὶ αὐτῇ Θεσμοφορία ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον.

34. Ἐλάτεια δὲ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι μεγίστη πόλεων ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ γε τοὺς Δελφούς: κεῖται δὲ κατὰ Ἀμφίκλειαν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁδός ἐστιν ἐξ Ἀμφικλείας σταδίων, πεδιάς ἡ πολλὴ καὶ αὖθις οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνάντης ἡ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ Ἐλατέων ἄστεως. ρεῖ δὲ ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι ὁ Κηφισός: αἱ δὲ ὠτίδες καλούμεναι παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν νέμονται μάλιστα ὀρνίθων.

[2] Ἐλατεῦσι δὲ ἐξεγένετο μὲν Κάσσανδρον καὶ τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀπώσασθαι στρατιάν, ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ταξίλου Μιθριδάτη στρατηγούντος τὸν πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐκφυγεῖν: ἀντὶ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου Ῥωμαῖοι δεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἀτελῇ νέμεσθαι τὴν χώραν. ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ξενικοῦ γένους, καὶ Ἀρκάδες φασὶν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον: Ἐλατον γὰρ τὸν Ἀρκάδος, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Φλεγυαί τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐστρατεύσαντο, ἀμύναι τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ὁμοῦ τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτὸν καταμείναντα Ἐλατείας οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι. [3] ἐν δὲ ταῖς Φωκέων πόλεσιν ἃς ὁ Μῆδος ἐνέπρησεν, ἀριθμῆσαι καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν ἔστιν ἐν ταύταις. συμφοραὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν πρὸς Φωκέας τοὺς ἄλλους γεγόνασιν σφισιν ἐν κοινῷ, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς Ἐλατεῦσιν ἐκ Μακεδόνων παρεσκεύασεν ὁ δαίμων. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν Κασσάνδρου πολεμήσαντος Ὀλυμπιόδωρος κατέστη μάλιστα αἴτιος ἄπρακτον τοῖς

Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι πολιορκίαν: Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου τόν τε ἐν Ἑλατεῖα δῆμον πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον δέους ἤγαγε καὶ ὑπηγάγετο ἅμα τοὺς δυνατωτέρους δωρεᾷ. [4] Τίτος μὲν δὴ ὁ ἄρχων ὁ Ῥωμαίων — τὸ γὰρ δὴ Ἑλληνικὸν ἅπαν ἐλευθερώσων ἀπέσταλτο ἐκ Ῥώμης — πολιτείαν τε Ἑλατεῦσιν ἀποδώσειν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο σφισιν ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφίστασθαι: οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγνωμοσύνης ὁ δῆμος ἢ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς Φίλιππῳ τε ἦσαν πιστοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου πολιορκία παρέστησαν. χρόνῳ δὲ οἱ Ἑλατεῖς ὕστερον Ταξίλου τε Μιθριδάτῃ στρατηγοῦντος καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου βαρβάρων ἀντέσχον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τῷ ἔργῳ δέδοται σφισιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. [5] τὸ δὲ Κοστοβώκων τε τῶν ληστικῶν τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιδραμὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλάτειαν: ἔνθα δὴ ἀνὴρ Μνησιβούλος λόχον τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν συνέστησε καὶ καταφονεύσας πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. οὗτος ὁ Μνησιβούλος δρόμου νίκας καὶ ἄλλας ἀνέιλετο καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι πέμπτῃ πρὸς ταῖς τριάκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίαις σταδίου καὶ τοῦ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι διαύλου: ἐν Ἑλατεῖᾳ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ δρομέως Μνησιβούλου χαλκοὺς ἔστηκεν ἀνδριάς. [6] ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ αὕτῃ τέ ἐστι θέας ἀξία καὶ ὁ Ἑλατος ἐπειργασμένος στήλῃ: σαφῶς δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε τιμῶντες οἷα οἰκιστὴν εἴτε καὶ μνήματος ἐπίθημα ἐποιήσαντο τὴν στήλῃν. τῷ δὲ Ἀσκληπιῷ ναὸς ὠκοδόμηται καὶ ἄγαλμα γένεια ἔχον ἐστί: τοῖς ἐργασασμένοις τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀνόματα μὲν Τιμοκλῆς καὶ Τιμαρχίδης, γένους δὲ εἰσι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ. ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι δὲ τῷ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς πόλεως θέατρον τέ ἐστι καὶ χαλκοῦν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον: ταύτην τὴν θεὸν λέγουσιν ἀμύναι σφισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Ταξίλῳ βαρβάρους. [7] Ἑλατείας δὲ ὅσον σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀφέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κραναίας ἱερὸν: ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀναντεστέρα ὥς ἀνιᾶν τὸ μηδὲν καὶ λεληθέναι μᾶλλον αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναντες. λόφος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι τὰ πλεῖω μὲν ἀπότομος, οὐ μέντοι ἄγαν ἢ μεγέθους ἔχων ἐστὶν ἢ ὕψους: ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται, καὶ στοαὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ οἰκῆσεις διὰ τῶν στοῶν, ἔνθα οἰκοῦσιν οἷς τὴν θεὸν θεραπεύειν καθέστηκε, καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ἱερωμένῳ.

[8] τὸν δὲ ἱερέα ἐκ παίδων αἰροῦνται τῶν ἀνήβων, πρόνοιαν ποιούμενοι πρότερον τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐξήκειν οἱ τὸν χρόνον πρὶν ἢ ἡβῆσαι: ἱερᾶται δὲ ἔτη συνεχῇ πέντε, ἐν οἷς τὴν τε ἄλλην δίαιταν ἔχει παρὰ τῇ θεῷ καὶ λουτρὰ αἰ ἀσάμινθαι κατὰ τρόπον εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀρχαῖον. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Πολυκλέους παῖδες, ἔστι δὲ ἐσκευασμένον ὥς ἐς μάχην: καὶ ἐπείργασται τῇ ἀσπίδι τῶν Ἀθήνησι μίμημα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς καλουμένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων Παρθένου.

35. ἐς Ἄβας δὲ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Ὑάμπολιν ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐξ Ἑλατείας ὀρεινὴν ὁδὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἑλατέων ἄστεως, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Ὀποῦντα λεωφόρος ἡ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ ἐς ταύτας φέρει τὰς πόλεις. ἰόντι οὖν ἐς Ὀποῦντα ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ ἐκτραπέντι οὐ πολὺ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰν ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐς Ἄβας. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀβαις ἐς γῆν τὴν Φωκίδα ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Ἀργους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀβαντος τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τὸν δὲ Λυγκέως τε καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας τῆς Δαναοῦ παῖδα εἶναι. Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὰς νενομίκασιν εἶναι τὰς Ἄβας ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ χρηστήριον καὶ αὐτόθι ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος. [2] θεῷ δὲ τῷ

ἐν Ἀβαίς οὐχ ὁμοίως Ῥωμαῖοι τε ἀπένειμαν τὰ ἐς τιμὴν καὶ ὁ Πέρσης· ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εὐσεβεῖα τῇ ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀβαίοις δεδώκασιν αὐτονόμους σφᾶς εἶναι, στρατιὰ δὲ ἡ μετὰ Ξέρξου κατέπρησε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀβαίς ἱερὸν. Ἑλλήνων δὲ τοῖς ἀντιστάσι τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰ κατακαυθέντα ἱερὰ μὴ ἀνιστάναι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸν πάντα ὑπολείπεσθαι χρόνον τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑπομνήματα· καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οἱ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ ναοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοις τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι ἡμῖκαντοί μένουσι. [3] τοιαύτην θεὰν καὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀβαίς ἱεροῦ τότε γε εἶναι δοκῶ, ἐς ὃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Φωκικῷ βιασθέντας μάχῃ Φωκέων ἄνδρας καὶ ἐς Ἀβας ἐκπεφευγότας αὐτοὺς τε οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἰκέτας καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, δεύτερον δὴ οὗτοι μετὰ Μῆδους, ἔδοσαν πυρὶ· εἰστίκει δ' οὖν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἰκοδομημάτων ἀσθενέστατον ὅποσα δὴ ἡ φλόξ ἐλυμήνατο, ἅτε ἐπὶ τῷ Μηδικῷ προλωβησαμένῳ πυρὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ τοῦ Βοιωτίου πυρὸς κατειργασμένον. [4] παρὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τὸν μέγαν ἐστὶν ἄλλος ναὸς, ἀποδέων ἐκείνου μέγεθος· βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀδριανὸς ἐποίησε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι· τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαιότερα καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν Ἀβαίων ἀνάθημα, χαλκοῦ δὲ εἵργασται καὶ ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ὀρθά, Ἀπόλλων καὶ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις. Ἀβαίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν θέατρον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγορά σφισι, κατασκευῆς ἀμφοτέρα ἀρχαῖαις. [5] ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ὀποῦντα εὐθεῖαν Ὑάμπολις τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου σε ἐκδέξεται. τῶν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ ὄνομα οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὁπόθεν ἐξαναστάντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν· Ὑαντες γὰρ οἱ ἐκ Θηβῶν Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν ἐκείνῳ φυγόντες στρατὸν ἀφίκοντο ἐνταῦθα. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαιότερα ὑπὸ τῶν

προσχώρων ἐκαλοῦντο Ὑάντων πόλις, χρόνῳ μέντοι ὕστερον Ὑάμπολιν ἐξενίκησεν ὀνομασθῆναι.

[6] ἅτε δὲ καὶ βασιλέως Ξέρξου καταπρήσαντος τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐθις Φιλίππου κατασκάψαντος, ὅμως τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα ἦν ἀγορᾶς τε ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆ καὶ βουλευτήριον, οἴκημα οὐ μέγα, καὶ θέατρον οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς στοὰν ᾠκοδομήσατο, καὶ ἐπώνυμος ἡ στοὰ τοῦ ἀναθέντος βασιλέως ἐστί. φρέαρ δὲ σφίσιν ἐστὶν ἓν· ἀπὸ τούτου μόνου καὶ πίνουσι καὶ λούονται, ἀπ' ἄλλου δὲ ἔχουσιν οὐδενὸς πλὴν γε δὴ ὥρα χειμῶνος τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. [7] σέβονται δὲ μάλιστα Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁποῖόν τί ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐδήλωσα· δις γὰρ καὶ οὐ πλεον ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύναι νομίζουσιν. ὅποσα δ' ἂν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἱερὰ ἐπονομάσωσιν εἶναι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἄνευ νόσου ταῦτα καὶ πιότερα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκτρέφεσθαι λέγουσιν. [8] ἐσβολὴ δὲ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας ἐς γῆν τὴν Φωκίδα οὐ μόνον ἡ εὐθεῖα ἐστὶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἡ διὰ τε Πανοπέως καὶ παρὰ τὴν Δαυλίδα καὶ ὁδὸν τὴν Σχιστὴν· φέρει δὲ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας καὶ ἑτέρα τραχεῖα τε ὁδὸς καὶ ὀρεινὴ τὰ πλεονα ἐς πόλιν Φωκέων Στῆριν· μῆκος δὲ εἴκοσι στάδιοι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα φασιν οὐ Φωκεῖς, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁμοῦ Πετεῶ τῷ Ὀρνέως ἀφικέσθαι διωχθέντι ὑπὸ Αἰγέως ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν· ὅτι δὲ τῷ Πετεῶ τὸ πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Στιρέων ἠκολούθησεν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν Στῆριν.

[9] Στιρίταις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ πετρώδους ἡ οἰκισις· σπανίζουσιν οὖν

κατὰ τοῦτο ὕδατος θέρους ὥρα· φρέατα γὰρ αὐτόθι οὔτε πολλὰ οὔτε ὕδωρ παρεχόμενά ἐστιν ἐπιτήδειον. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ λουτρά σφισι καὶ ὑποζυγίσι ποτὸν γίνεται, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ πότιμον ὅσον στάδια τέσσαρα ὑποκαταβαίνοντες λαμβάνουσιν ἐκ πηγῆς· ἡ δὲ ἐν πέτραις ἐστὶν ὀρωρυγμένη, καὶ ἀρύονται κατιόντες ἐς τὴν πηγὴν. [10] Δήμητρος δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Στιρίτιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν Στῖρι· πλίνθου μὲν τῆς ὤμης τὸ ἱερὸν, λίθου δὲ τοῦ Πεντελῆσι τὸ ἄγαλμα, δᾶδας ἡ θεὸς ἔχουσα. παρὰ δὲ αὐτῇ κατειλημμένον ταινίας ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον ἐστὶν ἄλλο ὁπόσα Δήμητρος ἐς τιμὴν.

36. ἐς δὲ Ἄμβροσσον στάδιοι περὶ ἐξήκοντά εἰσιν ἐκ Στίρεως· πεδιάς ἡ ὁδός, ὁρῶν ἐν μέσῳ πεδίον κείμενον. ἄμπελοι δὲ τὸ πολὺ εἰσι τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀμβροσσέων οὐ συνεχεῖς μὲν ὥσπερ αἱ ἄμπελοι, πεφύκασιν μέντοι καὶ αἱ θάμνοι· τὴν δὲ θάμνον ταύτην Ἴωνες μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν κόκκον, Γαλάται δὲ οἱ ὑπὲρ Φρυγίας φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ σφίσιν ὀνομάζουσιν ὕς. γίνεται δὲ αὕτη μέγεθος μὲν ἡ κόκκος κατὰ τὴν ράμνον καλουμένην, φύλλα δὲ μελάντερα μὲν καὶ μαλακώτερα ἢ ἡ σχίνος, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα ἐοικότα ἔχει τῇ σχίνῳ. [2] ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς καρπὸς ὁμοῖος τῷ καρπῷ τῆς στρύχνου, μέγεθος δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ ὄροβον. γίνεται δὲ τι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ τῆς κόκκου βραχὺ ζῶον· τοῦτο εἰ ἀφίκοιτο ἐς τὸν ἀέρα πεπανθέντος τοῦ καρποῦ, πέτεται τε αὐτίκα καὶ ἐοικὸς κώνωπι φαίνοιτο ἄν· νῦν δὲ πρότερον, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ζῶον κινηθῆναι, συλλέγουσι τῆς κόκκου τὸν καρπὸν, καὶ ἔστι τοῖς ἐρίοις ἡ βαφὴ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ζώου. [3] ἡ δὲ Ἀμβροσσοσ κεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Παρνασσόν, τὰ ἐπέκεινα δὲ ἡ Δελφοί· τεθῆναι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ ἡρώος φασιν Ἀμβρόσσου. Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Μακεδόνων καὶ Φιλίππου καθιστάμενοι πόλεμον περιέβαλον τῇ Ἀμβρόσσῳ διπλοῦν τεῖχος· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιχωρίου λίθου, χροῖαν μέλανος, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχυροῦ· κύκλος δὲ ἐκάτερος τοῦ τεύχους πλάτος μὲν ἀποδῶν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὀργυιάς, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἐς ἡμίσειάν τε καὶ δύο ὀργυιάς, ὅπου μὴ τὸ τεῖχος πεπόνηκε·

[4] διάστημα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου τῶν κύκλων ἐπὶ τὸν δευτέρον ἐστὶν ὀργυία· κατασκευὴ δὲ πύργων ἢ ἐπάλξεων ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς εὐπρέπειαν τεύχους, παρεῖται τὰ πάντα σφίσιν ἅτε τειχίζουσιν ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ αὐτίκα ἀμύνεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἀγορά τε Ἀμβροσσεῦσιν οὐ μεγάλη καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἐν αὐτῇ λίθου πεποιημένων κατεάγασιν οἱ πολλοί. [5] τραπέντι δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντίκυραν ἀνάντης τὰ πρῶτά ἐστιν ὁδός· ἀναβάντι δὲ ὅσον δύο στάδια ὁμαλές τε χωρίον καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Δικτυνναίας ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. ταύτην οἱ Ἀμβροσσεῖς ἄγουσι μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ· τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι ἐργασία τέ ἐστὶν Αἰγιναία καὶ μέλανος τοῦ λίθου πεποίηται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δικτυνναίας κατάντης ὁδὸς ἐς Ἀντίκυραν πᾶσά ἐστι. τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότερα ὄνομα εἶναι Κυπάρισσον τῇ πόλει φασί, καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν Φωκῆων καταλόγῳ τὸ ὄνομα θελῆσαι θέσθαι γε αὐτόν, ὅτι ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀντίκυρα· εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τὸν

Ἀντικυρέα κατὰ Ἡρακλέα ἡλικίαν.

[6] κεῖται μὲν δὴ ἡ πόλις κατὰ Μεδεῶνος τὰ ἐρείπια· ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἀρχομένης τῆς ἐς Φωκέας συγγραφῆς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀσεβῆσαι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀντικυρέας. Ἀντικυρέας δὲ ἐποίησε μὲν ἀναστάτους καὶ ὁ Ἀμύντου Φίλιππος, ἐποίησε δὲ

καὶ δεύτερα Ὅτιλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὅτι ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι καὶ οὗτοι Φίλιππου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος Μακεδόνων· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀμύνειν Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Ὅτιλιος ἀπέσταλτο ἐκ Ῥώμης. [7] τὰ δὲ ὄρη τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἀντίκυραν πετρῶδη τε ἄγαν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς φύεται μάλιστα ὁ ἑλλέβορος. ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέλας χωρεῖ τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἔστι γαστρί καθάρσιον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὁ λευκὸς δι' ἐμέτου καθαίρειν πέφυκε· τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τὸ ἐς τὴν κάθαρσιν ἢ τοῦ ἑλλεβόρου ρίζα ἐστίν. [8] Ἀντικυρεῦσι δὲ εἰσὶ μὲν ἀνδριάντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῖ, ἔστι δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνος οὐ μέγα ἱερὸν, λογάσιν ὠκοδομημένον λίθοις· κεκονιάται δὲ τὰ ἐντός. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ δελφίνι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ποδῶν· κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῷ μηρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ τρίαῖνά ἐστιν αὐτῷ. [9] τοῦ γυμνασίου δὲ ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ λουτρά σφισι πεποιήται, τούτου πέραν ἄλλο γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον· ἀνδριάς δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐν αὐτῷ χαλκοῦς· φησὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Ξενόδαμον παγκρατιαστὴν Ἀντικυρέα ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικὴν ἀνηρῆσθαι νίκην. εἰ δὲ ἀληθεύει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ δέκα καὶ διακοσίας φαίνονται ἂν τὸν κότινον ὁ Ξενόδαμος εἰληφώς· αὕτη δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἡλείων γράμμασι παρεῖται μόνῃ πασῶν ἢ Ὀλυμπιάς. [10] ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐν φρέατι ὕδατος πηγὴ· σκέπη δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου τῷ φρέατι ὄροφος τε καὶ ἀνέχοντες τὸν ὄροφον κίονες. ἔστι δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀνωτέρω τοῦ φρέατος λίθοις τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὠκοδομημένον μνημα· ταφῆναι δὲ φασιν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Ἰφίτου παῖδας, τὸν μὲν ἀνασωθέντα ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ, Σχεδίῳ δὲ ἐν μὲν γῇ τῇ Τρωάδι τὴν τελευταίην συμβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἀχθῆναι δὲ οἴκαδε καὶ τούτου τὰ ὅστα.

37. τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ δύο μάλιστα προελθόντι ἀπ' αὐτῆς σταδίου, πέτρα τέ ἐστιν ὑψηλὴ — μοῖρα ὄρους ἢ πέτρα — καὶ ἱερὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς πεποιημένον ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἢ Ἄρτεμις ἔργων τῶν Πραξιτέλους, δᾶδα ἔχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὤμων φαρέτραν, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν κύων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ· μέγεθος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγίστην γυναῖκα τὸ ἄγαλμα. [2] τῇ δὲ γῇ τῇ Φωκίδι ἐστὶν ὁμορος ἢ ὀνομάζεται μὲν ἀπὸ Βούλωνος ἀγαγόντος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀνδρός, συνωκίσθη δὲ ἐκ πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Δωρίδι. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Βούλιοι Φιλομήλου καὶ Φωκέων * * * σύλλογον τὸν κοινόν. ἐς δὲ τὴν Βούλιν ἐκ μὲν τῆς Βοιωτίας Θίσβης σταδίων ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐξ Ἀντικύρας δὲ τῆς Φωκέων δι' ἡπείρου μὲν καὶ εἰ ἀρχὴν ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδα· οὕτω δύσβατα ὄρη καὶ τραχέα τὰ μεταξὺ Ἀντικύρας τέ ἐστὶ καὶ Βούλιδος· ἐς δὲ τὸν λιμένα σταδίων ἐξ Ἀντικύρας ἐστὶν ἑκατόν, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος στάδια ὁδοῦ τῆς πεζῆς τὰ ἐς Βούλιν ἑπτὰ εἶναι μάλιστα εἰκάζομεν.

[3] κάτεισι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ταύτῃ χεῖμαρρος, ὃν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὀνομάζουσιν Ἡράκλειον. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τε ἢ Βούλις καὶ ἐν παράπλῳ περαιουμένοις ἐξ Ἀντικύρας ἐς Λέχαιον τὸ Κορινθίων· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐνταῦθα πλέον ἡμίσεις κόχλων ἐς βαφὴν πορφύρας εἰσὶν ἀλειεῖς. κατασκευὴ δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ Βούλιδι οὕτε ἢ ἄλλῃ θαύματος πολλοῦ καὶ ἱερὰ θεῶν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν Διονύσου· τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ξύλου μὲν ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα, ὅστις δὲ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας οὐχ οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα συμβαλέσθαι. θεῶν δὲ ὄντινα οἱ Βούλιοι σέβουσι μάλιστα, Μέγιστον μὲν ὀνομάζουσι, Διὸς δὲ κατὰ ἡμετέραν δόξαν

ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησις. καὶ πηγὴ Βουλίοις ἐστὶ καλουμένη Σαύνιον. [4] ἐς δὲ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἐξήκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Δελφῶν: καταβάντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἱππόδρομος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀγῶνα Πύθια ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα τὸν ἱππικόν. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Ταράξιππον ἐδήλωσέ μοι τὰ ἐς Ἥλείους τοῦ λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἱππόδρομος ἔοικε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τάχα μὲν που καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἱππευόντων τινὰ ἀνιᾶσαι, ἅτε ἀνθρώποις τοῦ δαίμονος ὁμοίως ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παντὶ καὶ ἀμείνω καὶ τὰ χεῖρω νέμοντος: οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ταραχὴν τοῖς ἵπποις ὁ ἱππόδρομος οὔτε κατὰ αἰτίαν ἥρωος οὔτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ πέφυκεν ἐργάζεσθαι προφάσει.

[5] τὸ δὲ πεδῖον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Κίρρας ψιλόν ἐστιν ἅπαν, καὶ φυτεύειν δένδρα οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἢ ἕκ τινος ἀρᾶς ἢ ἀχρεῖον τὴν γῆν ἐς δένδρων τροφήν εἰδότες. λέγεται δὲ ἐς τὴν Κίρραν * * * καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κίρρας τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τεθῆναι τῷ χωρίῳ φασίν. Ὅμηρος μέντοι Κρῖσαν ἔν τε Ἰλιάδι ὁμοίως καὶ ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνόματι τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ ἐν τῇ Κίρρᾳ ἄλλα τε ἡσέβησαν ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἀπέτεμον τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς χώρας. [6] πολεμεῖν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Κιρραῖους ἔδοξεν Ἀμφικτύοσι, καὶ Κλεισθένην τε Σικυωνίων τυραννοῦντα προεστήσαντο ἡγεμόνα εἶναι καὶ Σόλωνα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἐπηγάγοντο συμβουλευεῖν: χρωμένοις δὲ σφισιν ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀνεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία: "οὐ πρὶν τῆσδε πόλεως ἐρεῖψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,

πρὶν κεν ἐμῷ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης

κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον.

“ἔπεισεν οὖν ὁ Σόλων καθιερῶσαι τῷ θεῷ τὴν Κιρραῖαν, ἵνα δὴ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος γένηται γείτων ἡ θάλασσα. [7] εὐρέθη δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τῷ Σόλῳ σοφισμα ἐς τοὺς Κιρραῖους: τοῦ γὰρ Πλείστου τὸ ὕδωρ ῥέον διὰ ὀχετοῦ σφισιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπέστρεψεν ἀλλαχόσε ὁ Σόλων. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἔτι ἀντεῖχον ἕκ τε φρεάτων καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πίνοντες: ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἐλλεβόρου τὰς ρίζας ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὸν Πλείστον, ἐπειδὴ ἱκανῶς τοῦ φαρμάκου τὸ ὕδωρ ἦσθετο ἔχον, ἀπέστρεψεν αὐθις ἐς τὸν ὀχετόν. καὶ — ἐνεφορήσαντο γὰρ ἀνέδην οἱ Κιρραῖοι τοῦ ὕδατος — καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀπαύστου τῆς διαρροίας ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τὴν φρουράν, [8] Ἀμφικτύονες δὲ ὡς εἶλον τὴν πόλιν, ἐπράξαντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκας παρὰ Κιρραίων, καὶ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ἐστὶν ἡ Κίρρα. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ ἐς θέαν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ναόν τε καὶ ἀγάλματα μεγέθει μεγάλα καὶ ἐργασίας Ἀττικῆς. ἡ δὲ Ἀδράστεια ἱδρύται μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σφίσι, μεγέθει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδέουσα ἀγαλμάτων ἐστίν.

38. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἡ Λοκρῶν τῶν καλουμένων Ὀζολῶν προσεχῆς τῇ Φωκίδι ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Κίρραν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῶν Λοκρῶν τούτων διάφορα ἤκουσα, ὁμοίως δὲ ἅπαντα δηλώσω. Ὅρεσθεὶ τῷ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλεύοντι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κύων ἔτεκεν ἀντὶ σκύλακος ξύλον: κατορύξαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὅρεσθέως τὸ ξύλον ἅμα τῷ ἥρι φῦναι ἄμπελον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῶν ὄζων γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. [2] οἱ δὲ Νέσσον πορθμεύοντα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐήνῳ τρωθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτίκα γε ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἐκφυγεῖν νομίζουσι, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε σήπεσθαι τε ἄταφον καὶ ὁσμῆς τῷ ἐνταῦθα ἀέρι μεταδοῦναι δυσώδους. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν

λόγων καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, ὁ μὲν ποταμοῦ τινος ἄτοπον τὴν τε ἀτμίδα καὶ αὐτὸ φησιν εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἀσφόδελον φύεσθαι πολὺν καὶ ἀνθοῦντα * * ὑπὸ τῆς ὁσμῆς. [3] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν αὐτόχθονες, ἐσθῆτα δὲ οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοί πω ὑφαίνεσθαι σκέπην πρὸς τὸ ῥίγος θηρίων δέρματα ἐποιοῦντο ἀδέψητα, τὸ δασὺ τῶν δερμάτων ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ὑπὲρ εὐπρεπείας τρέποντες· ἐμελλεν οὖν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ταῖς βύρσαις καὶ ὁ χρῶς σφισιν ἔσεσθαι δυσώδης. [4] Δελφῶν δὲ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις εἴκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶν Ἀμφισσα μεγίστη καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη πόλις τῶν Λοκρῶν. ἐσποιοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν αἰσχύνῃ τῶν Ὀζολῶν τοῦ ὀνόματος· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔχει λόγον εἰκότα, ὅτε βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἀναστάτους ἐς τὸν Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν ἐποίησεν Αἰτωλοῦς, ἀποχωρῆσαι τοῦ δήμου τὸ πολὺ ἐς τὴν Ἀμφισσαν. τὸ μέντοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένους τοῦ Λοκρῶν εἰσι· τεθῆναι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀμφίσσης τῆς Μάκαρος τοῦ Αἰόλου φασὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀμφίσσης.

[5] κεκόσμηται δὲ ἡ πόλις κατασκευῇ τε τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἦκοντα ἐς μνήμην ἔστι μὲν μνῆμα Ἀμφίσσης, ἔστι δὲ Ἀνδραίμονος· σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ ταφῆναι λέγουσι καὶ Γόργην τὴν Οἰνέως συνοικήσασαν τῷ Ἀνδραίμονι. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, κομισθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Θόαντός φασιν αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ εἶναι λαφύρων τῶν ἐκ Τροίας· [6] οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμὲ γε ἔπειθον. ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τοῦ λόγου Σαμίους Ῥοῖκον Φιλαίου καὶ Θεόδωρον Τηλεκλέους εἶναι τοὺς εὐρόντας χαλκὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον τῆξαι· καὶ ἐχώνευσαν οὗτοι πρῶτοι. Θεοδώρου μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἔτι οἶδα ἐξευράν, ὅσα γε χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα· ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας πρὸς τὸ οἶκμα ἐρχομένῳ τὸ ἔχον τὰς γραφὰς λίθου θριγκὸς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Πρωτοθρονίης καλουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος· ἀγάλματα δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τοῦ θριγκοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰκὼν πρὸς τῷ πέρατι ἔστηκε, τέχνη τοῦ Ῥοίκου, Νύκτα δὲ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι καλοῦσι. [7] τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀμφίσσῃ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀρχαιότερον καὶ ἀργότερον τὴν τέχνην. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τελετὴν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς Ἀνάκτων καλουμένων παιδων· οἵτινες δὲ θεῶν εἰσιν οἱ Ἀνακτες παῖδες, οὐ κατὰ ταυτὰ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἶναι Διοσκούρους, οἱ δὲ Κούρητας, οἱ δὲ πλεόν τι ἐπίστασθαι νομίζοντες Καβεῖρους λέγουσι. [8] τούτων δὲ τῶν Λοκρῶν τοσαῖδε ἄλλαι πόλεις εἰσὶν· ἄνω μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀμφίσσης πρὸς ἡπειρον Μυονία σταδίοις ἀπωτέρω τριάκοντα Ἀμφίσσης· οὗτοι καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀναθέντες Μυᾶνες τὴν ἀσπίδα. κεῖται δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἐπὶ ὕψηλοῦ, καὶ σφισιν ἄλσος καὶ βωμὸς θεῶν Μειλιχίων ἐστί· νυκτερινὰ δὲ αἱ θυσίαι θεοῖς τοῖς Μειλιχίοις εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι τὰ κρέα αὐτόθι πρὶν ἢ ἥλιον ἐπισχεῖν νομίζουσι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν τέμενος καλούμενον Ποσειδώνιον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς Ποσειδῶνος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐς ἐμὲ οὐκ ἦν.

[9] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ὑπεροικοῦσιν Ἀμφίσσης· ἐπὶ θαλάσσης δὲ Οἰάνθεια καὶ ταύτῃ ὁμορουσά ἐστὶ Ναύπακτος. πλὴν δὲ Ἀμφίσσης ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν οἱ ἄλλοι Πατρέων ἄρχονται, βασιλέως σφίσι δόντος Αὐγούστου. ἐν Οἰανθείᾳ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὸν καὶ ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κυπαρίσσου τε ἀναμιξ καὶ τῆς πίτύος ἐστὶν ἄλσος καὶ ναὸς τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει· γραφαὶ δὲ

ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων ἐξίτηλοί τε ἦσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο ἐς θέαν αὐτῶν.

[10] κληθῆναι δὲ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἢ νύμφης τεκμαίρομαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ Ναυπάκτῳ γε οἶδα εἰρημένον ὡς Δωριεῖς οἱ ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀριστομάχου παισὶ τὰ πλοῖα αὐτόθι ἐποίησαντο, οἷς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐπεραιώθησαν· καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ φασί. τὰ δέ μοι Ναυπακτίων, ὡς τοῖς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστᾶσιν ὁμοῦ τῷ σεισμῷ τῷ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι Ἀθηναῖοι Ναύπακτον ἐνοικῆσαι σφισιν ἔδοσαν ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Λοκροὺς καὶ ὡς τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον πταίσματος τοῦ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐδίωξαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου, τάδε μὲν ἐπεξηλθέ μοι καὶ ἐς πλεον ἢ Μεσσηνία συγγραφὴ· ἐκλιπόντων δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τῶν Μεσσηνίων, οὕτως οἱ Λοκροὶ συνελέγχθησαν αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον. [11] τὰ δὲ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρὶ ἐσποιοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ Μιλησίῳ: Χάρων δὲ ὁ Πύθεώ φησιν αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι Ναυπάκτιον Καρκίνον. ἐπόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ δόξῃ: τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχει ἂν ἔπεσιν ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου πεπονημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας τεθῆναι σφισιν ὄνομα Ναυπάκτια; [12] ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ναὸς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεπονημένον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου: σχῆμα δὲ ἀκοντιζούσης παρέχεται καὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν εἴληφεν Αἰτωλή. Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ ἔχει μὲν ἐν σπηλαίῳ τιμάς: εὐχονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες μάλιστα αἱ χῆραι γάμον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ. [13] τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐρείπια ἦν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτὸ ἀνὴρ ιδιώτης Φαλύσιος. νοσήσαντι γάρ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέον τυφλῷ ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ πέμπει θεὸς Ἀνύτην τὴν ποιήσασαν τὰ ἔπη φέρουσαν σεσημασμένην δέλτον. τοῦτο ἐφάνη τῇ γυναικὶ ὅψις ὀνείρατος, ὕπαρ μέντοι ἦν αὐτίκα: καὶ εὗρέ τε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῆς σεσημασμένην δέλτον καὶ πλεύσασα ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελόντα τὴν σφραγίδα Φαλύσιον ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα. τῷ δὲ ἄλλως μὲν οὐ δυνατὰ ἐφαίνετο ἰδεῖν τὰ γράμματα ἔχοντι οὕτω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν: ἐλπίζων δὲ τι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χρηστὸν ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν σφραγίδα, καὶ ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν κηρὸν ὑγίης τε ἦν καὶ δίδωσι τῇ Ἀνύτῃ τὸ ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ γεγραμμένον, στατήρας δισχιλίους χρυσοῦ.

The Dual Text



The reconstructed Stoa of Attalos in Athens — the original being one of the city's highlights referred to by Pausanias in his first book.

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXT

Translated by W. H. S. Jones

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Pausanias' work, alternating between the original Greek and Jones' English translation.

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BOOK I.

Ἀττικά

BOOK I.

SUNIUM & LAURIUM

1. τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νήσους τὰς Κυκλάδας καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ λιμὴν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας. πλέοντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαύριόν τέ ἐστιν, ἔνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἦν ἀργύρου μέταλλα, καὶ νῆσος ἔρημος οὐ μεγάλη Πατρόκλου καλουμένη· τεῖχος γὰρ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο Πάτροκλος, ὃς τριήρεσιν ὑπέπλει ναύαρχος Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τιμωρεῖν ἔστειλεν Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτε σφίσιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου στρατιᾷ τε αὐτὸς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης κατεῖργεν.

[1.1] I. On the Greek mainland facing the Cyclades Islands and the Aegean Sea the Sunium promontory stands out from the Attic land. When you have rounded the promontory you see a harbor and a temple to Athena of Sunium on the peak of the promontory. Farther on is Laurium, where once the Athenians had silver mines, and a small uninhabited island called the Island of Patroclus. For a fortification was built on it and a palisade constructed by Patroclus, who was admiral in command of the Egyptian men-of-war sent by Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, to help the Athenians, when Antigonos, son of Demetrius, was ravaging their country, which he had invaded with an army, and at the same time was blockading them by sea with a fleet.

PEIRAEUS

[2] ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δέ — ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα —, τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν, καὶ Μενεσθέα φασὶν αὐτόθεν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τροίαν ἀναχθῆναι καὶ τούτου πρότερον Θησέα δώσοντα Μίνω δίκας τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἤρξε — τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετό οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ — τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο· καὶ νεῶς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἵκοι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. φασὶ γὰρ μεταμελῆσαι τῶν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες τὰ ὁστὰ κομίσαιεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες· φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ κατελθόντες καὶ γραφὴν ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναθέντες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος.

[1.2] The Peiraeus was a parish from early times, though it was not a port

before Themistocles became an archon of the Athenians. Their port was Phalerum, for at this place the sea comes nearest to Athens, and from here men say that Menestheus set sail with his fleet for Troy, and before him Theseus, when he went to give satisfaction to Minos for the death of Androgeos. But when Themistocles became archon, since he thought that the Peiraeus was more conveniently situated for mariners, and had three harbors as against one at Phalerum, he made it the Athenian port. Even up to my time there were docks there, and near the largest harbor is the grave of Themistocles. For it is said that the Athenians repented of their treatment of Themistocles, and that his relations took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia. And the children of Themistocles certainly returned and set up in the Parthenon a painting, on which is a portrait of Themistocles.

[3] θεάς δὲ ἄξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶ καὶ Διὸς τέμενος· χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ Νίκην, ἡ δὲ Ἀθηναῖα δόρυ. ἐνταῦθα Λεωσθένην, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἡγούμενος Μακεδόνας ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ αὖθις ἔξω Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ βιασάμενος ἐς Λάμιαν κατέκλεισε τὴν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Οἴτης, τοῦτον τὸν Λεωσθένην καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔγραψεν Ἀρκεσίλαος. ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς μακρᾶς, ἐνθα καθέστηκεν ἀγορὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης — καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπωτέρω τοῦ λιμένος ἐστὶν ἑτέρα —, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στοᾶς ὀπισθεν ἐστᾶσι Ζεὺς καὶ Δῆμος, Λεωχάρους ἔργον. πρὸς δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ Κόνων ὠκοδόμησεν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, τριήρεις Λακεδαιμονίων κατεργασάμενος περὶ Κνίδον τὴν ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ χερρονήσῳ. Κνίδιοι γὰρ τιμῶσιν Ἀφροδίτην μάλιστα, καὶ σφισιν ἐστὶν ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον Δωρίτιδος, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀκραίας, νεώτατον δὲ ἦν Κνιδίαν οἱ πολλοί, Κνίδιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν Εὐπλοίαν.

[1.3] The most noteworthy sight in the Peiraeus is a precinct of Athena and Zeus. Both their images are of bronze; Zeus holds a staff and a Victory, Athena a spear. Here is a portrait of Leosthenes and of his sons, painted by Arcesilaus. This Leosthenes at the head of the Athenians and the united Greeks defeated the Macedonians in Boeotia and again outside Thermopylae forced them into Lamia over against Oeta, and shut them up there. The portrait is in the long portico, where stands a market-place for those living near the sea – those farther away from the harbor have another – but behind the portico near the sea stand a Zeus and a Demos, the work of Leochares. And by the sea Conon built a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after he had crushed the Lacedaemonian warships off Cnidus in the Carian peninsula. For the Cnidians hold Aphrodite in very great honor, and they have sanctuaries of the goddess; the oldest is to her as Doritis (Bountiful), the next in age as Acraea (Of the Height), while the newest is to the Aphrodite called Cnidian by men generally, but Euploia (Fair Voyage) by the Cnidians themselves.

[4] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίοις ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμὴν καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἰρηταί μοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ

Δήμητρος ἱερὸν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Σκιράδος Ἀθηναῖς ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Διὸς ἀπωτέρω, βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων Ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων καὶ παιδῶν τῶν Θησέως καὶ Φαληροῦ: τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Φαληρὸν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεῦσαι μετὰ Ἰάσονός φασιν ἐς Κόλχους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἥρωος: Ἀνδρόγεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασι οἷς ἐστὶν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ ἐγγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι.

[1.4] The Athenians have also another harbor, at Munychia, with a temple of Artemis of Munychia, and yet another at Phalerum, as I have already stated, and near it is a sanctuary of Demeter. Here there is also a temple of Athena Sciras, and one of Zeus some distance away, and altars of the gods named Unknown, and of heroes, and of the children of Theseus and Phalerus; for this Phalerus is said by the Athenians to have sailed with Jason to Colchis. There is also an altar of Androgeos, son of Minos, though it is called that of Heros; those, however, who pay special attention to the study of their country's antiquities know that it belongs to Androgeos.

[5] ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἄκρα Κωλιάς: ἐς ταύτην φθαρέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ Μήδων κατήνεγκεν ὁ κλύδων τὰ ναυάγια. Κωλιάδος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί: δοκᾷ δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θεάς, ἃς καλοῦσι Γενναΐδας, εἶναι ταῖς ἐπὶ Κωλιάδι τὰς αὐτάς. — ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἥρας οὔτε θύρας ἔχων οὔτε ὄροφον: Μαρδόνιον φασιν αὐτὸν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν Γωβρύου. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν δὴ, καθὰ λέγουσιν, Ἀλκαμένους ἐστὶν ἔργον: οὐκ ἂν τοῦτό γε ὁ Μῆδος εἶη λελωβημένος.

[1.5] Twenty stades away is the Coliad promontory; on to it, when the Persian fleet was destroyed, the wrecks were carried down by the waves. There is here an image of the Coliad Aphrodite, with the goddesses Genetyllides (Goddesses of Birth), as they are called. And I am of opinion that the goddesses of the Phocaeans in Ionia, whom they call Gennaides, are the same as those at Colias. On the way from Phalerum to Athens there is a temple of Hera with neither doors nor roof. Men say that Mardonius, son of Gobryas, burnt it. But the image there to-day is, as report goes, the work of Alcamenes. So that this, at any rate, cannot have been damaged by the Persians.

2. ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνῆμα Ἀμαζόνος. ταύτην τὴν Ἀντιόπην Πίνδαρος μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἀρπασθῆναι, Τροιζηνίῳ δὲ Ἥγίᾳ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν πεποίηται: Ἡρακλέα Θεμίσκυραν πολιορκοῦντα τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ἐλεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι, Θησέως δὲ ἐρασθεῖσαν Ἀντιόπην — στρατεῦσαι γὰρ ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Θησέᾳ — παραδοῦναι τε τὸ χωρίον. τάδε μὲν Ἥγίας πεποίηκεν: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ φασιν, ἐπεὶ τε ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες, Ἀντιόπην μὲν ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας τοξευθῆναι, Μολπαδίαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως. καὶ μνῆμά ἐστι καὶ Μολπαδίας Ἀθηναίοις.

[2.1] II. On entering the city there is a monument to Antiope the Amazon. This Antiope, Pindar says, was carried off by Peirithous and Theseus, but Hegias of

Troezen gives the following account of her. Heracles was besieging Themiscyra on the Thermodon, but could not take it, but Antiope, falling in love with Theseus, who was aiding Heracles in his campaign, surrendered the stronghold. Such is the account of Hegias. But the Athenians assert that when the Amazons came, Antiope was shot by Molpadia, while Molpadia was killed by Theseus. To Molpadia also there is a monument among the Athenians.

[2] ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστίν, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδω ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε: τὰ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οἰκοδομηθέντα τὴν Μήδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθηρέθη τῶν τριάκοντα ὀνομαζομένων. εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι Μενάνδρου τοῦ Διοπείθους καὶ μνῆμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν: τέθαιπαι δὲ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐλθὼν Ἀρχέλαον, ὁ δὲ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπος — πολλοῖς γάρ ἐστιν εἰρημένος — ἐχέτω καθὰ λέγουσιν.

[2.2] As you go up from the Peiraeus you see the ruins of the walls which Conon restored after the naval battle off Cnidus. For those built by Themistocles after the retreat of the Persians were destroyed during the rule of those named the Thirty. Along the road are very famous graves, that of Menander, son of Diopeithes, and a cenotaph of Euripides. He him self went to King Archelaus and lies buried in Macedonia; as to the manner of his death (many have described it), let it be as they say.

[3] συνῆσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ποιηταὶ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι καὶ Πολυκράτει Σάμου τυραννοῦντι Ἀνακρέων παρῆν καὶ ἐς Συρακούσας πρὸς Ἱέρωνα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν: Διονυσίῳ δέ, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Φιλόξενος παρῆν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι Ἀνταγόρας Ῥόδιος καὶ Σολεὺς Ἀρατος. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἢ συγγενέσθαι βασιλεῦσιν ἠτύχησαν ἢ καὶ ἐκόντες ὠλιγόωρησαν, ὁ μὲν ἀγροικία καὶ ὄκνῳ πλάνης, Ὅμηρος δὲ ἀποδημήσας ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἐς χρήματα παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑστέραν θέμενος τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἀλκίῳ παρεῖναι Δημόδοκον καὶ ὡς Ἀγαμέμνων καταλείπει τινὰ παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ ποιητήν. — ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρῳ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθημα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα: ὄντινα μὲν, οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν.

[2.3] So even in his time poets lived at the courts of kings, as earlier still Anacreon consorted with Polycrates, despot of Samos, and Aeschylus and Simonides journeyed to Hiero at Syracuse. Dionysius, afterwards despot in Sicily had Philoxenus at his court, and Antigonos, ruler of Macedonia, had Antagoras of Rhodes and Aratus of Soli. But Hesiod and Homer either failed to win the society of kings or else purposely despised it, Hesiod through boorishness and reluctance to travel, while Homer, having gone very far abroad, depreciated the help afforded by despots in the acquisition of wealth in comparison with his reputation among ordinary men. And yet Homer, too, in his poem makes Demodocus live at the court of Alcinous, and Agamemnon

leave a poet with his wife. Not far from the gates is a grave, on which is mounted a soldier standing by a horse. Who it is I do not know, but both horse and soldier were carved by Praxiteles.

ATHENS

[4] ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστὶ τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. καὶ πλησίον ναὸς ἐστὶ Δήμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δᾶδα ἔχων Ἰακχος· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶν ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἵππου, δόρυ ἀφιεὶς ἐπὶ γίγαντα Πολυβώτην, ἐς ὃν Κώοις ὁ μῦθος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἔχει τῆς Χελώνης· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἄλλω δίδωσι καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶνι. στοαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαῖ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν ὧν τις λόγος ἐς δόξαν.

[2.4] On entering the city there is a building for the preparation of the processions, which are held in some cases every year, in others at longer intervals. Hard by is a temple of Demeter, with images of the goddess herself and of her daughter, and of Iacchus holding a torch. On the wall, in Attic characters, is written that they are works of Praxiteles. Not far from the temple is Poseidon on horseback, hurling a spear against the giant Polybotes, concerning whom is prevalent among the Coans the story about the promontory of Chelone. But the inscription of our time assigns the statue to another, and not to Poseidon. From the gate to the Cerameicus there are porticoes, and in front of them brazen statues of such as had some title to fame, both men and women.

[5] ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἑρμοῦ καλούμενον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλτυίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀνείτο Διονύσω. Διόνυσον δὲ τοῦτον καλοῦσι Μελπόμενον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ἐφ' ὁποῖω περ Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγέτην. ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγαλμα Παιωνίας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου, καὶ δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον Ἄκρατος· πρόσωπόν ἐστὶν οἱ μόνον ἐνφοδομημένον τοίχῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενός ἐστιν οἴκημα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ, βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύων ἄλλους τε θεοὺς ἐστιῶν καὶ Διόνυσον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Πήγασός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερέυς, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν θεὸν ἐσήγαγε· συνεπελάβετο δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον ἀναμνήσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰκαρίου ποτὲ ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[2.5] One of the porticoes contains shrines of gods, and a gymnasium called that of Hermes. In it is the house of Pulytion, at which it is said that a mystic rite was performed by the most notable Athenians, parodying the Eleusinian mysteries. But in my time it was devoted to the worship of Dionysus. This Dionysus they call Melpomenus (Minstrel), on the same principle as they call

Apollo Musegetes (Leader of the Muses). Here there are images of Athena Paeonia (Healer), of Zeus, of Mnemosyne (Memory) and of the Muses, an Apollo, the votive offering and work of Eubulides, and Acratus, a daemon attendant upon Apollo; it is only a face of him worked into the wall. After the precinct of Apollo is a building that contains earthen ware images, Amphictyon, king of Athens, feasting Dionysus and other gods. Here also is Pegasus of Eleutherae, who introduced the god to the Athenians. Herein he was helped by the oracle at Delphi, which called to mind that the god once dwelt in Athens in the days of Icarius.

[6] τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀμφικτύων ἔσχεν οὕτως. Ἀκταῖον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀττικῇ βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον: ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου, καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν Ἑρση καὶ Ἄγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος, υἱὸς δὲ Ἑρυσίχθων: οὗτος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντος τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Κέκροπος Κραναὸς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προύχων. Κραναῷ δὲ θυγατέρας καὶ ἄλλας καὶ Ἀτθίδα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν: ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀττικὴν τὴν χώραν, πρότερον καλουμένην Ἀκταίαν. Κραναῷ δὲ Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαναστάς, θυγατέρα ὅμως ἔχων αὐτοῦ, παύει τῆς ἀρχῆς: καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων ἐκίπτει: πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν.

[2.6] Amphictyon won the kingdom thus. It is said that Actaeus was the first king of what is now Attica. When he died, Cecrops, the son-in-law of Actaeus, received the kingdom, and there were born to him daughters, Herse, Aglaurus and Pandrosus, and a son Erysichthon. This son did not become king of the Athenians, but happened to die while his father lived, and the kingdom of Cecrops fell to Cranaus, the most powerful of the Athenians. They say that Cranaus had daughters, and among them Atthis; and from her they call the country Attica, which before was named Actaea. And Amphictyon, rising up against Cranaus, although he had his daughter to wife, deposed him from power. Afterwards he himself was banished by Erichthonius and his fellow rebels. Men say that Erichthonius had no human father, but that his parents were Hephaestus and Earth.

3. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου: πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς, ἀφιεῖς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρουσα Ἥμερα Κέφαλον, ὃν κάλλιστον γενόμενόν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἥμερας ἐρασθείσης ἄρπασθῆναι: καὶ οἱ παῖδα γενέσθαι Φαέθοντα, ὃν ὕστερον ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἥρπασε * * * καὶ φύλακα ἐποίησε τοῦ ναοῦ. ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἶρηκεν ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας.

[3.1] III. The district of the Cerameicus has its name from the hero Ceramus, he too being the reputed son of Dionysus and Ariadne. First on the right is what

is called the Royal Portico, where sits the king when holding the yearly office called the kingship. On the tiling of this portico are images of baked earthenware, Theseus throwing Sciron into the sea and Day carrying away Cephalus, who they say was very beautiful and was ravished by Day, who was in love with him. His son was Phaethon, . . . and made a guardian of her temple. Such is the tale told by Hesiod, among others, in his poem on women.

[2] πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας, ὃς καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὰς Φοινίσσας ἔπραξε παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου δοθῆναι Κόνωνι: ἔπραξε δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γενεαλογῶν ἐς προγόνους ἀνέβαινε Τεῦκρον καὶ Κινύρου θυγατέρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὧν ἦρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειζόμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων.

[3.2] Near the portico stand Conon, Timotheus his son and Evagoras King of Cyprus, who caused the Phoenician men-of-war to be given to Conon by King Artaxerxes. This he did as an Athenian whose ancestry connected him with Salamis, for he traced his pedigree back to Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras. Here stands Zeus, called Zeus of Freedom, and the Emperor Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians.

[3] στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους: ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησεὺς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Δῆμος. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ γραφὴ Θησέα εἶναι τὸν καταστήσαντα Ἀθηναίους ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι: κεχώρηκε δὲ φήμη καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς Θησεὺς παραδοίῃ τὰ πράγματα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου δημοκρατούμενοι διαμείναιν, πρὶν ἢ Πεισίστρατος ἐτυράννησεν ἐπαναστάς. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνηκόοις οὖσι καὶ ὅποσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγωδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Θησέα, ὃς αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε καὶ ὕστερον Μενεσθέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ ἐς τετάρτην οἱ Θησεῖδαι γενεὰν διέμειναν ἄρχοντες. εἰ δέ μοι γενεαλογεῖν ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μελάνθου βασιλεύσαντας ἐς Κλειδικὸν τὸν Αἰσιμίδου καὶ τούτους ἂν ἀπριθιμῶμαι.

[3.3] A portico is built behind with pictures of the gods called the Twelve. On the wall opposite are painted Theseus, Democracy and Demos. The picture represents Theseus as the one who gave the Athenians political equality. By other means also has the report spread among men that Theseus bestowed sovereignty upon the people, and that from his time they continued under a democratical government, until Peisistratus rose up and became despot. But there are many false beliefs current among the mass of mankind, since they are ignorant of historical science and consider trustworthy whatever they have heard from childhood in choruses and tragedies; one of these is about Theseus, who in fact himself became king, and afterwards, when Menestheus was dead, the descendants of Theseus remained rulers even to the fourth generation. But if I cared about tracing the pedigree I should have included in

the list, besides these, the kings from Melanthus to Cleidicus the son of Aesimides.

[4] ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οἱ βοηθήσαντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν. συνέγραψαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ξενοφῶν τὸν πάντα πόλεμον, κατάληψιν τε τῆς Καδμείας καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὡς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐσέβαλον Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐλθοῦσαν: ἐν δὲ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐστὶ μάχη, ἐν ᾗ γνωριμώτατοι Γρύλος τε ὁ Ξενοφώντος ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἵππον τὴν Βοιωτίαν Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶν ἐπὶ κλήσιν: πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῷ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρη, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμῶδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίῳ πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

[3.4] Here is a picture of the exploit, near Mantinea, of the Athenians who were sent to help the Lacedaemonians. Xenophon among others has written a history of the whole war – the taking of the Cadmea, the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, how the Boeotians invaded the Peloponnesus, and the contingent sent to the Lacedaemonians from the Athenians. In the picture is a cavalry battle, in which the most famous men are, among the Athenians, Grylus the son of Xenophon, and in the Boeotian cavalry, Epaminondas the Theban. These pictures were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor, and he also wrought the Apollo surnamed Patrous (Paternal) in the temple hard by. And in front of the temple is one Apollo made by Leochares; the other Apollo, called Averter of evil, was made by Calamis. They say that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the pestilence which afflicted the Athenians at the time of the Peloponnesian War.

[5] ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον, οἱ βουλευόουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις: Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ Δῆμος ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος, Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον, ὃς Ἀθηναίους ἐς

Θερμοπύλας ἦγαγε φυλάζοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολήν.

[3.5] Here is built also a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods; the image is by Pheidias. Hard by is the council chamber of those called the Five Hundred, who are the Athenian councillors for a year. In it are a wooden figure of Zeus Counsellor and an Apollo, the work of Peisias, and a Demos by Lyson. The thesmothetae (lawgivers) were painted by Protogenes the Caunian, and Olbiades portrayed Callippus, who led the Athenians to Thermopylae to stop the incursion of the Gauls into Greece.

4. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται οὗτοι νέμονται τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πολλῇ καὶ ἐς τὰ πέρατα οὐ πλωίμῳ, παρέχεται δὲ ἄμπωτιν καὶ ῥαχίαν καὶ θηρία οὐδὲν ἑοικότα τοῖς ἐν θαλάσῃ τῇ λοιπῇ: καὶ σφισι διὰ τῆς χώρας ῥεῖ ποταμός Ἡριδανός, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Ἥλιου ὁδύρεσθαι νομίζουσι τὸ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πάθος. ὧς δὲ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησεν: Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνομάζοντο. συλλεγεῖσα δὲ σφισι στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, καὶ τό τε Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ὥκει καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε Θεσσαλίαν τε ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς Θερμοπυλῶν ἐγίνοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὴν ἑφοδὸν ἡσύχαζον τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅτε ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλως καὶ Φιλίππου κακωθέντες πρότερον: καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὕστερον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥστε ἕκαστοι δι' ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζον ἀπεῖναι τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς τῆς βοηθείας.

[4.1] IV. These Gauls inhabit the most remote portion of Europe, near a great sea that is not navigable to its extremities, and possesses ebb and flow and creatures quite unlike those of other seas. Through their country flows the river Eridanus, on the bank of which the daughters of Helius (Sun) are supposed to lament the fate that befell their brother Phaethon. It was late before the name "Gauls" came into vogue; for anciently they were called Celts both amongst themselves and by others. An army of them mustered and turned towards the Ionian Sea, dispossessed the Illyrian people, all who dwelt as far as Macedonia with the Macedonians themselves, and overran Thessaly. And when they drew near to Thermopylae, the Greeks in general made no move to prevent the inroad of the barbarians, since previously they had been severely defeated by Alexander and Philip. Further, Antipater and Cassander afterwards crushed the Greeks, so that through weakness each state thought no shame of itself taking no part in the defence of the country.

[2] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπειρήκεσαν μήκει τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου καὶ προσπταίνοντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐξιέναι δὲ ὁμῶς ὥρμηντο ἐς τὰς Θερμοπύλας σὺν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Κάλλιππον τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι. καταλαβόντες δὲ ἡ στενωτάτον ἦν, τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶργον τοὺς βαρβάρους: ἀνευρόντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, ἣν καὶ Μήδοις ποτὲ Ἐφιάλτης ἡγήσατο ὁ Τραχίνιος, καὶ βιασάμενοι Φωκέων τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐπ' αὐτῇ λανθάνουσι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπερβαλόντες τὴν Οἶτην.

[4.2] But the Athenians, although they were more exhausted than any of the Greeks by the long Macedonian war, and had been generally unsuccessful in their battles, nevertheless set forth to Thermopylae with such Greeks as joined them, having made the Callippus I mentioned their general. Occupying the pass where it was narrowest, they tried to keep the foreigners from entering Greece; but the Celts, having discovered the path by which Ephialtes of Trachis once led the Persians, over whelmed the Phocians stationed there and

crossed Oeta unperceived by the Greeks.

[3] ἔνθα δὴ πλείστου παρέσχοντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀξίους, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὡς ἐκυκλώθησαν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους: οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν ἅτε τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ τέλματος πρὸς ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ὄντος: αἴτιον δὲ ἔμοι δοκεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ταύτῃ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκρέον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. μείζονα οὖν εἶχον οὗτοι πόνον: ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα τοὺς Ἑλληνας ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τε ὀπλων βαρεῖαις καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐβιάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ πλεῖν.

[4.3] Then it was that the Athenians put the Greeks under the greatest obligation, and although outflanked offered resistance to the foreigners on two sides. But the Athenians on the fleet suffered most, for the Lamian gulf is a swamp near Thermopylae – the reason being, I think, the hot water that here runs into the sea. These then were more distressed; for taking the Greeks on board they were forced to sail through the mud weighted as they were by arms and men.

[4] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον ἔσωζον, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται Πυλῶν τε ἐντὸς ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολίσματα ἐλεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι Δελφοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ θεοῦ διαρπάσαι μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδὴν. καὶ σφισιν αὐτοῖ τε Δελφοὶ καὶ Φωκῶων ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ τὰς πόλεις περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκοῦντες, ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ δύναμις Αἰτωλῶν: τὸ γὰρ Αἰτωλικὸν προεῖχεν ἀκμῇ νεότητος τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα κεραυνοὶ τε ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ ἀπορραγεῖσαι πέτραι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, δειμάτα τε ἄνδρες ἐφίσταντο ὀπλίται τοῖς βαρβάροις: τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, Ὑπέροχον καὶ Ἀμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πύρρον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέως: ἐναγίζουσι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοὶ τῆς συμμαχίας Πύρρῳ, πρότερον ἔχοντες ἅτε ἀνδρὸς πολέμιου καὶ τὸ μνημα ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ.

[4.4] So they tried to save Greece in the way described, but the Gauls, now south of the Gates, cared not at all to capture the other towns, but were very eager to sack Delphi and the treasures of the god. They were opposed by the Delphians themselves and the Phocians of the cities around Parnassus; a force of Aetolians also joined the defenders, for the Aetolians at this time were pre-eminent for their vigorous activity. When the forces engaged, not only were thunderbolts and rocks broken off from Parnassus hurled against the Gauls, but terrible shapes as armed warriors haunted the foreigners. They say that two of them, Hyperochus and Amadocus, came from the Hyperboreans, and that the third was Pyrrhus son of Achilles. Because of this help in battle the Delphians sacrifice to Pyrrhus as to a hero, although formerly they held even his tomb in dishonor, as being that of an enemy.

[5] Γαλατῶν δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάντες τὰ παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς ἐλεηλάτουν: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Πέργαμον ἔχοντες, πάλαι δὲ Τευθρανίαν καλουμένην, ἐς ταύτην Γαλάτας ἐλαύνουσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. οὗτοι

μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐκτὸς Σαγγαρίου χώραν ἔσχον Ἄγκυραν πόλιν ἐλόντες Φρυγῶν, ἣν Μίδας ὁ Γορδίου πρότερον ᾤκισεν — ἄγκυρα δέ, ἣν ὁ Μίδας ἀνεῦρεν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς καὶ κρήνῃ Μίδου καλουμένη: ταύτην οἶνω κεράσαι Μίδα φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Σιληνοῦ — , ταύτην τε δὴ τὴν Ἄγκυραν εἶλον καὶ Πεσσινοῦντα τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἀγδιστιν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἄττην τεθάρθαι λέγουσι.

[4.5] The greater number of the Gauls crossed over to Asia by ship and plundered its coasts. Some time after, the inhabitants of Pergamus, that was called of old Teuthrania, drove the Gauls into it from the sea. Now this people occupied the country on the farther side of the river Sangarius capturing Ancyra, a city of the Phrygians, which Midas son of Gordius had founded in former time. And the anchor, which Midas found, was even as late as my time in the sanctuary of Zeus, as well as a spring called the Spring of Midas, water from which they say Midas mixed with wine to capture Silenus. Well then, the Pergameni took Ancyra and Pessinus which lies under Mount Agdistis, where they say that Attis lies buried.

[6] Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ἔστι μὲν σκῦλα ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν, ἔστι δὲ γραφὴ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἔχουσα. ἦν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί, Καβεῖρων ἱεράν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον: αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι τῶν ὁμοῦ Τηλέφω διαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πολέμων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων, εἰ δὴ τινες ἐπολέμησαν, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας κεχώρηκεν ἡ φήμη: τρία δὲ γνωριμώτατα ἐξείργασταί σφισι, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ τῆς κάτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀναχώρησις καὶ τὸ ἐς τοὺς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφου τόλμημα, ὅτε Ἕλληνες ἀμαρτόντες Ἰλίου τὸ πεδῖον ἐλεηλάτουν τὸ Μήιον ὡς γῆν τὴν Τρωάδα. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐξέβην τοῦ λόγου.

[4.6] They have spoils from the Gauls, and a painting which portrays their deed against them. The land they dwell in was, they say, in ancient times sacred to the Cabeiri, and they claim that they are themselves Arcadians, being of those who crossed into Asia with Telephus. Of the wars that they have waged no account has been published to the world, except that they have accomplished three most notable achievements; the subjection of the coast region of Asia, the expulsion of the Gauls therefrom, and the exploit of Telephus against the followers of Agamemnon, at a time when the Greeks after missing Troy, were plundering the Meian plain thinking it Trojan territory. Now I will return from my digression.

5. τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἔστι καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσί τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἔστιν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί: ὅστις δὲ κατεστήσατο δέκα ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλάς εἶναι καὶ μετέθετό σφισι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων, Ἡροδότῳ καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν εἰρημένα.

[5.1] V. Near to the Council Chamber of the Five Hundred is what is called

Tholos (Round House); here the presidents sacrifice, and there are a few small statues made of silver. Farther up stand statues of heroes, from whom afterwards the Athenian tribes received their names. Who the man was who established ten tribes instead of four, and changed their old names to new ones – all this is told by Herodotus.

[2] τῶν δὲ ἐπωνύμων — καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω σφᾶς — ἔστι μὲν Ἴπποθῶν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλόπης θυγατρὸς Κερκυῶνος, ἔστι δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους, γενόμενος ἐκ Μήδας Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς Φύλαντος, καὶ τρίτος Αἴας ὁ Τελαμῶνος, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων Λεῶς: δοῦναι δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρία λέγεται κοινῇ τὰς θυγατέρας τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. Ἐρεχθεὺς τέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις, ὃς ἐνίκησεν Ἐλευσινίους μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἴμμάραδον τὸν Εὐμόλπου: Αἰγεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Οἰνεὺς Πανδίωνος υἱὸς νόθος καὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων Ἀκάμας.

[5.2] The eponymoi – this is the name given to them – are Hippothoon son of Poseidon and Alope daughter of Cercyon, Antiochus, one of the children of Heracles borne to him by Meda daughter of Phylas, thirdly, Ajax son of Telamon, and to the Athenians belongs Leos, who is said to have given up his daughters, at the command of the oracle, for the safety of the commonwealth. Among the eponymoi is Erechtheus, who conquered the Eleusinians in battle, and killed their general, Immaradus the son of Eumolpus. There is Aegeus also and Oeneus the bastard son of Pandion, and Acamas, one of the children of Theseus.

[3] Κέκροπα δὲ καὶ Πανδῖονα — εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις εἰκόνας — οὐκ οἶδα οὓς ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ: πρότερός τε γὰρ ἦρξε Κέκροψ, ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα ἔσχε, καὶ ὕστερος, ὃς δὴ καὶ μετόκησεν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, Ἐρεχθέως υἱὸς τοῦ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου. καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὃς τε Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου: τοῦτον Μητιονίδαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρα — θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πύλα τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Μεγάρῳις — συνεκπίπτουσιν οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Πανδῖονα μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οἱ πρὸς θαλάσῃ μνημᾶ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς Αἰθυῖας καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ:

[5.3] I saw also among the eponymoi statues of Cecrops and Pandion, but I do not know who of those names are thus honored. For there was an earlier ruler Cecrops who took to wife the daughter of Actaeus, and a later – he it was who migrated to Euboea — son of Erechtheus, son of Pandion, son of Erichthonius. And there was a king Pandion who was son of Erichthonius, and another who was son of Cecrops the second. This man was deposed from his kingdom by the Metionidae, and when he fled to Megara – for he had to wife the daughter of Pylas king of Megara – his children were banished with him. And Pandion is said to have fallen ill there and died, and on the coast of the Megarid is his tomb, on the rock called the rock of Athena the Gannet.

[4] οἱ δὲ παῖδες κατὰσιν τε ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων ἐκβαλόντες Μητιονίδας, καὶ τὴν

ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Αἰγεὺς πρεσβύτατος ὦν ἔσχεν. θυγατέρας δὲ οὐ σὺν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι ἔθρεψεν ὁ Πανδίων, οὐδέ οἱ τιμωροὶ παῖδες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλείφθησαν: καίτοι δυνάμεώς γε ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸν Θρᾶκα τὸ κῆδος ἐποιήσατο. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ παραβῆναι τὸ καθήκον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ: λέγουσιν ὡς Τηρεὺς συνοικῶν Πρόκῃ Φιλομήλαν ἥσχυεν, οὐ κατὰ νόμον δράσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔτι λωβησάμενος τῇ παιδί ἤγαγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναῖκας. Πανδίωνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδριάς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει θεᾶς ἄξιος.

[5.4] But his children expelled the Metionidae, and returned from banishment at Megara, and Aegeus, as the eldest, became king of the Athenians. But in rearing daughters Pandion was unlucky, nor did they leave any sons to avenge him. And yet it was for the sake of power that he made the marriage alliance with the king of Thrace. But there is no way for a mortal to overstep what the deity thinks fit to send. They say that Tereus, though wedded to Procne, dishonored Philomela, thereby transgressing Greek custom, and further, having mangled the body of the damsel, constrained the women to avenge her. There is another statue, well worth seeing, of Pandion on the Acropolis.

[5] οἷδε μὲν εἰσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρχαίων: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε φυλὰς ἔχουσιν, Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἤδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ τῆς τε ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθόντος καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκάστοις παρασχομένου. καὶ ἐς μὲν πόλεμον οὐδένα ἐκούσιος κατέστη, Ἑβραίους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρων ἐχειρώσατο ἀποστάντας: ὅποσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ μὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἢ δωρεὰς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν Ἑλληνίσι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς δεηθεῖσιν, ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ.

[5.5] These are the Athenian eponymoi who belong to the ancients. And of later date than these they have tribes named after the following, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and within my own time the emperor Hadrian, who was extremely religious in the respect he paid to the deity and contributed very much to the happiness of his various subjects. He never voluntarily entered upon a war, but he reduced the Hebrews beyond Syria, who had rebelled. As for the sanctuaries of the gods that in some cases he built from the beginning, in others adorned with offerings and furniture, and the bounties he gave to Greek cities, and sometimes even to foreigners who asked him, all these acts are inscribed in his honor in the sanctuary at Athens common to all the gods.

PTOLEMY THE GREAT, HISTORY

6. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀτταλον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡλικία τε ἦν ἀρχαιότερα, ὥς μὴ μένειν ἔτι τὴν φήμην αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ συγγενόμενοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ συγγραφῇ τῶν ἔργων καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἡμελήθησαν: τούτων ἔνεκά μοι καὶ τὰ τῶνδε ἐπῆλθε δηλῶσαι ἔργα τε ὅποια ἐπραξάν καὶ ὥς ἐς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν περιεχώρησεν

Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἡ Μυσῶν καὶ τῶν προσοίκων ἀρχή.

[6.1] VI. But as to the history of Attalus and Ptolemy, it is more ancient in point of time, so that tradition no longer remains, and those who lived with these kings for the purpose of chronicling their deeds fell into neglect even before tradition failed. Where fore it occurred to me to narrate their deeds also, and how the sovereignty of Egypt, of the Mysians and of the neighboring peoples fell into the hands of their fathers.

[2] Πτολεμαῖον Μακεδόνες Φιλίππου παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀμύντου, λόγῳ δὲ Λάγου νομίζουσι: τὴν γάρ οἱ μητέρα ἔχουσιν ἐν γαστρὶ δοθῆναι γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Λάγῳ. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ λέγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινδύνου ξυμβάντος ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις μάλιστα οἱ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀμῦναι. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς ἐς Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν πᾶσαν ἄγουσιν ἀρχὴν ἀντιστάς αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἐς τὰς βασιλείας αἵτιος τὰ ἔθνη νεμηθῆναι.

[6.2] The Macedonians consider Ptolemy to be the son of Philip, the son of Amyntas, though putatively the son of Lagus, asserting that his mother was with child when she was married to Lagus by Philip. And among the distinguished acts of Ptolemy in Asia they mention that it was he who, of Alexander's companions, was foremost in succoring him when in danger among the Oxydracae. After the death of Alexander, by withstanding those who would have conferred all his empire upon Aridaeus, the son of Philip, he became chiefly responsible for the division of the various nations into the kingdoms.

[3] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον διαβὰς Κλεομένην τε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὃν σατραπεύειν Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος, Περδίκκα νομίζων εὖνουν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πιστὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς ταχθέντας τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἐς Αἰγὰς κομίζειν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι: καὶ τὸν μὲν νόμῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει, οἷα δὲ ἐπιστάμενος πολεμήσοντα Περδίκκαν Αἴγυπτον εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ. Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς στρατείας ἐπήγετο Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ παῖδα Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐκ Ῥωξάνης τῆς Ὀξυάρτου γεγονότα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεβούλευεν ἀφελῆσθαι τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλείαν: ἐξωσθεὶς δὲ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔτι οὐχ ὁμοίως θαυμαζόμενος, διαβεβλημένος δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων.

[6.3] He crossed over to Egypt in person, and killed Cleomenes, whom Alexander had appointed satrap of that country, considering him a friend of Perdicas, and therefore not faithful to himself; and the Macedonians who had been entrusted with the task of carrying the corpse of Alexander to Aegae, he persuaded to hand it over to him. And he proceeded to bury it with Macedonian rites in Memphis, but, knowing that Perdicas would make war, he kept Egypt garrisoned. And Perdicas took Aridaeus, son of Philip, and the boy Alexander, whom Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, had borne to Alexander,

to lend color to the campaign, but really he was plotting to take from Ptolemy his kingdom in Egypt. But being expelled from Egypt, and having lost his reputation as a soldier, and being in other respects unpopular with the Macedonians, he was put to death by his body guard.

[4] Πτολεμαῖον δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς τὰ πράγματα ὁ Περδίκκου θάνατος ἐπέστησε: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Σύρους καὶ Φοινίκην εἴλε, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φεύγοντα ὑπέδεξατο Σέλευκον τὸν Ἀντιόχου, καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀμυνόμενος Ἀντίγονον. καὶ Κάσσανδρον τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσίμαχον βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θράκῃ μετασχεῖν ἐπεισε τοῦ πολέμου, φυγὴν λέγων τὴν Σελεύκου καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον φοβερόν σφισιν εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐξηθέντα.

[6.4] The death of Perdikkas immediately raised Ptolemy to power, who both reduced the Syrians and Phoenicia, and also welcomed Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who was in exile, having been expelled by Antigonus; he further himself prepared to attack Antigonus. He prevailed on Cassander, son of Antipater, and Lysimachus, who was king in Thrace, to join in the war, urging that Seleucus was in exile and that the growth of the power of Antigonus was dangerous to them all.

[5] Ἀντίγονος δὲ τέως μὲν ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ πολέμου καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ παντάπασιν ἐθάρρει: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπύθετο στρατεύειν Πτολεμαῖον ἀφεστηκότων Κυρηναίων, αὐτίκα Σύρους καὶ Φοινίκας εἴλεν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, παραδοὺς δὲ Δημητρίῳ τῷ παιδί, ἡλικίαν μὲν νέῳ φρονεῖν δὲ ἤδη δοκοῦντι, καταβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι πάλιν ἦγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Δημήτριον ἀκούων ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου μάχῃ κεκρατῆσθαι: Δημήτριος δὲ οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐξειστήκει Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς χώρας καὶ τινας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λοχίσας διέφθειρεν οὐ πολλούς. τότε δὲ ἦκοντα Ἀντίγονον οὐχ ὑπομείνας Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον.

[6.5] For a time Antigonus prepared for war, and was by no means confident of the issue; but on learning that the revolt of Cyrene had called Ptolemy to Libya, he immediately reduced the Syrians and Phoenicians by a sudden inroad, handed them over to Demetrius, his son, a man who for all his youth had already a reputation for good sense, and went down to the Hellespont. But he led his army back without crossing, on hearing that Demetrius had been overcome by Ptolemy in battle. But Demetrius had not altogether evacuated the country before Ptolemy, and having surprised a body of Egyptians, killed a few of them. Then on the arrival of Antigonus Ptolemy did not wait for him but returned to Egypt.

[6] διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος Δημήτριος πλεύσας ἐς Κύπρον Μενέλαον σατράπην Πτολεμαίου ναυμαχία καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιδιαβάντα ἐνίκησε: φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἀντίγονός τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐπολιόρκει καὶ Δημήτριος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐς πᾶν ἀφικόμενος κινδύνου διέσωσεν ὅμως τὴν ἀρχὴν στρατιᾶς τε

ἀντικαθήμενος ἐπὶ Πηλουσίῳ καὶ τριήρεσιν ἀμυνόμενος ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Ἀντίγονος δὲ Αἴγυπτον μὲν αἰρήσειν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὐδεμίαν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐλπίδα, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους στρατιᾷ πολλῇ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔστειλεν, ὥς εἴ οἱ προσγένετο ἡ νῆσος ὀρμητηρίῳ χρήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐλπίζων· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Ῥόδιοι τολμήματα καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεις παρέσχοντο ἐς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας καὶ Πτολεμαῖός σφισιν ἐς ὅσον δυνάμεως ἦκε συνήρατο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

[6.6] When the winter was over, Demetrius sailed to Cyprus and overcame in a naval action Menelaus, the satrap of Ptolemy, and afterwards Ptolemy himself, who had crossed to bring help. Ptolemy fled to Egypt, where he was besieged by Antigonos on land and by Demetrius with a fleet. In spite of his extreme peril Ptolemy saved his empire by making a stand with an army at Pelusium while offering resistance with warships from the river. Antigonos now abandoned all hope of reducing Egypt in the circumstances, and dispatched Demetrius against the Rhodians with a fleet and a large army, hoping, if the island were won, to use it as a base against the Egyptians. But the Rhodians displayed daring and ingenuity in the face of the besiegers, while Ptolemy helped them with all the forces he could muster.

[7] Ἀντίγονος δὲ Ῥόδου τε ἁμαρτῶν καὶ Αἰγύπτου πρότερον, οὐ πολλῶ τούτων ὕστερον ἀντιτάξασθαι Λυσιμάχῳ τολμήσας καὶ Κασσάνδρῳ τε καὶ τῇ Σελεύκου στρατιᾷ, τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπώλεσε τὸ πολὺ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανε ταλαιπωρήσας μάλιστα τῷ μήκει τοῦ πρὸς Εὐμένη πολέμου. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν καθελόντων Ἀντίγονον ἀνοσιώτατον κρίνω γενέσθαι Κάσσανδρον, ὃς δι' Ἀντιγόνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀνασώσάμενος πολεμήσων ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην.

[6.7] Antigonos thus failed to reduce Egypt or, later, Rhodes, and shortly afterwards he offered battle to Lysimachus, and to Cassander and the army of Seleucus, lost most of his forces, and was himself killed, having suffered most by reason of the length of the war with Eumenes. Of the kings who put down Antigonos I hold that the most wicked was Cassander, who although he had recovered the throne of Macedonia with the aid of Antigonos, nevertheless came to fight against a benefactor.

[8] ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου Πτολεμαῖος Σύρους τε αὖθις καὶ Κύπρον εἶλε, κατήγαγε δὲ καὶ Πύρρον ἐς τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα ἡπειρον· Κυρήνης δὲ ἀποστάσης Μάγας Βερενίκης υἱὸς Πτολεμαίῳ τότε συνοικούσης ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν εἶλε Κυρήνην. — εἰ δὲ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου παῖς ἦν, ἴστω τὸ ἐπιμανὲς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κεκτημένος, ὃς Εὐρυδίκη τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου συνοικῶν ὄντων οἱ παίδων Βερενίκης ἐς ἔρωτα ἦλθεν, ἣν Ἀντίπατρος Εὐρυδίκη συνέπεμψεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐρασθεὶς παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησατο, καὶ ὥς ἦν οἱ πλησίον ἡ τελευταίη, Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέλιπεν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἡ φυλή, γεγονότα ἐκ Βερενίκης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου θυγατρὸς.

[6.8] After the death of Antigonos, Ptolemy again reduced the Syrians and Cyprus, and also restored Pyrrhus to Thesprotia on the mainland. Cyrene rebelled; but Magas, the son of Berenice (who was at this time married to Ptolemy) captured Cyrene in the fifth year of the rebellion. If this Ptolemy really was the son of Philip, son of Amyntas, he must have inherited from his father his passion for women, for, while wedded to Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, although he had children he took a fancy to Berenice, whom Antipater had sent to Egypt with Eurydice. He fell in love with this woman and had children by her, and when his end drew near he left the kingdom of Egypt to Ptolemy (from whom the Athenians name their tribe) being the son of Berenice and not of the daughter of Antipater.

7. οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεὶς ἔγνην αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὧν ἦρχε. δεύτερα δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀργαῖον ἐπιβουλευόντα, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μέμφιδος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν γεγονότα ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης, Κυπρίους ἀφιστάντα αἰσθόμενος. Μάγας δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτριος Πτολεμαίου παρὰ Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς ἀξιώθει ἐπιτροπεύειν Κυρήνην — ἐγγόνει δὲ ἐκ Φιλίππου τῇ Βερενίκῃ Μακεδόνοιο μὲν, ἄλλως δὲ ἀγνώστου καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ δήμου —, τότε δὴ οὗτος ὁ Μάγας ἀποστήσας Πτολεμαίου Κυρηναίους ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

[7.1] VII. This Ptolemy fell in love with Arsinoe, his full sister, and married her, violating herein Macedonian custom, but following that of his Egyptian subjects. Secondly he put to death his brother Argaeus, who was, it is said, plotting against him; and he it was who brought down from Memphis the corpse of Alexander. He put to death another brother also, son of Eurydice, on discovering that he was creating disaffection among the Cyprians. Then Magas, the half-brother of Ptolemy, who had been entrusted with the governorship of Cyrene by his mother Berenice — she had borne him to Philip, a Macedonian but of no note and of lowly origin — induced the people of Cyrene to revolt from Ptolemy and marched against Egypt.

[2] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν τὴν ἐσβολὴν φραζάμενος ὑπέμενεν ἐπιόντας Κυρηναίους, Μάγα δὲ ἀπαγγέλλεται καθ' ὁδὸν ἀφεστηκέναι Μαρμαρίδας· εἰσὶ δὲ Λιβύων οἱ Μαρμαρίδαι τῶν νομάδων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀπηλλάσσετο· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὥρμημένον διώκειν αἰτία τοιάδε ἐπέσχευ. ἡνίκα παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιόντα ἀμύνεσθαι Μάγαν, ξένους ἐπηγάγετο καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισχίλιους· τούτους λαβὼν ἐπιβουλευόντας κατασχεῖν Αἴγυπτον, ἀνήγαγε σφᾶς ἐς νῆσον ἔρημον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ·

[7.2] Ptolemy fortified the entrance into Egypt and awaited the attack of the Cyrenians. But while on the march Magas was informed that the Marmaridae, a tribe of Libyan nomads, had revolted, and thereupon fell back upon Cyrene. Ptolemy resolved to pursue, but was checked owing to the following circumstance. When he was preparing to meet the attack of Magas,

he engaged mercenaries, including some four thousand Gauls. Discovering that they were plotting to seize Egypt, he led them through the river to a deserted island. There they perished at one another's hands or by famine.

[3] Μάγας δὲ ἤδη γυναῖκα ἔχων Ἀπάμην Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σελεύκου θυγατέρα, ἔπεισεν Ἀντίοχον παραβάντα ὡς ὁ πατήρ οἱ Σέλευκος ἐποιήσατο συνθήκας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, ἐλαύνειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὠρμημένου δὲ Ἀντιόχου στρατεύειν, Πτολεμαῖος διέπεμψεν ἐς ἅπαντας ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενεστέροις ληστὰς κατατρέχειν τὴν γῆν, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν δυνατώτεροι στρατιᾷ κατεῖργεν, ὥστε Ἀντιόχῳ μήποτε ἐγγενέσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι ὡς ναυτικὸν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδόνας· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐγένετο ἐς σωτηρίαν Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης, οὐ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Λυσιμάχου δὲ θυγατρὸς· τὴν δὲ οἱ συνοικήσασαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ἅπαιδα, καὶ νομός ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόϊτης Αἰγυπτίους.

[7.3] Magas, who was married to Apame, daughter of Antiochus, son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to break the treaty which his father Seleucus had made with Ptolemy and to attack Egypt. When Antiochus resolved to attack, Ptolemy dispatched forces against all the subjects of Antiochus, freebooters to overrun the lands of the weaker, and an army to hold back the stronger, so that Antiochus never had an opportunity of attacking Egypt. I have already stated how this Ptolemy sent a fleet to help the Athenians against Antigonus and the Macedonians, but it did very little to save Athens. His children were by Arsinoe, not his sister, but the daughter of Lysimachus. His sister who had wedded him happened to die before this, leaving no issue, and there is in Egypt a district called Arsinoites after her.

8. ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἄτταλον ἔχοντα, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίους. ἀνὴρ Μακεδὼν Δόκιμος ὄνομα, στρατηγὸς Ἀντιγόνου, Λυσιμάχῳ παραδοὺς ὕστερον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, Φιλέταιρον Παφλαγὸνα εἶχεν εὐνοῦχον. ὅσα μὲν δὴ Φιλεταίρῳ πεπραγμένα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐστὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Λυσιμάχου καὶ ὡς Σέλευκον ἐπηγάγετο, ἔσται μοι τῶν ἐς Λυσιμάχον παρενθήκη· ὁ δὲ Ἄτταλος Ἀττάλου μὲν παῖς ὧν, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ Φιλεταίρου, τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐμένους παραδόντος ἔσχεν ἀνεψιοῦ. μέγιστον δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ τῶν ἔργων· Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀναφυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

[8.1] VIII. It is pertinent to add here an account of Attalus, because he too is one of the Athenian eponymoi. A Macedonian of the name of Docimus, a general of Antigonus, who afterwards surrendered both himself and his property to Lysimachus, had a Paphlagonian eunuch called Philetaerus. All that Philetaerus did to further the revolt from Lysimachus, and how he won over Seleucus, will form an episode in my account of Lysimachus. Attalus, however, son of Attalus and nephew of Philetaerus, received the kingdom from his cousin Eumenes, who handed it over. The greatest of his

achievements was his forcing the Gauls to retire from the sea into the country which they still hold.

[2] μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνην φέρουσα Πλούτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα Λυκοῦργός τε κεῖται χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρωνος καὶ Καλλίας, ὃς πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔπραξε τὴν εἰρήνην: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης, ὃν ἐς Καλαυρείαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πρὸ Τροιζήνης νῆσον ἠνάγκασαν ἀποχωρῆσαι, δεξάμενοι δὲ ὕστερον διώκουσιν αὐτῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λαμῖα πλῆγην.

[8.2] After the statues of the eponymoi come statues of gods, Amphiaras, and Eirene (Peace) carrying the boy Plutus (Wealth). Here stands a bronze figure of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians say, brought about the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes. Here also is Demosthenes, whom the Athenians forced to retire to Calauria, the island off Troezen, and then, after receiving him back, banished again after the disaster at Lamia.

[3] Δημοσθένης δὲ ὡς τὸ δεῦτερον ἔφυγε, περαιοῦται καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Καλαυρείαν, ἔνθα δὴ πῶν φάρμακον ἐτελεύτησεν: φυγάδα τε Ἕλληνα μόνον τοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν Ἀρχίας. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίας οὗτος Θούριος ὢν ἔργον ἤρατο ἀνόσιον: ὅσοι Μακεδόσιν ἔπραξαν ἐναντία πρὶν ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸ παῖσμα τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γενέσθαι, τούτους ἤγεν Ἀρχίας Ἀντιπάτρῳ δώσοντας δίκην. Δημοσθένης μὲν ἢ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἄγαν εὖνοια ἐς τοῦτο ἐχώρησεν: εὖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι δοκεῖ ἄνδρα ἀφειδῶς ἐκτεσόντα ἐς πολιτείαν καὶ πιστὰ ἡγησάμενον τὰ τοῦ δήμου μήποτε καλῶς τελευτήσας.

[8.3] Exiled for the second time Demosthenes crossed once more to Calauria, and committed suicide there by taking poison, being the only Greek exile whom Archias failed to bring back to Antipater and the Macedonians. This Archias was a Thurian who undertook the abominable task of bringing to Antipater for punishment those who had opposed the Macedonians before the Greeks met with their defeat in Thessaly. Such was Demosthenes' reward for his great devotion to Athens. I heartily agree with the remark that no man who has unsparingly thrown himself into politics trusting in the loyalty of the democracy has ever met with a happy death.

[4] τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνης πλησίον Ἄρεώς ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐνυὸς ἀγαλμὰ ἐστίν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους: περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην, ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίοις ὡς λέγεται νόμους γράψας καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὐρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπήνεσεν ἄσμα ποιήσας.

[8.4] Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are placed

two images of Aphrodite, one of Ares made by Alcamenes, and one of Athena made by a Parian of the name of Locrus. There is also an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. About the temple stand images of Heracles, Theseus, Apollo binding his hair with a fillet, and statues of Calades, who it is said framed laws for the Athenians, and of Pindar, the statue being one of the rewards the Athenians gave him for praising them in an ode.

[5] οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἴππαρχον: αἰτία δὲ ἣτις ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὄντινα τρόπον ἔπραξαν, ἑτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ: Ξέρξου δέ, ὡς εἶλεν Αθήνας ἐκλιπόντων τὸ ἄστυ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαγαγομένου καὶ τούτους ἄτε λάφυρα, κατέπεμψεν ὕστερον Ἀθηναίοις Ἀντίοχος.

[8.5] Hard by stand statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who killed Hipparchus. The reason of this act and the method of its execution have been related by others; of the figures some were made by Critius, the old ones being the work of Antenor. When Xerxes took Athens after the Athenians had abandoned the city he took away these statues also among the spoils, but they were afterwards restored to the Athenians by Antiochus.

[6] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων. ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοί σφισιν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἄλλω: καὶ γὰρ Φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Λάγου Σωτήρα παραδόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ μὲν Φιλάδελφός ἐστιν οὗ καὶ πρότερον μνήμην ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις ἐποιήσαμην, πλησίον δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐστὶν εἰκῶν.

[8.6] Before the entrance of the theater which they call the Odeum (Music Hall) are statues of Egyptian kings. They are all alike called Ptolemy, but each has his own surname. For they call one Philometor, and another Philadelphus, while the son of Lagus is called Soter, a name given him by the Rhodians. Of these, Philadelphus is he whom I have mentioned before among the eponymoi, and near him is a statue of his sister Arsinoe.

PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR OF EGYPT, HISTORY

9. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ καλούμενος ὄγδοος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπόγονος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ. οὐ γὰρ τινα τῶν βασιλέων μισηθέντα ἴσμεν ἐς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ μητρός, ὃν πρεσβύτατον ὄντα τῶν παίδων ἢ μήτηρ οὐκ εἶα καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Κύπρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεμφθῆναι πράξασα: τῆς δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δυσνοίας λέγουσιν ἄλλας τε αἰτίας καὶ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν νεώτερον τῶν παίδων κατήκοον ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἠλπίζε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπειθεν Αἰγυπτίους:

[9.1] IX. The one called Philometor is eighth in descent from Ptolemy son of Lagus, and his surname was given him in sarcastic mockery, for we know of

none of the kings who was so hated by his mother. Although he was the eldest of her children she would not allow him to be called to the throne, but prevailed on his father before the call came to send him to Cyprus. Among the reasons assigned for Cleopatra's enmity towards her son is her expectation that Alexander the younger of her sons would prove more subservient, and this consideration induced her to urge the Egyptians to choose Alexander as king.

[2] ἐναντιούμενου δέ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους, δεύτερα ἐς τὴν Κύπρον ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, στρατηγὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δι' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίῳ θέλουσα εἶναι φοβερωτέρα, τέλος δὲ κατατρώσασα οὗς μάλιστα τῶν εὐνούχων ἐνόμιζεν εὖνους, ἐπήγετο σφᾶς ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αὐτὴ τε ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους τοιαῦτα ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθόντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς δὲ σφᾶς ἔφθασεν ἐπιβὰς νεώς, Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκοντα ἐκ Κύπρου ποιοῦνται βασιλέα.

[9.2] When the people offered opposition, she dispatched Alexander for the second time to Cyprus, ostensibly as general, but really because she wished by his means to make Ptolemy more afraid of her. Finally she covered with wounds those eunuchs she thought best disposed, and presented them to the people, making out that she was the victim of Ptolemy's machinations, and that he had treated the eunuchs in such a fashion. The people of Alexandria rushed to kill Ptolemy, and when he escaped on board a ship, made Alexander, who returned from Cyprus, their king.

[3] Κλεοπάτραν δὲ περιήλθεν ἡ δίκη τῆς Πτολεμαίου φυγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃν αὐτὴ βασιλεύειν ἔπραξεν Αἰγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ ἔργου φωραθέντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβῳ τῶν πολιτῶν φεύγοντος, οὕτω Πτολεμαῖος κατήλθε καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔσχεν Αἴγυπτον· καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπολέμησεν ἀποσταῖσι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ἔτι τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐκάκωσεν, ὡς μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα λειφθῆναι Θηβαίοις τῆς ποτε εὐδαιμονίας προελθούσης ἐς τοσοῦτον ὡς ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων πολυχρημάτους, τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὁρχομενίους. Πτολεμαῖον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τούτων ὕστερον ἐπέλαβε μοῖρα ἢ καθήκουσα· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόντες εὖ πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἐξηγήσεως χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Βερενίκην ἀνέθηκαν, ἡ μόνη γνησία οἱ τῶν παίδων ἦν.

[9.3] Retribution for the exile of Ptolemy came upon Cleopatra, for she was put to death by Alexander, whom she herself had made to be king of the Egyptians. When the deed was discovered, and Alexander fled in fear of the citizens, Ptolemy returned and for the second time assumed control of Egypt. He made war against the Thebans, who had revolted, reduced them two years after the revolt, and treated them so cruelly that they were left not even a memorial of their former prosperity, which had so grown that they surpassed in wealth the richest of the Greeks, the sanctuary of Delphi and the Orchomenians. Shortly after this Ptolemy met with his appointed fate, and the

Athenians, who had been benefited by him in many ways which I need not stop to relate, set up a bronze likeness of him and of Berenice, his only legitimate child.

LYSIMACHUS OF MACEDONIA, HISTORY

[4] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φιλίππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κεῖνται: τούτοις μείζονα ὑπῆρχε πως ἢ ἄλλου πάρεργα εἶναι λόγου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τιμῇ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ εὐεργέταις οὓσι γεγόνασιν αἱ δωρεαί, Φιλίπῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κολακεία μᾶλλον ἐς αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον οὐκ εὐνοία τοσοῦτον ὥς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.

[9.4] After the Egyptians come statues of Philip and of his son Alexander. The events of their lives were too important to form a mere digression in another story. Now the Egyptians had their honors bestowed upon them out of genuine respect and because they were benefactors, but it was rather the sycophancy of the people that gave them to Philip and Alexander, since they set up a statue to Lysimachus also not so much out of goodwill as because they thought to serve their immediate ends.

[5] ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος οὗτος γένος τε ἦν Μακεδὼν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρος, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρός ποτε ὑπ' ὀργῆς λέοντι ὁμοῦ καθεῖρξας ἐς οἶκημα κεκρατηκότα εὔρε τοῦ θηρίου: τὰ τε οὖν ἄλλα ἤδη διετέλει θαυμάζων καὶ Μακεδόνων ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Θρακῶν ἐβασίλευεν ὁ Λυσίμαχος τῶν προσοίκων Μακεδόσιν, ὧσων ἦρχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Φίλιππος: εἶεν δ' ἂν οὗτοι τοῦ Θρακίου μοῖρα οὐ μεγάλη. Θρακῶν δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδένες πλείους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ Κελτοὶ πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐν ἀντεξετάζοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς πω πρότερος Θρακῆας Ῥωμαίων κατεστρέψατο ἀθρόους: Ῥωμαίοις δὲ Θράκη τε πᾶσά ἐστιν ὑποχείριος, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσον μὲν ἀχρεῖον νομίζουσι διὰ τε ὑπερβάλλον ψυχὸς καὶ γῆς φαυλότητα, ἐκουσίως παρῶπταί σφισι, τὰ δὲ ἀξιώκτητα ἔχουσι καὶ τούτων.

[9.5] This Lysimachus was a Macedonian by birth and one of Alexander's body-guards, whom Alexander once in anger shut up in a chamber with a lion, and afterwards found that he had overpowered the brute. Henceforth he always treated him with respect, and honored him as much as the noblest Macedonians. After the death of Alexander, Lysimachus ruled such of the Thracians, who are neighbors of the Macedonians, as had been under the sway of Alexander and before him of Philip. These would comprise but a small part of Thrace. If race be compared with race no nation of men except the Celts are more numerous than the Thracians taken all together, and for this reason no one before the Romans reduced the whole Thracian population. But the Romans have subdued all Thrace, and they also hold such Celtic territory as is worth possessing, but they have intentionally overlooked the parts that they consider useless through excessive cold or barrenness.

[6] τότε δὲ ὁ Λυσίμαχος πρώτοις τῶν περιοίκων ἐπολέμησεν Ὀδρύσαις,

δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην καὶ Γέτας ἐστράτευσεν: οἷα δὲ ἀνδράσι συμβαλὼν οὐκ ἀπείροις πολέμων, ἀριθμῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὑπερβεβληκόσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου διέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ οἱ παῖς Ἀγαθοκλῆς συστρατευόμενος τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἐάλω. Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ὕστερον προσπταίσας μάχαις καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ ποιούμενος συνέθετο πρὸς Δρομιχαίτην εἰρήνην, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ πέραν Ἰστρου παρεῖς τῷ Γέτῃ καὶ θυγατέρα συνοικίσας ἀνάγκη τὸ πλεόν: οἱ δὲ οὐκ Ἀγαθοκλέα, Λυσίμαχον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι λέγουσιν, ἀνασωθῆναι δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γέτην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος. ὥς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Λυσάνδραν γυναικα ἡγάγετο, Πτολεμαίου τε τοῦ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδίκης οὖσαν.

[9.6] Then Lysimachus made war against his neighbours, first the Odrysae, secondly the Getae and Dromichaetes. Engaging with men not unversed in warfare and far his superiors in number, he himself escaped from a position of extreme danger, but his son Agathocles, who was serving with him then for the first time, was taken prisoner by the Getae. Lysimachus met with other reverses afterwards, and attaching great importance to the capture of his son made peace with Dromicliaetes, yielding to the Getic king the parts of his empire beyond the Ister, and, chiefly under compulsion, giving him his daughter in marriage. Others say that not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself was taken prisoner, regaining his liberty when Agathocles treated with the Getic king on his behalf. On his return he married to Agathocles Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and of Eurydice.

[7] διέβη δὲ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντιγόνου συγκαθεῖλε. συνώκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν, ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίου τε οἰκῆτορας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν πόλεις, ὥς Φοῖνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἄλωσιν. Ἑρμησιάναξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα γράψας οὐκέτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περιῆν: πάντως γάρ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ ἀλούσει Κολοφῶνι ὠδύρατο. Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Πύρρον κατέστη τὸν Αἰακίδου: φυλάξας δὲ ἐξ Ἠπείρου ἀπιόντα, οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνος ἐπλανᾶτο, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐλεηλάτησεν Ἠπειρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας ἦλθε τῶν βασιλέων.

[9.7] He also crossed with a fleet to Asia and helped to overthrow the empire of Antigonus. He founded also the modern city of Ephesus as far as the coast, bringing to it as settlers people of Lebedos and Colophon, after destroying their cities, so that the iambic poet Phoenix composed a lament for the capture of Colophon. Mermesianax, the elegiac writer, was, I think, no longer living, otherwise he too would certainly have been moved by the taking of Colophon to write a dirge. Lysimachus also went to war with Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. Waiting for his departure from Epeirus (Pyrrhus was of a very roving disposition) he ravaged Epeirus until he reached the royal tombs.

[8] τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν οὐ πιστά, Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ἔγραψε Καρδιανὸς Λυσίμαχον τὰς θήκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελόντα τὰ ὅστ'α ἐκρίψαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰερώνυμος

οὗτος ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράψαι τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεσθαι: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν παντάπασιν ἐστὶ φανερὸς ἐπιηρεία

συνθείς, ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα θήκας νεκρῶν ἀνελεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ ἠπίστατο δὴ πού καὶ Λυσίμαχος οὐ Πύρρου σφᾶς προγόνους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὄντας: καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑπειρώτης τε ἦν καὶ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἥ τε ὕστερον Πύρρου πρὸς Λυσίμαχον συμμαχία δηλοῖ καὶ πολεμήσασιν ἀδιάλλακτόν γε οὐδὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι σφίσι. τῷ δὲ Ἱερωνύμῳ τάχα μὲν πού καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλήματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν ἀνελὼν Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ὤκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θρακίας χερρονήσου.

[9.8] The next part of the story is incredible to me, but Hieronymus the Cardian relates that he destroyed the tombs and cast out the bones of the dead. But this Hieronymus has a reputation generally of being biased against all the kings except Antigonos, and of being unfairly partial towards him. As to the treatment of the Epeiroi graves, it is perfectly plain that it was malice that made him record that a Macedonian desecrated the tombs of the dead. Besides, Lysimachus was surely aware that they were the ancestors not of Pyrrhus only but also of Alexander. In fact Alexander was an Epeiroi and an Aeacid on his mother's side, and the subsequent alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus proves that even as enemies they were not irreconcilable. Possibly Hieronymus had grievances against Lysimachus, especially his destroying the city of the Cardians and founding Lysimachea in its stead on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus.

10. Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀριδαίου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὕστερον Κασσάνδρου καὶ τῶν παίδων φιλία διέμεινε πρὸς Μακεδόνας: περιελθούσης δὲ ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐνταῦθα ἥδη Λυσίμαχος πολεμήσεσθαι ἤλπιζεν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἡξίου πολέμου, πατρῶον ἐπιστάμενος ὃν Δημητρίῳ προσπεριβάλλεσθαι τι ἐθέλειν καὶ ἅμα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετέπεμpton ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Κασσάνδρου, ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο, αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον φονεύσαντα καὶ ἔχοντα ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν.

[10.1] X. As long as Aridaeus reigned, and after him Cassander and his sons, friendly relations continued between Lysimachus and Macedon. But when the kingdom devolved upon Demetrius, son of Antigonos, Lysimachus, henceforth expecting that war would be declared upon him by Demetrius, resolved to take aggressive action. He was aware that Demetrius inherited a tendency to aggrandise, and he also knew that he visited Macedonia at the summons of Alexander and Cassander, and on his arrival murdered Alexander himself and ruled the Macedonians in his stead.

[2] τούτων ἔνεκα Δημητρίῳ συμβαλὼν πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκπεσεῖν Θράκης, ἀμύναντος δὲ οἱ Πύρρου τὴν τε Θράκην κατέσχε καὶ

ὑστερον ἐπῆρξε Νεστίων καὶ Μακεδόνων: τὸ δὲ πολὺ Μακεδονίας αὐτὸς Πύρρος κατεῖχε, δυνάμει τε ἥκων ἐξ Ἑπείρου καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔχων ἐπιτηδεῖως. Δημητρίου δὲ διαβάντος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Σελεύκῳ πολεμοῦντος, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἀντεῖχε τὰ Δημητρίου, διέμεινεν ἡ Πύρρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου συμμαχία: γενομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Σελεύκῳ Δημητρίου Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Πύρρῳ διελύθη ἡ φιλία, καὶ καταστάντων ἐς πόλεμον Λυσίμαχος Ἀντιγόνῳ τε τῷ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτῷ Πύρρῳ πολεμήσας ἐκράτησε παρὰ πολὺ καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἔσχεν, ἀναχωρῆσαι Πύρρον βιασάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἑπείρον.

[10.2] Therefore encountering Demetrius at Amphipolis he came near to being expelled from Thrace, but on Pyrrhus' coming to his aid he mastered Thrace and afterwards extended his empire at the expense of the Nestians and Macedonians. The greater part of Macedonia was under the control of Pyrrhus himself, who came from Epeirus with an army and was at that time on friendly terms with Lysimachus. When however Demetrius crossed over into Asia and made war on Seleucus, the alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus lasted only as long as Demetrius continued hostilities; when Demetrius submitted to Seleucus, the friendship between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was broken, and when war broke out Lysimachus fought against Antigonus son of Demetrius and against Pyrrhus himself, had much the better of the struggle, conquered Macedonia and forced Pyrrhus to retreat to Epeirus.

[3] εἰώθασι δὲ ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα πολλαὶ συμφοραί. Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ἡλικία τε ἤδη προήκων καὶ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτὸς τε νομιζόμενος εὐδαίμων καὶ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ παίδων ὄντων ἐκ Λυσάνδρας Ἀρσινόην ἔγμειν ἀδελφὴν Λυσάνδρας. ταύτην τὴν Ἀρσινόην φοβουμένην ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ, μὴ Λυσιμάχου τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ γένωνται, τούτων ἔνεκα Ἀγαθοκλεῖ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι λέγεται. ἤδη δὲ ἔγραψαν καὶ ὡς Ἀγαθοκλέους ἀφίκοιτο ἐς ἔρωτα ἡ Ἀρσινόη, ἀποτυγχάνουσα δὲ ῥέπετι τῷ βουλεῦσαι λέγουσιν Ἀγαθοκλεῖ θάνατον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Λυσίμαχος αἰσθοῖτο ὑστερον τὰ τολμηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, εἶναι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι οἱ πλέον ἡρμωμένῳ φίλων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον.

[10.3] Love is wont to bring many calamities upon men. Lysimachus, although by this time of mature age and considered happy in respect of his children, and although Agathocles had children by Lysandra, nevertheless married Lysandra's sister Arsinoe. This Arsinoe, fearing for her children, lest on the death of Lysimachus they should fall into the hands of Agathocles, is said for this reason to have plotted against Agathocles. Historians have already related how Arsinoe fell in love with Agathocles, and being unsuccessful they say that she plotted against his life. They say also that Lysimachus discovered later his wife's machinations, but was by this time powerless, having lost all his friends.

[4] ὡς γὰρ διὴ τότε ὁ Λυσίμαχος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἀρσινόη παρήκε, Λυσάνδρα παρὰ Σέλευκον ἐκδιδράσκει τοὺς τε παῖδας ἅμα ἀγομένη καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοὺς αὐτῆς, τοῖς περιελθὼν τοῦτο ἐς Πτολεμαῖον καταφεύγουσι. τοῦτοις ἐκδιδράσκουσι παρὰ Σέλευκον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠκολούθησεν, υἱὸς

μὲν Λυσιμάχου, γεγονῶς δὲ ἐξ Ὀδρυσιάδος γυναικός. οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐς

Βαβυλῶνα ἀναβηβηκότες ἰκέτευον Σέλευκον ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Λυσιμάχον καταστῆναι· καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἅμα, ᾧ τὰ χρήματα ἐπετέτραπτο Λυσιμάχου, τῇ τε Ἀγαθοκλέους τελευτῇ χαλεπῶς φέρων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρσινόης ὑπόπτα ἡγούμενος καταλαμβάνει Πέργαμον τὴν ὑπὲρ Καΐκου, πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίδου Σελεύκῳ.

[10.4] Since Lysimachus, then, overlooked Arsinoe's murder of Agathocles, Lysandra fled to Seleucus, taking with her her children and her brothers, who were taking refuge with Ptolemy and finally adopted this course. They were accompanied on their flight to Seleucus by Alexander who was the son of Lysimachus by an Odrysian woman. So they going up to Babylon entreated Seleucus to make war on Lysimachus. And at the same time Philetaerus, to whom the property of Lysimachus had been entrusted, aggrieved at the death of Agathocles and suspicious of the treatment he would receive at the hands of Arsinoe, seized Pergamus on the Caicus, and sending a herald offered both the property and himself to Seleucus.

[5] Λυσιμάχος δὲ ταῦτα πάντα πυνθανόμενος ἔφθη διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄρξας αὐτὸς πολέμου συμβαλὼν τε Σελεύκῳ παρὰ πολὺ τε ἐκρατήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὃς ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς Ὀδρυσίδος ἐγγόνει οἱ, πολλὰ Λυσάνδραν παραιτησάμενος ἀναιρεῖται τε καὶ ὕστερον τούτων ἐς Χερρόνησον κομίσας ἔθαψεν, ἔνθα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν οἱ φανερὸς ὁ τάφος Καρδίας τε μεταξὺ κώμης καὶ Πακτύης.

[10.5] Lysimachus hearing of all these things lost no time in crossing into Asia, and assuming the initiative met Seleucus, suffered a severe defeat and was killed. Alexander, his son by the Odrysian woman, after interceding long with Lysandra, won his body and afterwards carried it to the Chersonesus and buried it, where his grave is still to be seen between the village of Cardia and Pactye.

11. τὰ μὲν οὖν Λυσιμάχου τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ καὶ Πύρρου. οὗτος ὁ Πύρρος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆκεν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα κατὰ γένος· Αἰακίδου γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρύββου Πύρρος ἦν, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς Νεοπτολέμου, Νεοπτολέμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρύββῳ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀλκέτας ὁ Θαρύπου. ἀπὸ δὲ Θαρύπου ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως πέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ γενεαί· πρῶτος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἀλούσης Ἰλίου τὴν μὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ὑπερεῖδεν ἀναχώρησιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἥπειρον κατάρας ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλένου χρησμῶν ὥκησε. καὶ οἱ παῖς ἐκ μὲν Ἑρμιόνης ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς, ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης δὲ Μολοσσὸς καὶ Πίελος καὶ νεώτατος ὁ Πέργαμος. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλένῳ Κεστρίνος· τούτῳ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχῃ συνώκησεν ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρου.

[11.1] XI. Such was the history of Lysimachus. The Athenians have also a statue of Pyrrhus. This Pyrrhus was not related to Alexander, except by ancestry. Pyrrhus was son of Aeacides, son of Arybbas, but Alexander was son of

Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, and the father of Neoptolemus and Aryblas was Alcetas, son of Tharypus. And from Tharypus to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, are fifteen generations. Now Pyrrhus was the first who after the capture of Troy disdained to return to Thessaly, but sailing to Epeirus dwelt there because of the oracles of Helenus. By Hermione Pyrrhus had no child, but by Andromache he had Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus, who was the youngest. Helenus also had a son, Cestrinus, being married to Andromache after the murder of Pyrrhus at Delphi.

[2] Ἐλένου δὲ ὥς ἐτελεύτα Μολοσσῶ τῷ Πύρρου παραδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Κεστρίνος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν Ἑπειρωτῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ Θύαμιν ποταμὸν χώραν ἔσχε, Πέργαμος δὲ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἄρειον δυναστεύοντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μονομαχήσαντά οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἔδωκε τὸ νῦν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ: καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης — ἠκολούθει γάρ οἱ — καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡρῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. Πίελος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἑπείρῳ, καὶ ἐς πρόγονον τοῦτον ἀνέβαινε Πύρρος τε ὁ Αἰακίδου καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Μολοσσόν.

[11.2] Helenus on his death passed on the kingdom to Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, so that Cestrinus with volunteers from the Epeirots took possession of the region beyond the river Thyamis, while Pergamus crossed into Asia and killed Areius, despot in Teuthrania, who fought with him in single combat for his kingdom, and gave his name to the city which is still called after him. To Andromache, who accompanied him, there is still a shrine in the city. Pielus remained behind in Epeirus, and to him as ancestor Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, and his fathers traced their descent, and not to Molossus.

PYRRHUS OF MACEDONIA, HISTORY

[3] ἦν δὲ ἄχρι μὲν Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Θαρύπου ἐφ' ἐνὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ Ἑπειρωτῶν: οἱ δὲ Ἀλκέτου παῖδες, ὥς σφισι στασιάσασι μετέδοξεν ἐπ' ἴσης ἄρχειν, αὐτοὶ τε πιστῶς ἔχοντες διέμειναν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φόβον ἐπανελθούσης ἐς Ἑπειρον, Αἰακίδης ὁ Ἀρύββου τὰ τε ἄλλα διετέλει κατήκοος ὢν Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ συνεστράτευσε πολεμήσων Ἀριδαίῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν, οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἔπεσθαι τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν.

[11.3] Down to Alcetas, son of Tharypus, Epeirus too was under one king. But the sons of Alcetas after a quarrel agreed to rule with equal authority, remaining faithful to their compact; and afterwards, when Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, died among the Leucani, and Olympias returned to Epeirus through fear of Antipater, Aeacides, son of Arybbas, continued in allegiance to Olympias and joined in her campaign against Aridaeus and the Macedonians, although the Epeirots refused to accompany him.

[4] Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ὥς ἐπεκράτησεν ἀνόσια μὲν ἐργασαμένης καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀριδαίου θάνατον, πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι ἀνοσιώτερα ἐς ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάξια ὕστερον ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παθεῖν νομισθείσης, Αἰακίδην

οὖν κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔχθος ἐδέχοντο Ἡπειῶται, εὐρομένου δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον παρὰ τούτων συγγνώμην δεύτερα ἡναντιοῦτο Κάσσανδρος μὴ κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἡπειρον. γενομένης δὲ Φιλίππου τε ἀδελφοῦ Κασσάνδρου καὶ Αἰακίδου μάχης πρὸς Οἰνιάδαις, Αἰακίδην μὲν τρωθέντα κατέλαβε μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ χρεών:

[11.4] Olympias on her victory behaved wickedly in the matter of the death of Aridaeus, and much more wickedly to certain Macedonians, and for this reason was considered to have deserved her subsequent treatment at the hands of Cassander; so Aeacides at first was not received even by the Epeirots because of their hatred of Olympias, and when afterwards they forgave him, his return to Epeirus was next opposed by Cassander. When a battle occurred at Oeneadae between Philip, brother of Cassander, and Aeacides, Aeacides was wounded and shortly after met his fate.

[5] Ἡπειῶται δὲ Ἀλκétαν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατεδέξαντο, Ἀρύββου μὲν παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὸν Αἰακίδου πρεσβύτερον, ἀκρατῇ δὲ ἄλλως θυμοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐξελασθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. καὶ τότε ἦκων ἐξεμαίνετο εὐθὺς ἐς τοὺς Ἡπειρώτας, ἐς ὃ νύκτωρ αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπαναστάντες ἔκτειναν. ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοῦτον Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου κατάγουσιν: ἦκοντι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπεστράτεψε Κάσσανδρος, νέῳ τε ἡλικίᾳ ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ κατεσκευασμένῳ βεβαίως. Πύρρος δὲ ἐπιόντων Μακεδόνων ἐς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἀναβαίνει τὸν Λάγῳ: καὶ οἱ Πτολεμαῖος γυναικὰ τ' ἔδωκεν ἀδελφὴν ὁμομητρίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων καὶ στόλῳ κατήγαγεν Αἰγυπτίῳ.

[11.5] The Epeirots accepted Alcetas as their king, being the son of Arybbas and the elder brother of Aeacides, but of an uncontrollable temper and on this account banished by his father. Immediately on his arrival he began to vent his fury on the Epeirots, until they rose up and put him and his children to death at night. After killing him they brought back Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. No sooner had he arrived than Cassander made war upon him, while he was young in years and before he had consolidated his empire. When the Macedonians attacked him, Pyrrhus went to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Egypt. Ptolemy gave him to wife the half-sister of his children, and restored him by an Egyptian force.

[6] Πύρρος δὲ βασιλεύσας πρώτοις ἐπέθετο Ἑλλήνων Κορκυραίοις, κειμένην τε ὁρῶν τὴν νῆσον πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας καὶ ἄλλοις ὀρμητήριον ἐφ' αὐτόν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ἀλοῦσαν Κόρκυραν ὅσα μὲν Λυσιμάχῳ πολεμῆσας ἔπαθε καὶ ὡς Δημήτριον ἐκβαλὼν Μακεδονίας ἤρξεν ἐς ὃ αὐτὴς ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου, τάδε μὲν τοῦ Πύρρου μέγιστα ἐς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν δεδήλωκεν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἐς Λυσιμάχον ἔχοντα:

[11.6] The first Greeks that Pyrrhus attacked on becoming king were the Corcyraeans. He saw that the island lay off his own territory, and he did not wish others to have a base from which to attack him. My account of Lysimachus has already related how he fared, after taking Corcyra, in his war

with Lysimachus, how he expelled Demetrius and ruled Macedonia until he was in turn expelled by Lysimachus, the most important of his achievements until he waged war against the Romans,

[7] Ῥωμαίοις δὲ οὐδένα Πύρρου πρότερον πολεμήσαντα ἴσμεν Ἑλληνα. Διομήδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργείων τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι γενέσθαι πρὸς Αἰνείαν λέγεται μάχην· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐλπίσασι καὶ Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι τὸ ἐν Συρακούσαις πταῖσμα ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο μὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν πείραν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, γένους τε ὦν Πύρρῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡλικία πρεσβύτερος, ἀποθανὼν ἐν Λευκανοῖς ἔφθη πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν Ῥωμαίοις.

[11.7] being the first Greek we know of to do so. For no further battle, it is said, took place between Aeneas and Diomedes with his Argives. One of the many ambitions of the Athenians was to reduce all Italy, but the disaster at Syracuse prevented their trying conclusions with the Romans. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, of the same family as Pyrrhus but older, died among the Leucani before he could meet the Romans in battle.

12. οὕτω Πύρρος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς πέραν Ἰονίου διαβὰς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους· διέβη δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐπαγαγομένων Ταραντίνων. τούτοις γὰρ πρότερον ἔτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνειστήκει πόλεμος· ἀδύνατοι δὲ κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν, προϋπαρχούσης μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας, ὅτι οἱ πολεμοῦντι τὸν πρὸς Κόρκυραν πόλεμον ναυσὶ συνήραντο, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀνέπεισαν τὸν Πύρρον, τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν διδάσκοντες ὡς εὐδαιμονίας ἔνεκα ἀντὶ πάσης εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον αὐτῷ παραπέμψαι σφᾶς φίλους τε καὶ ἰκέτας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἤκοντας. ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν πρέσβεων μνήμη τὸν Πύρρον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐσήλθε τῆς Ἰλίου, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα ἠλπίζε χωρήσειν πολεμοῦντι· στρατεύειν γὰρ ἐπὶ Τρώων ἀποίκους Ἀχιλλέως ὦν ἀπόγονος.

[12.1] XII. So Pyrrhus was the first to cross the Ionian Sea from Greece to attack the Romans. And even he crossed on the invitation of the Tarentines. For they were already involved in a war with the Romans, but were no match for them unaided. Pyrrhus was already in their debt, because they had sent a fleet to help him in his war with Corcyra, but the most cogent arguments of the Tarentine envoys were their accounts of Italy, how its prosperity was equal to that of the whole of Greece, and their plea that it was wicked to dismiss them when they had come as friends and suppliants in their hour of need. When the envoys urged these considerations, Pyrrhus remembered the capture of Troy, which he took to be an omen of his success in the war, as he was a descendant of Achilles making war upon a colony of Trojans.

[2] ὥς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἤρεσκε — διέμελλε γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ὧν ἔλοιτο — , αὐτίκα ναῦς τε ἐπλήρου μακρὰς καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα εὐτρέπιζεν ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας ὀπλίτας ἄγειν. ἔστι δὲ ἀνδράσι βιβλία οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα ἔργων ὑπομνήματα εἶναι. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ μοι μάλιστα ἐπῆλθε

θαυμάσαι Πύρρου τόλμαν τε, ἦν μαχόμενος αὐτὸς τε παρείχετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ μέλλουσιν ἀγῶσι πρόνοιαν: ὃς καὶ τότε περαιούμενος ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίους ἐλελήθει καὶ ἥκων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἦν σφίσι φανερός, γινομένης δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Ταραντίνους συμβολῆς τότε δὴ πρῶτον ἐπιφαίνεται σὺν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα σφίσι προσπεσών, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐτάραξεν.

[12.2] Pleased with this proposal, and being a man who never lost time when once he had made up his mind, he immediately proceeded to man war ships and to prepare transports to carry horses and men-at-arms. There are books written by men of no renown as historians, entitled "Memoirs." When I read these I marvelled greatly both at the personal bravery of Pyrrhus in battle, and also at the forethought he displayed whenever a contest was imminent. So on this occasion also when crossing to Italy with a fleet he eluded the observation of the Romans, and for some time after his arrival they were unaware of his presence; it was only when the Romans made an attack upon the Tarentines that he appeared on the scene with his army, and his unexpected assault naturally threw his enemies into confusion.

[3] ἄτε δὲ ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος ὥς οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος εἶη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, παρεσκευάζετο ὥς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαφήσων σφίσιν. ἐλέφαντας δὲ πρῶτος μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκτήσατο Πῶρον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καθελὼν τὴν Ἰνδῶν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πλείστους ἔσχεν Ἀντίγονος, Πύρρῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐγεγόνει τῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον τὰ θηρία αἰχμάλωτα: τότε δὲ ἐπιφανέντων αὐτῶν δεῖμα ἔλαβε Ῥωμαῖους ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐ ζῶα εἶναι νομίσαντας.

[12.3] And being perfectly aware that he was no match for the Romans, he prepared to let loose against them his elephants. The first European to acquire elephants was Alexander, after subduing Porus and the power of the Indians; after his death others of the kings got them but Antigonus more than any; Pyrrhus captured his beasts in the battle with Demetrius. When on this occasion they came in sight the Romans were seized with panic, and did not believe they were animals.

[4] ἐλέφαντα γάρ, ὅσος μὲν ἐς ἔργα καὶ ἀνδρῶν χεῖρας, εἰσὶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ δηλοὶ πάντες εἰδότες: αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ θηρία, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐδὲ ἐωράκεσαν ἀρχὴν πλὴν Ἰνδῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ὅσοι πλησιόχωροι τούτοις. δηλοῖ δὲ Ὅμηρος, ὃς βασιλεῦσι κλίνας μὲν καὶ οἰκίας τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστεροῖς αὐτῶν ἐλέφαντι ἐποίησε κεκοσμημένας, θηρίου δὲ ἐλέφαντος μνήμην οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησατο: θεασάμενος δὲ ἢ πετυσμένος ἐμνημόνευσεν ἂν πολὺ γε πρότερον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ Πυγμαίων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεράνων μάχης.

[12.4] For although the use of ivory in arts and crafts all men obviously have known from of old, the actual beasts, before the Macedonians crossed into Asia, nobody had seen at all except the Indians themselves, the Libyans, and their neighbours. This is proved by Homer, who describes the couches and

houses of the more prosperous kings as ornamented with ivory, but never mentions the beast; but if he had seen or heard about it he would, in my opinion have been much more likely to speak of it than of the battle between the Dwarf-men and cranes.

[5] Πύρρον δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπήγαγε πρεσβεία Συρακουσίων· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ διαβάντες τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τῶν πόλεων ἐποίουν ἀναστάτους, ἣ δὲ ἦν λοιπή, Συρακούσαις πολιορκοῦντες προσεκάθηντο. ἃ τῶν πρέσβων Πύρρος ἀκούων Τάραντα μὲν εἶα καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχοντας Ἰταλιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν διαβὰς Καρχηδόνιους ἠνάγκασεν ἀπαναστῆναι Συρακουσῶν. φρονήσας δὲ ἐφ' αὐτῷ Καρχηδονίων, οἱ θαλάσσης τῶν τότε βαρβάρων μάλιστα εἶχον ἐμπείρως Τύριοι Φοίνικες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες, τούτων ἐναντία ἐπήρθη ναυμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις χρώμενος, οἱ μὴδὲ ἀλούσης Ἰλίου θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ μὴδὲ ἄλσιν ἠπίσταντό πω χρῆσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὀμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα·”οἱ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν

ἀνέρες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.

“Hom. Od.11.122

[12.5] Pyrrhus was brought over to Sicily by an embassy of the Syracusans. The Carthaginians had crossed over and were destroying the Greek cities, and had sat down to invest Syracuse, the only one now remaining. When Pyrrhus heard this from the envoys he abandoned Tarentum and the Italiots on the coast, and crossing into Sicily forced the Carthaginians to raise the siege of Syracuse. In his self-conceit, although the Carthaginians, being Phoenicians of Tyre by ancient descent, were more experienced sea men than any other non-Greek people of that day, Pyrrhus was nevertheless encouraged to meet them in a naval battle, employing the Epeirots, the majority of whom, even after the capture of Troy, knew no thing of the sea nor even as yet how to use salt. Witness the words of Homer in the Odyssey:— Nothing they know of ocean, and mix not salt with their victuals. Hom. Od. 11.122

13. τότε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος, ὥς ἡττήθη, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τάραντα ἀνήγετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐνταῦθα προσέπταισε μεγάλως καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν — οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχεῖ Ῥωμαίους ἠπίστατο ἀφήσοντας — πορίζεται τρόπον τοῦτον. ὥς ἐπανάγκαν ἐκ Σικελίας ἡττήθη, πρῶτον διέπεμπε γράμματα ἕς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τοὺς μὲν στρατιὰν τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς δὲ χρήματα, Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω αἰτῶν· ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὥς οἱ γράμματα ἀπεδόθη, συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν τε ἐξ Ἑπείρου καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων, ὧν μὲν εἶχε τὰ βιβλία ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ ἤξειν συμμαχίαν ἔλεγε. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἦλθε φήμη Μακεδόνας καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη περαιοῦσθαι τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ἐς τὴν Πύρρου βοήθειαν· Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἡσύχαζον, Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν περαιοῦται νύκτα πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν, ἃ Κεραυνία ὀνομάζουσι.

[13.1] XIII. Worsted on this occasion Pyrrhus put back with the remainder of his vessels to Tarentum. Here he met with a serious reverse, and his retirement,

for he knew that the Romans would not let him depart without striking a blow, he contrived in the following manner. On his return from Sicily and his defeat, he first sent various dispatches to Asia and to Antigonos, asking some of the kings for troops, some for money, and Antigonos for both. When the envoys returned and their dispatches were delivered, he summoned those in authority, whether Epeiros or Tarentine, and without reading any of the dispatches declared that reinforcements would come. A report spread quickly even to the Romans that Macedonians and Asiatic tribes also were crossing to the aid of Pyrrhus. The Romans, on hearing this, made no move, but Pyrrhus on the approach of that very night crossed to the headlands of the mountains called Ceraunian.

[2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πληγὴν ἀναπαύσας τὴν δύναμιν προεῖπεν Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐς Ἰταλίαν βοηθείας διαμαρτίαν. κρατήσας δὲ τὴν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσει πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. δημοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρου νίκην, ὥς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὅπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς τε τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰωνίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: "τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθῆνα

“

[13.2] After the defeat in Italy Pyrrhus gave his forces a rest and then declared war on Antigonos, his chief ground of complaint being the failure to send reinforcements to Italy. Overpowering the native troops of Antigonos and his Gallic mercenaries he pursued them to the coast cities, and himself reduced upper Macedonia and the Thessalians. The extent of the fighting and the decisive character of the victory of Pyrrhus are shown best by the Celtic armour dedicated in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena between Pherae and Larisa, with this inscription on them:—

[3] “Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,

πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν. οὐ μέγα θαῦμα:

αἰχματὰ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαί.

“τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα, τῷ δὲ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ ταύταις:” αἶδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαῖαν ἐπόρθησαν πολύχρυσον,

αἶδε καὶ “Ἑλλασιν δουλοσύναν ἔπορον.

νῦν δὲ Διὸς ναῶ ποτὶ κίονας ὀρφανὰ κεῖται

τᾶς μεγαλαυχίῳ σκῦλα Μακεδονίας.

“

Πύρρῳ δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐς ἅπαν μὴ καταστρέψασθαι παρ' ὀλίγον ὅμως ἦκοντι
ἐγένετο Κλεώνυμος αἴτιος,

[13.3]

Pyrrhus the Molossian hung these shields
taken from the bold Gauls as a gift to Itonian
Athena, when he had destroyed all the host
of Antigonus. 'Tis no great marvel. The
Aeacidae are warriors now, even as they were of old.

These shields then are here, but the bucklers of the Macedonians themselves
he dedicated to Dodonian Zeus. They too have an inscription:—

These once ravaged golden Asia, and brought
slavery upon the Greeks. Now ownerless
they lie by the pillars of the temple of Zeus,
spoils of boastful Macedonia.

Pyrrhus came very near to reducing Macedonia entirely, but,

[4] ἐτοιμοτέρῳ καὶ ἄλλως ὄντι ἐλέσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν. Κλεώνυμος δὲ οὗτος, ὁ
τὸν Πύρρον ἀπολιπόντα τὰ Μακεδόνων πείσας ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθεῖν,
Λακεδαιμόνιος ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολέμιον ἐπῆγε δι'
αἰτίαν, ἣν ἐγὼ τοῦ γένους ὕστερον τοῦ Κλεωνύμου δηλώσω. Πανσανίου τοῦ
περὶ Πλάταιαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡγησαμένου Πλειστοάναξ υἱὸς ἐγένετο, τοῦ δὲ
Πανσανίας, τοῦ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ὃς ἐναντία Ἐπαμινώνδα καὶ Θηβαίους
μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Λέκτροις· Κλεομβρότου δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ
Κλεομένης, Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος Κλεομένης τὴν
βασιλείαν ἔσχε.

[13.4] being usually readier to do what came first to hand, he was prevented by
Cleonymus. This Cleonymus, who persuaded Pyrrhus to abandon his
Macedonian adventure and to go to the Peloponnesus, was a Lacedaemonian
who led an hostile army into the Lacedaemonian territory for a reason which I
will relate after giving the descent of Cleonymus. Pausanias, who was in
command of the Greeks at Plataea, was the father of Pleistoanax, he of
Pausanias, and he of Cleombrotus, who was killed at Leuctra fighting against
Epaminondas and the Thebans. Cleombrotus was the father of Agesipolis and
Cleomenes, and, Agesipolis dying without issue, Cleomenes ascended the
throne.

[5] Κλεομένει δὲ παῖδες γίνονται πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀκρότατος, νεώτερος δὲ
Κλεώνυμος. Ἀκρότατον μὲν οὖν πρότερον κατέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή· Κλεομένου
δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὕστερον ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν κατέστη περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρεὺς ὁ
Ἀκροτάτου, καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ μετελθὼν ἐπάγει Πύρρον ἐς τὴν
χώραν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐδὲν ἐγεγόνει πταῖσμα,
ὥστε οὐδὲ συνεχώρουν ἀγῶνι πῶ κεκρατῆσθαι πεζῶ· Λεωνίδα μὲν γὰρ
νικῶντι οὐκ ἔφασαν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐς τελέαν ἐξαρκέσαι φθοράν τῶν

Μήδων, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους ἔργον πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ Σφακτηρίᾳ κλοπὴν εἶναι πολέμου καὶ οὐ νίκην.

[13.5] Cleomenes had two sons, the elder being Acrotatus and the younger Cleonymus. Now Acrotatus died first; and when afterwards Cleomenes died, a claim to the throne was put forward by Areus son of Acrotatus, and Cleonymus took steps to induce Pyrrhus to enter the country. Before the battle of Leuctra the Lacedaemonians had suffered no disaster, so that they even refused to admit that they had yet been worsted in a land battle. For Leonidas, they said, had won the victory, but his followers were insufficient for the entire destruction of the Persians; the achievement of Demosthenes and the Athenians on the island of Sphacteria was no victory, but only a trick in war.

[6] πρώτης δὲ γενομένης σφίσι συμφορᾶς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, ὕστερον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγάλως προσέπταισαν: τρίτος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου πόλεμος κακὸν ἀνέλπιστον ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. Πύρρου δὲ ἐσβαλόντος τέταρτον δὴ τότε στρατὸν ὀρῶντες πολέμιον αὐτοῖ τε παρετάσσοντο καὶ Ἀργείων ἦκοντες καὶ Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι: Πύρρος δὲ ὥς

ἐπεκράτησεν, ὀλίγου μὲν ἦλθεν ἐλεῖν αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν πόλιν, δηώσας δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ λείαν ἐλάσας μικρὸν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπίζοντο, πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον τάφροις τε βαθείαις καὶ σταυροῖς τετειχισμένης ἰσχυροῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμαχότατα καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν.

[13.6] Their first reverse took place in Boeotia, and they afterwards suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Antipater and the Macedonians. Thirdly the war with Demetrius came as an unexpected misfortune to their land. Invaded by Pyrrhus and seeing a hostile army for the fourth time, they arrayed themselves to meet it along with the Argives and Messenians who had come as their allies. Pyrrhus won the day, and came near to capturing Sparta without further fighting, but desisted for a while after ravaging the land and carrying off plunder. The citizens prepared for a siege, and Sparta even before this in the war with Demetrius had been fortified with deep trenches and strong stakes, and at the most vulnerable points with buildings as well.

[7] ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ τριβὴν Ἀντίγονος τὰς πόλεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνασωσάμενος ἠπείγετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἷα ἐπιστάμενος Πύρρον, ἦν Λακεδαιμόνα καταστρέφῃται καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἐς Ἥπειρον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε Μακεδονίαν αὖθις καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἤξοντα: μέλλοντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἐληλύθει Πύρρος. κρατῶν δὲ καὶ τότε συνεσπίπτει τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οἱ διαλύεται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἢ τάξιν:

[13.7] Just about this time, while the Laconian war was dragging on, Antigonos, having recovered the Macedonian cities, hastened to the Peloponnesus being well aware that if Pyrrhus were to reduce Lacedaemon and the greater part of

the Peloponnesus, he would not return to Epeirus but to Macedonia to make war there again. When Antigonos was about to lead his army from Argos into Laconia, Pyrrhus himself reached Argos. Victorious once more he dashed into the city along with the fugitives, and his formation not unnaturally was broken up.

[8] μαχομένων δὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἤδη καὶ οἰκίαις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πύρρος ἐμονώθη καὶ τιτρώσκεται τὴν κεφαλὴν. κεράμῳ δὲ βληθέντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τεθνάναι φασὶ Πύρρον: Ἀργεῖοι δὲ οὐ γυναιῖκα τὴν ἀποκτείνασαν, Δήμητρα δὲ φασιν εἶναι γυναικὶ εἰκασμένην. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πύρρου τελευτὴν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητὴς Λυκέας ἐν ἔπεσιν εἶρηκε: καὶ σφισιν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος, ἔνθα ὁ Πύρρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος:

[13.8] When the fighting was now taking place by sanctuaries and houses, and in the narrow lanes, between detached bodies in different parts of the town, Pyrrhus left by himself was wounded in the head. It is said that his death was caused by a blow from a tile thrown by a woman. The Argives however declare that it was not a woman who killed him but Demeter in the likeness of a woman. This is what the Argives themselves relate about his end, and Lyceas, the guide for the neighborhood, has written a poem which confirms the story. They have a sanctuary of Demeter, built at the command of the oracle, on the spot where Pyrrhus died, and in it Pyrrhus is buried.

[9] ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Πύρρος τέθαιπται. θαῦμα δὴ ποιοῦμαι τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακιδῶν τρισὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν, εἴ γε Ἀχιλλέα μὲν Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησὶ τοῦ Πριάμου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολέσθαι, Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι Δελφοῖς, τῷ δὲ Αἰακίδου συνέβη τὰ ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν οἷα Ἀργεῖοί τε λέγουσι καὶ Λυκέας ἐποίησε. διάφορα δὲ ὅμως ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα ὧν Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Καρδιανὸς ἔγραψεν: ἀνδρὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ συνόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐς χάριν συγγράφειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος αἰτίαν δικαίαν εἴληφεν, ἐπελπίζων τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις κάθοδον, ἀποκρύνασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα, ἧ ποὺ πολλή γε Ἰερωνύμῳ συγγνώμη τὰ ἐς ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόνου γράφειν.

[13.9] I consider it remarkable that of those styled Aeacidae three met their end by similar heaven-sent means; if, as Homer says, Achilles was killed by Alexander, son of Priam, and by Apollo, if the Delphians were bidden by the Pythia to slay Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, and if the end of the son of Aeacides was such as the Argives say and Lyceas has described in his poem. The account, however, given by Hieronymus the Cardian is different, for a man who associates with royalty cannot help being a partial historian. If Philistus was justified in suppressing the most wicked deeds of Dionysius, because he expected his return to Syracuse, surely Hieronymus may be fully forgiven for writing to please Antigonos.

14. ἡ μὲν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἀκμὴ κατέστρεψεν ἐς τοῦτο: ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν

ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θεάς ἄξιος. πλησίον δέ ἐστι κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου: φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς ἐστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη. ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια λέγεται γράψω, παρεῖς ὅποσον ἐς Δηϊόπην ἔχει τοῦ λόγου.

[14.1] XIV. So ended the period of Epeiroi ascendancy. When you have entered the Odeum at Athens you meet, among other objects, a figure of Dionysus worth seeing. Hard by is a spring called Enneacrunos (Nine Jets), embellished as you see it by Peisistratus. There are cisterns all over the city, but this is the only fountain. Above the spring are two temples, one to Demeter and the Maid, while in that of Triptolemus is a statue of him. The accounts given of Triptolemus I shall write, omitting from the story as much as relates to Deiope.

[2] Ἑλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα, ἃ παρὰ θεῶν φασὶν ἔχειν, εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ βαρβάρων Φρυγῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. λέγεται οὖν ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο οἶκῳ καὶ ὡς Χρυσανθὶς τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγήσαιτο: ὕστερον δὲ Τροχίλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγήνορος ἐλθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναῖκά τε ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος γῆμαι καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ Τριπτόλεμον. ὁδε μὲν Ἀργείων ἐστὶ λόγος Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ τούτοις * * ἴσασι Τριπτόλεμον τὸν Κελεοῦ πρῶτον σπεῖραι καρπὸν ἤμερον.

[14.2] The Greeks who dispute most the Athenian claim to antiquity and the gifts they say they have received from the gods are the Argives, just as among those who are not Greeks the Egyptians compete with the Phrygians. It is said, then, that when Demeter came to Argos she was received by Pelasgus into his home, and that Chrysanthis, knowing about the rape of the Maid, related the story to her. Afterwards Trochilus, the priest of the mysteries, fled, they say, from Argos because of the enmity of Agenor, came to Attica and married a woman of Eleusis, by whom he had two children, Eubuleus and Triptolemus. That is the account given by the Argives. But the Athenians and those who with them . . . know that Triptolemus, son of Celeus, was the first to sow seed for cultivation.

[3] ἔπη δὲ ἄδεται Μουσαίου μὲν, εἰ δὴ Μουσαίου καὶ ταῦτα, Τριπτόλεμον παῖδα Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι, Ὀρφέως δέ, οὐδὲ ταῦτα Ὀρφέως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα, Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Τριπτολέμῳ Δυσάυλῃν πατέρα εἶναι, μνηύσασσι δὲ σφισι περὶ τῆς παιδὸς δοθῆναι παρὰ Δήμητρος σπεῖραι τοὺς καρπούς: Χοιρίλῳ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ δρᾶμα ποιήσαντι Ἀλόπην ἔστιν εἰρημένα Κερκυόνα εἶναι καὶ Τριπτόλεμον ἀδελφούς, τεκεῖν δὲ σφᾶς θυγατέρας Ἀμφικτύονος, εἶναι δὲ πατέρα Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν Ῥᾶρον, Κερκυόνι δὲ Ποσειδῶνα. πρόσω δὲ ἰέναι με ὠρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ τόποισι ἐξήγησιν ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερόν, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχεν ὅπως ὀνειράτος: ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὅσιον

γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέβομαι.

[14.3] Some extant verses of Musaeus, if indeed they are to be included among his works, say that Triptolemus was the son of Oceanus and Earth; while those ascribed to Orpheus (though in my opinion the received authorship is again incorrect) say that Eubuleus and Triptolemus were sons of Dysaules, and that because they gave Demeter information about her daughter the sowing of seed was her reward to them. But Choerilus, an Athenian, who wrote a play called Alope, says that Cercyon and Triptolemus were brothers, that their mother was the daughter of Amphictyon, while the father of Triptolemus was Rarus, of Cercyon, Poseidon. After I had intended to go further into this story, and to describe the contents of the sanctuary at Athens, called the Eleusinium, I was stayed by a vision in a dream. I shall therefore turn to those things it is lawful to write of to all men.

[4] πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος, πεποιήται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος, ὃν ἐλθόντα ἐς ἀγρὸν κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἐσελθόντα ἐς σπήλαιον: ὁ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι, καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε ἐποίει καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Θάλης δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν νόσον παύσας οὔτε ἄλλως προσήκων οὔτε πόλεως ἦν Ἐπιμενίδῃ τῆς αὐτῆς: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος, Θάλητα δὲ εἶναί φησι Γορτύνιον Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος ἔπη Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας.

[14.4] In front of this temple, where is also the statue of Triptolemus, is a bronze bull being led as it were to sacrifice, and there is a sitting figure of Epimenides of Cnossus, who they say entered a cave in the country and slept. And the sleep did not leave him before the fortieth year, and afterwards he wrote verses and purified Athens and other cities. But Thales who stayed the plague for the Lacedaemonians was not related to Epimenides in any way, and belonged to a different city. The latter was from Cnossus, but Thales was from Gortyn, according to Polymnastus of Colophon, who composed a poem about him for the Lacedaemonians.

[5] — ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἱ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον. φρονῆσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα εἰκάζω: καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὥς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσεδοκάτο ἡ τελευτή, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας: ὁ δὲ τό τε ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὥς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλσος καὶ Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας.

[14.5] Still farther of is a temple to Glory, this too being a thank-offering for the victory over the Persians, who had landed at Marathon. This is the victory of which I am of opinion the Athenians were proudest; while Aeschylus, who had won such renown for his poetry and for his share in the naval battles

before Artemisium and at Salamis, recorded at the prospect of death nothing else, and merely wrote his name, his father's name, and the name of his city, and added that he had witnesses to his valor in the grove at Marathon and in the Persians who landed there.

[6] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασιλείον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιοῦμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁρῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὗρισκον· τοῦτοις γάρ ἐστιν εἰρημένον Ποσειδῶνος καὶ λίμνης Τριτωνίδος θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλαυκοὺς εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

[14.6] Above the Cerameicus and the portico called the King's Portico is a temple of Hephaestus. I was not surprised that by it stands a statue of Athena, be cause I knew the story about Erichthonius. But when I saw that the statue of Athena had blue eyes I found out that the legend about them is Libyan. For the Libyans have a saying that the Goddess is the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis, and for this reason has blue eyes like Poseidon.

[7] πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἀσσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυπρίων Παφίους καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν· Ἀθηναίους δὲ κατεστήσατο Αἰγεύς, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ εἶναι παῖδας νομίζων — οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἦσαν — καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκ μηνίματος τῆς Οὐρανίας. τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἄγαλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου· δῆμος δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίους Ἀθμονέων, οἱ Πορφυρίωνα ἔτι πρότερον Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερόν ιδρύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ ἀνὰ τοὺς δήμους καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες.

[14.7] Hard by is a sanctuary of the Heavenly Aphrodite; the first men to establish her cult were the Assyrians, after the Assyrians the Paphians of Cyprus and the Phoenicians who live at Ascalon in Palestine; the Phoenicians taught her worship to the people of Cythera. Among the Athenians the cult was established by Aegeus, who thought that he was childless (he had, in fact, no children at the time) and that his sisters had suffered their misfortune because of the wrath of Heavenly Aphrodite. The statue still extant is of Parian marble and is the work of Pheidias. One of the Athenian parishes is that of the Athmoneis, who say that Porphyryion, an earlier king than Actaeus, founded their sanctuary of the Heavenly One. But the traditions current among the Parishes often differ altogether from those of the city.

15. ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλῃν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλῃ πλησίον· ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἱππομαχία κρατησάντων Πλείσταρχον, ὃς τῆς ἵππου Κασσάνδρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὢν ἐπετέτραπτο. αὕτη δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνῇ τῆς Ἀργείας· ἐναντία

Λακεδαιμονίων: γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες.

[15.1] XV. As you go to the portico which they call painted, because of its pictures, there is a bronze statue of Hermes of the Market-place, and near it a gate. On it is a trophy erected by the Athenians, who in a cavalry action overcame Pleistarchus, to whose command his brother Cassander had entrusted his cavalry and mercenaries. This portico contains, first, the Athenians arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe in the Argive territory. What is depicted is not the crisis of the battle nor when the action had advanced as far as the display of deeds of valor, but the beginning of the fight when the combatants were about to close.

[2] ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται. μόναις δὲ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξίν οὐκ ἀφήρει τὰ πταίσματα τὸ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδές, εἴ γε Θεμισκύρας τε ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ὕστερον φθαρείσης σφίσι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔστειλαν, ὅμως ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναῖοις τε αὐτοῖς μαχοῦμεναι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν Ἑλληνές εἰσιν ἡρηκότες Ἴλιον καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἡθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα: καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γραφὴ τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχει καὶ γυναικας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄλλας τε καὶ Κασσάνδραν.

[15.2] On the middle wall are the Athenians and Theseus fighting with the Amazons. So, it seems, only the women did not lose through their defeats their reckless courage in the face of danger; Themiscyra was taken by Heracles, and afterwards the army which they dispatched to Athens was destroyed, but nevertheless they came to Troy to fight all the Greeks as well as the Athenians them selves. After the Amazons come the Greeks when they have taken Troy, and the kings assembled on account of the outrage committed by Ajax against Cassandra. The picture includes Ajax himself, Cassandra and other captive women.

[3] τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι: Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴασι ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἔστιν ἴσα τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον: τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆές τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος ἔστιν ἥρως, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδῖον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς: Μαραθωνίοις γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρώτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστα εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλίμαχος τε, ὃς Ἀθηναῖοις πολεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιτυιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων, ἥρως τε Ἑχέτολος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην.

[15.3] At the end of the painting are those who fought at Marathon; the

Boeotians of Plataea and the Attic contingent are coming to blows with the foreigners. In this place neither side has the better, but the center of the fighting shows the foreigners in flight and pushing one another into the morass, while at the end of the painting are the Phoenician ships, and the Greeks killing the foreigners who are scrambling into them. Here is also a portrait of the hero Marathon, after whom the plain is named, of Theseus represented as coming up from the under-world, of Athena and of Heracles. The Marathonians, according to their own account, were the first to regard Heracles as a god. Of the fighters the most conspicuous figures in the painting are Callimachus, who had been elected commander-in-chief by the Athenians, Miltiades, one of the generals, and a hero called Echelus, of whom I shall make mention later.

[4] ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες κεῖνται χαλκαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἀπὸ Σκιωναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ἐπαληθιμένους πίσσῃ, μὴ σφᾶς ὅ τε χρόνος λυμῆνεται καὶ ὁ ἰός, Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι λέγεται τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.

[15.4] Here are dedicated brazen shields, and some have an inscription that they are taken from the Scioneans and their allies, while others, smeared with pitch lest they should be worn by age and rust, are said to be those of the Lacedaemonians who were taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria.

16. ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοῖ κεῖνται πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοᾶς Σόλων ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίοις γράψας, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος, ὃ καὶ πρότερον ἐγένετο ἐς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν μέλλουσαν σημεῖα οὐκ ἀφανῆ. Σελεύκῳ γάρ, ὥς ὠρμᾶτο ἐκ Μακεδονίας σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θύοντι ἐν Πέλλῃ τῷ Διὶ τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κείμενα προύβη τε αὐτόματα πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἄνευ πυρὸς ἤφθη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Σέλευκος Ἀντίγονον ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφικόμενον δέσας καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον φυγῶν τὸν Λάγου κατήλθεν αὖθις ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐκράτησε μὲν τῆς Ἀντιγόνου στρατιᾶς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀντίγονον, εἴλε δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ὕστερον Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου.

[16.1] XVI. Here are placed bronze statues, one, in front of the portico, of Solon, who composed the laws for the Athenians, and, a little farther away, one of Seleucus, whose future prosperity was foreshadowed by unmistakable signs. When he was about to set forth from Macedonia with Alexander, and was sacrificing at Pella to Zeus, the wood that lay on the altar advanced of its own accord to the image and caught fire without the application of a light.

SELEUCUS OF ANTIOCH, HISTORY

On the death of Alexander, Seleucus, in fear of Antigonus, who had arrived at Babylon, fled to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and then returned again to Babylon. On his return he overcame the army of Antigonus and killed Antigonus himself, afterwards capturing Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who had advanced with an army.

[2] ὥς δέ οἱ ταῦτα προκεχωρήκει καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ Λυσιμάχου κατείργαστο, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδί, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἦπείγετο. στρατιὰ μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἦν παρὰ Σελεύκῳ: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λυσάνδρας καὶ παρὰ Λυσιμάχου παρ' αὐτὸν πεφευγώς, ἄλλως δὲ τολμήσαι πρόχειρος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Κεραυνὸς καλούμενος, οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὥς προσίων ὁ Σελεύκου στρατὸς ἐγένετο κατὰ Λυσιμάχειαν, λαθὼν Σέλευκον κτείνει, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ χρήματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδονίας, ἐς ὃ Γαλάταις πρῶτος ὢν ἴσμεν βασιλέων ἀντιτάξασθαι τολμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων: τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Ἀντίγονος ἀνεσώσατο ὁ Δημητρίου.

[16.2] After these successes, which were shortly followed by the fall of Lysimachus, he entrusted to his son Antiochus all his empire in Asia, and himself proceeded rapidly towards Macedonia, having with him an army both of Greeks and of foreigners. But Ptolemy, brother of Lysandra, had taken refuge with him from Lysimachus; this man, an adventurous character named for this reason the Thunderbolt, when the army of Seleucus had advanced as far as Lysimachea, assassinated Seleucus, allowed the kings to seize his wealth, and ruled over Macedonia until, being the first of the kings to my knowledge to dare to meet the Gauls in battle, he was killed by the foreigners. The empire was recovered by Antigonos, son of Demetrius.

[3] Σέλευκον δὲ βασιλέων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πείθομαι καὶ ἄλλως γενέσθαι δίκαιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβῆ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Σέλευκός ἐστιν ὁ Μιλησίους τὸν χαλκοῦν καταπέμψας Ἀπόλλωνα ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἀνακομισθέντα ἐς Ἑκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ὑπὸ Ξέρξου: τοῦτο δὲ Σελεύκειαν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν συνοίκους ὑπελείπετο μὲν τὸ τεῖχος Βαβυλῶνος, ὑπελείπετο δὲ. τοῦ Βῆλ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς Χαλδαίους οἰκεῖν.

[16.3] I am persuaded that Seleucus was the most righteous, and in particular the most religious of the kings. Firstly, it was Seleucus who sent back to Branchidae for the Milesians the bronze Apollo that had been carried by Xerxes to Ecbatana in Persia. Secondly, when he founded Seleucea on the river Tigris and brought to it Babylonian colonists he spared the wall of Babylon as well as the sanctuary of Bel, near which he permitted the Chaldeans to live.

ATHENS

17. Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἑλέου βωμός, ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὄντι ὠφελίμῳ μόνοι τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον, καὶ γὰρ Αἰδοῦς σφισι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὀρμῆς: δῆλὰ τε ἐναργῶς, ὅσοις πλέον τι ἐτέρων εὐσεβείας μέτεστιν, ἴσον σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηστής.

[17.1] XVII. In the Athenian market-place among the objects not generally

known is an altar to Mercy, of all divinities the most useful in the life of mortals and in the vicissitudes of fortune, but honored by the Athenians alone among the Greeks. And they are conspicuous not only for their humanity but also for their devotion to religion. They have an altar to Shamefastness, one to Rumour and one to Effort. It is quite obvious that those who excel in piety are correspondingly rewarded by good fortune.

[2] ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θεᾶς ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῇ: καὶ ὁ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ ὁ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς.

πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν: γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι. πεποιήται δὲ σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ ἡ Λαπιθῶν μάχη: Θησεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονῶς ἐστὶν ἤδη Κένταυρον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη.

[17.2] In the gymnasium not far from the market-place, called Ptolemy's from the founder, are stone Hermae well worth seeing and a likeness in bronze of Ptolemy. Here also is Juba the Libyan and Chrysippus of Soli. Hard by the gymnasium is a sanctuary of Theseus, where are pictures of Athenians fighting Amazons. This war they have also represented on the shield of their Athena and upon the pedestal of the Olympian Zeus. In the sanctuary of Theseus is also a painting of the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithae. Theseus has already killed a Centaur, but elsewhere the fighting is still undecided.

[3] τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένοις ἂ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφὴς ἐστι, τὰ μὲν που διὰ τὸν χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λόγον. Μίνως ἠνίκα Θησέα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον τῶν παίδων ἤγεν ἐς Κρήτην, ἐρασθεὶς Περιβοίας, ὥς οἱ Θησεὺς μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀτέρριπεν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδα οὐκ ἔφη Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν σφραγίδα, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνασῶσαί οἱ. Μίνως μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀφείναι τὴν σφραγίδα: Θησέα δὲ σφραγιδά τε ἐκείνην ἔχοντα καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, Ἀμφιτρίτης δῶρον, ἀνελεθεῖν λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης.

[17.3] The painting on the third wall is not intelligible to those unfamiliar with the traditions, partly through age and partly because Micon has not represented in the picture the whole of the legend. When Minos was taking Theseus and the rest of the company of young folk to Crete he fell in love with Periboea, and on meeting with determined opposition from Theseus, hurled insults at him and denied that he was a son of Poseidon, since he could not recover for him the signet-ring, which he happened to be wearing, if he threw it into the sea. With these words Minos is said to have thrown the ring,

but they say that Theseus came up from the sea with that ring and also with a gold crown that Amphitrite gave him.

[4] ἐς δὲ τὴν τελευταίην τὴν Θησέως πολλὰ ἤδη καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα εἴρηται: δεδέσθαι τε γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐς τόδε ἕως ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀναχθεῖν, πιθανώτατα δὲ ὧν ἤκουσα: Θησεὺς ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐμβαλὼν, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν γυναῖκα ἀρπάσων, τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ Πειρίθους — Πειρίθους γὰρ καὶ τὸν γάμον σπεύδων ἐστράτευσεν — ἤλωσαν, καὶ σφᾶς ὁ Θεσπρωτὸς δῆσας εἶχεν ἐν Κιχύρῳ.

[17.4] The accounts of the end of Theseus are many and inconsistent. They say he was kept a prisoner until Heracles restored him to the light of day, but the most plausible account I have heard is this. Theseus invaded Thesprotia to carry off the wife of the Thesprotian king, and in this way lost the greater part of his army, and both he and Peirithous (he too was taking part in the expedition, being eager for the marriage) were taken captive. The Thesprotian king kept them prisoners at Cichyrus.

[5] γῆς δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἔστι μὲν πού καὶ ἄλλα θεᾶς ἄξια, ἱερόν τε Διὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φηγός: πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνῃ τέ ἐστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὅμηρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἑωρακῶς ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποιήσιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τῶν ἐν Ἄϊδου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι θέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐχομένου Θησέως στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἄφιδναν οἱ Τυνδάρειοι παῖδες καὶ τὴν τε Ἄφιδναν αἰροῦσι καὶ Μενεσθέα ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατήγαγον:

[17.5] Among the sights of Thesprotia are a sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona and an oak sacred to the god. Near Cichyrus is a lake called Acherusia, and a river called Acheron. There is also Cocytus, a most unlovely stream. I believe it was because Homer had seen these places that he made bold to describe in his poems the regions of Hades, and gave to the rivers there the names of those in Thesprotia. While Theseus was thus kept in bonds, the sons of Tyndareus marched against Aphidna, captured it and restored Menestheus to the kingdom.

[6] Μενεσθεὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν παίδων τῶν Θησέως παρ’

Ἐλεφήνορα ὑπεξελθόντων ἐς Εὐβοίαν εἶχεν οὐδένα λόγον, Θησέα δέ, εἴ ποτε παρὰ Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνακομισθῆσεται, δυσανταγώνιστον ἡγούμενος διὰ θεραπείας τὰ τοῦ δήμου καθίστατο, ὡς Θησέα ἀνασωθέντα ὕστερον ἀπωσθῆναι. στέλλεται δὴ Θησεὺς παρὰ Δευκαλίωνα ἐς Κρήτην, ἐξενεχθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐς Σκύρον τὴν νῆσον λαμπρῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Σκύριοι κατὰ γένους δόξαν καὶ ἀξίωμα ὧν ἦν αὐτὸς εἰργασμένος· καὶ οἱ θάνατον Λυκομήδης διὰ ταῦτα ἐβούλευσεν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Θησέως σηκὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο ὕστερον ἢ Μῆδοι Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου Σκυρίου ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους — δίκην δὴ τοῦ Θησέως θανάτου — καὶ τὰ ὅσῃ κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας:

[17.6] Now Menestheus took no account of the children of Theseus, who had secretly withdrawn to Elephenor in Euboea, but he was aware that Theseus, if ever he returned from Thesprotia, would be a doughty antagonist, and so curried favour with his subjects that Theseus on recovering afterwards his liberty was expelled. So Theseus set out to Deucalion in Crete. Being carried out of his course by winds to the island of Scyros he was treated with marked honor by the inhabitants, both for the fame of his family and for the reputation of his own achievements. Accordingly Lycomedes contrived his death. His close was built at Athens after the Persians landed at Marathon, when Cimon, son of Miltiades, ravaged Scyros, thus avenging Theseus’ death, and carried his bones to Athens.

18. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοί σφισιν ἐφ’ ἵππων. ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ σπουδῇ μάλιστα ἐς Ἀκάστον καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου.

[18.1] XVIII. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient. They them selves are represented as standing, while their sons are seated on horses. Here Polygnotus has painted the marriage of the daughters of Leucippus, was a part of the gods’ history, but Micon those who sailed with Jason to the Colchians, and he has concentrated his attention upon Acastus and his horses.

[2] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ

καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἔρση καὶ Πανδρόσῳ δοῦναι φασιν Ἀθηνᾶν Ἐριχθόνιον καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· Πάνδροσον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δύο — ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ σφᾶς τὴν κιβωτόν — μαίνεσθαι τε, ὥς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὐτὰς ῥῖψαι. κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαναβάντες Μῆδοι κατεφόνευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλέον τι ἐς τὸν χρησμὸν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰδέναι νομίζοντας καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ξύλοις καὶ σταυροῖς ἀποτειχίσαντας.

[18.2] Above the sanctuary of the Dioscuri is a sacred enclosure of Aglaurus. It was to Aglaurus and her sisters, Herse and Pandrosus, that they say Athena gave Erichthonius, whom she had hidden in a chest, forbidding them to pry curiously into what was entrusted to their charge. Pandrosus, they say, obeyed, but the other two (for they opened the chest) went mad when they saw Erichthonius, and threw themselves down the steepest part of the Acropolis. Here it was that the Persians climbed and killed the Athenians who thought that they understood the oracle better than did Themistocles, and fortified the Acropolis with logs and stakes.

[3] πλησίον δὲ πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας, ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αὐτόλυκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής· τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνας ἐς Ῥωμαῖόν τε ἄνδρα καὶ Θρᾶκα μετέγραψαν.

[18.3] Hard by is the Prytaneum (Town-hall), in which the laws of Solon are inscribed, and figures are placed of the goddesses Peace and Hestia (Hearth), while among the statues is Autolycus the pancratiast. For the likenesses of Miltiades and Themistocles have had their titles changed to a Roman and a Thracian.

[4] ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδος ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος ἐπιφανέστατον μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει· ἐς τοῦτο ἐσελθεῖν οὔτε ξένοις ἔστιν οὔτε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, πρὶν ἂν τὸν Ἄπιν θάπτωσι. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σαράπιδος οὐ πόρρω χωρίον ἐστίν, ἔνθα Πειρίθουν καὶ Θησέα συνθεμένους ἐς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς σταλῆναι λέγουσι.

[18.4] As you descend from here to the lower part of the city, is a sanctuary of Serapis, whose worship the Athenians introduced from Ptolemy. Of the Egyptian sanctuaries of Serapis the most famous is at Alexandria, the oldest at Memphis. Into this neither stranger nor priest may enter, until they bury Apis. Not far from the sanctuary of Serapis is the place where they say that Peirithous and Theseus made their pact before setting forth to Lacedaemon and afterwards to Thesprotia.

[5] πλησίον δὲ ᾠκοδόμητο ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐς Δῆλον γενέσθαι βοηθὸν ταῖς Λητοῦς ὠδίσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν φασὶ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ θύουσί τε Εἰλειθυία Δῆλοι καὶ ὕμνον

ᾄδουσιν Ὡληνος. Κρητες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῶ γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλειθυίαν καὶ παῖδα Ἥρας εἶναι: μόνοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Εἰλειθυίας κεκάλυπται τὰ ζώανα ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας. τὰ μὲν δὴ δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖκες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσίχθονα ἐκ Δήλου κομίσαι.

[18.5] Hard by is built a temple of Eileithyia, who they say came from the Hyperboreans to Delos and helped Leto in her labour; and from Delos the name spread to other peoples. The Delians sacrifice to Eileithyia and sing a hymn of Olen. But the Cretans suppose that Eileithyia was born at Auunisis in the Cnossian territory, and that Hera was her mother. Only among the Athenians are the wooden figures of Eileithyia draped to the feet. The women told me that two are Cretan, being offerings of Phaedra, and that the third, which is the oldest, Erysichthon brought from Delos.

[6] πρὶν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου — Ἀδριανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θεᾶς ἄξιον, οὗ μεγέθει μὲν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀπολείπεται, πεποῖηται δὲ ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὁρῶσιν — , ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο μὲν εἰσι Θασίου λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου: χαλκαὶ δὲ ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κιόνων ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις. ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσάρων ἐστίν, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης: ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκὼν Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὅπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θεᾶς ἄξιον.

[18.6] Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus – Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome, and is made of ivory and gold with an artistic skill which is remarkable when the size is taken into account – before the entrance, I say, stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call “colonies.” The whole circumference of the precincts is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἕδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑπορρυῆναι ταύτῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄλφита πυρῶν μέλιτι μίξαντες.

[18.7] Within the precincts are antiquities: a bronze Zeus, a temple of Cronus and Rhea and an enclosure of Earth surnamed Olympian. Here the floor opens to the width of a cubit, and they say that along this bed flowed off the water after the deluge that occurred in the time of Deucalion, and into it they cast

every year wheat meal mixed with honey.

[8] κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ κίονος Ἰσοκράτους ἀνδρίας, ὃς ἐς μνήμην τρία ὑπελίπετο, ἐπιπονώτατον μὲν ὅτι οἱ βιώσαντι ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑκατὸν οὐποτε κατελύθη μαθητὰς ἔχειν, σωφρονέστατον δὲ ὅτι πολιτείας ἀπεχόμενος διέμεινε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πολυπραγμονῶν, ἐλευθερώτατον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀλγήσας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐθελοντής. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι χαλκοῦν τρίποδα ἀνέχοντες, θέας ἄξιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ τρίπους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομήσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερὸν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκαλίων Ἀθήνησιν ὄκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολλὸ ἀφεστηκότα.

[18.8] On a pillar is a statue of Isocrates, whose memory is remarkable for three things: his diligence in continuing to teach to the end of his ninety-eight years, his self-restraint in keeping aloof from politics and from interfering with public affairs, and his love of liberty in dying a voluntary death, distressed at the news of the battle at Chaeronea. There are also statues in Phrygian marble of Persians supporting a bronze tripod; both the figures and the tripod are worth seeing. The ancient sanctuary of Olympian Zeus the Athenians say was built by Deucalion, and they cite as evidence that Deucalion lived at Athens a grave which is not far from the present temple.

[9] Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου: πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὀρόφω τε ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς: κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία. καὶ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἐπώνυμον Ἀδριανοῦ: κίονες δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύων.

[18.9] Hadrian constructed other buildings also for the Athenians: a temple of Hera and Zeus Panellenios (Common to all Greeks), a sanctuary common to all the gods, and, most famous of all, a hundred pillars of Phrygian marble. The walls too are constructed of the same material as the cloisters. And there are rooms there adorned with a gilded roof and with alabaster stone, as well as with statues and paintings. In them are kept books. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; of this too the pillars are a hundred in number from the Libyan quarries.

19. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου: ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν Δελφινίου. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐξειργασμένου τοῦ ναοῦ πλὴν τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀγνῶς ἔτι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφίκοιτο Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν: οἷα δὲ χιτῶνα ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ποδῆρη καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρεπές οἱ τῆς κόμης, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Δελφινίου ναόν, οἱ τὴν στέγην οἰκοδομοῦντες ἤροντο σὺν χλευασίᾳ, ὃ τι δὴ παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου πλανᾶται μόνη: Θησεὺς δὲ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσεν οὐδέν, ἀπολύσας δὲ ὡς λέγεται τῆς ἀμάξης τοὺς βοῦς, ἥ σφισι παρῆν, τὸν ὄροφον

ἀνέρριπεν ἐς ὑψηλότερον ἢ τῷ ναῷ τὴν στέγην ἐποιοῦντο.

[19.1] XIX. Close to the temple of Olympian Zeus is a statue of the Pythian Apollo. There is further a sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Delphinus. The story has it that when the temple was finished with the exception of the roof Theseus arrived in the city, a stranger as yet to everybody. When he came to the temple of the Delphinian, wearing a tunic that reached to his feet and with his hair neatly plaited, those who were building the roof mockingly inquired what a marriageable virgin was doing wandering about by herself. The only answer that Theseus made was to loose, it is said, the oxen from the cart hard by, and to throw them higher than the roof of the temple they were building.

[2] — ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν οὐδεὶς λεγόμενός σφισὶν ἐστὶ λόγος· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἣ τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον ἔστηκε. ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Κήποις ἔργον ἐστὶν Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ὀλίγοις θέας ἄξιον.

[19.2] Concerning the district called The Gardens, and the temple of Aphrodite, there is no story that is told by them, nor yet about the Aphrodite which stands near the temple. Now the shape of it is square, like that of the Hermæ, and the inscription declares that the Heavenly Aphrodite is the oldest of those called Fates. But the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens is the work of Alcámenes, and one of the most note worthy things in Athens.

[3] ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα εἰδέναι τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἔστι τὸν χρησμόν, βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσιν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἥβης, ἣν Διὸς παῖδα οὖσαν συνοικεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ νομίζουσιν· Ἀλκμήνης τε βωμὸς καὶ Ἰολάου πεποιήται, ὃς τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συνεπόνησε τῶν ἔργων. Λύκειον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εὐθὺς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνομίζετο, Λυκείος τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον· λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ Τερμίλαις, ἐς οὓς ἦλθεν ὁ Λύκος φεύγων Αἰγέα, καὶ τούτοις αἰτιός ἐστι Λυκίους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι.

[19.3] There is also the place called Cynosarges, sacred to Heracles; the story of the white dog may be known by reading the oracle. There are altars of Heracles and Hebe, who they think is the daughter of Zeus and wife to Heracles. An altar has been built to Alcmena and to Iolaus, who shared with Heracles most of his labours. The Lyceum has its name from Lycus, the son of Pandion, but it was considered sacred to Apollo from the beginning down to my time, and here was the god first named Lyceus. There is a legend that the Termilæ also, to whom Lycus came when he fled from Aegæus, were called Lycii after him.

[4] ἔστι δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Λυκείου Νίσου μνημα, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Μίνω βασιλεύοντα Μεγάρων κομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτῃ θάπτουσιν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν

Νῖσον ἔχει λόγος τρίχας ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ οἱ πορφυρᾶς εἶναι, χρῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀποκαρείσαις· ὥς δὲ οἱ Κρηῖτες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν γῆν, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἤρουν τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι πόλεις, εἰς δὲ τὴν Νίσαιαν καταφεύγοντα τὸν Νῖσον ἐπολιόρκουν· ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Νίσου λέγεται θυγατέρα ἐρασθῆναι Μίνω καὶ ὥς ἀπέκειρε τὰς τρίχας τοῦ πατρός.

[19.4] Behind the Lyceum is a monument of Nisus, who was killed while king of Megara by Minos, and the Athenians carried him here and buried him. About this Nisus there is a legend. His hair, they say, was red, and it was fated that he should die on its being cut off. When the Cretans attacked the country, they captured the other cities of the Megarid by assault, but Nisaea, in which Nisus had taken refuge, they beleaguered. The story says how the daughter of Nisus, falling in love here with Minos, cut off her father's hair.

[5] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι· ποταμοὶ δὲ

Ἀθηναίοις ῥέουσιν Ἰλισός τε καὶ Ἡριδανῶ τῷ Κελτικῷ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄνομα ἔχων, ἐκδιδούς εἰς τὸν Ἰλισόν. ὁ δὲ Ἰλισός ἐστιν οὗτος, ἐνθα παίζουσιν Ὠρεῖθυιαν ὑπὸ ἀνέμου Βορέου φασὶν ἀρπασθῆναι· καὶ συνοικεῖν Ὠρεῖθυία Βορέαν καὶ σφισι διὰ τὸ κῆδος ἀμύναντα τῶν τριήρων τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀπολέσαι τὰς πολλὰς. ἐθέλουσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰλισόν, καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστιν Ἰλισιάδων· δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι.

[19.5] Such is the legend. The rivers that flow through Athenian territory are the Ilisus and its tributary the Eridanus, whose name is the same as that of the Celtic river. This Ilisus is the river by which Oreithyia was playing when, according to the story, she was carried off by the North Wind. With Oreithyia he lived in wedlock, and be cause of the tie between him and the Athenians he helped them by destroying most of the foreigners' warships. The Athenians hold that the Ilisus is sacred to other deities as well, and on its bank is an altar of the Ilisian Muses. The place too is pointed out where the Peloponnesians killed Codrus, son of Melanthus and king of Athens.

[6] διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Ἰλισὸν χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἐνταῦθα Ἄρτεμιν πρῶτον θηρεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκ Δήλου, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τόξον. τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λίθου. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇδε ἂν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροιτο· ἄνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηναιοῦδος καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν. τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρώδης ὠκοδόμησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντελῆσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη.

[19.6] Across the Ilisus is a district called Agrae and a temple of Artemis Agrotera (the Huntress). They say that Artemis first hunted here when she came from Delos, and for this reason the statue carries a bow. A marvel to the eyes, though not so impressive to hear of, is a race-course of white marble, the size of which can best be estimated from the fact that beginning in a crescent

on the heights above the Ilisus it descends in two straight lines to the river bank. This was built by Herodes, an Athenian, and the greater part of the Pentelic quarry was exhausted in its construction.

20. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναοὶ ὅσον ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι, καὶ σφισιν ἐφεστήκασι τρίποδες χαλκοῖ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. σάτυρος γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Πραξιτέλῃν λέγεται φρονῆσαι μέγα· καὶ ποτε Φρύνης αἰτούσης, ὃ τι οἱ κάλλιστον εἶη τῶν ἔργων, ὁμολογεῖν μὲν φασιν οἷα ἐραστὴν

διδόναι μὲν, κατεπειν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὃ τι κάλλιστον αὐτῷ οἱ φαίνοιτο. ἐσδραμὼν οὖν οἰκέτης Φρύνης ἔφασκεν οἴχεσθαι Πραξιτέλει τὸ πολὺ τῶν ἔργων πυρὸς ἐσπεσόντος ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, οὐ μὲν οὖν πάντα γε ἀφανισθῆναι:

[20.1] XX. Leading from the prytaneum is a road called Tripods. The place takes its name from the shrines, large enough to hold the tripods which stand upon them, of bronze, but containing very remarkable works of art, including a Satyr, of which Praxiteles is said to have been very proud. Phryne once asked of him the most beautiful of his works, and the story goes that lover-like he agreed to give it, but refused to say which he thought the most beautiful. So a slave of Phryne rushed in saying that a fire had broken out in the studio of Praxiteles, and the greater number of his works were lost, though not all were destroyed.

[2] Πραξιτέλης δὲ αὐτίκα ἔθει διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω καὶ οἱ καμόντι οὐδὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πλέον, εἰ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σάτυρον ἢ φλόξ καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπέλαβε· Φρύνη δὲ μένειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευε· παθεῖν γὰρ ἀνιαρὸν οὐδέν, τέχνη δὲ ἀλόντα ὁμολογεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα ὧν ἐποίησε. Φρύνη μὲν οὕτω τὸν Ἔρωτα αἰρεῖται· Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σάτυρός ἐστι παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα· Ἔρωτα δ' ἐστήκοτα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον Θυμῖλος ἐποίησεν.

[20.2] Praxiteles at once started to rush through the door crying that his labour was all wasted if indeed the flames had caught his Satyr and his Love. But Phryne bade him stay and be of good courage, for he had suffered no grievous loss, but had been trapped into confessing which were the most beautiful of his works. So Phryne chose the statue of Love; while a Satyr is in the temple of Dionysus hard by, a boy holding out a cup. The Love standing with him and the Dionysus were made by Thymilus.

[3] τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν· δύο δὲ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι, ὃ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ. γραφαὶ δὲ αὐτόθι Διόνυσός ἐστιν ἀνάγων Ἡφαιστον ἐς οὐρανόν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὥς Ἥρα ῥίψαι γενόμενον Ἡφαιστον, ὃ δὲ οἱ μνησικακῶν πέμπαι δῶρον χρυσοῦν θρόνον ἀφανεῖς δεσμοὺς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπεὶ τε ἐκαθέζετο δεδέσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, Διόνυσος δὲ — μάλιστα γὰρ ἐς τοῦτον πιστὰ ἦν Ἡφαίστῳ — μεθύσας αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε· ταῦτά τε δὴ γεγραμμένα εἰσὶ καὶ Πενθεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὧν ἐς Διόνυσον ὕβρισαν

διδόντες δίκας, Ἀριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἥκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν.

[20.3] The oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is near the theater. Within the precincts are two temples and two statues of Dionysus, the Eleuthereus (Deliverer) and the one Alcamenes made of ivory and gold. There are paintings here – Dionysus bringing Hephaestus up to heaven. One of the Greek legends is that Hephaestus, when he was born, was thrown down by Hera. In revenge he sent as a gift a golden chair with invisible fetters. When Hera sat down she was held fast, and Hephaestus refused to listen to any other of the gods save Dionysus – in him he reposed the fullest trust – and after making him drunk Dionysus brought him to heaven. Besides this picture there are also represented Pentheus and Lycurgus paying the penalty of their insolence to Dionysus, Ariadne asleep, Theseus putting out to sea, and Dionysus on his arrival to carry off Ariadne.

[4] ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα, ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτὸ ἐς μίμησιν τῆς Ξέρξου λέγεται: ἐποίηθη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐνέπρησε Σύλλας Ἀθήνας ἐλών. αἰτία δὲ ἦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Μιθριδάτης ἐβασίλευε βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξεινόν. πρόφασις μὲν δὴ δι' ἦντινα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησε καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ ὅσας ἢ πολέμῳ βιασάμενος πόλεις ἔσχεν ἢ φίλας ἐποίησατο, τὰδε μὲν τοῖς ἐπίστασθαι τὰ Μιθριδάτου θέλουσι μελέτω: ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἔχει δηλώσω.

[20.4] Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theater is a structure, which is said to be a copy of Xerxes' tent. It has been rebuilt, for the old building was burnt by the Roman general Sulla when he took Athens. The cause of the war was this. Mithridates was king over the foreigners around the Euxine. Now the grounds on which he made war against the Romans, how he crossed into Asia, and the cities he took by force of arms or made his friends, I must leave for those to find out who wish to know the history of Mithridates, and I shall confine my narrative to the capture of Athens.

MITHRIDATES OF ASIA, HISTORY

[5] ἦν Ἀριστίων Ἀθηναῖος, ᾧ Μιθριδάτης πρεσβεῦειν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἐχρήτο: οὗτος ἀνέπεισεν Ἀθηναίους Μιθριδάτην θέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἐπίπροσθεν. ἀνέπεισε δὲ οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ὅσον δῆμος ἦν καὶ δήμου τὸ ταραχῶδες: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὧν τις λόγος, παρὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐθελονταί. γενομένης δὲ μάχης πολλῶ περιῆσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ φεύγοντας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς τὸ ἄστυ καταδιώκουσιν, Ἀρχέλαον δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ: Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν πρότερον τούτων Μάγνητες οἱ τὸν Σίτυλον οἰκοῦντες σφᾶς ἐπεκδραμόντα αὐτόν τε τιτρώσκουσι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλούς.

[20.5] There was an Athenian, Aristion, whom Mithridates employed as his

envoy to the Greek cities. He induced the Athenians to join Mithridates rather than the Romans, although he did not induce all, but only the lower orders, and only the turbulent among them. The respectable Athenians fled to the Romans of their own accord. In the engagement that ensued the Romans won a decisive victory; Aristion and the Athenians they drove in flight into the city, Archelaus and the foreigners into the Peiraeus. This Archelaus was another general of Mithridates, whom earlier than this the Magnetes, who inhabit Sipylus, wounded when he raided their territory, killing most of the foreigners as well. So Athens was invested.

[6] Ἀθηναίους μὲν δὴ πολιορκία καθειστήκει, Ταξίλος δὲ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐτύγγανε μὲν περικαθήμενος Ἐλάτειαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Φωκίᾳ, ἀφικομένων δὲ ἀγγέλων ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦγεν. ᾧ

πυνθανόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀθήνας μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρει πολιορκεῖν ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ταξίλῳ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχων ἐς Βοιωτοῦς ἀπαντᾷ. τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀγγελοι, Σύλλᾳ μὲν ὡς Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἐαλωκός, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθήνας πολιορκήσασιν Ταξίλον κεκρατῆσθαι μάχῃ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν. Σύλλας δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπανῆλθε, τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας Ἀθηναίων καθείρξας ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν τὸν λαχόντα σφῶν ἐκ δεκάδος ἐκάστης ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

[20.6] Taxilus, a general of Mithridates, was at the time besieging Elatea in Phocis, but on receiving the news he withdrew his troops towards Attica. Learning this, the Roman general entrusted the siege of Athens to a portion of his army, and with the greater part of his forces advanced in person to meet Taxilus in Boeotia. On the third day from this, news came to both the Roman armies; Sulla heard that the Athenian fortifications had been stormed, and the besieging force learnt that Taxilus had been defeated in battle near Chaeronea. When Sulla returned to Attica he imprisoned in the Cerameicus the Athenians who had opposed him, and one chosen by lot out of every ten he ordered to be led to execution.

[7] Σύλλου δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέντος ἐς Ἀθηναίους τοῦ θυμοῦ λαθόντες ἐκδιδράσκουσιν ἄνδρες ἐς Δελφοὺς: ἐρομένοις δὲ σφισιν, εἰ καταλαμβάνοι τὸ χρεῶν ἤδη καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐρημωθῆναι, τούτοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ ἐς τὸν ἀσκὸν ἔχοντα. Σύλλᾳ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐνέπεσεν ἡ νόσος, ἥ καὶ τὸν Σύριον Φερεκύδην ἀλῶναι πυνθάνομαι. Σύλλᾳ δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀγριώτερα ἢ ὡς ἄνδρα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαίων: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα δὴ αἰτίαν γενέσθαι οἱ δοκῶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, Ἰκεσίου δὲ μῆνιμα, ὅτι καταφυγόντα ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀποσπάσας Ἀριστίωνα.

Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακωθεῖσαι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἤνθησαν:

[20.7] Sulla abated nothing of his wrath against the Athenians, and so a few effected an escape to Delphi, and asked if the time were now come when it

was fated for Athens also to be made desolate, receiving from the Pythia the response about the wine skin. Afterwards Sulla was smitten with the disease which I learn attacked Pherecydes the Syrian. Although Sulla's treatment of the Athenian people was so savage as to be unworthy of a Roman, I do not think that this was the cause of his calamity, but rather the vengeance of the suppliants' Protector, for he had dragged Aristion from the sanctuary of Athena, where he had taken refuge, and killed him. Such wise was Athens sorely afflicted by the war with Rome, but she flourished again when Hadrian was emperor.

21. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοις εἰκόνες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ κωμωδίας ποιητῶν, αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων: ὅτι μὴ γὰρ Μένανδρος, οὐδείς ἦν ποιητῆς κωμωδίας τῶν ἐς δόξαν ἡκόντων. τραγωδίας δὲ κεῖνται τῶν φανερῶν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, τὴν Σειρῆνα τὴν νέαν τιμᾶν: καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄναρ ἐς Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποιήσιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν, εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιημάτων καὶ λόγων τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν Σειρῆνι εἰκάζειν.

[21.1] XXI. In the theater the Athenians have portrait statues of poets, both tragic and comic, but they are mostly of undistinguished persons. With the exception of Menander no poet of comedy represented here won a reputation, but tragedy has two illustrious representatives, Euripides and Sophocles. There is a legend that after the death of Sophocles the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica, and their commander saw in a vision Dionysus, who bade him honor, with all the customary honors of the dead, the new Siren. He interpreted the dream as referring to Sophocles and his poetry, and down to the present day men are wont to liken to a Siren whatever is charming in both poetry and prose.

[2] τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῷ τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἣ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι. ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μαιράκιον ὦν καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσων σταφυλὰς, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα κελεῦσαι τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν: ὥς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα — πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν — ῥᾶστα ἤδη πειρώμενος ποιεῖν.

[21.2] The likeness of Aeschylus is, I think, much later than his death and than the painting which depicts the action at Marathon Aeschylus himself said that when a youth he slept while watching grapes in a field, and that Dionysus appeared and bade him write tragedy. When day came, in obedience to the vision, he made an attempt and hereafter found composing quite easy.

[3] οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὃ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἐστὶ τετραμμένον, ἐπὶ τούτου Μεδοῦσης τῆς Γοργόνης ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκειται κεφαλὴ, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν αἰγὶς πεποίηται. ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν:

τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τοῦτο: Απόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδας εἰσιν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης. ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸν Σίπυλον τὸ ὄρος: ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνός ἐστιν οὐδὲν παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης: εἰ δέ γε πορρωτέρω γένοιο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὄρᾱν καὶ κατηφῇ γυναῖκα.

[21.3] Such were his words. On the South wall, as it is called, of the Acropolis, which faces the theater, there is dedicated a gilded head of Medusa the Gorgon, and round it is wrought an aegis. At the top of the theater is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis. This also has a tripod over it, wherein are Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. This Niobe I myself saw when I had gone up to Mount Sipylus. When you are near it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away you will think you see a woman in tears, with head bowed down.

[4] ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τέθαιπται Κάλως: τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ὄντα καὶ τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐς Σικελίαν ἐκδιδράσκει παρὰ Κώκαλον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερόν ἐς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὅποσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποιήται καὶ τῶν παιδων, καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θεάς ἄξιον: ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη, παρ' ἧς λέγουσι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ἀλirrρόθιον θυγατέρα Ἄρεως Ἀλκίππην αἰσχύναντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἄρεως, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φόνῳ γενέσθαι πρῶτον.

[21.4] On the way to the Athenian Acropolis from the theater is the tomb of Calos. Daedalus murdered this Calos, who was his sister's son and a student of his craft, and therefore he fled to Crete; afterwards he escaped to Cocalus in Sicily. The sanctuary of Asclepius is worth seeing both for its paintings and for the statues of the god and his children. In it there is a spring, by which they say that Poseidon's son Halirrthius deflowered Alcippe the daughter of Ares, who killed the ravisher and was the first to be put on his trial for the shedding of blood.

[5] ἐνταῦθα ἄλλα τε καὶ Σαυροματικὸς ἀνάκειται θώραξ: ἐς τοῦτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲν ἥσπον Ἑλλήνων τοὺς βαρβάρους φήσει σοφοὺς ἐς τὰς τέχνας εἶναι. Σαυρομάταις γὰρ οὔτε αὐτοῖς σίδηρός ἐστιν ὀρυσσόμενος οὔτε σφίσιν ἐσάγουσιν: ἄμικτοι γὰρ μάλιστα τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων εἰσί. πρὸς οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν ταύτην ἐξεύρηται σφισιν: ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς δόρασιν αἰχμὰς ὀστεῖνας ἀντὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσι, τόξα τε κράνινα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ ὀστεῖνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀιστοῖς: καὶ σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὀπόσους καὶ τύχοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέψαντες ἀνατρέπουσι τοὺς ἐνσχεθέντας ταῖς σειραῖς.

[21.5] Among the votive offerings there is a Sauromatic breast plate. On seeing this a man will say that no less than Greeks are foreigners skilled in the arts. For the Sauromatae have no iron, neither mined by them selves nor yet imported. They have, in fact, no dealings at all with the foreigners around

them. To meet this deficiency they have contrived inventions. In place of iron they use bone for their spear-blades, and cornel-wood for their bows and arrows, with bone points for the arrows. They throw a lasso round any enemy they meet, and then turning round their horses upset the enemy caught in the lasso.

[6] τοὺς δὲ θώρακας ποιοῦνται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἵππους πολλὰς ἕκαστος τρέφει, ὥς ἂν οὔτε ἐς ιδιωτῶν κλήρους τῆς γῆς μεμερισμένης οὔτε τι φερούσης πλὴν ὕλης ἀγρίας ἄτε ὄντων νομάδων: ταύταις οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον χρῶνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖς θύουσιν ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ ἄλλως σιτοῦνται. συλλεξάμενοι δὲ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἐκκαθήραντές τε καὶ διελόντες ποιοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμφερῇ δρακόντων φολίσιν: ὅστις δὲ οὐκ εἶδὲ πῶ δράκοντα, πίτυός γε εἶδε καρπὸν χλωρὸν ἔτι: ταῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς πίτυος φαινομέναις ἐντομαῖς εἰκάζων τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὀπλῆς οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι. ταῦτα διατρήσαντες καὶ νεύροις ἵππων καὶ βοῶν συρράξαντες χρῶνται θώραξιν οὔτε εὐπρεπεῖα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδέουσιν οὔτε ἀσθενεστέροις: καὶ γὰρ συστάδην τυπτόμενοι καὶ βληθέντες ἀνέχονται.

[21.6] Their breastplates they make in the following fashion. Each man keeps many mares, since the land is not divided into private allotments, nor does it bear any thing except wild trees, as the people are nomads. These mares they not only use for war, but also sacrifice them to the local gods and eat them for food. Their hoofs they collect, clean, split, and make from them as it were python scales. Whoever has never seen a python must at least have seen a pine-cone still green. He will not be mistaken if he liken the product from the hoof to the segments that are seen on the pine-cone. These pieces they bore and stitch together with the sinews of horses and oxen, and then use them as breastplates that are as handsome and strong as those of the Greeks. For they can withstand blows of missiles and those struck in close combat.

[7] οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοῖ μαχομένοις μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, διᾶσι γὰρ καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὸν σίδηρον: θηρεύοντας δὲ ὠφελοῦσιν, ἐναποκλῶνται γὰρ σφισι καὶ λεόντων ὀδόντες καὶ παρδάλεων. θώρακας δὲ λινοῦς ἰδεῖν ἐν τε ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς ἔστιν ἀνακειμένους καὶ ἐν Γρυνεῖῳ, ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρπων ὀσμῆς παρέχεται τινα ἢ θέας ἡδονήν.

[21.7] Linen breastplates are not so useful to fighters, for they let the iron pass through, if the blow be a violent one. They aid hunters, how ever, for the teeth of lions or leopards break off in them. You may see linen breastplates dedicated in other sanctuaries, notably in that at Gryneum, where there is a most beautiful grove of Apollo, with cultivated trees, and all those which, although they bear no fruit, are pleasing to smell or look upon.

22. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτη πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσι Θέμιδος ναός ἐστι. κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνημα Ἰππολύτου: τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ καταρῶν. δῆλα δέ, καὶ ὅστις βαρβάρων

γλῶσσαν ἔμαθεν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τε ἔρωσ τῆς Φαίδρας καὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τὸ ἐς τὴν διακονίαν τόλμημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίους Ἱππολύτου τάφος: ἔχει δὲ σφισιν ὧδε ὁ λόγος.

[22.1] XXII. After the sanctuary of Asclepius, as you go by this way towards the Acropolis, there is a temple of Themis. Before it is raised a sepulchral mound to Hippolytus. The end of his life, they say, came from curses. Everybody, even a foreigner who has learnt Greek, knows about the love of Phaedra and the wickedness the nurse dared commit to serve her. The Troezenians too have a grave of Hippolytus, and their legend about it is this.

[2] Θησεὺς ὡς ἔμελλεν ἄξεσθαι Φαίδραν, οὐκ ἐθέλων εἴ οἱ γένοιτο παῖδες οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι τὸν Ἱππόλυτον οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀντ' αὐτῶν, πέμπει παρὰ Πιτθέα τραφησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλεύσοντα Τροιζήνῳ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Πάλλας καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐπανεστήσαν Θησεῖ: τούτους κτείνας ἐς Τροιζήνα ἔρχεται καθαρσίων ἔνεκα, καὶ Φαίδρα πρώτη ἐνταῦθα εἶδεν Ἱππόλυτον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον ἐρασθεῖσα ἐβούλευσε. μυρσίνη δέ ἐστι Τροιζηνίους τὰ φύλλα διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα: φῦναι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὴν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα ἄσης καὶ τῆς περόνης ἣν ἐπὶ ταῖς θριξίν εἶχεν ἡ Φαίδρα.

[22.2] When Theseus was about to marry Phaedra, not wishing, should he have children, Hippolytus either to be their subject or to be king in their stead, sent him to Pittheus to be brought up and to be the future king of Troezen. Afterwards Pallas and his sons rebelled against Theseus. After putting them to death he went to Troezen for purification, and Phaedra first saw Hippolytus there. Falling in love with him she contrived the plot for his death. The Troezenians have a myrtle with every one of its leaves pierced; they say that it did not grow originally in this fashion, the holes being due to Phaedra's disgust with love and to the pin which she wore in her hair.

[3] Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεὶ τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς ἐς μίαν ἡγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτὴν τε σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθῶ κατέστησε: τὰ μὲν δὴ παλαιὰ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀφανεστάτων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης: τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδασχθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθόντα ἐς λόγους.

[22.3] When Theseus had united into one state the many Athenian parishes, he established the cults of Aphrodite Pandemos (Common) and of Persuasion. The old statues no longer existed in my time, but those I saw were the work of no inferior artists. There is also a sanctuary of Earth, Nurse of Youth, and of Demeter Chloe (Green). You can learn all about their names by conversing with the priests.

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

[4] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστιν ἔσοδος μία: ἐτέραν δὲ οὐ παρέχεται, πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὔσα καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἐχυρόν. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν

ὄροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφῶντος εἴτε ἄλλως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημένοι: τῶν δὲ προφυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν Ἀπτέρου ναός. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος, καὶ ταύτῃ ῥίψας Αἰγεὺς ἐαυτὸν ὡς λέγουσιν ἐτελεύτησεν.

[22.4] There is but one entry to the Acropolis. It affords no other, being precipitous throughout and having a strong wall. The gateway has a roof of white marble, and down to the present day it is unrivalled for the beauty and size of its stones. Now as to the statues of the horsemen, I cannot tell for certain whether they are the sons of Xenophon or whether they were made merely to beautify the place. On the right of the gateway is a temple of Wingless Victory. From this point the sea is visible, and here it was that, according to legend, Aegeus threw him self down to his death.

[5] ἀνήγετο μὲν γὰρ ἡ ναὺς μέλασιν ἱστίοις ἢ τοὺς παῖδας φέρουσα ἐς Κρήτην, Θησεὺς δὲ — ἔπλει γὰρ τόλμης τι ἔχων ἐς τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον ταῦρον — πρὸς τὸν πατέρα

προεῖπε χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱστίοις λευκοῖς, ἣν ὀπίσω πλὴν τοῦ ταύρου κρατήσας: τούτων λήθην ἔσχεν Ἀριάδην ἀφηρημένος: ἐνταῦθα Αἰγεὺς ὡς εἶδεν ἱστίοις μέλασι τὴν ναὺν κομιζομένην, οἷα τὸν παῖδα τεθνάναι δοκῶν, ἀφείς αὐτὸν διαφθείρεται: καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἐστὶ καλούμενον ἡρῶον Αἰγέως.

[22.5] For the ship that carried the young people to Crete began her voyage with black sails; but Theseus, who was sailing on an adventure against the bull of Minos, as it is called, had told his father beforehand that he would use white sails if he should sail back victorious over the bull. But the loss of Ariadne made him forget the signal. Then Aegeus, when from this eminence he saw the vessel borne by black sails, thinking that his son was dead, threw himself down to destruction. There is at Athens a sanctuary dedicated to him, and called the hero-shrine of Aegeus.

[6] — ἔστι δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν προφυλαίων οἶκημα ἔχον γραφάς: ὅποσαις δὲ μὴ καθέστηκεν ὁ χρόνος αἴτιος ἀφανέσιν εἶναι, Διομήδης ἦν, ὁ μὲν ἐν Λήμνῳ τὸ Φιλοκτήτου τόξον, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐξ Ἰλίου. ἐνταῦθα ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς Ὀρέστης ἐστὶν Αἰγισθον φονεύων καὶ Πυλάδης τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ναυπλίου βοηθοὺς ἐλθόντας Αἰγίσθῳ: τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τάφου πλησίον μέλλουσα ἐστὶ σφάζεσθαι Πολυξένη. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ εὖ μὲν παρείθη τότε τὸ ὦμὸν οὕτως ἔργον: εὖ δέ μοι φαίνεται ποιῆσαι Σκῦρον ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀλοῦσαν, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσοι λέγουσιν ὁμοῦ ταῖς παρθένους Ἀχιλλέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ δίαταν, ἃ δὴ καὶ Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ταῖς ὁμοῦ Ναυσικᾷ πλυνούσαις ἐφιστάμενον Ὀδυσσεά κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε. γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης,

[22.6] On the left of the gateway is a building with pictures. Among those not effaced by time I found Diomedes taking the Athena from Troy, and Odysseus in Lemnos taking away the bow of Philoctetes. There in the pictures is Orestes

killing Aegisthus, and Pylades killing the sons of Nauplius who had come to bring Aegisthus succor. And there is Polyxena about to be sacrificed near the grave of Achilles. Homer did well in passing by this barbarous act. I think too that he showed poetic insight in making Achilles capture Scyros, differing entirely from those who say that Achilles lived in Scyros with the maidens, as Polygnotus has represented in his picture. He also painted Odysseus coming upon the women washing clothes with Nausicaa at the river, just like the description in Homer. There are other pictures, including a portrait of Alcibiades,

[7] ἵππων δέ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν Νεμέᾳ ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ: καὶ Περσεύς ἐστιν ἐς Σέριφον κομιζόμενος, Πολυδέκτη φέρων τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Μεδούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς Μέδουσιν οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς σημῖναι: ἔτι δὲ τῶν γραφῶν παρέντι τὸν παῖδα τὸν τὰς ὑδρίας φέροντα καὶ τὸν παλαιστήν ὃν Τιμαίνετος ἔγραψεν, ἐστὶ Μουσαῖος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπη μὲν ἐπελεξάμην, ἐν οἷς ἐστι πέτεσθαι Μουσαῖον ὑπὸ Βορέου δῶρον, δοκεῖν δέ μοι πεποιήκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος καὶ ἐστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δήμητρα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις.

[22.7] and in the picture are emblems of the victory his horses won at Nemea. There is also Perseus journeying to Seriphos, and carrying to Polydectes the head of Medusa, the legend about whom I am unwilling to relate in my description of Attica. Included among the paintings – I omit the boy carrying the water-jars and the wrestler of Timaeon – is Musaeus. I have read verse in which Musaeus receives from the North Wind the gift of flight, but, in my opinion, Onomacritus wrote them, and there are no certainly genuine works of Musaeus except a hymn to Demeter written for the Lycomidae.

[8] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν, ὃ σοφῶ γενέσθαι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἢ Πυθία μάρτυς, ὃ μὴδὲ Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐθέλοντα ὅμως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς Δελφοῦς ἀφικόμενον προσεῖπεν.

[22.8] Right at the very entrance to the Acropolis are a Hermes (called Hermes of the Gateway) and figures of Graces, which tradition says were sculptured by Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, who the Pythia testified was the wisest of men, a title she refused to Anacharsis, although he desired it and came to Delphi to win it.

23. Ἕλληνας δὲ ἄλλα τε λέγουσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ γενέσθαι σοφούς. τούτων καὶ τὸν Λέσβιον τύραννον καὶ Περίανδρον εἶναι φασὶ τὸν Κυψέλου: καίτοι Περίανδρου Πεισίστρατος καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰππίας φιλόανθρωποι μᾶλλον καὶ σοφώτεροι τὰ τε πολεμικὰ ἦσαν καὶ ὅσα ἦκεν ἐς κόσμον τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐς ὃ διὰ τὸν Ἰπάρχου θάνατον Ἰππίας ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσατο θυμῷ καὶ ἐς γυναῖκα ὄνομα Λέαιναν.

[23.1] XXIII. Among the sayings of the Greeks is one that there were seven wise men. Two of them were the despot of Lesbos and Periander the son of

Cypselus. And yet Peisistratus and his son Hippias were more humane than Periander, wiser too in war fare and in statecraft, until, on account of the murder of Hipparchus, Hippias vented his passion against all and sundry, including a woman named Leaena (Lioness).

[2] ταύτην γάρ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀπέθανεν Ἴππαρχος, — λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἦκοντα, πιστὰ δὲ ἄλλως Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πολλοῖς — Ἴππίας εἶχεν ἐν αἰκίᾳ ἐς ὃ διέφθειρεν, οἷα ἐταίραν Ἀριστογεΐτονος ἐπιστάμενος οὖσαν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδαμῶς ἀγνοῆσαι δοξάζων: ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων, ἐπεὶ τυραννίδος ἐπαύθησαν οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, χαλκῇ λέαινα Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἀγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, ὃ Καλλίου τέ φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος.

[23.2] What I am about to say has never before been committed to writing, but is generally credited among the Athenians. When Hipparchus died, Hippias tortured Leaena to death, because he knew she was the mistress of Aristogeiton, and therefore could not possibly, he held, be in ignorance of the plot. As a recompense, when the tyranny of the Peisistratidae was at an end, the Athenians put up a bronze lioness in memory of the woman, which they say Callias dedicated and Calamis made.

[3] πλησίον δέ ἐστι Διτρέφους χαλκοῦς ἀνδριᾶς οἰστοῖς βεβλημένος. οὗτος ὁ Διτρέφης ἄλλα τε ἔπραξεν ὅποσα λέγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θρᾶκας μισθωτοὺς ἀφικομένους ὕστερον ἢ Δημοσθένους ἐς Συρακοῦσας ἐξέπλευσε, τούτους ὡς ὕστέρησαν ὁ Διτρέφης ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν ἔσχευ Εὐριππον, ἔνθα Βοιωτῶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλις Μυκαλησσὸς ἦν: ταύτην ἐπαναβάς ἐκ θαλάσσης ὁ Διτρέφης εἶλε. Μυκαλησσίων δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μάχιμον οἱ Θρᾶκες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐφόνευσαν καὶ παῖδας. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι: Βοιωτῶν γὰρ ὅσους ἀνέστησαν Θηβαῖοι, ᾠκοῦντο αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἑμοῦ, διαφυγόντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων: εἰ δὲ καὶ Μυκαλησσίους οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ πᾶσιν ἀποκτείναντες ἐπέξηλθον, ὕστερον ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέλαβον οἱ λειφθέντες.

[23.3] Hard by is a bronze statue of Diitrephes shot through by arrows. Among the acts reported of this Diitrephes by the Athenians is his leading back home the Thracian mercenaries who arrived too late to take part in the expedition of Demosthenes against Syracuse. He also put into the Chalcidic Euripus, where the Boeotians had an inland town Mycalessus, marched up to this town from the coast and took it. Of the inhabitants the Thracians put to the sword not only the combatants but also the women and children. I have evidence to bring. All the Boeotian towns which the Thebans sacked were inhabited in my time, as the people escaped just before the capture; so if the foreigners had not exterminated the Mycalessians the survivors would have afterwards reoccupied the town.

[4] τοσοῦτον μὲν παρέστη μοι θαῦμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Διτρέφους, ὅτι οἰστοῖς ἐβέβλητο, Ἑλλήσιν ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ὄν τοξεύειν: Λοκροὺς γὰρ τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ὀπλιτεύοντας ἤδη κατὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἴσμεν, οὓς Ὀμηρος

ἐποίησεν ὡς φερόμενοι τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας ἐς Ἴλιον ἔλθοιεν: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Μαλιεῦσι παρέμεινε μελέτη τῶν τόξων, δοκῶ δὲ οὔτε πρότερον ἐπίστασθαι σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ Φιλοκτήτην, παύσασθαι τε οὐ διὰ μακροῦ: τοῦ δὲ Διυτρέφους πλησίον — τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας τὰς ἀφανεστέρας γράφειν οὐκ ἐθέλω — θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν Ὑγείας τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγείας.

[23.4] I was greatly surprised to see the statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows, because the only Greeks whose custom it is to use that weapon are the Cretans. For the Opuntian Locrians, whom Homer represents as coming to Troy with bows and slings, we know were armed as heavy infantry by the time of the Persian wars. Neither indeed did the Malians continue the practice of the bow; in fact, I believe that they did not know it before the time of Philoctetes, and gave it up soon after. Near the statue of Diitrephes – I do not wish to write of the less distinguished portraits – are figures of gods; of Health, whom legend calls daughter of Asclepius, and of Athena, also surnamed Health.

[5] ἔστι δὲ λίθος οὐ μέγας, ἀλλ' ὅσον καθίζεσθαι μικρὸν ἄνδρα: ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν, ἥνικα Διόνυσος ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἀναπαύσασθαι τὸν Σιληνόν. τοὺς γὰρ ἡλικία τῶν Σατύρων προήκοντας ὀνομάζουσι Σιληνοὺς: περὶ δὲ Σατύρων, οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἐτέρου πλέον ἐθέλων ἐπίστασθαι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν τούτων ἕνεκα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. ἔφη δὲ Εὐφημος Κάρ ἀνὴρ πλέων ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀμαρτεῖν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, ἐς ἣν οὐκέτι πλέουσιν, ἐξενεχθῆναι. νήσους δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἔλεγεν ἐρήμους πολλὰς, ἐν δὲ ἄλλαις οἰκεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγρίους:

[23.5] There is also a smallish stone, just large enough to serve as a seat to a little man. On it legend says Silenus rested when Dionysus came to the land. The oldest of the Satyrs they call Sileni. Wishing to know better than most people who the Satyrs are I have inquired from many about this very point. Euphemus the Carian said that on a voyage to Italy he was driven out of his course by winds and was carried into the outer sea, beyond the course of seamen. He affirmed that there were many uninhabited islands, while in others lived wild men. The sailors did not wish to put in at the latter,

[6] ταύταις δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλειν νήσοις προσίσχειν τοὺς ναύτας οἷα πρότερόν τε προσσχόντας καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχοντας, βιασθῆναι δ' οὐκ καὶ τότε. ταύτας καλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν Σατυρίδας, εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ καπυροὺς καὶ ἵππων οὐ πολὺ μείους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχύοις οὐράς. τούτους, ὡς ἦσθοντο, καταδραμόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν φωνὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἰέναι, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς ἐν τῇ νηί: τέλος δὲ δεῖσαντας τοὺς ναύτας βάρβαρον γυναῖκα ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν νῆσον: ἐς ταύτην οὖν ὑβρίζειν τοὺς Σατύρους οὐ μόνον ἦ κατέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα.

[23.6] because, having put in before, they had some experience of the

inhabitants, but on this occasion they had no choice in the matter. The islands were called Satyrides by the sailors, and the inhabitants were red haired, and had upon their flanks tails not much smaller than those of horses. As soon as they caught sight of their visitors, they ran down to the ship with out uttering a cry and assaulted the women in the ship. At last the sailors in fear cast a foreign woman on to the island. Her the Satyrs outraged not only in the usual way, but also in a most shocking manner.

[7] καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει θεασάμενος οἶδα, Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος χαλκοῦν παῖδα, ὃς τὸ περιρραντήριον ἔχει, καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἰργασμένον. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶ Βραυρωνίας, Πραξιτέλους μὲν τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα, τῇ θεῷ δέ ἐστιν ἀπὸ Βραυρῶνος δήμου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανόν ἐστιν ἐν Βραυρῶνι, Ἄρτεμις ὡς

λέγουσιν ἡ Ταυρικὴ.

[23.7] I remember looking at other things also on the Athenian Acropolis, a bronze boy holding the sprinkler, by Lycius son of Myron, and Myron's Perseus after beheading Medusa. There is also a sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis; the image is the work of Praxiteles, but the goddess derives her name from the parish of Brauron. The old wooden image is in Brauron, the Tauric Artemis as she is called.

[8] ἵππος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Δούριος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὸ ποίημα τὸ Ἐπειοῦ μηχανήμα ἦν ἐς διάλυσιν τοῦ τείχους, οἶδεν ὅστις μὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς Φρυξὶν εὐήθειαν: λέγεται δὲ ἕξ τε ἐκείνον τὸν ἵππον ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔνδον ἔχοι τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα: καὶ Μενεσθεὺς καὶ Τεῦκρος ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θησέως.

[23.8] There is the horse called Wooden set up in bronze. That the work of Epeius was a contrivance to make a breach in the Trojan wall is known to everybody who does not attribute utter silliness to the Phrygians. But legend says of that horse that it contained the most valiant of the Greeks, and the design of the bronze figure fits in well with this story. Menestheus and Teucer are peeping out of it, and so are the sons of Theseus.

[9] ἀνδριάντων δὲ ὅσοι μετὰ τὸν ἵππον ἐσθήκασιν Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὀπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας, Οἰνοβίῳ δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐς Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου χρηστόν: ψήφισμα γὰρ ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἀθήνας Θουκυδίδην, καὶ οἱ δολοφονηθέντι ὡς κατ'ἡμὴν ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτίδων.

[23.9] Of the statues that stand after the horse, the likeness of Epicharinus who practised the race in armour was made by Critius, while Oenobius performed a kind service for Thucydides the son of Olorus. He succeeded in getting a decree passed for the return of Thucydides to Athens, who was treacherously murdered as he was returning, and there is a monument to him not far from

the Melitid gate.

[10] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρμόλυκον τὸν παγκρατιαστὴν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου γραψάντων ἐτέρων παρήμι: ἐς δὲ Φορμίωνα τοσόνδε ἔχω πλέον γράψαι. Φορμίῳ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπικέσιν Ἀθηναίων ὄντι ὁμοίῳ καὶ ἐς προγόνων δόξαν οὐκ ἀφανεῖ συνέβαινεν ὀφείλειν χρέα: ἀναχωρήσας οὖν ἐς τὸν Παιανίαν δῆμον ἐνταῦθα εἶχε δίαίταν, ἐς ὃ ναύαρχον αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων αἰρουμένων ἐκπλεύσεσθαι οὐκ ἔφασκεν: ὀφείλειν τε γὰρ καὶ οἱ, πρὶν ἂν ἐκτίσῃ, πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ εἶναι παρέχεσθαι φρόνημα. οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι — πάντως γὰρ ἐβούλοντο ἄρχειν Φορμίωνα — τὰ χρέα ὅποσος ὥφειλε διαλύουσιν.

[23.10] The stories of Hermolycus the pancratiast and Phormio the son of Asopichus I omit, as others have told them. About Phormio, however, I have a detail to add. Quite one of the best men at Athens and distinguished for the fame of his ancestors he chanced to be heavily in debt. So he withdrew to the parish Paeania and lived there until the Athenians elected him to command a naval expedition. But he refused the office on the ground that before his debts were discharged he lacked the spirit to face his troops. So the Athenians, who were absolutely determined to have Phormio as their commander, paid all his creditors.

24. ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶ πεποίηται τὸν Σιληνὸν Μαρσύαν παίουσα, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο, ἐρριφθαι σφᾶς τῆς θεοῦ βουλομένης. — τούτων πέραν, ὧν εἴρηκα, ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη Θησέως μάχη πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε θηρίον ἦν ὅποιον κεκράτηκεν ὁ λόγος: τέρατα γὰρ πολλῶ καὶ τοῦδε θαυμασιώτερα καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτικτον γυναῖκες.

[24.1] XXIV. In this place is a statue of Athena striking Marsyas the Silenus for taking up the flutes that the goddess wished to be cast away for good. Opposite these I have mentioned is represented the fight which legend says Theseus fought with the so-called Bull of Minos, whether this was a man or a beast of the nature he is said to have been in the accepted story. For even in our time women have given birth to far more extraordinary monsters than this.

[2] κεῖται δὲ καὶ Φρίξος ὁ Ἀθάμαντος ἐξενηνεγμένος ἐς Κόλχους ὑπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ: θύσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὅτῳ δὴ θεῷ, ὥς δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ Λαφυστιῷ καλουμένῳ παρὰ Ὀρχομενίοις, τοὺς μηροὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐκτεμὼν τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐς αὐτοὺς καιομένους ὀρεῖ. κεῖνται δὲ ἐξῆς ἄλλαι τε εἰκόνες καὶ Ἡρακλέους: ἄγχει δέ, ὥς λόγος ἔχει, τοὺς δράκοντας. Ἀθηνᾶ τέ ἐστὶν ἀνιούσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦρος ἀνάθημα τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ βουλή:

[24.2] There is also a statue of Phrixus the son of Athamas carried ashore to the Colchians by the ram. Having sacrificed the animal to some god or other, presumably to the one called by the Orchomenians Laphystius, he has cut out the thighs in accordance with Greek custom and is watching them as they burn. Next come other statues, including one of Heracles strangling the serpents as the legend describes. There is Athena too coming up out of the

head of Zeus, and also a bull dedicated by the Council of the Areopagus on some occasion or other, about which, if one cared, one could make many conjectures.

[3] πολλὰ δ' ἂν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάξοι. λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὥς Ἀθηναῖοις περισσώτερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς: πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκώλους Ἑρμᾶς ἀνέθεσαν, ὁμοῦ δέ σφισιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱσπουδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν. ὅστις δὲ τὰ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα ἐπίπροσθε τίθεται τῶν ἐς ἀρχαιότητα ἡκόντων, καὶ τάδε ἔστιν οἱ θεάσασθαι. κράνος ἐστὶν ἐπικείμενος ἀνὴρ Κλεοίτου, καὶ οἱ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἀργυροῦς ἐνεποίησεν ὁ Κλεοίτας: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὕσαι οἱ τὸν Δία, εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῖσαν Ἀθηναῖοις εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι συμβὰς αὐχμός. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ αὐτὸς κεῖται Κόνων: Πρόκνην δὲ τὰ ἐς τὸν παῖδα βεβουλευμένην αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀλκαμένης. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηναῖα καὶ κύμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν:

[24.3] I have already stated that the Athenians are far more devoted to religion than other men. They were the first to surname Athena Ergane (Worker); they were the first to set up limbless Hermae, and the temple of their goddess is shared by the Spirit of Good men. Those who prefer artistic workmanship to mere antiquity may look at the following: a man wearing a helmet, by Cleoetas, whose nails the artist has made of silver, and an image of Earth beseeching Zeus to rain upon her; perhaps the Athenians themselves needed showers, or may be all the Greeks had been plagued with a drought. There also are set up Timotheus the son of Conon and Conon himself; Procne too, who has already made up her mind about the boy, and Itys as well – a group dedicated by Alcamenes. Athena is represented displaying the olive plant, and Poseidon the wave,

[4] καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα τό τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεὺς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γράφων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ γράφω. τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθὰς καταθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακὴν: ὁ βοὺς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἄπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. καλοῦσι δὲ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον, ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ρίψας — οὕτω γάρ ἐστίν οἱ νόμος — οἴχεται φεύγων: οἱ δὲ ἄτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν.

ταῦτα μὲν τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον δρῶσιν: ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν

[24.4] and there are statues of Zeus, one made by Leochares and one called Polieus (Urban), the customary mode of sacrificing to whom I will give without adding the traditional reason thereof. Upon the altar of Zeus Polieus they place barley mixed with wheat and leave it unguarded. The ox, which they keep already prepared for sacrifice, goes to the altar and partakes of the

grain. One of the priests they call the ox-slayer, who kills the ox and then, casting aside the axe here according to the ritual runs away. The others bring the axe to trial, as though they know not the man who did the deed.

[5] ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἢ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστὶν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς: αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρησμοῦ πεποιήται. μέσῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίκειται οἱ τῷ κράνει Σφιγγὸς εἰκὼν — ἃ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σφίγγα λέγεται, γράψω προελθόντος ἐς τὰ Βοιωτιά μοι τοῦ λόγου — , καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῦ κράνου γρυῖπες εἰσὶν ἐπειρασμένοι.

[24.5] Their ritual, then, is such as I have described. As you enter the temple that they name the Parthenon, all the sculptures you see on what is called the pediment refer to the birth of Athena, those on the rear pediment represent the contest for the land between Athena and Poseidon. The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is placed a likeness of the Sphinx — the tale of the Sphinx I will give when I come to my description of Boeotia — and on either side of the helmet are griffins in relief.

[6] τούτους τοὺς γρυῖπας ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀριστεῖας ὁ Προκοννήσιος μάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ φησὶν Ἀριμασποῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰσσηδόνων: τὸν δὲ χρυσόν, ὃν φυλάσσουσιν οἱ γρυῖπες, ἀνίεναι τὴν γῆν: εἶναι δὲ Ἀριμασποὺς μὲν ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους πάντας ἐκ γενετῆς, γρυῖπας δὲ θηρία λέουσιν

εἰκασμένα, πτερὰ δὲ ἔχειν καὶ στόμα ἀετοῦ. καὶ γρυπῶν μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρησθῶ:

[24.6] These griffins, Aristaeas of Proconnesus says in his poem, fight for the gold with the Arimaspi beyond the Issedones. The gold which the griffins guard, he says, comes out of the earth; the Arimaspi are men all born with one eye; griffins are beasts like lions, but with the beak and wings of an eagle. I will say no more about the griffins.

[7] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀρθόν ἐστιν ἐν χιτῶνι ποδήρει καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον ἢ κεφαλῇ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη: καὶ Νίκην τε ὅσον τεσσάρων πηχῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχει, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἄσπις τε κεῖται καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν: εἴη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων. ἔστι δὲ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπειρασμένη Πανδώρας γένεσις. πεποιήται δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ὥς ἡ Πανδώρα γένοιτο αὕτη γυνὴ πρώτη: πρὶν δὲ ἢ γενέσθαι Πανδώραν οὐκ ἦν πῶ γυναικῶν γένος. ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον Ἰφικράτους ἀποδειξαμένου πολλά τε καὶ θαυμαστά ἔργα.

[24.7] The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief. Hesiod and others have sung how

this Pandora was the first woman; before Pandora was born there was as yet no womankind. The only portrait statue I remember seeing here is one of the emperor Hadrian, and at the entrance one of Iphicrates, who accomplished many remarkable achievements.

[8] τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστι πέραν Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγουσι Φειδῖαν ποιῆσαι: Παρνόπιον δὲ καλοῦσιν, ὅτι σφίσι παρνόπων βλαπτόντων τὴν γῆν ἀποτρέψειν ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀπέτρεψεν ἴσασι, τρόπον δὲ οὐ λέγουσι ποῖω. τρίς δὲ αὐτὸς ἦδη πάρνοπας ἐκ Σιτύλου τοῦ ὄρους οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα οἶδα φθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε βίαιος ἐμπεσὼν ἄνεμος, τοὺς δὲ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ καῦμα ἰσχυρὸν καθεῖλεν ἐπιλαβόν, οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ ῥίγει καταληφθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

[24.8] Opposite the temple is a bronze Apollo, said to be the work of Pheidias. They call it the Locust God, because once when locusts were devastating the land the god said that he would drive them from Attica. That he did drive them away they know, but they do not say how. I myself know that locusts have been destroyed three times in the past on Mount Sipylus, and not in the same way. Once a gale arose and swept them away; on another occasion violent heat came on after rain and destroyed them; the third time sudden cold caught them and they died.

25. τοιαῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνοντα εἶδον: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει καὶ Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ αὐτὸς Ξανθίππος, ὃς ἐναυμάχησεν ἐπὶ Μυκάλῃ Μήδοις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλέους ἀνδριὰς ἐτέρωθι ἀνάκειται, τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἔστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφῶ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας: καὶ οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἷον ἄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου. γυναικας δὲ πλησίον Δεινομένης Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου καὶ Καλλιστῶ τὴν Λυκάονος πεποίηκεν, αἷς ἀμφοτέραις ἐστὶν ἐς ἅπαν ὅμοια διηγήματα ἔρως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ὀργὴ καὶ ἀλλαγὴ τῇ μὲν ἐς βοῦν, Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἐς ἄρκτον.

[25.1] XXV. Such were the fates I saw befall the locusts. On the Athenian Acropolis is a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and one of Xanthippus him self, who fought against the Persians at the naval battle of Mycale. But that of Pericles stands apart, while near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, the first poet after Sappho of Lesbos to devote himself to love songs, and his posture is as it were that of a man singing when he is drunk. Deinomenes made the two female figures which stand near, Io, the daughter of Inachus, and Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, of both of whom exactly the same story is told, to wit, love of Zeus, wrath of Hera, and metamorphosis, Io becoming a cow and Callisto a bear.

[2] πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ Νοτίῳ γιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θράκην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ὤκησαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσίᾳ φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀτταλος, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον. ἔστηκε δὲ

καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, μεγέθει τε ὢν ἔπραξε λαβὼν δόξαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ καιρῷ, φρόνημα ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρασχόμενος συνεχῶς ἐπταϊκόσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ ἐν χρηστὸν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίζουσι.

[25.2] By the south wall are represented the legendary war with the giants, who once dwelt about Thrace and on the isthmus of Pallene, the battle between the Athenians and the Amazons, the engagement with the Persians at Marathon and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia. Each is about two cubits, and all were dedicated by Attalus. There stands too Olympiodorus, who won fame for the greatness of his achievements, especially in the crisis when he displayed a brave confidence among men who had met with continuous reverses, and were therefore in despair of winning a single success in the days to come.

OLYMPIODORUS OF ATHENS, HISTORY

[3] τὸ γὰρ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἦρξε κακοῦ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Μακεδόνων ἐτάχθησαν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολλὰς Φίλιππος τῶν πόλεων εἷλεν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ λόγῳ συνθέμενος ἔργῳ σφᾶς μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε, νήσους τε ἀφελόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ναυτικὰ παύσας ἀρχῆς. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡσύχασαν Ἀθηναῖοι Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου: τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνες μὲν βασιλεύειν εἵλοντο Ἀριδαῖον, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ

ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχή, καὶ Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἰ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔσται ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε πολεμεῖν ὥρμητο καὶ ἄλλους ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἡγείρον.

[25.3] For the disaster at Chaeronea was the beginning of misfortune for all the Greeks, and especially did it enslave those who had been blind to the danger and such as had sided with Macedon. Most of their cities Philip captured; with Athens he nominally came to terms, but really imposed the severest penalties upon her, taking away the islands and putting an end to her maritime empire. For a time the Athenians remained passive, during the reign of Philip and subsequently of Alexander. But when on the death of Alexander the Macedonians chose Aridaeus to be their king, though the whole empire had been entrusted to Antipater, the Athenians now thought it intolerable if Greece should be for ever under the Macedonians, and themselves embarked on war besides inciting others to join them.

[4] ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις Πελοποννησίων μὲν Ἄργος Ἐπίδαυρος Σικυὼν Τροιζὴν Ἡλεῖοι Φλιάσιοι Μεσσήνη, οἱ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ Λοκροὶ Φωκεῖς Θεσσαλοὶ Κάρυστος Ἀκαρνανες ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικόν συντελοῦντες: Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Θηβαίων ἡρημωμένην τὴν γῆν τὴν Θηβαΐδα νεμόμενοι δέει μὴ Θήβας αὐτῆς Ἀθηναῖοι σφισιν ἐποικίζωσιν οὔτε ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἦκον δυνάμειος τὰ Μακεδόνων ἡῤῥον.

[25.4] The cities that took part were, of the Peloponnesians, Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Eleans, the Phliasians, Messene; on the other side of the

Corinthian isthmus the Locrians, the Phocians, the Thessalians, Carystus, the Acarnanians belonging to the Aetolian League. The Boeotians, who occupied the Thebaid territory now that there were no Thebans left to dwell there, in fear lest the Athenians should injure them by founding a settlement on the site of Thebes, refused to join the alliance and lent all their forces to furthering the Macedonian cause.

[5] τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντας κατὰ πόλεις τε ἐκάστους ἦγον στρατηγοὶ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχειν ἦρτο Ἀθηναῖος Λεωσθένης πόλεώς τε ἀξιώματι καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι δοκῶν πολέμων ἔμπειρος. ὑπῆρχε δὲ οἱ καὶ πρὸς πάντας εὐεργεσία τοὺς Ἕλληνας: ὅποσοι γὰρ μισθοῦ παρὰ Δαρείῳ καὶ σατράπαις ἐστρατεύοντο Ἕλληνες, ἀνοικίσαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν Περσίδα θελήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Λεωσθένης ἔφθη κομίσας ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν ἤλπισαν τὰ ἔργα λαμπρότερα ἐπιδειξάμενος παρέσχεν ἀποθανὼν ἀθυμῆσαι πᾶσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐχ ἥκιστα σφαλῆναι: φρουρά τε Μακεδόνων ἐσῆλθεν Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ Μουνυχίαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Πειραιᾶ καὶ τείχη μακρὰ ἔσχον.

[25.5] Each city ranged under the alliance had its own general, but as commander-in-chief was chosen the Athenian Leosthenes, both because of the fame of his city and also because he had the reputation of being an experienced soldier. He had already proved himself a general benefactor of Greece. All the Greeks that were serving as mercenaries in the armies of Darius and his satraps Alexander had wished to deport to Persia, but Leosthenes was too quick for him, and brought them by sea to Europe. On this occasion too his brilliant actions surpassed expectation, and his death produced a general despair which was chiefly responsible for the defeat. A Macedonian garrison was set over the Athenians, and occupied first Munychia and afterwards Peiraeus also and the Long Walls.

[6] Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ὀλυμπιάς διαβᾶσα ἐξ Ἠπείρου χρόνον μέν τινα ἦρξεν ἀποκτείνασα Ἀριδαῖον, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκπολιορκηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παρεδόθη τῷ πλήθει.

Κάσσανδρος δὲ βασιλεύσας — τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐπέξεισί μοι μόνα ὁ λόγος — Πάνακτον τείχος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Σαλαμίνα εἴλε τύραννόν τε Ἀθηναίους ἔπραξε γενέσθαι Δημήτριον τὸν Φανοστράτου, τὰ πρὸς δόξαν εἰληφότα ἐπὶ σοφία. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τυραννίδος ἔπαυσε Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου, νέος τε ὧν καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν διακείμενος:

[25.6] On the death of Antipater Olympias came over from Epeirus, killed Aridaeus, and for a time occupied the throne; but shortly afterwards she was besieged by Cassander, taken and delivered up to the people. Of the acts of Cassander when he came to the throne my narrative will deal only with such as concern the Athenians. He seized the fort of Panactum in Attica and also Salamis, and established as tyrant in Athens Demetrius the son of Phanostratus, a man who had won a reputation for wisdom. This tyrant was

put down by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, a young man of strong Greek sympathies.

[7] Κάσσανδρος δὲ — δεινὸν γάρ τι ὑπὴν οἱ μῖσος ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους — , ὁ δὲ αὖθις Λαχάρην προεστηκότα ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ δήμου, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα οἰκειωσάμενος τυραννίδα ἔπεισε βουλευῆσαι, τυράννων ὧν ἴσμεν τὰ τε ἐς ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα ἀνήμερον καὶ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀφειδέστατον. Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιγόνου διαφορά μὲν ἦν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθεῖλε δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν Λαχάρους τυραννίδα: ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Λαχάρης ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἅτε δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον ὑπωπτεύετο εὐπορεῖν μεγάλως χρημάτων.

[25.7] But Cassander, inspired by a deep hatred of the Athenians, made a friend of Lachares, who up to now had been the popular champion, and induced him also to arrange a tyranny. We know no tyrant who proved so cruel to man and so impious to the gods. Although Demetrius the son of Antigonus was now at variance with the Athenian people, he notwithstanding deposed Lachares too from his tyranny, who, on the capture of the fortifications, escaped to Boeotia. Lachares took golden shields from the Acropolis, and stripped even the statue of Athena of its removable ornament; he was accordingly suspected of being a very wealthy man,

[8] Λαχάρην μὲν οὖν τούτων ἔνεκα κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες Κορωνάιοι: Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιγόνου τυράννων ἐλευθερώσας Ἀθηναίους τὸ τε παραντίκα μετὰ τὴν Λαχάρους φυγὴν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε σφίσι τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ὕστερον πολέμῳ κρατήσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν τὸ ἄστυ, τὸ Μουσεῖον καλούμενον τειχίσας. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος, ἐνθα Μουσαῖον ἄδειν καὶ ἀποθανόντα γῆρα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ μνήμα αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ὠκοδομήθη Σύρῳ. τότε δὲ Δημήτριος τειχίσας εἶχε:

[25.8] and was murdered by some men of Coronea for the sake of this wealth. After freeing the Athenians from tyrants Demetrius the son of Antigonus did not restore the Peiraeus to them immediately after the flight of Lachares, but subsequently overcame them and brought a garrison even into the upper city, fortifying the place called the Museum. This is a hill right opposite the Acropolis within the old city boundaries, where legend says Musaeus used to sing, and, dying of old age, was buried. Afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian. At the time to which I refer Demetrius fortified and held it.

26. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἄνδρας ἐσήλθεν οὐ πολλοὺς καὶ μνήμη τε προγόνων καὶ ἐς οἷαν μεταβολὴν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἦκοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίκα τε ὥς εἶχον αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον. ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἦγε καὶ γέροντας καὶ μειράκια ὁμοίως, προθυμίᾳ πλεόν ἢ ῥώμῃ κατορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐλπίζων: ἐπεξελθόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ

φυγόντων ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον τὸ χωρίον εἶλεν.

[26.1] XXVI. But afterwards a few men called to mind their forefathers, and the contrast between their present position and the ancient glory of Athens, and without more ado forth with elected Olympiodorus to be their general. He led them against the Macedonians, both the old men and the youths, and trusted for military success more to enthusiasm than to strength. The Macedonians came out to meet him, but he over came them, pursued them to the Museum, and captured the position.

[2] Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἠλευθερώθησαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πάντων ἀγωνισαμένων ἀξίως λόγου Λεώκριτος μάλιστα ὁ Πρωτάρχου λέγεται τόλμῃ χρῆσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον: πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη, πρῶτος δὲ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐσήλατο, καὶ οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλαι γεγόνاسι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Λεωκρίτου καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα ἐπιγράψαντες.

[26.2] So Athens was delivered from the Macedonians, and though all the Athenians fought memorably, Leocritus the son of Protarchus is said to have displayed most daring in the engagement. For he was the first to scale the fortification, and the first to rush into the Museum; and when he fell fighting, the Athenians did him great honor, dedicating his shield to Zeus of Freedom and in scribing on it the name of Leocritus and his exploit.

[3] Ὀλυμπιόδωρ δὲ τόδε μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον μέγιστον χωρὶς τούτων ὧν ἔπραξε Πειραιᾷ καὶ Μουνυχίαν ἀνασωσάμενος: ποιουμένων δὲ Μακεδόνων καταδρομὴν ἐς Ἐλευσίνα Ἐλευσινίους συντάξας ἐνίκα τοὺς Μακεδόνας. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Κασσάνδρου πλεύσας Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ἐς Αἰτωλίαν βοηθεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς ἔπεισε, καὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις αἴτιον μάλιστα διαφυγεῖν τὸν Κασσάνδρου πόλεμον. Ὀλυμπιόδωρ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Ἀθήναις εἰσὶν ἐν τε ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἐν πρυτανεῖῳ τιμαί, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσὶνι γραφή: καὶ Φωκέων οἱ Ἐλάτειαν ἔχοντες χαλκοῦν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέθεσαν, ὅτι καὶ τούτοις ἤμυνεν ἀποστᾶσι Κασσάνδρου.

[26.3] This is the greatest achievement of Olympiodorus, not to mention his success in recovering Peiraeus and Munychia; and again, when the Macedonians were raiding Eleusis he collected a force of Eleusinians and defeated the invaders. Still earlier than this, when Cassander had invaded Attica, Olympiodorus sailed to Aetolia and induced the Aetolians to help. This allied force was the main reason why the Athenians escaped war with Cassander. Olympiodorus has not only honors at Athens, both on the Acropolis and in the town hall but also a portrait at Eleusis. The Phocians too of Elatea dedicated at Delphi a bronze statue of Olympiodorus for help in their revolt from Cassander.

[4] τῆς δὲ εἰκόνης πλησίον τῆς Ὀλυμπιόδωρου χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λευκοφρύνης, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους:

Μάγνητες γάρ, ὣν ἦρχε Θεμιστοκλῆς λαβὼν παρὰ βασιλέως, Λευκοφρύνη Ἄρτεμιν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ.

δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Ἐνδοῖος ἦν γένος μὲν Ἀθηναῖος, Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητής, ὃς καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλῳ διὰ τὸν Κάλῳ θάνατον ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐς Κρήτην: τούτου καθήμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλλίας μὲν ἀναθεῖη, ποιήσσειε δὲ Ἐνδοῖος.

[26.4] Near the statue of Olympiodorus stands a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryne, dedicated by the sons of Themistocles; for the Magnesians, whose city the King had given him to rule, hold Artemis Leucophryne in honor.

But my narrative must not loiter, as my task is a general description of all Greece. Endoeus was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daedalus, who also, when Daedalus was in exile because of the death of Calos, followed him to Crete. Made by him is a statue of Athena seated, with an inscription that Callias dedicated the image, but Endoeus made it.

[5] — ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον: πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Διὸς ἐστι βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα ἔμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδέν ἔτι οἶνῳ χρῆσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεῖ θύουσιν ἔκ του μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου: γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βαυταδῶν καὶ — διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα — καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι. τοῦτο μὲν θαῦμα οὐ μέγα: καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι μεσόγαιαν οἰκοῦσιν, ἄλλοις τε ἐστι καὶ Καρσὶν Ἀφροδισιεῦσιν: ἀλλὰ τόδε τὸ φρέαρ ἐς συγγραφὴν παρέχεται κυμάτων ἦχον ἐπὶ νότῳ πνεύσαντι. καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα: ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι.

[26.5] There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Zeus the Most High, on which they never sacrifice a living creature but offer cakes, not being wont to use any wine either. Inside the entrance are altars, one to Poseidon, on which in obedience to an oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, the second to the hero Butes, and the third to Hephaestus. On the walls are paintings representing members of the clan Butadae; there is also inside – the building is double – sea-water in a cistern. This is no great marvel, for other inland regions have similar wells, in particular Aphrodisias in Caria. But this cistern is remarkable for the noise of waves it sends forth when a south wind blows. On the rock is the outline of a trident. Legend says that these appeared as evidence in support of Poseidon's claim to the land.

[6] ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἢ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἢ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῇ — καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ — , τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνῆλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν

ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει: φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξειμι εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει, λύχον δὲ τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦν Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησεν:

[26.6] Both the city and the whole of the land are alike sacred to Athena; for even those who in their parishes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold Athena in honor. But the most holy symbol, that was so considered by all many years before the unification of the parishes, is the image of Athena which is on what is now called the Acropolis, but in early days the Polis (City). A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven; whether this is true or not I shall not discuss. A golden lamp for the goddess was made by Callimachus.

[7] ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου τὸν λύχον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν, ἔλαιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνονται. καὶ οἱ λίνου Καρπασίου θρυαλλίς ἔνεστιν, ὃ δὴ πυρὶ λίνων μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλώσιμον: φοῖνιξ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοῦς ἀνήκων ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνασπᾷ τὴν ἀτμίδα. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὁ τὸν λύχον ποιήσας, ἀποδέων τῶν πρώτων ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην, οὕτω σοφία πάντων ἐστὶν ἄριστος ὥστε καὶ λίθους πρῶτος ἐτρύπησε καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετο κατατηξίτεχνον, ἣ θεμένων ἄλλων κατέστησεν ἐφ' αὐτῷ.

[26.7] Having filled the lamp with oil, they wait until the same day next year, and the oil is sufficient for the lamp during the interval, although it is alight both day and night. The wick in it is of Carpasian flax, the only kind of flax which is fire-proof, and a bronze palm above the lamp reaches to the roof and draws off the smoke. The Callimachus who made the lamp, although not of the first rank of artists, was yet of unparalleled cleverness, so that he was the first to drill holes through stones, and gave himself the title of Refiner of Art, or perhaps others gave the title and he adopted it as his.

27. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι. Μασίστιον μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα ἱππέων: Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχεσαμένου Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐναντία καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου πεσόντος οὐδ' ἂν ὑπεδέξαντο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἴσως Ἀθηναίους παρῆκαν φέρεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν ἀκινάκην.

[27.1] XXVII. In the temple of Athena Polias (Of the City) is a wooden Hermes, said to have been dedicated by Cecrops, but not visible because of myrtle boughs. The votive offerings worth noting are, of the old ones, a folding chair made by Daedalus, Persian spoils, namely the breastplate of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a scimitar said to have belonged to Mardonius. Now Masistius I know was killed by the Athenian cavalry. But

Mardonius was opposed by the Lacedaemonians and was killed by a Spartan; so the Athenians could not have taken the scimitar to begin with, and furthermore the Lacedaemonians would scarcely have suffered them to carry it off.

[2] περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεᾷ μαρτύριον γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, κατακαυθῆναι μὲν τὴν ἐλαίαν, ἥνικα ὁ Μῆδος τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀθηναίους, κατακαυθεῖσαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο βλαστῆσαι πῆχεις.

τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχῆς ἐστὶ: καὶ ἔστι Πάνδροςος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀναίτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνῃ.

[27.2] About the olive they have nothing to say except that it was testimony the goddess produced when she contended for their land. Legend also says that when the Persians fired Athens the olive was burnt down, but on the very day it was burnt it grew again to the height of two cubits.

Adjoining the temple of Athena is the temple of Pandrosus, the only one of the sisters to be faithful to the trust.

[3] ἃ δέ μοι θαυμάσαι μάλιστα παρέσχεν, ἔστι μὲν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας γνώριμα, γράψω δὲ οἷα συμβαίνει. παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους: αὗται χρόνον μὲν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεᾷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιάδε. ἀναθεῖσάι σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἡ διδοῦσα ὁποῖόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις — ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη —, ταύτη κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον: καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀφίσιν ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν.

[27.3] I was much amazed at something which is not generally known, and so I will describe the circumstances. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of Athena Polias, called by the Athenians Bearers of the Sacred Offerings. For a time they live with the goddess, but when the festival comes round they perform at night the following rites. Having placed on their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry – neither she who gives nor they who carry have any knowledge what it is – the maidens descend by the natural underground passage that goes across the adjacent precincts, within the city, of Aphrodite in the Gardens. They leave down below what they carry and receive something else which they bring back covered up. These maidens they henceforth let go free, and take up to the Acropolis others in their place.

[4] πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστι μὲν ἱεὺς πρεσβύτες ὅσον τε πῆχεος μάλιστα, φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσιμάχης, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ διεστῶτες ἄνδρες ἐς μάχην: καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθεά καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Εὐμόλπον:

καίτοι λέληθῆ γε οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασιν, Ἰμμάραδον εἶναι παῖδα Εὐμόλπου τοῦτον τὸν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Ἐρεχθέως.

[27.4] By the temple of Athena is . . . an old woman about a cubit high, the inscription calling her a handmaid of Lysimache, and large bronze figures of men facing each other for a fight, one of whom they call Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus; and yet those Athenians who are acquainted with antiquity must surely know that this victim of Erechtheus was Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus.

[5] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶ Θεαίνετος ὃς ἐμαντεύετο Τολμίδῃ καὶ αὐτὸς Τολμίδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἡγούμενος ἄλλους τε ἐκάκωσε καὶ Πελοποννησίων τὴν χώραν ὅσοι νέμονται τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Γυθίῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐνέπρησε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Βοιᾶς εἴλε καὶ τὴν Κυθηρίων νῆσον: ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν ποιησάμενος ἀπόβασιν, ὥς οἱ δηοῦντι τὴν γῆν ἐς μάχην κατέστησαν, τρεψάμενος σφᾶς κατεδίωξε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ὕστερον δὲ ὥς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἐσήγαγε μὲν ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Νάξον Ἀθηναίων κληρούχους, ἐσέβαλε δὲ ἐς Βοιωτοὺς στρατῷ: πορθήσας δὲ τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ παραστησάμενος πολιορκίᾳ Χαιρώνειαν, ὥς ἐς τὴν Ἀλιαρτίαν προῆλθεν, αὐτὸς τε μαχόμενος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἤδη στράτευμα ἡττᾶτο. τὰ μὲν ἐς Τολμίδην τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην ὄντα, ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἀγάλματα

[27.5] On the pedestal are also statues of Theaenetus, who was seer to Tolmides, and of Tolmides himself, who when in command of the Athenian fleet inflicted severe damage upon the enemy, especially upon the Peloponnesians who dwell along the coast, burnt the dock-yards at Gythium and captured Boeae, belonging to the “provincials,” and the island of Cythera. He made a descent on Sicyonia, and, attacked by the citizens as he was laying waste the country, he put them to flight and chased them to the city. Returning afterwards to Athens, he conducted Athenian colonists to Euboea and Naxos and invaded Boeotia with an army. Having ravaged the greater part of the land and reduced Chaeronea by a siege, he advanced into the territory of Haliartus, where he was killed in battle and all his army worsted. Such was the history of Tolmides that I learnt.

[6] ἀρχαῖα: καὶ σφισιν ἀπετάκη μὲν οὐδέν, μελάντερα δὲ καὶ πληγὴν ἐνεγκεῖν ἔστιν ἀσθενέστερα: ἐπέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἡ φλόξ, ὅτε ἐσβεβηκότων ἐς τὰς ναῦς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς εἴλεν ἔρμῃον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ σύός τε θήρα, περὶ οὗ σαφές οὐδὲν οἶδα εἰ τοῦ Καλυδωνίου, καὶ Κύκνος Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος: τοῦτον τὸν Κύκνον φασὶν ἄλλους τε φονεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θρᾶκα προτεθέντων σφίσι μονομαχίας ἄθλων, περὶ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πηνειὸν ἀπέθανεν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους.

[27.6] There are also old figures of Athena, no limbs of which indeed are missing, but they are rather black and too fragile to bear a blow. For they too were caught by the flames when the Athenians had gone on board their ships and the King captured the city emptied of its able-bodied inhabitants. There is

also a boar-hunt (I do not know for certain whether it is the Calydonian boar) and Cynus fighting with Heracles. This Cynus is said to have killed, among others, Lycus a Thracian, a prize having been proposed for the winner of the duel, but near the river Peneius he was himself killed by Heracles.

[7] τῶν δὲ ἐν Τροιζῆνι λόγων, οὓς ἐς Θησέα λέγουσιν, ἐστὶν ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἐλθὼν παρὰ Πιτθέα καταθεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦ λέοντος τὸ δέρμα, ἐσέλθοιεν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε Τροιζηνίων παῖδες καὶ Θησεὺς ἑβδομον μάλιστα γεγὼνὼς ἔτος· τοὺς μὲν δὴ λοιποὺς παῖδας, ὡς τὸ δέρμα εἶδον, φεύγοντάς φασιν οἴχεσθαι, Θησέα δὲ ὑπεξελθόντα οὐκ ἄγαν σὺν φόβῳ παρὰ τῶν διακόνων ἀρπάσαι πέλεκυν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπιέναι σπουδῇ, λέοντα εἶναι τὸ δέρμα ἡγούμενον.

[27.7] One of the Troezenian legends about Theseus is the following. When Heracles visited Pittheus at Troezen, he laid aside his lion's skin to eat his dinner, and there came in to see him some Troezenian children with Theseus, then about seven years of age. The story goes that when they saw the skin the other children ran away, but Theseus slipped out not much afraid, seized an axe from the servants and straightway attacked the skin in earnest, thinking it to be a lion.

[8] ὁδε μὲν τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐς αὐτόν ἐστι Τροιζηνίους· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, κρηπιδας Αἰγέα ὑπὸ πέτρα καὶ ξίφος θεῖναι γνωρίσματα εἶναι τῷ. παιδὶ καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐς Αθήνας ἀποπλεῖν, Θησέα δέ, ὡς ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐγγένοι, τὴν πέτραν ἀνώσαντα οἴχεσθαι καὶ τὴν παρακαταθήκην τὴν Αἰγέως φέροντα. τούτου δὲ εἰκὼν ἐν ἀκροπόλει πεποιήται τοῦ λόγου, χαλκοῦ πάντα ὁμοίως πλὴν τῆς πέτρας:

[27.8] This is the first Troezenian legend about Theseus. The next is that Aegeus placed boots and a sword under a rock as tokens for the child, and then sailed away to Athens; Theseus, when sixteen years old, pushed the rock away and departed, taking what Aegeus had deposited. There is a representation of this legend on the Acropolis, everything in bronze except the rock.

[9] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Θησεὺς ἔργον, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει. Κρησι τὴν τε ἄλλην γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι ταῦρος ἐλυμαίνεται. πάλαι δὲ ἄρα τὰ θηρία φοβερώτερα ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥς ὁ τ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέων καὶ ὁ Παρνασσίος καὶ δράκοντες τῆς Ἑλλάδος πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὅς περὶ τε Καλυδῶνα καὶ Ἐρύμανθον καὶ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐν Κρομμυῶνι, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέγετο τὰ μὲν ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἱερὰ εἶη θεῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώπων ἀφεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Κρήτες τὸν ταῦρον ἐς τὴν γῆν πέμψαι σφίσι Ποσειδῶνά φασιν, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἄρχων Μίνως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς οὐδενὸς Ποσειδῶνα ἦγεν ἄλλου θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἐν τιμῇ.

[27.9] Another deed of Theseus they have represented in an offering, and the story about it is as follows:— The land of the Cretans and especially that by the river Tethris was ravaged by a bull. It would seem that in the days of old the beasts were much more formidable to men, for example the Nemean lion, the

lion of Parnassus, the serpents in many parts of Greece, and the boars of Calydon, Erymanthus and Crommyon in the land of Corinth, so that it was said that some were sent up by the earth, that others were sacred to the gods, while others had been let loose to punish mankind. And so the Cretans say that this bull was sent by Poseidon to their land because, although Minos was lord of the Greek Sea, he did not worship Poseidon more than any other god.

[10] κομισθῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτόν φασιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἓνα καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὸν ἄθλον: ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφείθη τὸ Ἀργείων, φεύγει διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίου ἰσθμοῦ, φεύγει δὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς δῆμον τὸν Μαραθωνίων, καὶ ἄλλους τε ὁπόσοις ἐπέτυχε καὶ Μίνω παῖδα Ἀνδρόγεων ἀπέκτεινε. Μίνως δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας πλεύσας — οὐ γὰρ ἐπείθετο ἀναιτίους εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς — ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκάκωσεν, ἐς ὃ συνεχωρήθη οἱ παρθένους ἐς Κρήτην ἑπτὰ καὶ παῖδας ἴσους ἄγειν τῷ λεγομένῳ Μίνῳ ταύρῳ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ Λαβύρινθον οἰκῆσαι: τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ταῦρον ὕστερον Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλάσαι καὶ θῦσαι λέγεται τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημά ἐστι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Μαραθωνίων.

[27.10] They say that this bull crossed from Crete to the Peloponnesus, and came to be one of what are called the Twelve Labours of Heracles. When he was let loose on the Argive plain he fled through the isthmus of Corinth, into the land of Attica as far as the Attic parish of Marathon, killing all he met, including Androgeos, son of Minos. Minos sailed against Athens with a fleet, not believing that the Athenians were innocent of the death of Androgeos, and sorely harassed them until it was agreed that he should take seven maidens and seven boys for the Minotaur that was said to dwell in the Labyrinth at Cnossus. But the bull at Marathon Theseus is said to have driven afterwards to the Acropolis and to have sacrificed to the goddess; the offering commemorating this deed was dedicated by the parish of Marathon.

28. Κύλωνα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἐφ' ὅτῳ χαλκοῦν ἀνέθεσαν τυραννίδα ὅμως βουλευόμενα: τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῶνδε ἔνεκα, ὅτι εἶδος κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀφανὲς ἀνελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρα ὑπῆρξε γῆμαι Θεαγένους, ὃς Μεγάρων ἐτυράννησε.

[28.1] XXVIII. Why they set up a bronze statue of Cylon in spite of his plotting a tyranny, I cannot say for certain; but I infer that it was because he was very beautiful to look upon, and of no undistinguished fame, having won an Olympian victory in the double foot-race, while he had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara.

[2] χωρὶς δὲ ἡ ὅσα κατέλεξα δύο μὲν Ἀθηναίοις εἰσὶ δεκάται πολεμήσασιν, ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μήδων τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα

ἀποβάντων τέχνη Φειδίου — καὶ οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος μάχην Λαπιθῶν πρὸς Κενταύρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐπειργασμένα λέγουσι τορεῦσαι Μῦν, τῷ δὲ Μυῖ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων Παρράσιον καταγράψαι τὸν Εὐήνορος:

ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἢ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμῇ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνουσ ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσιν ἐστὶν ἤδη σύνοπτα — , καὶ ἄρμα κεῖται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτῃ καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. δύο δὲ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα, Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν Φειδίου θέας μάλιστα ἄξιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων καλουμένης Λημνίας.

[28.2] In addition to the works I have mentioned, there are two tithes dedicated by the Athenians after wars. There is first a bronze Athena, tithe from the Persians who landed at Marathon. It is the work of Pheidias, but the reliefs upon the shield, including the fight between Centaurs and Lapithae, are said to be from the chisel of Mys, for whom they say Parrhasius the son of Evenor, designed this and the rest of his works. The point of the spear of this Athena and the crest of her helmet are visible to those sailing to Athens, as soon as Sunium is passed. Then there is a bronze chariot, tithe from the Boeotians and the Chalcidians in Euboea. There are two other offerings, a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and the best worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, the statue of Athena called Lemnian after those who dedicated it.

[3] τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγοῦς οἰκῆσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν: φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον τοὺς οἰκοδομήσαντας εἶναι. πυνθανόμενος δὲ οἵτινες ἦσαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελοὺς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν μετοικῆσαι.

[28.3] All the Acropolis is surrounded by a wall; a part was constructed by Cimon, son of Miltiades, but all the rest is said to have been built round it by the Pelasgians, who once lived under the Acropolis. The builders, they say, were Agrolas and Hyperbius. On inquiring who they were I could discover nothing except that they were Sicilians originally who emigrated to Acarnania.

ATHENS CONT.

[4] καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια πηγὴ τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ: Κρεοῦσῃ δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι νομίζουσι. * * * ὥς πεμφθεὶ Φιλипπίδης ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μήδων ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἐπανήκων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη τὴν ἑξοδον, εἶναι γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχουμένους ἐξιέναι πρὶν ἢ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γενέσθαι: τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλипπίδης ἔλεγε περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυχόντα οἱ τὸ

Παρθένιον φάναι τε ὥς εὔνους Ἀθηναίοις εἶη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἦξει συμμαχήσων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται:

[28.4] On descending, not to the lower city, but to just beneath the Gateway, you see a fountain and near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. It is here that Apollo is believed to have met Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus . . . when the

Persians had landed in Attica Philpides was sent to carry the tidings to Lacedaemon. On his return he said that the Lacedaemonians had postponed their departure, because it was their custom not to go out to fight before the moon was full. Philpides went on to say that near Mount Parthenius he had been met by Pan, who told him that he was friendly to the Athenians and would come to Marathon to fight for them. This deity, then, has been honored for this announcement.

[5] καθὸ καὶ ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος, ἔστι δὲ Ἄρειος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἄρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη, καὶ μοι καὶ ταῦτα δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ὡς Ἀλινρόθιον ἀνέλοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ κτείνειε. κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός· καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην. τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐστᾶσιν ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν Ὑβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναιδείας αὐτῶν ὀνομάζουσι.

[28.5] There is also the Hill of Ares, so named because Ares was the first to be tried here; my narrative has already told that he killed Halirrhothius, and what were his grounds for this act. Afterwards, they say, Orestes was tried for killing his mother, and there is an altar to Athena Areia (Warlike), which he dedicated on being acquitted. The unhewn stones on which stand the defendants and the prosecutors, they call the stone of Outrage and the stone of Ruthlessness.

[6] πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Ἡσίοδος δὲ Ἐρινῦς ἐν Θεογονίᾳ. πρῶτος δὲ σφισιν Αἰσχύλος δράκοντας ἐποίησεν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θριξὶν εἶναι· τοῖς δὲ ἀγάλμασιν οὔτε τούτοις ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερὸν οὔτε ὅσα ἄλλα κεῖται θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων. κεῖται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα· ἐνταῦθα θύουσι μὲν ὅσοις ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξεγένετο ἀπολύσασθαι, θύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ξένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἄστοι.

[28.6] Hard by is a sanctuary of the goddesses which the Athenians call the August, but Hesiod in the Theogony calls them Erinyes (Furies). It was Aeschylus who first represented them with snakes in their hair. But on the images neither of these nor of any of the under-world deities is there anything terrible. There are images of Pluto, Hermes, and Earth, by which sacrifice those who have received an acquittal on the Hill of Ares; sacrifices are also offered on other occasions by both citizens and aliens.

[7] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνημεῖον Οἰδίποδος, πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ εὗρισκον τὰ ὅσα ἐκ Θηβῶν κομισθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιημένα τὸν Οἰδίποδος Ὅμηρος οὐκ εἶα μοι δόξαι πιστά, ὃς ἔφη Μηκιστέα τελευτήσαντος Οἰδίποδος ἐπιτάφιον ἐλθόντα ἐς Οἴηβας ἀγωνίσασθαι.

[28.7] Within the precincts is a monument to Oedipus, whose bones, after diligent inquiry, I found were brought from Thebes. The account of the death of Oedipus in the drama of Sophocles I am prevented from believing by Homer, who says that after the death of Oedipus Mecisteus came to Thebes

and took part in the funeral games.

[8] ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἄλλα δικαστήρια οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτο δόξης ἤκοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν καλούμενον

παράβυστον καὶ τρίγωνον, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως ὃν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων ἐς αὐτό, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα: βατραχιοῦν δὲ καὶ φοινικιοῦν ἀπὸ χρωμάτων τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε διαμεμένηκεν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ἐς ὃ πλείστοι συνίασιν, ἡλιαίαν καλοῦσιν. ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσιν, ἔστιν ἄλλα: καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀποκτεínaσιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Δημοφῶν πρῶτος ἐνταῦθα ὑπέσχε δίκας, ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οὐδέενες:

[28.8] The Athenians have other law courts as well, which are not so famous. We have the Parabystum (Thrust aside) and the Triangle; the former is in an obscure part of the city, and in it the most trivial cases are tried; the latter is named from its shape. The names of Green Court and Red Court, due to their colors, have lasted down to the present day. The largest court, to which the greatest numbers come, is called Heliaea. One of the other courts that deal with bloodshed is called "At Palladium," into which are brought cases of involuntary homicide. All are agreed that Demophon was the first to be tried there, but as to the nature of the charge accounts differ.

[9] ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ, διάφορα ἐς τοῦτο εἴρηται. Διομήδην φασὶν ἀλούσης Ἰλίου ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀπίσω κομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἤδη τε νύκτα ἐπέχειν ὡς κατὰ Φάληρον πλέοντες γίνονται καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὡς ἐς πολέμιαν ἀποβῆναι τὴν γῆν, ἄλλην που δόξαντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ οὐ τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα Δημοφῶντα λέγουσιν ἐκβροθήσαντα, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον οὐδὲ τοῦτον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὡς εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἀποκτεínaειν καὶ τὸ Παλλάδιον ἀρπάσαντα οἴχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖον τε ἄνδρα οὐ προῖδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος ἀνατραπῆναι καὶ συμπατηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν: ἐπὶ τούτῳ Δημοφῶντα ὑποσχεῖν δίκας οἱ μὲν τοῦ συμπατηθέντος τοῖς προσήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργείων φασὶ τῷ κοινῷ.

[28.9] It is reported that after the capture of Troy Diomedes was returning home with his fleet when night overtook them as in their voyage they were off Phalerum. The Argives landed, under the impression that it was hostile territory, the darkness preventing them from seeing that it was Attica. Thereupon they say that Demophon, he too being unaware of the facts and ignorant that those who had landed were Argives, attacked them and, having killed a number of them, went off with the Palladium. An Athenian, however, not seeing before him in the dark, was knocked over by the horse of Demophon, trampled upon and killed. Whereupon Demophon was brought to trial, some say by the relatives of the man who was trampled upon, others say by the Argive commonwealth.

[10] ἐπὶ Δελφίνῳ δὲ κρίσις καθέστηκεν ἐργάσασθαι φόνον σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ φამένοις, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ Θησεὺς παρεχόμενος ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτε Πάλλαντα

ἐπαναστάντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκτεινε: πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφείθῃ, καθειστήκει πᾶσι φεύγειν κτείναντα ἢ κατὰ ταῦτὰ θνήσκειν μένοντα. τὸ δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καλούμενον, ἔνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀνύχοις δικάζουσιν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύοντος Ἐρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βοῦν ἔκτεινεν ὁ βουφόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπολιπὼν αὐτῇ τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων, ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραντίκα ἀφείθῃ κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται.

[28.10] At Delphinium are tried those who claim that they have committed justifiable homicide, the plea put forward by Theseus when he was acquitted, after having killed Pallas, who had risen in revolt against him, and his sons. Before Theseus was acquitted it was the established custom among all men for the shedder of blood to go into exile, or, if he remained, to be put to a similar death. The Court in the Prytaneum, as it is called, where they try iron and all similar inanimate things, had its origin, I believe, in the following incident. It was when Erechtheus was king of Athens that the ox-slayer first killed an ox at the altar of Zeus Polieus. Leaving the axe where it lay he went out of the land into exile, and the axe was forthwith tried and acquitted, and the trial has been repeated year by year down to the present.

[11] λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀνύχων αὐτόματα ἐπιθεῖναι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώποις: ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ δόξῃ φανερώτατον ὁ Καμβύσου παρέσχετο ἀκινάκης. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς πρὸς θαλάσση Φρεαττύς: ἐνταῦθα οἱ πεφευγότες, ἣν ἀπελθόντας ἕτερον ἐπιλάβῃ σφᾶς ἔγκλημα, πρὸς ἀκροωμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ νεῶς ἀπολογοῦνται: Τεῦκρον πρῶτον λόγος ἔχει Τελαμῶνι οὕτως ἀπολογήσασθαι μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Αἴαντος θάνατον εἰργάσθαι. τάδε μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι τῶνδε ἕνεκα, γινῶναι ὁπόσοις μέτεστι σπουδῆς τὰ ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια:

[28.11] Furthermore, it is also said that inanimate objects have on occasion of their own accord inflicted righteous retribution upon men, of this the scimitar of Cambyzes affords the best and most famous instance. Near the sea at the Peiraeus is Phreattys. Here it is that men in exile, when a further charge has been brought against them in their absence, make their defense on a ship while the judges listen on land. The legend is that Teucer first defended himself in this way before Telamon, urging that he was guiltless in the matter of the death of Ajax. Let this account suffice for those who are interested to learn about the law courts.

NEAR ATHENS

29. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δαίκνυται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν. καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἤδη πού τις ὑπερεβάλλετο: τὸ δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθῆκον ἐς ἑννέα ἑρέτας ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων.

[29.1] XXIX. Near the Hill of Ares is shown a ship built for the procession of the Panathenaea. This ship, I suppose, has been surpassed in size by others,

but I know of no builder who has beaten the vessel at Delos, with its nine banks of oars below the deck.

[2] Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι: ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ Ἀκαδημία, χωρίον ποτὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, γυμνάσιον δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. κατιούσι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης: ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Πάμφω, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδὼς ὑπερβῆσομαι. καὶ ναὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστίν, ἐς ὃν τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζουσιν ἐν τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις.

[29.2] Outside the city, too, in the parishes and on the roads, the Athenians have sanctuaries of the gods, and graves of heroes and of men. The nearest is the Academy, once the property of a private individual, but in my time a gymnasium. As you go down to it you come to a precinct of Artemis, and wooden images of Ariste (Best) and Calliste (Fairest). In my opinion, which is supported by the poems of Pamphos, these are surnames of Artemis. There is another account of them, which I know but shall omit. Then there is a small temple, into which every year on fixed days they carry the image of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

THE ATHENIAN CEMETERY

[3] ἱερὰ μὲν σφισι ταύτῃ τοσαῦτά ἐστι, τάφοι δὲ Θρασυβούλου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Λύκου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν τε ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν Ἀθηναῖοις λόγιμοι τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου — παρέντι δέ μοι τὰ πλείω τοσάδε ἐς πίστιν ἀρκέσει τοῦ λόγου: τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔπαυσε τῶν τριάκοντα καλουμένων σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἐξήκοντα τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους στασιάζοντας διαλλαγῆναι καὶ συνθεμένους ἔπεισε μεῖναι — , πρῶτος μὲν ἐστὶν οὗτος τάφος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου καὶ Φορμίωνος.

[29.3] Such are their sanctuaries here, and of the graves the first is that of Thrasybulus son of Lycus, in all respects the greatest of all famous Athenians, whether they lived before him or after him. The greater number of his achievements I shall pass by, but the following facts will suffice to bear out my assertion. He put down what is known as the tyranny of the Thirty, setting out from Thebes with a force amounting at first to sixty men; he also persuaded the Athenians, who were torn by factions, to be reconciled, and to abide by their compact. His is the first grave, and after it come those of Pericles, Chabrias and Phormio.

[4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνημα Ἀθηναῖοις ὅποσους ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἐν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς πλὴν ὅσοι Μαραθῶνι αὐτῶν ἡγωνίσαντο: τούτοις γὰρ κατὰ χώραν εἰσὶν οἱ τάφοι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκάστου λέγουσαι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν οὓς ἐν Θράκη ποτὲ ἐπικρατοῦντας μέχρι Δραβησκοῦ τῆς χώρας Ἴδωνοὶ φονεῦουσιν

[29.4] There is also a monument for all the Athenians whose fate it has been to fall in battle, whether at sea or on land, except such of them as fought at Marathon. These, for their valor, have their graves on the field of battle, but the others lie along the road to the Academy, and on their graves stand slabs bearing the name and parish of each. First were buried those who in Thrace, after a victorious advance as far as Drabescus, were unexpectedly attacked by the Edonians and slaughtered. There is also a legend that they were struck by lightning.

[5] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς κεραυνοὶ πέσουσιν ἐς αὐτούς. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Λεάγρος, ὃ μάλιστα ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ δύναμις, καὶ Δεκελεὺς Σωφάνης, ὃς τὸν Ἀργεῖον ποτε πένταθλον Νεμείων ἀνηρημένον νίκην ἀπέκτεινεν Εὐρυβάτην βοηθοῦντα Αἰγινήταις.

στρατὸν δὲ ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἀθηναῖοι τρίτον τοῦτον ἔστειλαν: Πριάμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τρωσὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου κατέστησαν ἐς πόλεμον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἰδίᾳ μετ' Ἴολάου τε ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ δευτέραν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ τρίτον δὴ τότε ἐς τὴν Θράκην.

[29.5] Among the generals were Leagrus, to whom was entrusted chief command of the army, and Sophanes of Decelea, who killed when he came to the help of the Aeginetans Eurybates the Argive, who won the prize in the pentathlon at the Nemean games. This was the third expedition which the Athenians dispatched out of Greece. For against Priam and the Trojans war was made with one accord by all the Greeks; but by them selves the Athenians sent armies, first with Iolaus to Sardinia, secondly to what is now Ionia, and thirdly on the present occasion to Thrace.

[6] ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μνήματος στήλη μαχομένους ἔχουσα ἱππεῖς: Μελάνωπός σφισὶν ἔστι καὶ Μακάρτατος ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἔνθα τῆς Ἑλεωνίας εἰσὶ χώρας πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὄροι. καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τάφος ἔστιν ἱππέων κατὰ παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἐλθόντων, ὅτε σὺν Ἀρχιδάμῳ Πελοποννήσιοι πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατιᾷ, καὶ πλησίον τοξόταις Κρησίν: αὖθις δὲ ἔστιν Ἀθηναίων μνήματα Κλεισθένους, ὃ τὰ ἐς τὰς φυλάς αἱ νῦν καθεστᾶσιν εὐρέθη, καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἡνίκα συνεπελάβοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ τοῦ κινδύνου.

[29.6] Before the monument is a slab on which are horsemen fighting. Their names are Melanopus and Macartatus, who met their death fighting against the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians on the borders of Eleon and Tanagra. There is also a grave of Thessalian horsemen who, by reason of an old alliance, came when the Peloponnesians with Archidamus invaded Attica with an army for the first time, and hard by that of Cretan bowmen. Again there are monuments to Athenians: to Cleisthenes, who invented the system of the tribes at present existing, and to horsemen who died when the Thessalians

shared the fortune of war with the Athenians.

[7] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κεῖνται, μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες: ἐφ' ὧν δέ, γράψω τοῦ λόγου μοι κατελθόντος ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. καὶ Ἀθηναίων δ' ἔστι τάφος, οἱ πρὶν ἢ στρατεῦσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ δήμου δίκαιον βούλευμα, εἰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μετέδοσαν δούλοις δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγγραφῆναι στήλῃ: δημοῖ δὲ ἀγαθοὺς σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὀνόματα ἄλλων, διάφορα δὲ σφισι τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγώνων: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπ' Ὀλυνθον ἐλθόντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ Μελέσανδρος ἐς τὴν ἄνω Καρίαν ναυσὶν ἀναπλεύσας διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου, ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντες

[29.7] Here too lie the men of Cleone, who came with the Argives into Attica; the occasion whereof I shall set forth when in the course of my narrative I come to the Argives. There is also the grave of the Athenians who fought against the Aeginetans before the Persian invasion. It was surely a just decree even for a democracy when the Athenians actually allowed slaves a public funeral, and to have their names inscribed on a slab, which declares that in the war they proved good men and true to their masters. There are also monuments of other men, their fields of battle lying in various regions. Here lie the most renowned of those who went against Olynthus, and Melesander who sailed with a fleet along the Maeander into upper Caria;

[8] πολεμοῦντος Κασσάνδρου καὶ οἱ συμμαχήσαντές ποτε Ἀργείων. πραχθῆναι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὴν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους λέγουσι συμμαχίαν: Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος οἱ εἰλωτες ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν, ἀφεστηκότων δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βοηθοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων μετεπέμποντο: οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἐπιλέκτους ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ στρατηγὸν Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου. τούτους ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς ὑποψίαν:

[29.8] also those who died in the war with Cassander, and the Argives who once fought as the allies of Athens. It is said that the alliance between the two peoples was brought about thus. Sparta was once shaken by an earthquake, and the Helots seceded to Ithome. After the secession the Lacedaemonians sent for help to various places, including Athens, which dispatched picked troops under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades. These the Lacedaemonians dismissed, because they suspected them.

[9] Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο περιωβρίσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω συμμαχίαν ἐποίησαντο Ἀργείοις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροῖς τὸν ἅπαντα οὔσι χρόνον. ὕστερον δὲ μελλούσης Ἀθηναίων ἐν Τανάγρα γίνεσθαι πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἀφίκοντο Ἀθηναῖοις Ἀργεῖοι βοηθοῦντες: καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ἔχοντας πλέον τοὺς Ἀργεῖους νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα ἀφείλετο τὸ σαφὲς τῆς νίκης, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπῆρξε κρατήσαι Λακεδαιμονίους Θεσσαλῶν προδόντων Ἀθηναίους.

[29.9] The Athenians regarded the insult as intolerable, and on their way back made an alliance with the Argives, the immemorial enemies of the

Lacedaemonians. Afterwards, when a battle was imminent at Tanagra, the Athenians opposing the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians, the Argives reinforced the Athenians. For a time the Argives had the better, but night came on and took from them the assurance of their victory, and on the next day the Lacedaemonians had the better, as the Thessalians betrayed the Athenians.

[10] καταλέξει δέ μοι καὶ τούσδε ἐπῆλθεν, Ἀπολλόδωρον ξένων ἡγεμόνα, ὃς Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἦν, ἐκπεμφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρσίτου σατράπου τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας διεφύλαξε Περινθίους τὴν πόλιν ἐσβεβληκότος ἐς τὴν Περινθίαν Φιλίππου στρατῷ: οὗτός τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα τέθαιπται καὶ Εὐβουλος ὁ Σπινθάρου καὶ ἄνδρες οἷς ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησε τύχῃ χρηστή, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιθεμένοις τυραννοῦντι Λαχάρει, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατάληψιν ἐβούλευσαν Μακεδόνων φρουρούντων, πρὶν δὲ εἰργάσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδότην μνησθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

[29.10] It occurred to me to tell of the following men also, firstly Apollodorus, commander of the mercenaries, who was an Athenian dispatched by Arsites, satrap of Phrygia by the Hellespont, and saved their city for the Perinthians when Philip had invaded their territory with an army. He, then, is buried here, and also Eubulus the son of Spintharus, along with men who though brave were not attended by good fortune; some attacked Lachares when he was tyrant, others planned the capture of the Peiraeus when in the hands of a Macedonian garrison, but before the deed could be accomplished were betrayed by their accomplices and put to death.

[11] κεῖνται δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Κόρινθον πεσόντες: ἐδήλωσε δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐθις ἐν Λεύκτροις τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνδρείους τὸ μηδὲν ἄνευ Τύχης εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορινθῖοι τότε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωτῶν κρατήσαντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν μόνων ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκακώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κόρινθῳ στήλῃν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐστάναι τὴν αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεία, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ τελευτήσασιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

[29.11] Here also lie those who fell near Corinth. Heaven showed most distinctly here and again at Leuctra that those whom the Greeks call brave are as nothing if Good Fortune be not with them, seeing that the Lacedaemonians, who had on this occasion overcome Corinthians and Athenians, and furthermore Argives and Boeotians, were afterwards at Leuctra so utterly overthrown by the Boeotians alone. After those who were killed at Corinth, we come across elegiac verses declaring that one and the same slab has been erected to those who died in Euboea and Chios, and to those who perished in the remote parts of the continent of Asia, or in Sicily.

[12] γεγραμμένοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ πλὴν Νικίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀστοῖς Πλαταιεῖς: Νικίας δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε παρείθη, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν

διάφορα ἢ Φίλιστος, ὃς ἔφη Δημοσθένην μὲν σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις πλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὥς ἡλίσκετο αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι, Νικία δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν ἐθέλοντῇ γενέσθαι· τούτων ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐνεγράφη Νικίας τῇ στήλῃ, καταγνοσθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος ἐθέλοντῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ πολέμῳ πρέπων.

[29.12] The names of the generals are inscribed with the exception of Nicias, and among the private soldiers are included the Plataeans along with the Athenians. This is the reason why Nicias was passed over, and my account is identical with that of Philistus, who says that while Demosthenes made a truce for the others and excluded himself, attempting to commit suicide when taken prisoner, Nicias voluntarily submitted to the surrender. For this reason Nicias had not his name inscribed on the slab, being condemned as a voluntary prisoner and an unworthy soldier.

[13] εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ στήλῃ καὶ οἱ μαχεσάμενοι περὶ Θράκην καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ ἡνίκα Ἀρκάδας τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ καὶ Ἑλείους ἐπεισεν Ἀλκιβιάδης Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστῆναι καὶ οἱ πρὶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφικέσθαι Δημοσθένην Συρακουσίων κρατήσαντες. ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ναυμαχήσαντες καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἠγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεύσαντες, οἳ τε ἐν Δηλῷ τῷ

Ταναγραίων τελευτήσαντες καὶ ὅσους ἐς Θεσσαλίαν Λεωσθένης ἤγαγε καὶ οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐς Κύπρον ὁμοῦ Κίμωνι, τῶν τε σὺν Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἄνδρες οὐ πλείους.

[29.13] On another slab are the names of those who fought in the region of Thrace and at Megara, and when Alcibiades persuaded the Arcadians in Mantinea and the Eleans to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, and of those who were victorious over the Syracusans before Demosthenes arrived in Sicily. Here were buried also those who fought in the sea-fights near the Hellespont, those who opposed the Macedonians at Charonea, those who were killed at Delium in the territory of Tanagra, the men Leosthenes led into Thessaly, those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus, and of those who with Olympiodorus expelled the garrison not more than thirteen men.

[14] φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμορόν τινα πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν πέμψαι, καὶ ὕστερον ναυμαχίας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους γινομένης τριήρεις πέντε Ἀττικαὶ παρεγένοντο· ἔστιν οὖν καὶ τούτοις ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ τάφος. Τολμίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ δεδήλωται μὲν ἦδη μοι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησαν· ἵστω δὲ ὅτ' ὅφιν κειμένους σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον ἐπὶ τῇ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶν αὐθημερόν κρατήσαντες·

[29.14] The Athenians declare that when the Romans were waging a border war they sent a small force to help them, and later on five Attic warships assisted the Romans in a naval action against the Carthaginians. Accordingly these men also have their grave here. The achievements of Tolmides and his men, and the manner of their death, I have already set forth, and any who are

interested may take note that they are buried along this road. Here lie too those who with Cimon achieved the great feat of winning a land and naval victory on one and the same day.

[15] τέθαιπαι δὲ καὶ Κόνων καὶ Τιμόθεος, δεύτεροι μετὰ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Κίμωνα οὗτοι πατήρ καὶ παῖς ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρά. κεῖται δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μνασέου καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς, Νικίας τε ὁ Νικομήδους ζῶα ἄριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ τὸν Πεισιστράτου παῖδα Ἰππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, ῥήτορες τε Ἐφιάλτης, ὃς τὰ νόμιμα τὰ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Λυκούργος ὁ Λυκόφρωνος.

[29.15] Here also are buried Conon and Timotheus, father and son, the second pair thus related to accomplish illustrious deeds, Miltiades and Cimon being the first; Zeno too, the son of Mnaseas and Chrysippus of Soli, Nicias the son of Nicomedes, the best painter from life of all his contemporaries, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus; there are also two orators, Ephialtes, who was chiefly responsible for the abolition of the privileges of the Areopagus, and Lycurgus, the son of Lycophron;

[16] Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν τάλαντα ἑς τὸ δημόσιον πεντακοσίοις πλείονα καὶ ἐξακισχιλίοις ἢ ὅσα Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου συνήγαγε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ πομπεῖα τῇ θεῷ καὶ Νίκᾳ χρυσᾶς καὶ παρθένοις κόσμον ἑκατόν, ἑς δὲ πόλεμον ὅπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ τετρακοσίας ναυμαχοῦσιν εἶναι τρυήρεις:

οἰκοδομήματα δὲ ἐπετέλεσε μὲν τὸ θέατρον ἐτέρων ὑπαρξαμένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἃ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν Πειραιεῖ νεὼς εἰσιν οἴκοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Λυκεῖῳ καλουμένῳ γυμνάσιον. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἦν καὶ χρυσοῦ, Λαχάρης καὶ ταῦτα ἐσύλησε τυραννήσας: τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτι ἦν.

[29.16] Lycurgus provided for the state-treasury six thousand five hundred talents more than Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, collected, and furnished for the procession of the Goddess golden figures of Victory and ornaments for a hundred maidens; for war he provided arms and missiles, besides increasing the fleet to four hundred warships. As for buildings, he completed the theater that others had begun, while during his political life he built dockyards in the Peiraeus and the gymnasium near what is called the Lyceum. Everything made of silver or gold became part of the plunder Lachares made away with when he became tyrant, but the buildings remained to my time.

THE ACADEMY

30. πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἑρωτος ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἑρωτὶ ἀναθεῖν. τὸν δὲ ἐν πόλει βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος ἀνάθημα εἶναι λέγουσι μετοίκων, ὅτι Μέλης Ἀθηναῖος μέτοικον ἄνδρα Τιμαγόραν ἐρασθέντα ἀτιμάζων ἀφεῖναι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ ὑψηλότερον αὐτῆς ἀνελθόντα: Τιμαγόρας δὲ ἄρα καὶ ψυχῆς εἶχεν ἀφειδῶς καὶ πάντα ὁμοίως κελεύοντι ἥθελε χαρίζεσθαι

τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ φέρων ἑαυτὸν ἀφήκε· Μέλητα δέ, ὡς ἀποθανόντα εἶδε Τιμαγόραν, ἐς τοσοῦτο μετανοίας ἐλθεῖν ὡς πεσεῖν τε ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ οὕτως ἀφείς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν δαίμονα Ἀντέρωτα τὸν ἀλάστορα τὸν Τιμαγόρου κατέστη τοῖς μετοίκοις νομίζειν.

[30.1] XXX. Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god. The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (Love Avenged) they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From this time the resident aliens worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras.

[2] ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θεοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας· τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ φυλάξαι τὴν δᾶδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν, ἀποσβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τούτῳ καίοιτο, ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ κρατὼν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀποσβεσθεῖη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅτῳ καταλείπεται ἡ νίκη. ἐστὶ δὲ Μουσῶν τε βωμός καὶ ἕτερος Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἐνδὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησαν· καὶ φυτόν ἐστιν ἐλαίας, δεύτερον τοῦτο λεγόμενον φανῆναι.

[30.2] In the Academy is an altar to Prometheus, and from it they run to the city carrying burning torches. The contest is while running to keep the torch still alight; if the torch of the first runner goes out, he has no longer any claim to victory, but the second runner has. If his torch also goes out, then the third man is the victor. If all the torches go out, no one is left to be winner. There is an altar to the Muses, and another to Hermes, and one within to Athena, and they have built one to Heracles. There is also an olive tree, accounted to be the second that appeared.

[3] Ἀκαδημίας δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ Πλάτωνος μνημὰ ἐστίν, ᾧ προσήμινεν ὁ θεὸς ἄριστον τὰ ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ἔσσεσθαι· προσήμινε δὲ οὕτῳ. Σωκράτης τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἢ Πλάτων ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι οἱ μαθητὴς ἐσπτιῆναι οἱ κύκνον ἐς τὸν κόλπον εἶδεν ὄνειρον· ἐστὶ δὲ κύκνῳ τῷ ὄρνιθι μουσικῆς δόξα, ὅτι Λιγύων τῶν Ἡριδανοῦ πέραν ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς Κύκνον ἄνδρα μουσικὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα φασί, τελευτήσαντα δὲ Απόλλωνος γνώμη μεταβαλεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ὄρνιθα. ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦσαι μὲν πείθομαι Λίγυσιν ἄνδρα μουσικόν, γενέσθαι δὲ μοι ἄπιστον ὄρνιθα ἀπ' ἀνδρός.

[30.3] Not far from the Academy is the monument of Plato, to whom heaven foretold that he would be the prince of philosophers. The manner of the foretelling was this. On the night before Plato was to become his pupil Socrates in a dream saw a swan fly into his bosom. Now the swan is a bird with a reputation for music, because, they say, a musician of the name of Swan became king of the Ligyes on the other side of the Eridanus beyond the Celtic territory, and after his death by the will of Apollo he was changed into the bird. I am ready to believe that a musician became king of the Ligyes, but I cannot believe that a bird grew out of a man.

[4] κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας φαίνεται πύργος Τίμωνος, ὃς μόνος εἶδε μηδένα τρόπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι γενέσθαι πλὴν τοὺς ἄλλους φεύγοντα ἀνθρώπους. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ χῶρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς ἵππιος, ἐνθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρώτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα — διάφορα μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει, λέγουσι δ' οὖν — , καὶ βωμός Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας, ἠρῶν δὲ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως Οἰδίποδός τε καὶ Ἀδράστου. τὸ δὲ ἄλλος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀντίγονος ἐσβαλὼν, καὶ ἄλλοτε στρατιᾷ κακώσας Ἀθηναίους τὴν γῆν.

[30.4] In this part of the country is seen the tower of Timon, the only man to see

that there is no way to be happy except to shun other men. There is also pointed out a place called the Hill of Horses, the first point in Attica, they say, that Oedipus reached – this account too differs from that given by Homer, but it is nevertheless current tradition – and an altar to Poseidon, Horse God, and to Athena, Horse Goddess, and a chapel to the heroes Peirithous and Theseus, Oedipus and Adrastus. The grove and temple of Poseidon were burnt by Antigonos when he invaded Attica, who at other times also ravaged the land of the Athenians.

ALIMUS, ZOSTER, PROSPALTA, ANAGYRUS, CEPHALE

31. δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος οἰκισθεὶς, τάδε ἐς μνήμην παρείχοντο: Ἀλιμουσίους μὲν Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ζωστήρῃ δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν Λητὴ τὸς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οὐ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστήρα ὡς τεξομένην, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Προσπαλτίους δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν, Αναγυρασίους δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν: Κεφαλῇσι δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι νομίζονται μάλιστα, Μεγάλους γὰρ σφᾶς οἱ ταύτῃ θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν.

[31.1] XXXI. The small parishes of Attica, which were founded severally as chance would have it, presented the following noteworthy features. At Alimus is a sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver and of the Maid, and at Zoster (Girdle) on the coast is an altar to Athena, as well as to Apollo, to Artemis and to Leto. The story is that Leto did not give birth to her children here, but loosened her girdle with a view to her delivery, and the place received its name from this incident. Prospalta has also a sanctuary of the Maid and Demeter, and Anagyry a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods. At Cephale the chief cult is that of the Dioscuri, for the inhabitants call them the Great gods.

PRASIAE & POTAMI

[2] ἐν δὲ Πρασιεῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι ναός: ἐνταῦθα τὰς Ὑπερβορέων ἀπαρχὰς ἰέναι λέγεται, παραδιδόναι δὲ αὐτὰς Ὑπερβορέους μὲν Ἀριμασποῖς, Ἀριμασποὺς δ' Ἰσσηδόσι, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθας ἐς Σινώπην κομίζειν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φέρεσθαι διὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐς Πρασιάς, Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐς Δῆλον ἄγοντας: τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρύφθαι μὲν ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, γινώσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδένων. ἐστὶ δὲ μνῆμα ἐπὶ Πρασιαῖς Ἐρυσίχθονος, ὡς ἐκομίζετο ὀπίσω μετὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐκ Δήλου, γενομένης οἱ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τῆς τελευτῆς.

[31.2] At Prasiae is a temple of Apollo. Hither they say are sent the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans, and the Hyperboreans are said to hand them over to the Arimaspi, the Arimaspi to the Issedones, from these the Scythians bring them to Sinope, thence they are carried by Greeks to Prasiae, and the Athenians take them to Delos. The first-fruits are hidden in wheat straw, and they are known of none. There is at Prasiae a monument to Erysichthon, who died on the voyage home from Delos, after the sacred mission thither.

[3] Κραναὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα Ἀθηναίων ὅτι μὲν ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφικτύων κηδεστήν ὄντα, ἔτι πρότερον εἰρηταί μοι: φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Λαμπτρέα ἀποθανεῖν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφῆναί φασι, καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐς ἡμὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Λαμπτρεῦσι Κραναοῦ μνῆμα. Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου — καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὥκησε παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἐπολεμάρχησε — τάφος ἐν Ποταμοῖς ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας.

[31.3] How Amphictyon banished Cranaus, his kinsman by marriage and king of Athens, I have already related. They say that fleeing with his supporters to the parish of Lamptrae he died and was buried there, and at the present day there is a monument to Cranaus at Lamptrae. At Potami in Attica is also the grave of Ion the son of Xuthus – for he too dwelt among the Athenians and was their commander-in-chief in the war with Eleusis.

PHYLA & MYRRHINUS

[4] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται, Φλυεῦσι δὲ εἰσι καὶ Μυρρινουσίοις τοῖς μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Διονυσοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ Διονύσου τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι: ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας καὶ Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν: τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυρρινουῶντι ξοάνόν ἐστι Κολαινίδος. Ἀθμονεῖς δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν Ἄρτεμιν:

[31.4] Such is the legend. Phlya and Myrrhinus have altars of Apollo Dionysodotus, Artemis Light-bearer, Dionysus Flower-god, the Ismenian nymphs and Earth, whom they name the Great goddess; a second temple contains altars of Demeter Anesidora (Sender-up of Gifts), Zeus Ctesius (God of Gain), Tithrone Athena, the Maid First-born and the goddesses styled August. The wooden image at Myrrhinus is of Colaenis.

ATHMONIA & ACHARNAE

[5] πυνθανόμενος δὲ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένους τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς εὔρον, αὐτὸς δὲ συμβάλλομαι τῇδε. ἔστιν Ἀμάρυνθος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ: καὶ γὰρ οἱ αὐτῇ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν, ἑορτὴν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Ἀμαρυσίας ἄγουσιν οὐδὲν τι Εὐβοέων ἀφανέστερον: αὐτῇ μὲν γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ Ἀθμονεῦσιν ἡγοῦμαι, τὴν δὲ ἐν Μυρρινουῶντι Κολαινίδα ἀπὸ Κολαίνου καλεῖσθαι. γέγραπται δ' ἤδη μοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὥς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο τῆς Κέκροπος: ἔστι δὲ ὁ Κόλαινος ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα πρότερον ἢ Κέκρου ἐβασίλευσεν — ὥς οἱ Μυρρινούσιοι λέγουσιν — ἄρξαντος.

[31.5] Athmonia worships Artemis Amarysia. On inquiry I discovered that the guides knew nothing about these deities, so I give my own conjecture. Amarynthus is a town in Euboea, the inhabitants of which worship Amarysia, while the festival of Amarysia which the Athenians celebrate is no less

splendid than the Euboean. The name of the goddess, I think, came to Athmonia in this fashion and the Colaenis in Myrrhinus is called after Colaenus. I have already written that many of the inhabitants of the parishes say that they were ruled by kings even before the reign of Cecrops. Now Colaenus, say the Myrrhinusians, is the name of a man who ruled before Cecrops became king.

[6] ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγυιέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς βωμός ἐστιν Ὑγείας· τὴν δ' Ἰππίαν Ἀθηνᾶν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Διόνυσον Μελπόμενον καὶ Κισσὸν τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν, τὸν κισσὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον φανῆναι λέγοντες.

[31.6] There is a parish called Acharnae, where they worship Apollo Agyieus (God of Streets) and Heracles, and there is an altar of Athena Health. And they call upon the name of Athena Horse-goddess and Dionysus Singer and Dionysus Ivy, saying that the plant ivy first appeared there.

MT PENTELICUS, MT PARNES & MT HYMETTUS

32. ὄρη δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐστὶ Πεντελικὸν ἔνθα λιθοτομίαι, καὶ Πάρνης παρεχομένη θήραν συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων, καὶ Ὑμηττὸς ὃς φύει νομάς μελίσσαις

ἐπιτηδαιοτάτας πλὴν τῆς Ἀλαζώνων. Ἀλαζῶσι γὰρ συνήθεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς νομάς ἰοῦσιν εἰσὶν ἄφετοι καὶ μέλισσαι, οὐδὲ σφᾶς ἐς σίμβλους καθείρξαντες ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐργάζονται τε ὡς ἔτυχον τῆς χώρας καὶ συμφυεῖς τὸ ἔργον αὐταῖς ἐστίν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὔτε κηρὸν οὔτε μέλι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ τὰ ὄρη καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἔχει·

[32.1] XXXII. The Attic mountains are Pentelicus, where there are quarries, Parnes, where there is hunting of wild boars and of bears, and Hymettus, which grows the most suitable pasture for bees, except that of the Alazones. For these people have actually bees ranging free, tamely following the other creatures when they go to pasture. These bees are not kept shut up in hives, and they work in any part of the land they happen to visit. They produce a solid mass from which you cannot separate either wax or honey. Such then is its nature.

[2] Πεντελῆσι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν Ὑμηττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ὑμηττίου Διός, βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προοπίου. καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνῆθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ βωμός Σημαλέου Διός· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν Ὀμβριον τότε δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία. καὶ Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου.

[32.2] The Athenians have also statues of gods on their mountains. On Pentelicus is a statue of Athena, on Hymettus one of Zeus Hymettius. There are altars both of Zeus Rain-god and of Apollo Foreseer. On Parnes is a bronze Zeus Parnethius, and an altar to Zeus Semaleus (Sign-giving). There is

on Parnes another altar, and on it they make sacrifice, calling Zeus sometimes Rain-god, sometimes Averter of Ills. Anchasmus is a mountain of no great size, with an image of Zeus Anchasmus.

MARATHON

[3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῶν νήσων ἐς ἀφήγησιν τραπέσθαι, τὰ ἐς τοὺς δήμους ἔχοντα αὐθις ἐπέξειμι. δημὸς ἐστὶ Μαραθῶν ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ: ταύτῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ μάχη τε ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τινες ὡς ἀνίγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν. τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις: ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δούλοι τότε πρῶτον.

[32.3] Before turning to a description of the islands, I must again proceed with my account of the parishes. There is a parish called Marathon, equally distant from Athens and Carystus in Euboea. It was at this point in Attica that the foreigners landed, were defeated in battle, and lost some of their vessels as they were putting off from the land. On the plain is the grave of the Athenians, and upon it are slabs giving the names of the killed according to their tribes; and there is another grave for the Boeotian Plataeans and for the slaves, for slaves fought then for the first time by the side of their masters.

[4] καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ μνημα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὕστερόν οἱ τῆς τελευτῆς Πάρου τε ἀμαρτάνοντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς κρίσιν Ἀθηναίοις καταστάντι. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθέσθαι: καταστήναι δὲ ἐς ἐναργὴ θεὰν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ συνήνεγκεν, ἀνηκόῳ δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβὰν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ὀργή. σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες καὶ Μαραθῶνα ἀφ' οὗ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡρακλέα, φάμενοι πρῶτοις Ἑλλήνων σφίσιν Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομισθῆναι.

[32.4] here is also a separate monument to one man, Miltiades, the son of Cimon, although his end came later, after he had failed to take Paros and for this reason had been brought to trial by the Athenians. At Marathon every night you can hear horses neighing and men fighting. No one who has expressly set himself to behold this vision has ever got any good from it, but the spirits are not wroth with such as in ignorance chance to be spectators. The Marathonians worship both those who died in the fighting, calling them heroes, and secondly Marathon, from whom the parish derives its name, and then Heracles, saying that they were the first among the Greeks to acknowledge him as a god.

[5] συνέβη δὲ ὡς λέγουσιν ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἄγροικον: οὗτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής: ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχέτλαιον ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωα. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν ὡς πάντως ὅσιον

ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῇ κρύψαι, τάφον δὲ οὐδένα εὑρεῖν ἐδυνάμην: οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὡς τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον.

[32.5] They say too that there chanced to be present in the battle a man of rustic appearance and dress. Having slaughtered many of the foreigners with a plough he was seen no more after the engagement. When the Athenians made enquiries at the oracle the god merely ordered them to honor Echetlaeus (He of the Plough-tail) as a hero. A trophy too of white marble has been erected. Although the Athenians assert that they buried the Persians, because in every case the divine law applies that a corpse should be laid under the earth, yet I could find no grave. There was neither mound nor other trace to be seen, as the dead were carried to a trench and thrown in anyhow.

[6] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι πηγὴ καλουμένη Μακαρία, καὶ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν λέγουσιν. Ἡρακλῆς ὡς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ἔφευγεν Εὐρυσθέα, παρὰ Κήυκα φίλον ὄντα μετοικίζεται βασιλεύοντα Τραχῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπελθόντος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλέους ἐξήτει τοὺς παῖδας Εὐρυσθεύς, ἐς Ἀθήνας πέμπει σφᾶς ὁ Τραχίνιος ἀσθένειάν τε λέγων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θησέα οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τιμωρεῖν: ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἰκέται πρῶτον τότε Πελοποννησίοις ποιοῦσι πόλεμον πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Θησέως σφᾶς οὐκ ἐκδόντος αἰτοῦντι Εὐρυσθεῖ. λέγουσι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι χρησμὸν τῶν παίδων ἀποθανεῖν χρῆναι τῶν Ἡρακλέους τινὰ ἐθελοντήν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ εἶναι νίκην σφίσι: ἐνταῦθα Μακαρία Δηιανείρας καὶ Ἡρακλέους θυγάτηρ ἀποσφάξασα ἑαυτὴν ἔδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τε κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφ' αὐτῆς.

[32.6] In Marathon is a spring called Macaria with the following legend. When Heracles left Tiryns, fleeing from Eurystheus, he went to live with his friend Ceyx, who was king of Trachis. But when Heracles departed this life Eurystheus demanded his children; whereupon the king of Trachis sent them to Athens, saying that he was weak but Theseus had power enough to succor them. The arrival of the children as suppliants caused for the first time war between Peloponnesians and Athenians, Theseus refusing to give up the refugees at the demand of Eurystheus. The story says that an oracle was given the Athenians that one of the children of Heracles must die a voluntary death, or else victory could not be theirs. Thereupon Macaria, daughter of Deianeira and Heracles, slew herself and gave to the Athenians victory in the war and to the spring her own name.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι λίμνη τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης: ἐς ταύτην ἀπειρία τῶν ὁδῶν φεύγοντες ἐσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ σφισι τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσιν: ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν λίμνην φάτναι εἰσὶ λίθου τῶν ἵππων τῶν Ἀρταφέρνηους καὶ σημεῖα ἐν πέτραις σκηνῆς. ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ βοσκήμασιν ὕδωρ ἐπιτίθειον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀλμυρὸς ἤδη γίνεται καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν θαλασσίων πλήρης. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θεᾶς ἄξιον: ἔσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενὴ, παρελθούσι δὲ εἰσιν οἶκοι

καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ καλούμενον Πανὸς αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰξίν
εἰκασμέναι.

[32.7] There is at Marathon a lake which for the most part is marshy. Into this ignorance of the roads made the foreigners fall in their flight, and it is said that this accident was the cause of their great losses. Above the lake are the stone stables of Artaphernes' horses, and marks of his tent on the rocks. Out of the lake flows a river, affording near the lake itself water suitable for cattle, but near its mouth it becomes salt and full of sea fish. A little beyond the plain is the Hill of Pan and a remarkable Cave of Pan. The entrance to it is narrow, but farther in are chambers and baths and the so-called "Pan's herd of goats," which are rocks shaped in most respects like to goats.

BRAURON

33. Μαραθῶνος δὲ ἀπέχει τῇ μὲν Βραυρῶν, ἔνθα Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐκ Ταύρων φεύγουσαν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην τὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀποβῆναι λέγουσι, καταλιποῦσαν δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ταύτῃ καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι: ξόανον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἀρχαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵτινες κατὰ γνώμην ἔχουσι τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ δηλώσω:

[33.1] XXXIII. At some distance from Marathon is Brauron, where, according to the legend, Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, landed with the image of Artemis when she fled from the Tauri; leaving the image there she came to Athens also and afterwards to Argos. There is indeed an old wooden image of Artemis here, but who in my opinion have the one taken from the foreigners I will set forth in another place.

RHAMNUS

[2] Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰοῦσιν ἐς

Ὠρωπόν. καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκῆσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεως ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἣ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὕβρισταῖς ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβάσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μήνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης: καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ μηδὲν σφισιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλεῖν, λίθον Πάριον ὃν ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ἐς τροπαίου ποίησιν.

[33.2] About sixty stades from Marathon as you go along the road by the sea to Oropus stands Rhamnus. The dwelling houses are on the coast, but a little way inland is a sanctuary of Nemesis, the most implacable deity to men of violence. It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished.

[3] τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ

κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεστι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα: ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει τῇ μὲν κλάδον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, Αἰθίοπες δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ πεποιήνται. συμβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχον οὔτε ἀπεδεχόμεν τῶν συνιέναι πειθομένων, οἱ πεποιησθαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ φασὶ διὰ ποταμὸν Ὠκεανόν: οἰκεῖν γὰρ Αἰθίοπας ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Νεμέσει δὲ εἶναι πατέρα Ὠκεανόν.

[33.3] Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory. In her left hand she holds an apple branch, in her right hand a cup on which are wrought Aethiopians. As to the Aethiopians, I could hazard no guess myself, nor could I accept the statement of those who are convinced that the Aethiopians have been carved upon the cup be cause of the river Ocean. For the Aethiopians, they say, dwell near it, and Ocean is the father of Nemesis.

[4] Ὠκεανῷ γὰρ οὐ ποταμῷ, θαλάσῃ δὲ ἐσχάτῃ τῆς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πλεομένης προσοικοῦσιν Ἰβηρες καὶ Κελτοί, καὶ νῆσον Ὠκεανὸς ἔχει τὴν Βρεττανῶν: Αἰθίοπων δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Συήνης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔσχατοι τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγοι, καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὃν περιοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγων ὀνομάζεται. οἱ δὲ δικαιοτάτοι Μερὸν πόλιν καὶ πεδῖον Αἰθιοπικὸν καλούμενον οἰκοῦσιν: οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰσιν οἱ δεικνύντες, οὐδέ σφισιν ἔστιν οὔτε θάλασσα οὔτε ποταμὸς ἄλλος γε ἢ Νεῖλος.

[33.4] It is not the river Ocean, but the farthest part of the sea navigated by man, near which dwell the Iberians and the Celts, and Ocean surrounds the island of Britain. But of the Aethiopians beyond Syene, those who live farthest in the direction of the Red Sea are the Ichthyophagi (Fish-eaters), and the gulf round which they live is called after them. The most righteous of them inhabit the city Meroe and what is called the Aethiopian plain. These are they who show the Table of the Sun, and they have neither sea nor river except the Nile.

[5] εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πρόσκοικοι Μαύροις

Αἰθίοπες ἄχρι Νασαμώνων παρήκοντες. Νασαμώνες γάρ, οὓς Ἀτλαντας Ἡρόδοτος, οἱ δὲ μέτρα φάμενοι γῆς εἰδέναι Λιξίτας καλοῦσι, Λιβύων οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς Ἀτλαντὶ οἰκοῦσι σπεύροντες μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀμπέλων ζῶντες ἀγρίων. ποταμὸς δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν οὐδὲ τοῖς Νασαμῶσιν ἔστιν οὐδεῖς: τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ Ἀτλαντὶ ὕδωρ, τρισὶ παρεχόμενον ἀρχὰς ρέυμασιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ρευμάτων ποιεῖ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως αὐτίκα ἔχει συλλαβοῦσα ἢ ψάμμος. οὕτως Αἰθίοπες ποταμῷ γε οὐδενὶ προσοικοῦσιν ἢ Ὠκεανῷ.

[33.5] There are other Aethiopians who are neighbours of the Mauri and extend as far as the Nasamones. For the Nasamones, whom Herodotus calls the Atlantes, and those who profess to know the measurements of the earth name the Lixitae, are the Libyans who live the farthest close to Mount Atlas, and they do not till the ground at all, but live on wild vines. But neither these Aethiopians nor yet the Nasamones have any river. For the water near Atlas,

which provides a beginning to three streams, does not make any of the streams a river, as the sand swallows it all up at once. So the Aethiopians dwell near no river Ocean.

[6] τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀτλαντος θολερὸν τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ κροκόδειλοι διπλήχεων ἦσαν οὐκ ἐλάσσους, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεδύνοντο ἐς τὴν πηγὴν. παρίστατο δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ἀναφαινόμενον αὐθις ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου ποιεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγυπτίοις. ὁ δὲ Ἄτλας ὁρος ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἐστὶν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψαύειν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἄβατον δὲ ὑπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δένδρων ἃ διὰ παντὸς πέφυκε· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Νασαμῶνας αὐτοῦ γινώσκεται, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδένα πω παραπλεύσαντα ἴσμεν.

[33.6] The water from Atlas is muddy, and near the source were crocodiles of not less than two cubits, which when the men approached dashed down into the spring. The thought has occurred to many that it is the reappearance of this water out of the sand which gives the Nile to Egypt. Mount Atlas is so high that its peaks are said to touch heaven, but is inaccessible because of the water and the presence everywhere of trees. Its region indeed near the Nasamones is known, but we know of nobody yet who has sailed along the parts facing the sea. I must now resume.

[7] τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· περὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποιῆται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἀγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχει περὰ· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον — ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρᾷ ἐθέλουσιν — ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει περὰ ὥσπερ Ἑρωτι ποιοῦσι. νῦν δὲ ἤδη δίδειμι ὅποσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματός ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τοσόνδε ἐς τὸ σαφὲς προδηλώσας. Ἑλένη Νέμεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἕλληνας, Λήδαν δὲ μαστὸν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι· πατέρα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ πάντες κατὰ ταῦτα Ἑλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνδάρεων εἶναι νομίζουσι.

[33.7] Neither this nor any other ancient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the holiest wooden images of the Smyrnaeans have them, but later artists, convinced that the goddess manifests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings to Nemesis as they do to Love. I will now go on to describe what is figured on the pedestal of the statue, having made this preface for the sake of clearness. The Greeks say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, while Leda suckled and nursed her. The father of Helen the Greeks like everybody else hold to be not Tyndareus but Zeus.

[8] ταῦτα ἀκηκοὺς Φειδίας πεποίηκεν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ Λήδας ἀγομένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν, πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνδάρεων τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρα σὺν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα Ἰππέα ὄνομα· ἔστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως, πρῶτος οὗτος Ἑρμιόνην τὴν Ἑλένης γυναῖκα λαβών· Ὀρέστης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα τόλμημα παρείθη, παραμεινάσης τε ἐς ἅπαν Ἑρμιόνης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ Ἐποχος καλούμενος καὶ

νεανίας ἐστὶν ἕτερος· ἐς τοὺτους ἄλλο μὲν ἤκουσα οὐδέν, ἀδελφοὺς δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς Οἰνός, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ.

[33.8] Having heard this legend Pheidias has represented Helen as being led to Nemesis by Leda, and he has represented Tyndareus and his children with a man Hippeus by name standing by with a horse. There are Agamemnon and Menelaus and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and first husband of Hermione, the daughter of Helen. Orestes was passed over because of his crime against his mother, yet Hermione stayed by his side in everything and bore him a child. Next upon the pedestal is one called Epochus and another youth; the only thing I heard about them was that they were brothers of Oenoe, from whom the parish has its name.

OROPUS

34. τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Ὠρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ταναγρικῆς, Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔσαν, ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, πολεμήσαντες μὲν τὸν πάντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς χρόνον, κτησάμενοι δὲ οὐ πρότερον βεβαίως πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος Θήβας ἐλὼν ἔδωκε σφισιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγα οὐδέν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη· ἀπέχει δὲ δώδεκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίου μάλιστα ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου.

[34.1] XXXIV. The land of Oropus, between Attica and the land of Tanagra, which originally belonged to Boeotia, in our time belongs to the Athenians, who always fought for it but never won secure possession until Philip gave it to them after taking Thebes. The city is on the coast and affords nothing remarkable to record. About twelve stades from the city is a sanctuary of Amphiarus.

[2] λέγεται δὲ Ἀμφιαράῳ φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑπεδέξατο· πλὴν οὐ ταύτῃ συμβῆναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα Ἄρμα καλούμενον. θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάρων πρῶτοις Ὠρωπίοις κατέστη νομίζειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνας ἡγνῆται. καταλέξει δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἔχω γενομένους τότε ἀνθρώπους, οἱ θεῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι τιμὰς ἔχουσι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνάκεινται πόλεις, Ἐλεοῦς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Πρωτεσιλάῳ, Λεβάδεια Βοιωτῶν Τροφονίῳ· καὶ Ὠρωπίοις ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου.

[34.2] Legend says that when Amphiarus was exiled from Thebes the earth opened and swallowed both him and his chariot. Only they say that the incident did not happen here, the place called the Chariot being on the road from Thebes to Chalcis. The divinity of Amphiarus was first established among the Oropians, from whom afterwards all the Greeks received the cult. I can enumerate other men also born at this time who are worshipped among the Greeks as gods; some even have cities dedicated to them, such as Eleus in Chersonnesus dedicated to Protesilaus, and Lebadea of the Boeotians dedicated to Trophonius. The Oropians have both a temple and a white marble statue of Amphiarus.

[3] παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη: τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Παιῶνος, τὸ δὲ ἥρωσι καὶ ἥρώων ἀνεῖται γυναιξί, τρίτον δὲ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου: Ἀλκμαίων δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς Ἐριφύλην ἔργον οὔτε ἐν Ἀμφιαράου τινά, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τιμὴν ἔχει. τετάρτη δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ μοῖρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανακείας, ἔτι δὲ Ἰασοῦς καὶ Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Παιωνίας: πέμπτη δὲ πεποιήται νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἀχελῷ καὶ Κηφισῷ. τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς καὶ Κιλικίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἑμοῦ.

[34.3] The altar shows parts. One part is to Heracles, Zeus, and Apollo Healer, another is given up to heroes and to wives of heroes, the third is to Hestia and Hermes and Amphiarau and the children of Amphilocho. But Alcmaeon, because of his treatment of Eriphyle, is honored neither in the temple of Amphiarau nor yet with Amphilocho. The fourth portion of the altar is to Aphrodite and Panacea, and further to Iaso, Health and Athena Healer. The fifth is dedicated to the nymphs and to Pan, and to the rivers Achelous and Cephisus. The Athenians too have an altar to Amphilocho in the city, and there is at Mallus in Cilicia an oracle of his which is the most trustworthy of my day.

[4] ἔστι δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν οὔτ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες: νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγὴν, ταῦτη γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάραιον λέγουσιν ἤδη θεόν. Ἰοφῶν δὲ Κνώσσιος τῶν ἐξηγητῶν χρησμούς ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ παρείχετο, Ἀμφιάραιον χρῆσαι φάμενος τοῖς ἐς Θήβας σταλεῖσιν Ἀργείοις. ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη τὸ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαγωγὸν ἀκρατῶς εἶχε: χωρὶς δὲ πλὴν ὅσους ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος μανῆναι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μάντεων γ' οὐδεὶς χρησμολόγος ἦν, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὄνειράτα ἐξηγήσασθαι καὶ διαγνῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων καὶ σπλάγχνα ἱερείων.

[34.4] The Oropians have near the temple a spring, which they call the Spring of Amphiarau; they neither sacrifice into it nor are wont to use it for purifications or for lustral water. But when a man has been cured of a disease through a response the custom is to throw silver and coined gold into the spring, for by this way they say that Amphiarau rose up after he had become a god. Iophon the Cnossian, a guide, produced responses in hexameter verse, saying that Amphiarau gave them to the Argives who were sent against Thebes. These verses unrestrainedly appealed to popular taste. Except those whom they say Apollo inspired of old none of the seers uttered oracles, but they were good at explaining dreams and interpreting the flights of birds and the entrails of victims.

[5] δοκῶ δὲ Ἀμφιάραιον ὄνειράτων διακρίσει μάλιστα προσκεῖσθαι: δῆλος δέ, ἤνικα ἐνομίσθη θεός, δι' ὄνειράτων μαντικὴν καταστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι νομίζουσιν ὅστις ἦλθεν Ἀμφιάρῳ χρησόμενος: ἐστὶ δὲ

καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ θύειν, θύουσιν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ὀνόματα: προεξειργασμένων δὲ τούτων κριὸν θύσαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἀναμένοντες δήλωσιν ὀνείρατος.

[34.5] My opinion is that Amphiaraus devoted him self most to the exposition of dreams. It is manifest that, when his divinity was established, it was a dream oracle that he set up. One who has come to consult Amphiaraus is wont first to purify himself. The mode of purification is to sacrifice to the god, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar. And when all these things have been first done, they sacrifice a ram, and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream.

SALAMIS

35. νῆσοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἰσίν, ἡ μὲν Πατρόκλου καλουμένη — τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤδη μοι δεδῆλωται — , ἄλλη δὲ ὑπὲρ Σουνίου τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παραπλέουσιν: ἐς ταύτην ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν Ἑλένην μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἰλίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀνομά ἐστιν Ἑλένη τῇ νήσῳ.

[35.1] XXXV. There are islands not far from Attica. Of the one called the Island of Patroclus I have already given an account. There is another when you have sailed past Sunium with Attica on the left. On this they say that Helen landed after the capture of Troy,

[2] Σαλαμίς δὲ κατὰ Ἑλευσίνα κειμένη παρήκει καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν. πρῶτον δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα θέσθαι τοῦτον Κυχρέα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀσωποῦ, καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήτας τοὺς σὺν Τελαμῶνι ἐποικῆσαι: Φίλαιον δὲ τὸν Εὐρυσάκους τοῦ Αἴαντος παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν νήσον, γενόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων. Σαλαμινίους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τούτων ὕστερον πολλοῖς

ἔτεσιν ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν, καταγνόντες ἐθελοκακῆσαι σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Κάσσανδρον καὶ τὴν πόλιν γνώμη τὸ πλέον Μακεδόσιν ἐνδοῦναι: καὶ Αἰσχητάδου τε κατέγνωσαν θάνατον, ὃς τότε ἦρητο ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα στρατηγός, καὶ ἐς τὸν πάντα ἐπώμοσαν χρόνον Σαλαμινίοις ἀπομνημονεύσειν προδοσίαν.

[35.2] and for this reason the name of the island is Helene. Salamis lies over against Eleusis, and stretches as far as the territory of Megara. It is said that the first to give this name to the island was Cychreus, who called it after his mother Salamis, the daughter of Asopus, and afterwards it was colonized by the Aeginetans with Telamon. Philaeus, the son of Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, is said to have handed the island over to the Athenians, having been made an Athenian by them. Many years afterwards the Athenians drove out all the Salaminians, having discovered that they had been guilty of treachery in the war with Cassander, and mainly of set purpose had surrendered to the

Macedonians. They sentenced to death Aeschetades, who on this occasion had been elected general for Salamis, and they swore never to forget the treachery of the Salaminians.

[3] ἔστι δὲ ἀγορᾶς τε ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Αἴαντος, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἐβένου ξύλου: διαμένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸδε τῷ Αἴαντι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμαὶ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εὐρυσάκει, καὶ γὰρ Εὐρυσάκους βωμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις. δέικνται δὲ λίθος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος: ἐπὶ τούτου καθήμενον Τελαμῶνα ὄραν λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἀποπλεόντων οἱ τῶν παίδων ἐς Αὐλίδα ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων στόλον.

[35.3] There are still the remains of a market-place, a temple of Ajax and his statue in ebony. Even at the present day the Athenians pay honors to Ajax himself and to Eurysaces, for there is an altar of Eurysaces also at Athens. In Salamis is shown a stone not far from the harbor, on which they say that Telamon sat when he gazed at the ship in which his children were sailing away to Aulis to take part in the joint expedition of the Greeks.

[4] λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἰκοῦντες ἀποθανόντος Αἴαντος τὸ ἄνθος σφίσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ τότε φανῆναι πρῶτον: λευκὸν ἐστίν, ὑπέρυθρον, κρίνου καὶ αὐτὸ ἔλασσον καὶ τὰ φύλλα: γράμματα δὲ ἔπεστιν οἷα τοῖς ὑακίνθοις καὶ τούτῳ. λόγον δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολέων τῶν ὕστερον οἰκησάντων Ἴλιον ἐς τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἤκουσα, οἱ τῆς ναυαγίας Ὀδυσσεὶ συμβάσης ἐξενεχθῆναι κατὰ τὸν τάφον τὸν Αἴαντος τὰ ὅπλα λέγουσι: τὸ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ Μυσοὺς ἔλεγεν ἀνὴρ.

[35.4] Those who dwell about Salamis say that it was when Ajax died that the flower first appeared in their country. It is white and tinged with red, both flower and leaves being smaller than those of the lily; there are letters on it like to those on the iris. About the judgment concerning the armour I heard a story of the Aeolians who afterwards settled at Ilium, to the effect that when Odysseus suffered shipwreck the armour was cast ashore near the grave of Ajax. As to the hero's size, a Mysian was my informant.

[5] τοῦ γὰρ τάφου τὰ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ μνημα οὐ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, καί με τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ μέγεθος τεκμαίρεσθαι τῇδε ἐκέλευε: πεντάθλου γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναί οἱ κατὰ δίσκον μάλιστα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ὅστᾳ, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν μύλας. ἐγὼ δέ, ὅπόσοι μὲν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι Κελτῶν ἔχοντες ὁμορον τῇ διὰ κρυμὸν ἐρήμῳ, οὓς Καβαρεῖς ὀνομάζουσι, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα τὸ μῆκος, οἱ νεκρῶν οὐδέν τι διαφόρως ἔχουσιν Αἰγυπτίων: ὅποσα δὲ ἄξια ἐφαίνετο εἶναί μοι θέας, διηγῆσομαι.

[35.5] He said that the sea flooded the side of the grave facing the beach and made it easy to enter the tomb, and he bade me form an estimate of the size of the corpse in the following way. The bones on his knees, called by doctors the knee-pan, were in the case of Ajax as big as the quoit of a boy in the pentathlon. I saw nothing to wonder at in the stature of those Celts who live

farthest of on the borders of the land which is uninhabited because of the cold; these people, the Cabares, are no bigger than Egyptian corpses. But I will relate all that appeared to me worth seeing.

[6] Μάγνησι τοῖς ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνεῖλετο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης: τούτου λησταὶ κερδανεῖν πού τι δοκοῦντες ἐσηλθον ἐς τὸν τάφον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς λησταῖς ἐσήεσαν ἥδη θεασόμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχοντα διεστώσας, ἄλλὰ οἱ συμφυῆς ἦν ὅσον ἀπ' ὧμων ἐς τὰς ἐλαχίστας πλευράς, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν νόθας. ἔστι δὲ Μιλησίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λάδῃ νῆσος, ἀπερρώγασι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νησίδες: Ἀστερίου τὴν ἐτέραν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἀστερίον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστερίον μὲν Ἄνακτος, Ἄνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῖδα: ἔχει δ' οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδέν τι μείον πηχῶν δέκα.

[35.6] For the Magnesians on the Lethaeus, Protophanes, one of the citizens, won at Olympia in one day victories in the pancration and in wrestling. Into the grave of this man robbers entered, thinking to gain some advantage, and after the robbers people came in to see the corpse, which had ribs not separated but joined together from the shoulders to the smallest ribs, those called by doctors bastard. Before the city of the Milesians is an island called Lade, and from it certain islets are detached. One of these they call the islet of Asterius, and say that Asterius was buried in it, and that Asterius was the son of Anax, and Anax the son of Earth. Now the corpse is not less than ten cubits.

[7] τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχόν, Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι: ἐνταῦθα παραραγέντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὅστ' ἔφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὥς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἔδοξεν. αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνου τοῦ Χρυσάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρὸν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον: καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρός ἐστὶν ἐνειργασμένος ὅρους λιθῶδει προβολῇ: καὶ χεῖμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν ἥδη κέρασιν ἔφασάν τινες ἐντυχεῖν ἀροῦντας, διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῶς ἀρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυόνην.

[35.7] But what really caused me surprise is this. There is a small city of upper Lydia called The Doors of Temenus. There a crest broke away in a storm, and there appeared bones the shape of which led one to suppose that they were human, but from their size one would never have thought it. At once the story spread among the multitude that it was the corpse of Geryon, the son of Chrysaor, and that the seat also was his. For there is a man's seat carved on a rocky spur of the mountain. And a torrent they called the river Ocean, and they said that men ploughing met with the horns of cattle, for the story is that Geryon reared excellent cows.

[8] ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι Γηρυόνην, οὗ μνημα μὲν οὐ, δένδρον δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐδείκνυνον λόγον, ὥς εἴη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ὑλλου, παῖς

δὲ Ὑλλος εἶη Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ὠνομάσθη: Ἡρακλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ ποτὲ ἔφασαν δίαίταν Ὑλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσαι τὸν παῖδα.

[35.8] And when I criticized the account and pointed out to them that Geryon is at Gadeira, where there is, not his tomb, but a tree showing different shapes, the guides of the Lydians related the true story, that the corpse is that of Hyllus, a son of Earth, from whom the river is named. They also said that Heracles from his sojourning with Omphale called his son Hyllus after the river.

36. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ — ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐς τὸν προκειμένον λόγον — τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι: καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι: τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἀθηναίοις Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα.

[36.1] XXXVI. But I will return to my subject. In Salamis is a sanctuary of Artemis, and also a trophy erected in honor of the victory which Themistocles the son of Neocles won for the Greeks. There is also a sanctuary of Cychreus. When the Athenians were fighting the Persians at sea, a serpent is said to have appeared in the fleet, and the god in an oracle told the Athenians that it was Cychreus the hero.

PSYTTALEA

[2] νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμῖνός ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυττάλεια: ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακοσίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι φασὶν ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, Πανὸς δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ζόανα πεποιημένα.

[36.2] Before Salamis there is an island called Psyttalea. Here they say that about four hundred of the Persians landed, and when the fleet of Xerxes was defeated, these also were killed after the Greeks had crossed over to Psyttalea. The island has no artistic statue, only some roughly carved wooden images of Pan.

THE SACRED WAY

[3] ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱεράν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποιήται μνήμα. ἐς τοῦτον Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἀνοσιώτατον ἔργον, οἱ κήρυκα ἐλθόντα, ὡς μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπεργάζοντο, κτείνουσιν Ἀνθεμόκριτον: καὶ σφισι ταῦτα δράσασι παραμένει καὶ ἐς τόδε μνήμιμα ἐκ τοῖν θεοῖν, οἷς οὐδὲ Ἀδριανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε καὶ ἐπαυξηθῆναι μόνοις ἐπῆρκεσεν Ἑλλήνων.

[36.3] As you go to Eleusis from Athens along what the Athenians call the

Sacred Way you see the tomb of Anthemocritus. The Megarians committed against him a most wicked deed, for when he had come as a herald to forbid them to encroach upon the land in future they put him to death. For this act the wrath of the Two Goddesses lies upon them even to this day, for they are the only Greeks that not even the emperor Hadrian could make more prosperous.

[4] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθεμοκρίτου τὴν στήλην Μολοττοῦ τε τάφος ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέντος Ἀθηναίων καὶ τούτου στρατηγεῖν, ὅτε Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθοῦντες διέβησαν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, καὶ χωρίον Σκῖρον ἐπὶ τοιῷδε καλούμενον. Ἐλευσινίοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα ἀνὴρ μάντις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης ὄνομα Σκῖρος, ὃς καὶ τῆς Σκιράδος ἰδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν· πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ θάπτουσιν Ἐλευσῖνιοι πλησίον ποταμοῦ χειμάρρου, καὶ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥρωός ἐστι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ.

[36.4] After the tombstone of Anthemocritus comes the grave of Molottus, who was deemed worthy of commanding the Athenians when they crossed into Euboea to reinforce Plutarch, and also a place called Scirum, which received its name for the following reason. The Eleusinians were making war against Erechtheus when there came from Dodona a seer called Scirus, who also set up at Phalerum the ancient sanctuary of Athena Sciras. When he fell in the fighting the Elusinians buried him near a torrent, and the hero has given his name to both place and torrent.

[5] πλησίον δὲ πεποιήται Κηφισοδώρου μνῆμα δήμου προστάντος καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντος· συμμάχους δὲ ἐπήγετο Κηφισόδωρος Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι βασιλεῖς μὲν Ἄτταλον τὸν Μυσὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ἔθνη δὲ αὐτόνομα Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ νησιωτῶν Ῥοδίους καὶ Κρήτας.

[36.5] Hard by is the tomb of Cephisodorus, who was champion of the people and opposed to the utmost Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedon. Cephisodorus induced to become allies of Athens two kings, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and, of the self-governing peoples, the Aetolians with the Rhodians and the Cretans among the islanders.

[6] ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Μυσίας καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κρητῶν τὰ πολλὰ ὑστέριζον αἱ βοήθειαι, Ῥόδιοι δὲ μόναίς ναυσὶν ἰσχύοντες πρὸς ὀπλίτας τοὺς Μακεδόνας οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέλουν, ἐνταῦθα Κηφισόδωρος ἐς Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων πλεύσας ἰκέτευεν ἀμῦναι Ῥωμαίους· οἱ δὲ σφισι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσιν, οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλον ὥς ὕστερον Περσέα τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀχθῆναι. Φίλιππος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὁ Δημητρίου· πρῶτος γὰρ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἔσχε Δημήτριος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀποκτείνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασσάνδρου παῖδα, ὥς τὰ πρότερον ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου.

[36.6] As the reinforcements from Egypt, Mysia, and Crete were for the most

part too late, and the Rhodians, whose strength lay only in their fleet, were of little help against the Macedonian men-at-arms, Cephisodorus sailed with other Athenians to Italy and begged aid of the Romans. They sent a force and a general, who so reduced Philip and the Macedonians that afterwards Perseus, the son of Philip, lost his throne and was himself taken prisoner to Italy. This Philip was the son of Demetrius. Demetrius was the first of this house to hold the throne of Macedon, having put to death Alexander, son of Cassander, as I have related in a former part of my account.

37. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου τὸ μνημα τέθαιπται μὲν Ἡλιόδωρος Ἄλις: τοῦτου γραφὴν ἰδεῖν ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς: τέθαιπται δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ξέρξῃ καὶ Μήδοις ἐναντία ναυμαχήσαντος. τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τοῦ γένους πλὴν Ἀκεστίου παρήσω τοὺς ἄλλους: Ἀκεστίῳ δὲ τῇ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦτους τε ἐς τὸν τέταρτον πρόγονον Λέοντα δαδούχους πάντας ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σοφοκλέα εἶδε δαδουχοῦντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὸν ἄνδρα Θεμιστοκλέα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦτου Θεόφραστον τὸν παῖδα.

[37.1] XXXVII. After the tomb of Cephisodorus is the grave of Heliodorus Halis. A portrait of this man is also to be seen in the great temple of Athena. Here too is the grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus, and grandson of the Themistocles who fought the sea fight against Xerxes and the Persians. Of the later descendants I shall mention none except Acestium. She, her father Xenocles, his father Sophocles, and his father Leon, all of them up to her great-grandfather Leon won the honor of being torch-bearer, and in her own lifetime she saw as torch-bearers, first her brother Sophocles, after him her husband Themistocles, and after his death her son Theophrastus. Such was the fortune, they say, that happened to her.

[2] ταύτῃ μὲν τύχῃν τοιαύτην συμβῆναι λέγουσι: προελθοῦσι δὲ ὀλίγον Λακίου τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος καὶ δήμος ὃν Λακιάδας ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ Νικοκλέους Ταραντίνου ἐστὶ μνημα, ὃς ἐπὶ μέγιστον δόξης κιθαρωδῶν ἀπάντων ἦλθεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός: σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμὰς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλόν φασιν οἰκῶ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς: μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ: “ἐνθάδ’ ἄναξ ἥρωος Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνήν

Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,

ἦν ἱερὰν συκὴν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει:

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρωσ.

“

[37.2] A little way past the grave of Themistocles is a precinct sacred to Lacijs, a hero, a parish called after him Laciadae, and the tomb of Nicocles of

Tarentum, who won a unique reputation as a harpist. There is also an altar of Zephyrus and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter. With them Athena and Poseidon are worshipped. There is a legend that in this place Phytalus welcomed Demeter in his home, for which act the goddess gave him the fig tree. This story is borne out by the inscription on the grave of Phytalus:—

Hero and king, Phytalus here welcome gave to Demeter,
August goddess, when first she created fruit of the harvest;
Sacred fig is the name which mortal men have assigned it.
Whence Phytalus and his race have gotten honours immortal.

[3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισὸν Θεοδώρου μνημᾶ ἐστὶ τραγωδίαν ὑποκριναμένου τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄριστα. ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Μνησιμάχης, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀνάθημα κειρομένου οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ: καθεστάναι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τοῦτο Ἕλλησι τῇ Ὀμήρου τις ἂν τεκμαίροιτο ποιήσει, ὃς τὸν Πηλέα εὖζασθαί φησι τῷ Σπερχεῖ κερεῖν ἀνασωθέντος ἐκ Τροίας Ἀχιλλέως τὴν κόμην.

[37.3] Before you cross the Cephisus you come to the tomb of Theodorus, the best tragic actor of his day. By the river is a statue of Mnesimache, and a votive statue of her son cutting his hair as a gift for Cephisus. That this habit has existed from ancient times among all the Greeks may be inferred from the poetry of Homer, who makes Peleus vow that on the safe return of Achilles from Troy he will cut off the young man's hair as a gift for the Spercheus.

[4] διαβάσει δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος Μειλιχίου Διός: ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θησεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Φυτάλου καθαρσίων ἔτυχε, ληστὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκτείνας καὶ Σίνιν τὰ πρὸς Πιτθέως συγγενῇ. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν αὐτόθι Θεοδέκτου τοῦ Φασηλίτου, ἔστι δὲ Μνησιθέου: τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἱατρὸν τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἀγάλματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος πεποιῆται. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κυαμίτου: σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν εἴτε πρῶτος κυάμους ἔσπειρεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κυάμων ἀνενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἔστι σφίσιν ἐς Δήμητρα τὴν εὔρεσιν. ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετὴν Ἐλευσίνι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικά ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω.

[37.4] Across the Cephisus is an ancient altar of Zeus Meilichius (Gracious). At this altar Theseus obtained purification at the hands of the descendants of Phytalus after killing brigands, including Sinis who was related to him through Pittheus. Here is the grave of Theodectes of Phaselis, and also that of Mnesitheus. They say that he was a skilful physician and dedicated statues, among which is a representation of Iacchus. On the road stands a small temple called that of Cyamites. I cannot state for certain whether he was the first to sow beans, or whether they gave this name to a hero because they may not attribute to Demeter the discovery of beans. Whoever has been initiated at Eleusis or has read what are called the Orphica knows what I mean.

[5] μνημάτων δὲ ἅ μάλιστα ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κόσμον ἤκει, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρός ἐστι

Ῥοδίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸ δὲ Ἄρπαλος Μακεδὼν ἐποίησεν, ὃς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας διέβη ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀφικόμενος δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὑπ' αὐτῶν συνελήφθη, διαφθείρας δὲ χρήμασιν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς

Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους ἀπέδρα, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Πυθιονίκην ἔγημε, γένος μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόθεν, ἔταιροῦσαν δὲ ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ: ταύτης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος προῆλθεν ὥς καὶ μνήμα ἀποθανούσης ποιῆσαι πάντων ὅποσα Ἑλληνσίιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα θεὰς μάλιστα ἄξιον.

[37.5] Of the tombs, the largest and most beautiful are that of a Rhodian who settled at Athens, and the one made by the Macedonian Harpalus, who ran away from Alexander and crossed with a fleet from Asia to Europe. On his arrival at Athens he was arrested by the citizens, but ran away after bribing among others the friends of Alexander. But before this he married Pythonice, whose family I do not know, but she was a courtesan at Athens and at Corinth. His love for her was so great that when she died he made her a tomb which is the most noteworthy of all the old Greek tombs.

[6] ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δῆμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος: Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Κέφαλον γὰρ τὸν Διόνιος συνεξελόντα λέγουσιν Ἀμφιτρύωνι Τηλεβόας τὴν νῆσον οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον, ἣ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κεφαλληνία καλεῖται: μετοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τέως ἐν Θήβαις φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν διὰ τὸν Πρόκριδος τῆς γυναικὸς φόνον. δεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ Χαλκῖνος καὶ Δαῖτος ἀπόγονοι Κεφάλου πλεύσαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἤτουν τὸν θεὸν κάθοδον ἐς Ἀθήνας:

[37.6] There is a sanctuary in which are set statues of Demeter, her daughter, Athena, and Apollo. At the first it was built in honor of Apollo only. For legend says that Cephalus, the son of Deion, having helped Amphitryon to destroy the Teleboans, was the first to dwell in that island which now is called after him Cephallenia, and that he resided till that time at Thebes, exiled from Athens because he had killed his wife Procris. In the tenth generation afterwards Chalcinus and Daetus, descendants of Cephalus, sailed to Delphi and asked the god for permission to return to Athens.

[7] ὁ δὲ σφισι κελεύει θῆσαι πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τριήρη θεούσαν. γενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ποικίλον καλούμενον ὄρος δράκων ἐράνῃ σπουδῇ κατὰ τὸν φωλεὸν ἰών: καὶ Ἀπόλλωνί τε θύουσιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὕστερον σφᾶς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀστοὺς ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι. — μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θεὰς ἄξιον.

[37.7] He ordered them first to sacrifice to Apollo in that spot in Attica where they should see a man-of-war running on the land. When they reached the mountain called the Many-colored Mountain a snake was seen hurrying into its hole. In this place they sacrificed to Apollo; afterwards they came to Athens and the Athenians made them citizens. After this is a temple of

Aphrodite, before which is a note worthy wall of unwrought stone.

ELEUSIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

38. οἱ δὲ Ῥεῖτοι καλούμενοι ῥεῦμα μόνον παρέχονται ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τό γε ὕδωρ θάλασσά ἐστὶ σφισι: πείθοιτο δὲ ἂν τις καὶ ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκιδέων Εὐρίπου ῥέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς θάλασσαν κοιλοτέραν

ἐμπίπτοντες. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥεῖτοι Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἰρεῖν μόνοις. οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους ὅροι τῆς γῆς Ἐλευσινίοις ἦσαν, καὶ διαβᾶσι τοὺς Ῥεῖτους πρῶτος ὄκει

[38.1] XXXVIII. The streams called Rheiti are rivers only in so far as they are currents, for their water is sea water. It is a reasonable belief that they flow beneath the ground from the Euripus of the Chalcidians, and fall into a sea of a lower level. They are said to be sacred to the Maid and to Demeter, and only the priests of these goddesses are permitted to catch the fish in them. Anciently, I learn, these streams were the boundaries between the land of the Eleusinians and that of the other Athenians,

[2] Κρόκων, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι βασιλεία καλεῖται Κρόκωνος. τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Κρόκωνα Κελεοῦ θυγατρί συνοικῆσαι Σαισάρᾳ λέγουσι: λέγουσι δὲ οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σκαμβωνιδῶν εἰσιν: ἐγὼ δὲ Κρόκωνος μὲν ἀνευρεῖν τάφον οὐχ οἶός τε ἐγενόμην, τὸ δὲ Εὐμόλπου μνήμα κατὰ ταῦτ' Ἐλευσινίοις ἀπέφαινον καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. τοῦτον τὸν Εὐμόλπον ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ Χιόνης: τὴν δὲ Χιόνην Βορέου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ Ὠρειθυίας φασὶν εἶναι. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν Εὐμόλπον.

[38.2] and the first to dwell on the other side of the Rheiti was Crocon, where at the present day is what is called the palace of Crocon. This Crocon the Athenians say married Saesara, daughter of Celeus. Not all of them say this, but only those who belong to the parish of Scambonidae. I could not find the grave of Crocon, but Eleusinians and Athenians agreed in identifying the tomb of Eumolpus. This Eumolpus they say came from Thrace, being the son of Poseidon and Chione. Chione they say was the daughter of the wind Boreas and of Oreithyia. Homer says nothing about the family of Eumolpus, but in his poems styles him "manly."

[3] γενομένης δὲ Ἐλευσινίοις μάχης πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς, ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἱμμάραδος Εὐμόλπου: καταλύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς Ἐλευσινίους ἐς τὰ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίων κατηκόους ὄντας ἰδία τελεῖν τὴν τελετὴν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θεοῖν Εὐμόλπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ, καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτ' αὐτοὶ καὶ Ὀμηρος Διογένειαν καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρίτην Σαισάραν: τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὐμόλπου Κήρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παίδων, ὃν αὐτοὶ Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς

Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου.

[38.3] When the Eleusinians fought with the Athenians, Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, was killed, as was also Immaradus, son of Eumolpus. These were the terms on which they concluded the war: the Eleusinians were to have in dependent control of the mysteries, but in all things else were to be subject to the Athenians. The ministers of the Two Goddesses were Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeus, whom Pamphos and Homer agree in naming Diogenia, Pammerope, and the third Saesara. Eumolpus was survived by Ceryx, the younger of his sons whom the Ceryces themselves say was a son of Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, and of Hermes, not of Eumolpus.

[4] ἔστι δὲ Ἴπποθόωντος ἥρῳον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν φυλὴν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ πλησίον Ζάρηκος. τοῦτον μαθεῖν παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνι μουσικὴν φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ξένον μὲν ἀφικόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν Λακεδαιμόνιον τε εἶναι δοκῶ καὶ Ζάρακα ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλιν ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσση καλεῖσθαι: εἰ δέ τις Ζάρηξ ἐπιχώριος Ἀθηναίος ἦρως, οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχω λέγειν.

[38.4] There is also a shrine of the hero Hippothoon, after whom the tribe is named, and hard by one of Zarex. The latter they say learned music from Apollo, but my opinion is that he was a Lacedaemonian who came as a stranger to the land, and that after him is named Zarax, a town in the Laconian territory near the sea. If there is a native Athenian hero called Zarex, I have nothing to say concerning him.

ELEUSIS

[5] — ῥεῖ δὲ Κηφισὸς πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνι βιαίτερον παρεχόμενος τοῦ προτέρου ῥεῦμα: καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καλοῦσιν Ἑρινεόν, λέγοντες τὸν Πλούτωνα ὅτε ἤρπασε τὴν Κόρην καταβῆναι ταύτῃ. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ Κηφισῷ ληστήν Πολυπήμονα ὄνομα, Προκρούστην δὲ ἐπὶ κλῆσιν, Θησεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

[38.5] At Eleusis flows a Cephissus which is more violent than the Cephissus I mentioned above, and by the side of it is the place they call Erineus, saying that Pluto descended there to the lower world after carrying off the Maid. Near this Cephissus Theseus killed a brigand named Polypemon and surnamed Procrustes.

[6] Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Τριπτολέμου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Προπυλαίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Πατρός, φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον, ἐνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν. τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλως καλουμένη Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸς δαίκεται:

[38.6] The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemus, of Artemis of the Portal, and of Poseidon Father, and a well called Callichorum (Lovely dance), where first the women of the Eleusinians danced and sang in praise of the goddess. They say that the plain called Rharium was the first to be sown and the first to

grow crops, and for this reason it is the custom to use sacrificial barley and to make cakes for the sacrifices from its produce. Here there is shown a threshing-floor called that of Triptolemus and an altar.

[7] τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπεῖπε γράφειν, καὶ τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν, ὁπόσων θεάς εἵργονται, δῆλα δήπου μηδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναι σφισιν. Ἐλευσῖνα δὲ ἥρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Δαείρας Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς λέγουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶ πεποιημένα Ὠγυγον εἶναι πατέρα Ἐλευσῖνι: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν λόγων ἅτε οὐ προσόντων σφίσιν ἐπὶ ἄλλα τε πλάσασθαι δεδώκασιν καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὰ γένη τῶν ἡρώων.

[38.7] My dream forbade the description of the things within the wall of the sanctuary, and the uninitiated are of course not permitted to learn that which they are prevented from seeing. The hero Eleusis, after whom the city is named, some assert to be a son of Hermes and of Daeira, daughter of Ocean; there are poets, however, who have made Ogygus father of Eleusis. Ancient legends, deprived of the help of poetry, have given rise to many fictions, especially concerning the pedigrees of heroes.

ELEUTHERAE

[8] ἐκ δὲ Ἐλευσίνος τραπομένοις ἐπὶ Βοιωτῶν, ἐστὶν ὁμορος Ἀθηναίοις ἢ Πλαταις. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ Ἐλευθερεῦσιν ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦσαν: προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τούτων, οὕτως ἤδη Βοιωτίας ὁ Κιθαιρῶν ἐστὶν ὄρος. προσεχώρησαν δὲ Ἐλευθερεῖς οὐ πολέμῳ βιασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολιτείας τε ἐπιθυμήσαντες παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατ' ἔχθος τὸ Θηβαίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ ναός ἐστι Διονύσου, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἐντεῦθεν Ἀθηναῖοις ἐκομίσθη τὸ ἀρχαῖον: τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς μίμησιν ἐκείνου πεποιήται.

[38.8] When you have turned from Eleusis to Boeotia you come to the Plataean land, which borders on Attica. Formerly Eleutherae formed the boundary on the side towards Attica, but when it came over to the Athenians henceforth the boundary of Boeotia was Cithaeron. The reason why the people of Eleutherae came over was not because they were reduced by war, but because they desired to share Athenian citizenship and hated the Thebans. In this plain is a temple of Dionysus, from which the old wooden image was carried off to Athens. The image at Eleutherae at the present day is a copy of the old one.

[9] ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον σπήλαιόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ὕδατος πηγὴ ψυχροῦ: λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ σπήλαιον ὥς Ἀντιόπη τεκοῦσα κατὰθοιτο ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας, περὶ δὲ τῆς πηγῆς τὸν ποιμένα εὐρόντα τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα σφᾶς λούσαι πρῶτον ἀπολύσαντα τῶν σπαργάνων. Ἐλευθερῶν δὲ ἦν μὲν ἔτι τοῦ τείχους, ἣν δὲ καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐρείπια: δῆλη δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ πόλις ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι οἰκισθεῖσα.

[38.9] A little farther on is a small cave, and beside it is a spring of cold water. The legend about the cave is that Antiope after her labour placed her babies

into it; as to the spring, it is said that the shepherd who found the babies washed them there for the first time, taking off their swaddling clothes. Of Eleutherae there were still left the ruins of the wall and of the houses. From these it is clear that the city was built a little above the plain close to Cithaeron.

NEAR ELEUSIS

39. ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος πρὸς Μέγαρα ἄγει: ταύτην ἐρχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν φρέαρ ἐστὶν Ἄνθιον καλούμενον. ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γράϊ εἰκασμένην: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐτὴν ἄτε γυναῖκα Ἀργεῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Κελεοῦ κοιμοσθῆναι παρὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ οἱ τὴν Μετάνειραν οὕτω πιστεῦσαι τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἀνατροφὴν.

[39.1] XXXIX. There is another road from Eleusis, which leads to Megara. As you go along this road you come to a well called Anthium (Flowery Well). Pamphos in his poems describes how Demeter in the likeness of an old woman sat at this well after the rape of her daughter, how the daughters of Celeus thence took her as an Argive woman to their mother, and how Metaneira thereupon entrusted to her the rearing of her son.

[2] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ φρέατος ἱερὸν Μετανείρας ἐστὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τάφοι τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Κρέων γάρ, ὃς ἐδυνάστευε τότε ἐν Θήβαις Λαοδάμαντα ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν Ἑτεοκλέους, οὐ παρῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀνελομένοις θάψαι: ἰκετεύσαντος δὲ Ἀδράστου Θησέα καὶ μάχης Ἀθηναίων γενομένης πρὸς Βοιωτοῦς, Θησεὺς ὡς ἐκράτησε τῇ μάχῃ κομίσας ἐς τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔθαψε. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν λέγουσιν ἐθέλονται δοῦναι καὶ συνάψαι μάχην οὐ φασι.

[39.2] A little farther on from the well is a sanctuary of Metaneira, and after it are graves of those who went against Thebes. For Creon, who at that time ruled in Thebes as guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles, refused to allow the relatives to take up and bury their dead. But Adrastus having supplicated Theseus, the Athenians fought with the Boeotians, and Theseus being victorious in the fight carried the dead to the Eleusinian territory and buried them here. The Thebans, however, say that they voluntarily gave up the dead for burial and deny that they engaged in battle.

[3] — μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς τάφους ἐστὶν Ἀλόπης μνῆμα, ἣν τεκοῦσαν Ἴπποθόωντα ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἀποθανεῖν ἐνταῦθά φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Κερκυόνος. εἶναι δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄδικος ἐς τοὺς ξένους καὶ παλαίειν οὐ βουλομένοις: καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος παλαιστρα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἑκαλεῖτο Κερκυόνος, ὀλίγον τοῦ τάφου τῆς Ἀλόπης ἀπέχων. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν τοὺς καταστάντας ἐς πάλιν διαφθεῖραι πλὴν Θησεῶς, Θησεὺς δὲ κατεπάλαισεν αὐτὸν σοφία τὸ πλεόν: παλαιστικὴν γὰρ τέχνην εὗρε Θησεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πάλης κατέστη ὕστερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδασκαλία: πρότερον δὲ ἐχρῶντο μεγέθει μόνον καὶ ῥώμῃ πρὸς τὰς πάλας.

τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα.

[39.3] After the graves of the Argives is the tomb of Alope, who, legend says, being mother of Hippothoon by Poseidon was on this spot put to death by her father Cercyon. He is said to have treated strangers wickedly, especially in wrestling with them against their will. So even to my day this place is called the Wrestling Ground of Cercyon, being a little way from the grave of Alope. Cercyon is said to have killed all those who tried a bout with him except Theseus, who out matched him mainly by his skill. For Theseus was the first to discover the art of wrestling, and through him afterwards was established the teaching of the art. Before him men used in wrestling only size and strength of body.

Such in my opinion are the most famous legends and sights among the Athenians, and from the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded.

MEGARA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[4] Ἐλευσῖνι δὲ ἤδη πλησιόχωρος ἡ καλουμένη Μεγαρίς: τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἦν καὶ αὕτη τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Πύλα τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπόντος Πανδίωνι. μαρτύρια δέ μοι τάφος τε Πανδίωνος ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ Νῖσος Αἰγεῖ μὲν πρεσβυτάτῳ τοῦ παντὸς γένους παραχωρήσας Ἀθηναίων ἄρχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Κορίνθου βασιλεύειν ἀξιώθει: Νίσαιά τε ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπίνειον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται. Κόδρου δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι: καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὸν ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω, Μέγαρα Ἀθηναίων ἐλόντες Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔδωκαν οἰκῆσαι.

[39.4] Next to Eleusis is the district called Megaris. This too belonged to Athens in ancient times, Pylas the king having left it to Pandion. My evidence is this; in the land is the grave of Pandion, and Nisus, while giving up the rule over the Athenians to Aegeus, the eldest of all the family, was himself made king of Megara and of the territory as far as Corinth. Even at the present day the port of the Megarians is called Nisaea after him. Subsequently in the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians made an expedition against Athens. Having accomplished nothing brilliant, on their way home they took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it as a dwelling-place to such of the Corinthians and of their other allies as wished to go there.

[5] Μεγαρεῖς μὲν οὕτως ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν μεταβαλόντες Δωριεῖς γεγόνασιν, κληθῆναι δὲ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν φασὶν ἐπὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ βασιλεύοντος: τότε πρῶτον λέγουσιν ἱερὰ γενέσθαι Δήμητρος αὐτοῖς, τότε ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσαι Μέγαρα. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσι: Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐν Ὀγχιστῷ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκοῦντα ἀφικέσθαι στρατιᾷ Βοιωτῶν φασὶ Νίσω τὸν πρὸς Μίνω πόλεμον συνδιοίσοντα, πεσόντα

δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταφῆναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ πόλει Μέγαρα ὄνομα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθαι, πρότερον Νίσα καλουμένη.

[39.5] In this way the Megarians changed their customs and dialect and became Dorians, and they say that the city received its name when Car the son of Phoroneus was king in this land. It was then they say that sanctuaries of Demeter were first made by them, and then that men used the name Megara (Chambers). This is their history according to the Megarians themselves. But the Boeotians declare that Megareus, son of Poseidon, who dwelt in Onchestus, came with an army of Boeotians to help Nisus wage the war against Minos; that falling in the battle he was buried on the spot, and the city was named Megara from him, having previously been called Nisa.

[6] δωδεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φορωνέως γενεᾷ λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγα ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθῆναι Λέλεγας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ: Κλήσωνος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος γενέσθαι Πύλαν, τοῦ Πύλα δὲ Σκίρωνα: τοῦτον συνοικῆσαι Πανδίωνος θυγατρί, καὶ ὕστερον Νίσῳ τῷ Πανδίωνος ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἔλθεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Σκίρωνα καὶ σφισιν Αἰακὸν δικάσαι, βασιλείαν μὲν διδόντα Νίσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνους, Σκίρωνι δὲ ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι πολέμου. Μεγαρέα δὲ τὸν Ποσειδῶνος θυγατρὶ Νίσου συνοικήσαντα Ἰφινόῃ διαδέξασθαι τὴν τοῦ Νίσου φασὶν ἀρχήν: τὸν δὲ Κρητικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νίσου βασιλεύοντος ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰδέναι.

[39.6] In the twelfth generation after Car the son of Phoroneus the Megarians say that Lelex arrived from Egypt and became king, and that in his reign the tribe Leleges received its name. Lelex they say begat Cleson, Cleson Pylas and Pylas Sciron, who married the daughter of Pandion and afterwards disputed with Nisus, the son of Pandion, about the throne, the dispute being settled by Aeacus, who gave the kingship to Nisus and his descendants, and to Sciron the leadership in war. They say further that Nisus was succeeded by Megareus, the son of Poseidon, who married Iphinoe, the daughter of Nisus, but they ignore altogether the Cretan war and the capture of the city in the reign of Nisus.

MEGARA

40. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη, ἣν σφισιν ὠκοδόμησε Θεαγένης, οὗ καὶ πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην θυγατέρα αὐτὸν συνοικίσαι Κύλωνι Ἀθηναίῳ. οὗτος ὁ Θεαγένης τυραννήσας ὠκοδόμησε τὴν κρήνην μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ κόσμου καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κιόνων θέας ἀξίαν: καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ῥεῖ καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν. τὰς δὲ Σιθνίδας νύμφας λέγουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μὲν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μᾶ δὲ αὐτῶν θυγατρὶ συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μεγαρόν τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ποτε ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ — νήχεσθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοῇ τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτόν — διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι.

[40.1] XL. There is in the city a fountain, which was built for the citizens by Theagenes, whom I have mentioned previously as having given his daughter in marriage to Cylon the Athenian. This Theagenes upon becoming tyrant built the fountain, which is noteworthy for its size, beauty and the number of its pillars. Water flows into it called the water of the Sithnid nymphs. The Megarians say that the Sithnid nymphs are native, and that one of them mated with Zeus; that Megarus, a son of Zeus and of this nymph, escaped the flood in the time of Deucalion, and made his escape to the heights of Gerania. The mountain had not yet received this name, but was then named Gerania (Crane Hill) because cranes were flying and Megarus swam towards the cry of the birds.

[2] τῆς δὲ κρήνης οὐ πόρρω ταύτης ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ἱερόν, εἰκόνες δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἄγαλμα τε κεῖται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτεῖρας. φασὶ δὲ ἄνδρας τοῦ Μαρδονίου στρατοῦ καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἀποχωρεῖν ἐς Θήβας ὀπίσω παρὰ Μαρδόνιον ἐθέλειν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος νύκτα τε ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ σφᾶς ἀμαρτόντας ἐς τὴν ὀρεινὴν τραπέσθαι τῆς χώρας· πειρωμένους δὲ εἰ στράτευμα ἐγγὺς εἴη πολέμιον ἀφίεναι τῶν βελῶν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον πέτραν στένειν βαλλομένην, τοὺς δὲ αὖθις τοξεύειν προθυμίας πλέονι.

[40.2] Not far from this fountain is an ancient sanctuary, and in our day likenesses stand in it of Roman emperors, and a bronze image is there of Artemis surnamed Saviour. There is a story that a detachment of the army of Mardonius, having over run Megaris, wished to return to Mardonius at Thebes, but that by the will of Artemis night came on them as they marched, and missing their way they turned into the hilly region. Trying to find out whether there was a hostile force near they shot some missiles. The rock near groaned when struck, and they shot again with greater eagerness,

[3] τέλος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλωθῆναι τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἐς ἄνδρας πολεμίους τοξεύειν προθυμία πλέονι νομίζουσιν· ἡμέρα τε ὑπεφαίνετο καὶ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἐπήρσαν, μαχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται πρὸς ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐδὲ βελῶν εὐποροῦντας ἔτι φονεύουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτεῖρας ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέλους· τὴν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε.

[40.3] until at last they used up all their arrows thinking that they were shooting at the enemy. When the day broke, the Megarians attacked, and being men in armour fighting against men without armour who no longer had even a supply of missiles, they killed the greater number of their opponents. For this reason they had an image made of Artemis Saviour. Here are also images of the gods named the Twelve, said to be the work of Praxiteles. But the image of Artemis herself was made by Strongylion.

[4] μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναός

ἐστὶ θεὰς ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς, ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναυσὶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ στρατῷ φθείροντες Μεγαρεῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν τὰ τε κοινὰ ἐκάκωσαν καὶ ἰδία τοὺς οἴκους ἤγαγον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀσθενείας. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδιάν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσιν Ὠραὶ καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν πεπρωμένην μόνῃ οἱ πείθεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς τὸ δέον. ὀπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν τοῦ Διὸς.

[40.4] After this when you have entered the precinct of Zeus called the Olympieum you see a note worthy temple. But the image of Zeus was not finished, for the work was interrupted by the war of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians, in which the Athenians every year ravaged the land of the Megarians with a fleet and an army, damaging public revenues and bringing private families to dire distress. The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold, the other parts are of clay and gypsum. The artist is said to have been Theocosmus, a native, helped by Pheidias. Above the head of Zeus are the Seasons and Fates, and all may see that he is the only god obeyed by Destiny, and that he apportions the seasons as is due. Behind the temple lie half-worked pieces of wood, which Theocosmus intended to overlay with ivory and gold in order a complete the image of Zeus.

[5] ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον· ταύτην τὴν ναῦν λαβεῖν φασὶ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχῆσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους· ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι χρόνον τινὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀποστῆναι τῆς νήσου, Σόλωνα δὲ ὕστερόν φασιν ἐλεγεία ποιήσαντα προτρέψαι σφᾶς, καταστῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀθηναῖοι, κρατήσαντες δὲ πολέμῳ Σαλαμίνα αὐθὺς ἔχειν. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ παρὰ σφῶν λέγουσιν ἄνδρας φυγάδας, οὓς Δορυκλείους ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀφικομένους παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κληρούχους προδοῦναι Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναίους.

[40.5] In the temple itself is dedicated a bronze ram of a galley. This ship they say that they captured off Salamis in a naval action with the Athenians. The Athenians too admit that for a time they evacuated the island before the Megarians, saying that after wards Solon wrote elegiac poems and encouraged them, and that thereupon the Athenians challenged their enemies, won the war and recovered Salamis. But the Megarians say that exiles from themselves, whom they call Dorycleans, reached the colonists in Salamis and betrayed the island to the Athenians.

[6] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν, ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον καὶ Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑγίαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα

καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον μέγαρον: ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Κᾶρα ἔλεγον.

[40.6] After the precinct of Zeus, when you have ascended the citadel, which even at the present day is called Caria from Car, son of Phoroneus, you see a temple of Dionysus Nyctelius (Nocturnal), a sanctuary built to Aphrodite Epistrophia (She who turns men to love), an oracle called that of Night and a temple of Zeus Conius (Dusty) without a roof. The image of Asclepius and also that of Health were made by Bryaxis. Here too is what is called the Chamber of Demeter, built, they say, by Car when he was king.

41. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιούσιν, ἥ πρὸς ἄρκτον τέτραπται τὸ χωρίον, μνημᾶ ἐστὶν Ἀλκμήνης πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. βαδίζουσιν γὰρ ἐς Θήβας ἐξ Ἄργους τελευτῆσαι καθ' ὁδὸν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις, καὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἔλθειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἄργος ἐθέλοντας ὀπίσω κομίσει τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης, τοὺς δ' αὐτῶν ἐς Θήβας: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς Ἡρακλέους παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ Μεγάρων τάφον εἶναι καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν Θήβαις. ὁ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς ἔχρησε θάψαι Ἀλκμήνην ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἄμεινον εἶναί σφισιν.

[41.1] XLI. On coming down from the citadel, where the ground turns northwards, is the tomb of Alcmena, near the Olympieum. They say that as she was walking from Argos to Thebes she died on the way at Megara, and that the Heracleidae fell to disputing, some wishing to carry the corpse of Alcmena back to Argos, others wishing to take it to Thebes, as in Thebes were buried Amphitryon and the children of Heracles by Megara. But the god in Delphi gave them an oracle that it was better for them to bury Alcmena in Megara.

[2] ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῖν ἐξηγητὴς ἡγεῖτο ἐς χωρίον Ῥοῦν ὡς ἔφασκεν ὀνομαζόμενον, ταύτῃ γὰρ ὕδωρ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ῥυῆναι: Θεαγένης δέ, ὃς τότε ἐτυράννει, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐτέρωσε τρέψας βωμὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀχελῷω ἐποίησε. καὶ Ὑλλου πλησίον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μνημᾶ ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ Ἀρκάδι Ἐχέμῳ τῷ Ἀερόπου μονομαχήσαντος: καὶ ὅστις μὲν Ἐχεμος ὢν ἀπέκτεινεν Ὑλλον, ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω, τέθαιπται δὲ καὶ Ὑλλος ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις. αὕτη καλοῖτο ἂν ὀρθῶς στρατεία τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος.

[41.2] From this place the local guide took us to a place which he said was named Rhus (Stream), for that water once flowed here from the mountains above the city. But Theagenes, who was tyrant at that time, turned the water into another direction and made here an altar to Achelous. Hard by is the tomb of Hyllus, son of Heracles, who fought a duel with an Arcadian, Echemus the son of Aeropus. Who the Echemus was who killed Hyllus I will tell in another part of my narrative, but Hyllus also is buried at Megara. These events might correctly be called an expedition of the Heracleidae into the Peloponnesus in the reign of Orestes.

[3] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ὑλλου μνήματος Ἴσιδος ναὸς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· Ἀλκάθουν δὲ φασὶ ποιῆσαι ἀποκτείναντα λέοντα τὸν καλούμενον Κιθαιρώνιον. ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ λέοντος διαφθαρῆναι καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Μεγαρέως φασὶ τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως παῖδα Εὐίππον, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον τῶν παιδῶν αὐτῷ Τίμαλκον ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως, στρατεύοντα ἐς Ἄφιδναν σὺν τοῖς Διοσκούροις· Μεγαρέα δὲ γάμον τε ὑποσχέσθαι θυγατρὸς καὶ ὡς διάδοχον ἔξει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅστις τὸν Κιθαιρώνιον λέοντα ἀποκτείνει· διὰ ταῦτα Ἀλκάθουν τὸν Πέλοπος ἐπιχειρήσαντα τῷ θηρίῳ κρατῆσαι τε καὶ ὡς ἐβασίλευσε τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, Ἀγροτέραν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀγραῖον ἐπονομάσαντα.

[41.3] Not far from the tomb of Hyllus is a temple of Isis, and beside it one of Apollo and of Artemis. They say that Alcaethous made it after killing the lion called Cithaeronian. By this lion they say many were slain, including Euippus, the son of Megareus their king, whose elder son Timalcus had before this been killed by Theseus while on a campaign with the Dioscuri against Aphidna. Megareus they say promised that he who killed the Cithaeronian lion should marry his daughter and succeed him in the kingdom. Alcaethous therefore, son of Pelops, attacked the beast and overcame it, and when he came to the throne he built this sanctuary, surnaming Artemis Agrotera (Huntress) and Apollo Agraecus (Hunter).

[4] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ γράφειν μὲν ἐθέλω Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁμολογοῦντα, οὐκ ἔχω δὲ ὅπως εὐρωμαι πάντα σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν λέοντα ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ὑπὸ Ἀλκάθου πείθομαι, Μεγαρέως δὲ Τίμαλκον παῖδα τίς μὲν ἐς Ἄφιδναν ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἔγραψε; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀφικόμενος ἀναιρεθῆναι νομίζοιτο ὑπὸ Θησέως, ὅπου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν ποιήσας ᾄσμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκούρους, ὡς Ἀθήνας ἔλοιεν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγάγοιεν μητέρα αἰχμάλωτον, ὅμως Θησέα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεῖναι;

[41.4] Such is the account of the Megarians; but although I wish my account to agree with theirs, yet I cannot accept everything they say. I am ready to believe that a lion was killed by Alcaethous on Cithaeron, but what historian has recorded that Timalcus the son of Megareus came with the Dioscuri to Aphidna? And supposing he had gone there, how could one hold that he had been killed by Theseus, when Alcman wrote a poem on the Dioscuri, in which he says that they captured Athens and carried into captivity the mother of Theseus, but Theseus himself was absent?

[5] Πίνδαρος δὲ τούτοις τε κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησε καὶ γαμβρὸν τοῖς Διοσκούροις Θησέα εἶναι βουλόμενον ἀρπασθεῖσαν τὴν Ἑλένην διαφυλάξαι, ἐς ἃ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν Πειρίθω τὸν λεγόμενον γάμον συμπράζοντα. ὅστις δὲ ἐγενεαλόγησε, δῆλον ὡς πολλὴν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι σύνοιδεν εὐήθειαν, εἴ γε Θησεὺς ἦν ἀπόγονος Πέλοπος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν ὄντα λόγον οἱ Μεγαρεῖς εἰδότες ἐπικρύπτουσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἁλῶναί σφισιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Νίσου τὴν πόλιν, διαδέξασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν γαμβρὸν Νίσου τε Μεγαρέα καὶ αὐθις Ἀλκάθουν Μεγαρέως.

[41.5] Pindar in his poems agrees with this account, saying that Theseus, wishing to be related to the Dioscuri, carried off Helen and kept her until he departed to carry out with Peirithous the marriage that they tell of. Whoever has studied genealogy finds the Megarians guilty of great silliness, since Theseus was a descendant of Pelops. The fact is that the Megarians know the true story but conceal it, not wishing it to be thought that their city was captured in the reign of Nisus, but that both Megareus, the son-in-law of Nisus, and Alcathous, the son-in-law of Megareus, succeeded their respective fathers-in-law as king.

[6] φαίνεται δὲ τελευτήσαντος Νίσου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦτον Ἀλκάθου ἀφικόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἐξ Ἥλιδος· μαρτύριον δέ μοι· τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος ὠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅτε τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου καθαιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν.

Ἀλκάθου μὲν καὶ τοῦ λέοντος, εἴτε ἐν τῇ Κιθαιρῶνι αὐτὸν εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρῳθι ἀποκτείνας ναὸν Ἀγροτέρας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐποίησεν Ἀγραίῳ, ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη· ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδίωνός ἐστιν ἡρῶν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἐτάφη Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθυίᾳ Ἀθηναῖς καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ, δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι· τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγαρέων ἔχει.

[41.6] It is evident that Alcathous arrived from Elis just at the time when Nisus had died and the Megarians had lost everything. Witness to the truth of my statements the fact that he built the wall afresh from the beginning, the old one round the city having been destroyed by the Cretans.

Let so much suffice for Alcathous and for the lion, whether it was on Cithaeron or elsewhere that the killing took place that caused him to make a temple to Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraeus. On going down from this sanctuary you see the shrine of the hero Pandion. My narrative has already told how Pandion was buried on what is called the Rock of Athena Aethyia (Gannet). He receives honors from the Megarians in the city as well.

[7] πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἡρώου μνήμα Ἴππολύτης· γράψω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν. ὅτε Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους στρατεύσασαι δι' Ἀντιόπην ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Θησέως, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς συνέβη μαχομένας αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Ἴππολύτην δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ἀντιόπης καὶ τότε ἡγουμένην τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν σὺν ὀλίγαις ἐς Μέγαρα, ἅτε δὲ κακῶς οὕτω πράξασαν τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀθύμως ἔχουσιν καὶ περὶ τῆς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Θेमίσκυραν σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀποροῦσαν ὑπὸ λύπης τελευτῆσαι· καὶ θάψαι αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν, καὶ οἱ τοῦ μνήματος σχῆμά ἐστιν Ἀμαζονικὴ ἀσπίδι ἐμφορές.

[41.7] Near the shrine of the hero Pandion is the tomb of Hippolyte. I will record the account the Megarians give of her. When the Amazons, having marched against the Athenians because of Antiope, were over come by Theseus, most of them met their death in the fight, but Hippolyte, the sister of Antiope and on this occasion the leader of the women, escaped with a few

others to Megara. Having suffered such a military disaster, being in despair at her present situation and even more hopeless of reaching her home in Themiscyra, she died of a broken heart, and the Megarians gave her burial. The shape of her tomb is like an Amazonian shield.

[8] τούτου δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τάφος Τηρέως τοῦ Πρόκνην γήμαντος τὴν Πανδίωνος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεὺς, ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, περὶ τὰς Παγὰς τὰς καλουμένας τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ τε δοκῶ καὶ τεκμήρια ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Δαυλίδος ἦρχε τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας· πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καὶ Τηρεῖ τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐλεῖν σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο:

[41.8] Not far from this is the grave of Tereus, who married Procne the daughter of Pandion. The Megarians say that Tereus was king of the region around what is called Pagae (Springs) of Megaris, but my opinion, which is confirmed by extant evidence, is that he ruled over Daulis beyond Chaeronea, for in ancient times the greater part of what is now called Greece was inhabited by foreigners. When Tereus did what he did to Philomela and Itys suffered at the hands of the women, Tereus found himself unable to seize them.

[9] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις αὐτοχειρία, καὶ οἱ τάφον αὐτίκα ἔχωσαν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ψηφίσιν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἔποπα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἐνταῦθα φανῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσιν: αἱ δὲ

γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο, θρηγοῦσαι δὲ οἷα ἔπαθον καὶ οἷα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ δακρῶν διαφθείρονται, καὶ σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδόνα καὶ χελιδόνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ αὗται αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνην ὅμοιον ἄδουσιν.

[41.9] He committed suicide in Megara, and the Megarians forthwith raised him a barrow, and every year sacrifice to him, using in the sacrifice gravel instead of barley meal; they say that the bird called the hoopoe appeared here for the first time. The women came to Athens, and while lamenting their sufferings and their revenge, perished through their tears; their reported metamorphosis into a nightingale and a swallow is due, I think, to the fact that the note of these birds is plaintive and like a lamentation.

42. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀκρόπολις ἀπὸ Ἀλκάθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα: ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιούσιν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Μεγαρέως μνῆμα, ὃς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τῶν Κρητῶν ξύμμαχος σφισιν ἦλθεν ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ. δεικνύται δὲ καὶ ἐστία θεῶν Προδομέων καλουμένων: θῦσαι δὲ σφισιν Ἀλκάθου λέγουσι πρῶτον, ὅτε τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ τείχους ἐμελλεν ἄρχεσθαι.

[42.1] XLII. The Megarians have another citadel, which is named after Alcaethous. As you ascend this citadel you see on the right the tomb of Megareus, who at the time of the Cretan invasion came as an ally from

Onchestus. There is also shown a hearth of the gods called Prodomeis (Builders before). They say that Alcathous was the first to sacrifice to them, at the time when he was about to begin the building of the wall.

[2] τῆς δὲ ἐστίας ἐγγὺς ταύτης ἐστὶ λίθος, ἐφ' οὗ καταθεῖναι λέγουσιν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν κιθάραν Ἀλκάθῳ τὸ τεῖχος συνεργαζόμενον. δηλοῖ τέ μοι καὶ τόδε ὡς συνετέλουν ἐς Ἀθηναίους Μεγαρεῖς: φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκάθους Περίβοιαν ἅμα Θησεῖ πέμψαι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἐς Κρήτην. τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὥς φασιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, συνεργάζεται τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον: ἦν δὲ τύχη βαλὼν τις ψηφίδι, κατὰ ταῦτα οὗτός τε ἤχησε καὶ κιθάρα κρουσθεῖσα.

[42.2] Near this hearth is a stone, on which they say Apollo laid his lyre when he was helping Alcathous in the building. I am confirmed in my view that the Megarians used to be tributary to the Athenians by the fact that Alcathous appears to have sent his daughter Periboea with Theseus to Crete in payment of the tribute. On the occasion of his building the wall, the Megarians say, Apollo helped him and placed his lyre on the stone; and if you happen to hit it with a pebble it sounds just as a lyre does when struck.

[3] ἐμοὶ δὲ παρέσχε μὲν καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι, παρέσχε δὲ πολλῶ μάλιστα Αἰγυπτίων ὁ κολοσσός. ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, διαβάσι τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὰς Σύριγγας καλουμένας, εἶδον ἔτι καθήμενον ἄγαλμα ἤχουν — Μέμνονα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τοῦτον γὰρ φασιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ὀρμηθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἄχρι Σούσων: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἤκουσα δὲ ἤδη καὶ Σέσωστριν φαμένων εἶναι τοῦτο ἄγαλμα — , ὁ Καμβύσης διέκοψε: καὶ νῦν ὁπόσον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς μέσον σῶμά ἐστιν ἀπερριμμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κάθηται τε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου βοᾷ, καὶ τὸν ἦχον μάλιστα εἰκάσει τις κιθάρας ἢ λύρας ῥαγείσης χορδῆς.

[42.3] This made me marvel, but the colossus in Egypt made me marvel far more than anything else. In Egyptian Thebes, on crossing the Nile to the so called Pipes, I saw a statue, still sitting, which gave out a sound. The many call it Memnon, who they say from Aethiopia overran Egypt and as far as Susa. The Thebans, however, say that it is a statue, not of Memnon, but of a native named Phamenoph, and I have heard some say that it is Sesostris. This statue was broken in two by Cambyeses, and at the present day from head to middle it is thrown down; but the rest is seated, and every day at the rising of the sun it makes a noise, and the sound one could best liken to that of a harp or lyre when a string has been broken.

[4] Μεγαρεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν βουλευτήριον, Τιμάλκου δὲ ἦν ποτε ὡς λέγουσι τάφος, ὃν πρότερον ὀλίγον τούτων οὐκ ἔφην ὑπὸ Θησεῶς ἀποθανεῖν. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ραθηναῖς, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν: ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ ἕτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιήται καλουμένης

Νίκης καὶ ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Μεγαρέων μὲν παρεῖται τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια νομίζω γενέσθαι γράψω. Τελαμὼν ὁ Αἰακοῦ θυγατρὶ Ἀλκάθου Περιβοῖα συνώκησεν: Αἴαντα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀλκάθου διαδεξάμενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἡγοῦμαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

[42.4] The Megarians have a council chamber which once, they say, was the grave of Timalcus, who just now I said was not killed by Theseus. On the top of the citadel is built a temple of Athena, with an image gilt except the hands and feet; these and the face are of ivory. There is another sanctuary built here, of Athena Victory, and yet a third of Athena Aeantis (Ajacian). About the last the Megarian guides have omitted to record anything, but I will write what I take to be the facts. Telamon the son of Aeacus married Periboea the daughter of Alcathous; so my opinion is that Ajax, who succeeded to the throne of Alcathous, made the statue of Athena.

[5] τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός: ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα εἰκόασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγυνητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος: ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποιήται. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Κυπρίου διακρῖναι πόας ἐς ἀνθρώπων ἴασιν εἰδότος, ὃς τὴν ἔβενον φύλλα οὐκ ἔφη φύειν οὐδὲ εἶναι καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ὀρᾶσθαι τὸ παράπαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ἡλίου, ρίζας δὲ ὑπογαιούς εἶναι, ταύτας δὲ ὀρύσσειν τοὺς Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἄνδρας εἶναι σφισιν οἱ τὴν ἔβενον ἴασιν εὐρίσκειν.

[42.5] The ancient temple of Apollo was of brick, but the emperor Hadrian afterwards built it of white marble. The Apollo called Pythian and the one called Decatephorus (Bringer of Tithes) are very like the Egyptian wooden images, but the one surnamed Archegetes (Founder) resembles Aeginetan works. They are all alike made of ebony. I have heard a man of Cyprus, who was skilled at sorting herbs for medicinal purposes, say that the ebony does not grow leaves or bear fruit, or even appear in the sunlight at all, but consists of underground roots which are dug up by the Aethiopians, who have men skilled at finding ebony.

[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θεσμοφόρου. κατιοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Καλλιπόλιδος μνημᾶ ἐστὶν Ἀλκάθου παιδός. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλκάθῳ πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἰσχεπόλις, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατὴρ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ θηρίον συνεξαίρησοντα. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτος τεθνεῶτα ἐπύθετο ὁ Καλλίπολις, ἀναδραμὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν — τηνικαῦτα δὲ ὁ πατήρ οἱ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνέκαεν — ἀπορρίπτει τὰ ξύλα ἀπὸ τοῦ βομοῦ: Ἀλκάθους δὲ ἀνήκοος ὢν ἔτι τῆς Ἰσχεπόλιδος τελευτῆς κατεδίκαζεν οὐ ποιεῖν ὅσια τὸν Καλλίπολιν καὶ εὐθέως ὥς εἶχεν ὀργῆς ἀπέκτεινε παῖσας ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ἀπορριφέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βομοῦ ξύλα.

[42.6] There is also a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophorus (Lawgiver). On going down from it you see the tomb of Callipolis, son of Alcathous.

Alcathous had also an elder son, Ischepolis, whom his father sent to help Meleager to destroy the wild beast in Aetolia. There he died, and Callipolis was the first to hear of his death. Running up to the citadel, at the moment when his father was preparing a fire to sacrifice to Apollo, he flung the logs from the altar. Alcathous, who had not yet heard of the fate of Ischepolis, judged that Callipolis was guilty of impiety, and forthwith, angry as he was, killed him by striking his head with one of the logs that had been flung from the altar.

[7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἴνου ἐστὶν ἡρῶν, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων· πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλαῖαι. μόνοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῖς οἱ λέγοντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἴνου ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια σφισιν ἐκπσεῖν τῆς χώρας, Κλησὼ δὲ καὶ Ταυρόπολιν εὐρεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι — θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Λέλεγος — , καὶ Λευκοθέαν τε ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι πρώτοις φασὶν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἄγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

[42.7] On the road to the Town-hall is the shrine of the heroine Ino, about which is a fencing of stones, and beside it grow olives. The Megarians are the only Greeks who say that the corpse of Ino was cast up on their coast, that Cleso and Tauropolis, the daughters of Cleson, son of Lelex, found and buried it, and they say that among them first was she named Leucothea, and that every year they offer her sacrifice.

43. λέγουσι δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἡρῶν· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ καὶ ταύτην ἐν Μεγάρῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἐς Ἰφιγένειαν λόγον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λεγόμενον, οἷδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι· τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁμολογοῦντα ἔγραψε Ταύρους τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Σκυθικῇ θύειν παρθένῳ τοὺς ναυαγούς, φάναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν παρθένον Ἰφιγένειαν εἶναι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος. ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἀδραστος τιμὰς· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν παρὰ σφίσι καὶ τοῦτον, ὅτε ἐλὼν Θήβας ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, αἷτια δὲ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου γῆρας καὶ τὴν Αἰγιαλέως γενέσθαι τελευτήν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν, ἥνικα ἦλθε Κάλχαντα οἰκοῦντα ἐν Μεγάρῳ ἐς Ἴλιον ἔπεσθαι πείσων.

[43.1] XLIII. They say that there is also a shrine of the heroine Iphigenia; for she too according to them died in Megara. Now I have heard another account of Iphigenia that is given by Arcadians and I know that Hesiod, in his poem A Catalogue of Women, says that Iphigenia did not die, but by the will of Artemis is Hecate. With this agrees the account of Herodotus, that the Tauri near Scythia sacrifice castaways to a maiden who they say is Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. Adrastus also is honored among the Megarians, who say that he too died among them when he was leading back his army after taking Thebes, and that his death was caused by old age and the fate of Aegialeus. A sanctuary of Artemis was made by Agamemnon when he came to persuade Calchas, who dwelt in Megara, to accompany him to Troy.

[2] ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ τεθάφθαι μὲν Εὐῖππον Μεγαρέως παῖδα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀλκάθου λέγουσιν Ἰσχύπολιν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ πρυτανείου πέτρα πλησίον: Ἀνακληθρίδα τὴν πέτραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὥς Δημήτηρ, εἴ τῳ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλαῖντο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. εἰκότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες.

[43.2] In the Town-hall are buried, they say, Euippus the son of Megareus and Ischepolis the son of Alcathous. Near the Town-hall is a rock. They name it Anacletis (Recall), because Demeter (if the story be credible) here too called her daughter back when she was wandering in search of her. Even in our day the Megarian women hold a performance that is a mimic representation of the legend.

[3] εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει: καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνῆμα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων. Ὑπερίωνος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος — οὗτος γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασίλευσεν ὕστατος — τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Σανδίωνος διὰ

πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν, βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσιν, εἶναι δὲ ἄρχοντας αἰρετοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Αἴσυμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαιμονήσουσι: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλευσώνται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ὠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσιν ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται.

[43.3] In the city are graves of Megarians. They made one for those who died in the Persian invasion, and what is called the Aesymnium (Shrine of Aesymnus) was also a tomb of heroes. When Agamemnon's son Hyperion, the last king of Megara, was killed by Sandion for his greed and violence, they resolved no longer to be ruled by one king, but to have elected magistrates and to obey one another in turn. Then Aesymnus, who had a reputation second to none among the Megarians, came to the god in Delphi and asked in what way they could be prosperous. The oracle in its reply said that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This utterance they took to refer to the dead, and built a council chamber in this place in order that the grave of their heroes might be within it.

[4] ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλκάθου βαδίζουσιν ἡρῶν, ὃ Μεγαρεῖς ἐς γραμμάτων φυλακὴν ἐχρῶντο ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, μνῆμα ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν Πυργοῦς εἶναι γυναικὸς Ἀλκάθου πρὶν ἢ τὴν Μεγαρέως αὐτὸν λαβεῖν Εὐαίχμην, τὸ δὲ Ἰφινόης Ἀλκάθου θυγατρὸς: ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν φασιν ἔτι παρθένον. καθέστηκε δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοὰς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰφινόης μνῆμα προσφέρειν πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν, καθὰ καὶ τῇ Ἑκαέργῃ καὶ Ὠπιδί αἱ θυγατέρες ποτὲ ἀπεκείροντο αἱ Δηλίων.

[43.4] Between this and the hero-shrine of Alcathous, which in my day the

Megarians used as a record office, was the tomb, they said, of Pyrgo, the wife of Alcathous before he married Euaechme, the daughter of Megareus, and the tomb of Iphinoe, the daughter of Alcathous; she died, they say, a maid. It is customary for the girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphiaoe and to offer a lock of their hair before their wedding, just as the daughters of the Delians once cut their hair for Hecaege and Opis.

[5] παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀστυκρατείας καὶ Μαντοῦς· θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Πολυίδου τοῦ Κοιράνου τοῦ Ἄβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος ἐς Μέγαρα δ' ἐλθόντος Ἀλκάθου ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῷ Καλλιπόλιδος καθῆραι τοῦ παιδός. ὠκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερὸν Πολυίδος καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ φανερόν. Σάτυρος δὲ παρέστηκεν αὐτῷ Πραξιτέλους ἔργον Παρίου λίθου. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ Πατρῶον καλοῦσιν· ἕτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐχίνορα τὸν Κοιράνου τοῦ Πολυίδου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι λέγουσι.

[43.5] Beside the entrance to the sanctuary of Dionysus is the grave of Astycratea and Manto. They were daughters of Polyidus, son of Coeranus, son of Abas, son of Melampus, who came to Megara to purify Alcathous when he had killed his son Callipolis. Polyidus also built the sanctuary of Dionysus, and dedicated a wooden image that in our day is covered up except the face, which alone is exposed. By the side of it is a Satyr of Parian marble made by Praxiteles. This Dionysus they call Patrous (Paternal); but the image of another, that they surname Dasyllius, they say was dedicated by Euchenor, son of Coeranus, son of Polyidus.

[6] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ναός, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐλέφαντος Ἀφροδίτη πεποιημένον Πρᾶξις ἐπὶ κλησιν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον ἐν τῷ ναῷ· Πειθὼ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα θεός, ἣν Παρήγορον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἔργα Πραξιτέλους· Σκόπα δὲ Ἔρως καὶ Ἴμερος καὶ Πόθος, εἰ δὴ διάφορά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτο τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἔργα σφίσι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ναοῦ Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὕτη τέχνη· καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος.

[43.6] After the sanctuary of Dionysus is a temple of Aphrodite, with an ivory image of Aphrodite surnamed Praxis (Action). This is the oldest object in the temple. There is also Persuasion and another goddess, whom they name Consoler, works of Praxiteles. By Scopas are Love and Desire and Yearning, if indeed their functions are as different as their names. Near the temple of Aphrodite is a sanctuary of Fortune, the image being one of the works of Praxiteles. In the temple hard by are Muses and a bronze Zeus by Lysippus.

[7] ἔστι δὲ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Κοροΐβου τάφος· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπη κοινὰ ὅμως ὄντα τοῖς Ἀργείων ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω. ἐπὶ Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν Ἀργεῖ βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν Κροτώπου τεκεῖν παῖδα ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ πατρὸς δείματι τὸν παῖδα ἐκθεῖναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν διαφθείρουσιν

ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκ τῆς ποιμνῆς κύνες τῆς Κροτώπου, Ἀπόλλων δὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν πέμπει Ποινὴν. ταύτην τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων φασὶν ἀρπάζειν, ἐς ὃ Κόροιβος ἐς χάριν Ἀργείοις φονεῦει τὴν Ποινὴν. φονεύσας δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει σφᾶς δευτέρα ἐπιπεσοῦσα νόσος λοιμώδης — Κόροιβος ἐκὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὑφέξων δίκας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ φόνου τῆς Ποιῆς.

[43.7] The Megarians have also the grave of Coroebus. The poetical story of him, although it equally concerns Argos, I will relate here. They say that in the reign of Crotopus at Argos, Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus, bore a son to Apollo, and being in dire terror of her father, exposed the child. He was found and destroyed by sheepdogs of Crotopus, and Apollo sent Vengeance to the city to punish the Argives. They say that she used to snatch the children from their mothers, until Coroebus to please the Argives slew Vengeance. Whereat as a second punishment plague fell upon them and stayed not. So Coroebus of his own accord went to Delphi to submit to the punishment of the god for having slain Vengeance.

[8] ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ Ἄργος ἀναστρέφειν οὐκ εἶα Κόροιβον ἢ Πυθία, τρίποδα δὲ ἀράμενον φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἔνθα ἂν ἐκπέσῃ οἱ φέροντι ὁ τρίπους, ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνος οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ὁ τρίπους κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Γερανίαν ἀπολισθὼν ἔλαθεν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεσών: καὶ Τριποδίσκους κώμην ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι. Κοροίβῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τάφος ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἀγορᾷ: γέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία τὰ ἐς Ψαμάθην καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα Κόροιβον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπίθημά ἐστι τῷ τάφῳ Κόροιβος φονεύων τὴν Ποινὴν. ταῦτα ἀγάλματα παλαιότατα, ὅποσα λίθου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἑλλήσιν, ἰδὼν οἶδα.

[43.8] The Pythia would not allow Coroebus to return to Argos, but ordered him to take up a tripod and carry it out of the sanctuary, and where the tripod should fall from his hands, there he was to build a temple of Apollo and to dwell himself. At Mount Gerania the tripod slipped and fell unawares. Here he dwelt in the village called the Little Tripods. The grave of Coroebus is in the market-place of the Megarians. The story of Psamathe and of Coroebus himself is carved on it in elegiac verses and further, upon the top of the grave is represented Coroebus slaying Vengeance. These are the oldest stone images I am aware of having seen among the Greeks.

44. Κοροίβου δὲ τέθαιπται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος, ὃς περιεζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμὼν γυμνός, φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων: δοκῶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ περίζωμα ἐκόντι περιρρυῆναι, γνόντι ὡς ἀνδρὸς περιεζωσμένου δραμεῖν ῥᾶων ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ γυμνός.

[44.1] XLIV. Near Coroebus is buried Orsippus who won the footrace at Olympia by running naked when all his competitors wore girdles according to ancient custom. They say also that Orsippus when general afterwards annexed some of the neighboring territory. My own opinion is that at Olympia he

intentionally let the girdle slip off him, realizing that a naked man can run more easily than one girt.

[2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιοῦσι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου: τοῦτο ὀλίγον ἐκτραπέντα ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνευρεῖν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται θέας ἄξιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητώ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγάλματά ἐστι Πραξιτέλους ποιήσαντος Λητώ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης: τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυῶν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν.

τοσαῦτά σφισιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παρείχετο ἡ πόλις:

[44.2] As you go down from the market-place you see on the right of the street called Straight a sanctuary of Apollo Prostaterius (Protecting). You must turn a little aside from the road to discover it. In it is a noteworthy Apollo, Artemis also, and Leto, and other statues, made by Praxiteles. In the old gymnasium near the gate called the Gate of the Nymphs is a stone of the shape of a small pyramid. This they name Apollo Carinus, and here there is a sanctuary of the Eileithyiae. Such are the sights that the city had to show.

NISAEA

[3] ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον, καλούμενον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Νίσαιαν, ἐς τοῦτο κατελθοῦσιν ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστι Μαλοφόρου: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους πρόβατα ἐν τῇ γῇ θρέψαντας Δήμητρα ὀνομάσαι Μαλοφόρον, καταρρυῆναι δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν ὄροφον τεκμαίροιτο ἂν τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ ἀκρόπολις ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ὀνομαζομένη καὶ αὕτη Νίσαια: καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως μνημῆα ἐστὶ πρὸς θαλάσση Λέλεγος, ὃν ἀφικόμενον βασιλεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς Ἐπάφου. παρῇκει δὲ παρὰ τὴν Νίσαιαν νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη Μινώα: ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Νῆσον παρώρμει τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Κρητῶν.

[44.3] When you have gone down to the port, which to the present day is called Nisaea, you see a sanctuary of Demeter Malophorus (Sheep-bearer or Apple-bearer). One of the accounts given of the surname is that those who first reared sheep in the land named Demeter Malophorus. The roof of the temple one might conclude has fallen in through age. There is a citadel here, which also is called Nisaea. Below the citadel near the sea is the tomb of Lelex, who they say arrived from Egypt and became king, being the son of Poseidon and of Libya, daughter of Epheus. Parallel to Nisaea lies the small island of Minoa, where in the war against Nisus anchored the fleet of the Cretans.

PAGAE & AEGOSTHENA

[4] ἡ δὲ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐστὶν ὄμορος, ἐν ἣ Μεγαρεῦσι Παγαὶ πόλις, ἑτέρα δὲ ΑἰγόσθENA ὥκισται. ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὰς Παγὰς ἐκτραπομένοις ὀλίγον τῆς λεωφόρου πέτρα δέικνται διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα ἐμπεπηγότας οἰστούς, ἐς ἣν οἱ Μῆδοί ποτε ἐτόξευον ἐν τῇ νυκτί. ἐν δὲ ταῖς

Παγαῖς θεάς ὑπελείπετο ἄξιον Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἐπικλησιν χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, μεγέθει τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἴσον καὶ σχῆμα οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον. καὶ Αἰγιαλέως ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶν ἡρῶν τοῦ Ἀδράστου· τοῦτον γάρ, ὅτε Ἀργεῖοι τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Θήβας ἐστράτευσαν, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην μάχην πρὸς Γλισάντι ἀποθανόντα οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Παγὰς τῆς Μεγαρίδος κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ Αἰγιαλείον ἐτι καλεῖται τὸ ἡρῶν.

[44.4] The hilly part of Megaris borders upon Boeotia, and in it the Megarians have built the city Pagae and another one called Aegosthena. As you go to Pagae, on turning a little aside from the highway, you are shown a rock with arrows stuck all over it, into which the Persians once shot in the night. In Pagae a noteworthy relic is a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Saviour, in size equal to that at Megara and exactly like it in shape. There is also a hero-shrine of Aegialeus, son of Adrastus. When the Argives made their second attack on Thebes he died at Glisas early in the first battle, and his relatives carried him to Pagae in Megaris and buried him, the shrine being still called the Aegialeum.

[5] ἐν Αἰγοσθένεσι δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειργασμένος ἐν στήλῃ· καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. μαντεύεσθαι δὲ οὔτε δι' ὄνειράτων αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄλλως λέγουσι. καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἤκουσα ἐν Ἐρενεῖᾳ τῇ Μεγαρέων κόμῃ, Αὐτονόην τὴν Κάδμου τῷ τε Ἀκταίωνος θανάτῳ, συμβάντι ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρῷου τύχῃ περισσότερον ἀλγοῦσαν ἐνταυθὰ ἐκ Θηβῶν μετοικῆσαι· καὶ Αὐτονόης μνημᾶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ.

[44.5] In Aegosthena is a sanctuary of Melampus, son of Amythaon, and a small figure of a man carved upon a slab. To Melampus they sacrifice and hold a festival every year. They say that he divines neither by dreams nor in any other way. Here is something else that I heard in Erenea, a village of the Megarians. Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus, left Thebes to live here owing to her great grief at the death of Actaeon, the manner of which is told in legend, and at the general misfortune of her father's house. The tomb of Autonoe is in this village.

SCIRONIAN ROAD

[6] ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐς Κόρινθον ἄλλοι τέ εἰσι τάφοι καὶ αὐλητοῦ Σαμίου Τηλεφάνους· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν τάφον Κλεοπάτρην τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου λέγουσι. καὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως μνημᾶ ἐστὶ, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος ἐκοσμήθη λίθῳ κογχίτῃ. μόνους δὲ Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁ κογχίτης οὗτός ἐστι, καὶ σφισι καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πεποιήται πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄγαν λευκὸς καὶ ἄλλου λίθου μαλακώτερος· κόγχαι δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι διὰ παντὸς ἐνεῖσιν οἱ. αὐτὸς μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος· τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τότε Σκιρωνίδα Σκίρων, ἥνικα Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπολεμάρχει, πρῶτος ὡς λέγουσιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδράσιν ὁδεύειν εὐζώνους· Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἄρματα ἐναντία

ἐλαύνεσθαι κατέστησεν εὐρυχωρῇ τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖαν εἶναι.

[44.6] On the road from Megara to Corinth are graves, including that of the Samian flute-player Telephanes, said to have been made by Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas. There is also the tomb of Car, son of Phoroneus, which was originally a mound of earth, but afterwards, at the command of the oracle, it was adorned with mussel stone. The Megarians are the only Greeks to possess this stone, and in the city also they have made many things out of it. It is very white, and softer than other stone; in it throughout are sea mussels. Such is the nature of the stone. The road called Scironian to this day and named after Sciron, was made by him when he was war minister of the Megarians, and originally they say was constructed for the use of active men. But the emperor Hadrian broadened it, and made it suitable even for chariots to pass each other in opposite directions.

[7] λόγοι δέ εἰσιν ἐς τὰς πέτρας, αἱ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ μάλιστα ἀνέχουσιν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Μολουρίδα, ὥς ἀπὸ ταύτης αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν Ἰνὼ ῥίψαι Μελικέρτην ἔχουσα τῶν παιδῶν τὸν νεώτερον: τὸν γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Λέαρχον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ πατήρ. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ μανέντα δρᾶσαι ταῦτα Ἀθάμαντα, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Ἰνὼ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας χρήσαιτο ἀκρατεῖ τῷ θυμῷ τὸν συμβάντα Ὀρχομενίοις λιμὸν καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα Φρίξου θάνατον αἰσθόμενος, οὗ τὸ θεῖον αἴτιον οὐ γενέσθαι, βουλεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν Ἰνὼ μητρὶαν οὔσαν:

[44.7] There are legends about the rocks, which rise especially at the narrow part of the road. As to the Molurian, it is said that from it Ino flung her self into the sea with Melicertes, the younger of her children. Learchus, the elder of them, had been killed by his father. One account is that Athamas did this in a fit of madness; another is that he vented on Ino and her children unbridled rage when he learned that the famine which befell the Orchomenians and the supposed death of Phrixus were not accidents from heaven, but that Ino, the step-mother, had intrigued for all these things.

[8] τότε δὲ φεύγουσα ἐς θάλασσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς Μολουρίδος ἀφίησιν, ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ὑπὸ δελφίνος ὥς λέγεται τοῦ παιδός, τιμαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι τῷ Μελικέρτῃ δίδονται μετονομασθέντι Παλαίμονι καὶ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μολουρίδα πέτραν Λευκοθέας καὶ Παλαίμονος ἱερὰν ἡγῆντο: τὰς δὲ μετὰ ταύτην νομίζουσιν ἑναγεῖς, ὅτι παροικῶν σφισιν ὁ Σκίρων, ὁπόσοις τῶν ξένων ἐπετύγχανεν, ἠφίει σφᾶς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. χελώνη δὲ ὑπενήχετο ταῖς πέτραις τοὺς ἐσβληθέντας ἀρπάζειν: εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι πλὴν μεγέθους καὶ ποδῶν ὅμοιαι ταῖς χερσαίαις, πόδας δὲ εὐκότας ἔχουσι ταῖς φώκαις. τούτων περιήλθεν ἡ δίκη Σκίρωνα ἀφεθέντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Θησέως.

[44.8] Then it was that she fled to the sea and cast herself and her son from the Molurian Rock. The son, they say, was landed on the Corinthian Isthmus by a dolphin, and honors were offered to Melicertes, then renamed Palaemon,

including the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Molurian dock they thought sacred to Leucothea and Palaemon; but those after it they consider accursed, in that Sciron, who dwelt by them, used to cast into the sea all the strangers he met. A tortoise used to swim under the rocks to seize those that fell in. Sea tortoises are like land tortoises except in size and for their feet, which are like those of seals. Retribution for these deeds overtook Sciron, for he was cast into the same sea by Theseus.

[9] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφεσίου καλουμένου ναός· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀνῆμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατὰ τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἱκομίσαντα δὲ ἀφεῖναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφέσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Πανός.

[44.9] On the top of the mountain is a temple of Zeus surnamed Aphesius (Releaser). It is said that on the occasion of the drought that once afflicted the Greeks Aeacus in obedience to an oracular utterance sacrificed in Aegina to Zeus God of all the Greeks, and Zeus rained and ended the drought, gaining thus the name Aphesius. Here there are also images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan.

[10] προελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω μνημῆμά ἐστιν Εὐρυσθέως· φεύγοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλείδας μάχην ἐνταῦθα ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἰολάου λέγουσιν. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καταβᾶσιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι Λατῶου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Μεγαρεῦσιν ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Κορινθίαν, ἔνθα Ὑλλων τὸν Ἡρακλέους μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρκάδα Ἐχεμον λέγουσιν.

[44.10] Farther on is the tomb of Eurystheus. The story is that he fled from Attica after the battle with the Heracleidae and was killed here by Iolaus. When you have gone down from this road you see a sanctuary of Apollo Latous, after which is the boundary between Megara and Corinth, where legend says that Hyllus, son of Heracles, fought a duel with the Arcadian Echemus.

BOOK II.

Κορινθιακά

BOOK II.

CORINTH, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. ἡ δὲ Κορινθία χώρα μοῖρα οὖσα τῆς Ἀργείας ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε. Διὸς δὲ εἶναι Κόρινθον οὐδένα οἶδα εἰπόντα πω σπουδῇ πλὴν Κορινθίων τῶν πολλῶν: Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ — εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφὴ — Ἐφύραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, Μαραθῶνα δὲ ὕστερον τὸν Ἐπωπέως τοῦ Ἀλωέως τοῦ Ἥλιου φεύγοντα ἀνομίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια μετοικῆσαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐπωπέως ἀφικόμενον ἐς

Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διανείμαντα τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐθις ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σικυῶνος τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τὴν Ἐφυραίαν μετονομασθῆναι.

[1.1] I. The Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus. That Corinthus was a son of Zeus I have never known anybody say seriously except the majority of the Corinthians. Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his Corinthian History (if indeed the history be his) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, dwelt first in this land; that afterwards Marathon, the son of Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, the son of Helius (Sun), fleeing from the lawless violence of his father migrated to the sea coast of Attica; that on the death of Epopeus he came to Peloponnesus, divided his kingdom among his sons, and returned to Attica; and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon, and Ephyraea after Corinthus.

CORINTH

[2] Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν: συντελοῦντες γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετέσχον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὃν Κριτόλαος στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαιῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς παρεσκεύασε γενέσθαι τοὺς τε Ἀχαιοὺς ἀναπείσας ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου τοὺς πολλοὺς. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ, παρείλοντο μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τεῖχη περιεῖλον ὅσαι τετειχισμέναι πόλεις ἦσαν: Κόρινθον δὲ ἀνάστατον Μομμίου ποιήσαντος τοῦ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Ῥωμαίων, ὕστερον λέγουσιν ἀνοικίσαι Καίσαρα, ὃς πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρῶτος τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατεστήσατο: ἀνοικίσαι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδónα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ.

[1.2] Corinth is no longer inhabited by any of the old Corinthians, but by

colonists sent out by the Romans. This change is due to the Achaean League. The Corinthians, being members of it, joined in the war against the Romans, which Critolaus, when appointed general of the Achaeans, brought about by persuading to revolt both the Achaeans and the majority of the Greeks outside the Peloponnesus. When the Romans won the war, they carried out a general disarmament of the Greeks and dismantled the walls of such cities as were fortified. Corinth was laid waste by Mummius, who at that time commanded the Romans in the field, and it is said that it was afterwards refounded by Caesar, who was the author of the present constitution of Rome. Carthage, too, they say, was refounded in his reign.

CROMYON

[3] τῆς δὲ Κορινθίας ἐστὶ γῆς καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Κρομυὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρόμου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. ἐνταῦθα τραφῆναι φασὶ Φαῖαν, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Θησεώς καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἔργον. προῖοῦσι δὲ ἡ πίτυς ἄχρι γε ἐμοῦ πεφύκει παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ Μελικέρτου βωμὸς ἦν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον

ἐκκομισθῆναι τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ δελφῖνος λέγουσι: κειμένῳ δὲ ἐπιτυχόντα Σίσυφον θάψαι τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τῶν Ἰσθμίων.

[1.3] In the Corinthian territory is also the place called Cromyon from Cromus the son of Poseidon. Here they say that Phaea was bred; overcoming this sow was one of the traditional achievements of Theseus. Farther on the pine still grew by the shore at the time of my visit, and there was an altar of Melicertes. At this place, they say, the boy was brought ashore by a dolphin; Sisyphus found him lying and gave him burial on the Isthmus, establishing the Isthmian games in his honor.

THE ISTHMUS

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔνθα ὁ ληστής Σίνις λαμβανόμενος πιτύων ἤγεν ἐς τὸ κάτω σφᾶς: ὀπόσων δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσειεν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δῆσας ἀφῆκεν ἂν τὰ δένδρα ἄνω φέρεσθαι: ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα τῶν πιτύων τὸν δεθέντα ἐφ' αὐτὴν εἴλκε, καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ μηδετέρωσε εἰκοντος ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπ' ἴσης βιαζομένου διεσπᾶτο ὁ δεδεμένος. τοιοῦτῳ διεφθάρῃ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Θησεώς ὁ Σίνις: ἐκάθηρε γὰρ Θησεὺς τῶν κακούργων τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Τροιζῆνος, οὓς τε πρότερον κατηρίθμησα ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τῇ ἱερᾷ Περιφήτην Ἡφαίστου νομιζόμενον, κορύνῃ χαλκῇ χρώμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας.

[1.4] At the beginning of the Isthmus is the place where the brigand Sinis used to take hold of pine trees and draw them down. All those whom he overcame in fight he used to tie to the trees, and then allow them to swing up again. Thereupon each of the pines used to drag to itself the bound man, and as the bond gave way in neither direction but was stretched equally in both, he was torn in two. This was the way in which Sinis himself was slain by Theseus. For Theseus rid of evildoers the road from Troezen to Athens, killing those

whom I have enumerated and, in sacred Epidaurus, Periphetes, thought to be the son of Hephaestus, who used to fight with a bronze club.

[5] καθήκει δὲ ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸς τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρᾶις, τῇ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίῳ θάλασσαν: τοῦτο γὰρ ἤπειρον ποιεῖ τὴν ἐντὸς χώραν. ὃς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε Πελοπόννησον ἐργάσασθαι νῆσον, προαπέλιπε διορύσσων ἰσθμόν: καὶ ὅθεν μὲν διορύσσειν ἤρξαντο δηλὸν ἐστίν, ἐς δὲ τὸ πετρώδες οὐ προεχώρησαν ἀρχήν: μένει δὲ ὡς πεφύκει καὶ νῦν ἡπειρος ὢν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε τῷ Φιλίππου διασκάψαι Μίμαντα ἐθελήσαντι μόνον τοῦτο οὐ προεχώρησε τὸ ἔργον: Κνιδίους δὲ ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἰσθμὸν ὀρύσσοντας ἔπαυσεν. οὕτω χαλεπὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ θεῖα βιάσασθαι.

[1.5] The Corinthian Isthmus stretches on the one hand to the sea at Cenchreae, and on the other to the sea at Lechaem. For this is what makes the region to the south mainland. He who tried to make the Peloponnesus an island gave up before digging through the Isthmus. Where they began to dig is still to be seen, but into the rock they did not advance at all. So it still is mainland as its nature is to be. Alexander the son of Philip wished to dig through Mimas, and his attempt to do this was his only unsuccessful project. The Cnidians began to dig through their isthmus, but the Pythian priestess stopped them. So difficult it is for man to alter by violence what Heaven has made.

[6] τὸ δὲ οὐ Κορινθίοις μόνον περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶν εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἔμοι δοκεῖν

Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐσεμνολόγησαν: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἔλθεῖν Ἥλιῳ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν, Βριάρεων δὲ διαλλακτὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἰσθμὸν μὲν καὶ ὅσα ταύτῃ δικάσαντα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δὲ ἄκραν Ἥλιῳ δόντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.

ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἰσθμὸν Ποσειδῶνος:

[1.6] A legend of the Corinthians about their land is not peculiar to them, for I believe that the Athenians were the first to relate a similar story to glorify Attica. The Corinthians say that Poseidon had a dispute with Helius (Sun) about the land, and that Briareos arbitrated between them, assigning to Poseidon the Isthmus and the parts adjoining, and giving to Helius the height above the city. Ever since, they say, the Isthmus has belonged to Poseidon.

[7] θεάς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια ἔστι μὲν θέατρον, ἔστι δὲ στάδιον λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάντων: τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τοῦτο δὲ πιτύων δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου, τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασι Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ. καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης, καὶ Θάλασσα καὶ αὕτη χαλκῇ. τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρύσους πλὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν: ὀπλαὶ δὲ σφίσιν εἰσὶν ἐλέφαντος.

[1.7] Worth seeing here are a theater and a white-marble race-course. Within the

sanctuary of the god stand on the one side portrait statues of athletes who have won victories at the Isthmian games, on the other side pine trees growing in a row, the greater number of them rising up straight. On the temple, which is not very large, stand bronze Tritons. In the fore-temple are images, two of Poseidon, a third of Amphitrite, and a Sea, which also is of bronze. The offerings inside were dedicated in our time by Herodes the Athenian, four horses, gilded except for the hoofs, which are of ivory,

[8] καὶ Τρίτωνες δύο παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους εἰσὶ χρυσοῖ, τὰ μετ' ἱξὺν ἐλέφαντος καὶ οὗτοι: τῷ δὲ ἄρματι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐφεστήκασιν, καὶ παῖς ὀρθὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ δελφίνος ὁ Παλαίμων: ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ οὗτοι πεποιήνται. τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἄρμα μέση μὲν ἐπείρασται Θάλασσα ἀνέχουσα Ἀφροδίτην παῖδα, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ Νηρηίδες καλούμεναι. ταύταις καὶ ἐτέρωθι τῆς Ἑλλάδος βωμοὺς οἶδα ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τεμένη σφίσιν ἀναθέντας ἱπομαίνισιν, ἔνθα καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ τιμαί: Δωτοῦς δὲ ἐν Γαβάλοις ἱερόν ἐστιν ἅγιον, ἔνθα πέπλος ἔτι ἐλείπετο, ὃν Ἕλληνες Ἐριφύλην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί λαβεῖν Ἀλκμαίονι.

[1.8] and two gold Tritons beside the horses, with the parts below the waist of ivory. On the car stand Amphitrite and Poseidon, and there is the boy Palaemon upright upon a dolphin. These too are made of ivory and gold. On the middle of the base on which the car is has been wrought a Sea holding up the young Aphrodite, and on either side are the nymphs called Nereids. I know that there are altars to these in other parts of Greece, and that some Greeks have even dedicated to them precincts by shores, where honors are also paid to Achilles. In Gabala is a holy sanctuary of Doto, where there was still remaining the robe by which the Greeks say that Eriphyle was bribed to wrong her son Alcmaeon.

[9] τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος δὲ εἰσὶν ἐπειρασμένοι τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρειοι παῖδες, ὅτι δὴ σωτῆρες καὶ οὗτοι νεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ ναυτιλλομένων. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κήτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον, Ἰνώ τε καὶ Βελλεροφόντης καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὁ Πήγασος.

[1.9] Among the reliefs on the base of the statue of Poseidon are the sons of Tyndareus, because these too are saviours of ships and of sea-faring men. The other offerings are images of Calm and of Sea, a horse like a whale from the breast onward, Ino and Bellerophontes, and the horse Pegasus.

2. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Παλαίμονος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναός, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαίμων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Ἄδυτον καλούμενον, κάθοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ὑπόγειος, ἔνθα δὴ τὸν Παλαίμονα κεκρύφθαι φασίν: ὅς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ Κορινθίων ἢ ξένος ἐπίορκα ὁμότη, οὐδεμία ἐστὶν οἱ μηχανὴ διαφυγεῖν τοῦ ὄρκου. καὶ δὴ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον Κυκλώπων καλούμενος βωμός, καὶ θύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Κύκλωσι.

[2.1] II. Within the enclosure is on the left a temple of Palaemon, with images in it of Poseidon, Leucothea and Palaemon himself. There is also what is

called his Holy of Holies, and an underground descent to it, where they say that Palaemon is concealed. Whosoever, whether Corinthian or stranger, swears falsely here, can by no means escape from his oath. There is also an ancient sanctuary called the altar of the Cyclopes, and they sacrifice to the Cyclopes upon it.

[2] τάφους δὲ Σισύφου καὶ Νηλέως — καὶ γὰρ Νηλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐς Κόρινθον νόσῳ τελευτήσαι φασὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ταφῆναι — οὐκ ἂν οἷδ' εἰ ζητοίη τις ἐπιλεξάμενος τὰ Εὐμήλου: Νηλέως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ Νέστορι ἐπιδειχθῆναι τὸ μνημα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σισύφου φησί, χρῆναι γὰρ ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως εἶναι, Σίσυφον δὲ ταφῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, τὸν δὲ οἱ τάφον καὶ τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ Κορινθίων ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς εἰδότας. ὁ δὲ Ἰσθμικὸς ἀγὼν οὐδὲ ἀναστάντων ὑπὸ Μομμίου Κορινθίων ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἡρήμωτο ἡ πόλις, Σικυωνίοις ἄγειν ἐπετέτραπτο τὰ Ἰσθμια,

οἰκισθείσης δὲ αὖθις ἐς τοὺς νῦν οἰκήτορας περιήλθεν ἡ τιμή.

[2.2] The graves of Sisyphus and of Neleus – for they say that Neleus came to Corinth, died of disease, and was buried near the Isthmus – I do not think that anyone would look for after reading Eumelus. For he says that not even to Nestor did Sisyphus show the tomb of Neleus, because it must be kept unknown to everybody alike, and that Sisyphus is indeed buried on the Isthmus, but that few Corinthians, even those of his own day, knew where the grave was. The Isthmian games were not interrupted even when Corinth had been laid waste by Mummius, but so long as it lay deserted the celebration of the games was entrusted to the Sicyonians, and when it was rebuilt the honor was restored to the present inhabitants.

CORINTH

[3] Κορινθίοις δὲ τοῖς ἐπινείοις τὰ ὀνόματα Λέχης καὶ Κεγχρίας ἔδοσαν, Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ Πειρήνης τῆς Ἀχελώου λεγόμενοι: πεποιῆται δὲ ἐν Ἱοίαις μεγάλαις Οἰβάλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πειρήνην. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λεχαίῳ μὲν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, τὴν δὲ ἐς Κεγχρέας ἰόντων ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον. ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρας τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἰσίδος ἱερά. Κεγχρεῶν δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τὸ Ἑλένης ἐστὶ λουτρόν: ὕδωρ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκ πέτρας ῥεῖ πολὺ καὶ ἀλμυρὸν ὕδατι ὅμοιον ἀρχομένῳ θερμαίνεσθαι.

[2.3] The names of the Corinthian harbors were given them by Leches and Cenchrias, said to be the children of Poseidon and Peirene the daughter of Achelous, though in the poem called The Great Eoeae Peirene is said to be a daughter of Oebalus. In Lechaenum are a sanctuary and a bronze image of Poseidon, and on the road leading from the Isthmus to Cenchreae a temple and ancient wooden image of Artemis. In Cenchreae are a temple and a stone statue of Aphrodite, after it on the mole running into the sea a bronze image of

Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbor sanctuaries of Asclepius and of Isis. Right opposite Cenchreae is Helen's Bath. It is a large stream of salt, tepid water, flowing from a rock into the sea.

[4] ἀνιῶσιν δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν μνήματα καὶ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Διογένης τέθαιπται ὁ Σινωπεύς, ὃν κύνα ἐπὶ κλησιν καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνες. πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστὶ τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελαινίδος καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα ἐπιθήμα ἐστὶ κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν.

[2.4] As one goes up to Corinth are tombs, and by the gate is buried Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks surname the Dog. Before the city is a grove of cypresses called Craneum. Here are a precinct of Bellerophontes, a temple of Aphrodite Melaenis and the grave of Lais, upon which is set a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws.

[5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Λαΐδος φάμενον μνῆμα εἶναι: παρεγένετο γάρ καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐρασθεῖσα Ἴπποστράτου. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐξ Ὑκάρων αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ λέγεται παῖδα οὔσαν ὑπὸ Νικίου καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀλῶναι, πρᾶθεῖσαν δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον ὑπερβαλέσθαι κάλλει τὰς τότε ἐταίρας, θαυμασθῆναι τε: οὕτω παρὰ Κορινθίοις ὡς ἀμφισβητεῖν σφᾶς καὶ νῦν ἔτι Λαΐδος.

[2.5] There is in Thessaly another tomb which claims to be that of Lais, for she went to that country also when she fell in love with Hippostratus. The story is that originally she was of Hycara in Sicily. Taken captive while yet a girl by Nicias and the Athenians, she was sold and brought to Corinth, where she surpassed in beauty the courtesans of her time, and so won the admiration of the Corinthians that even now they claim Lais as their own.

[6] λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον. ἔστιν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς — ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πλεῖστά ἐστὶ τῶν ἱερῶν — Ἄρτεμις τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἑφεσία καὶ Διονύσου ξόανα ἐπὶ χρυσᾷ πλήν τῶν προσώπων: τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφισιν ἐρυθρᾷ κεκόσμηται: Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι.

[2.6] The things worthy of mention in the city include the extant remains of antiquity, but the greater number of them belong to the period of its second ascendancy. On the market-place, where most of the sanctuaries are, stand Artemis surnamed Ephesian and wooden images of Dionysus, which are covered with gold with the exception of their faces; these are ornamented with red paint. They are called Lysius and Baccheus,

[7] τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα ἐς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἐγὼ γράφω. Πενθέα ὑβρίζοντα ἐς Διόνυσον καὶ ἄλλα τολμᾶν λέγουσι καὶ τέλος ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀναβάντα δὲ ἐς δένδρον θεάσασθαι τὰ ποιούμενα: τὰς δέ, ὡς ἐφώρασαν, καθελκύσαι τε αὐτίκα Πενθέα καὶ ζῶντος ἀποσπᾶν ἄλλο ἄλλην

τοῦ σώματος. ὕστερον δέ, ὡς Κορίνθιοι λέγουσιν, ἡ Πυθία χρᾶ σφισιν ἀνευρόντας τὸ δένδρον ἐκείνο ἴσα τῷ θεῷ σέβειν: καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τόδε τὰς εἰκόνας πεποιήνται ταῦτας.

[2.7] and I too give the story told about them. They say that Pentheus treated Dionysus spitefully, his crowning outrage being that he went to Cithaeron, to spy upon the women, and climbing up a tree beheld what was done. When the women detected Pentheus, they immediately dragged him down, and joined in tearing him, living as he was, limb from limb. Afterwards, as the Corinthians say, the Pythian priestess commanded them by an oracle to discover that tree and to worship it equally with the god. For this reason they have made these images from the tree.

[8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναός: ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν Παρίου λίθου: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἔστιν ἱερόν. πλησίον δὲ ὠκοδόμηται κρήνη, καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς καὶ δελφίς ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφιεῖς ὕδωρ. καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ κλησιν Κλάριος χαλκοῦς ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος. Ἑρμοῦ τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμφοτέρω, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πεποιήται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὑψιστον.

[2.8] There is also a temple of Fortune, with a standing image of Parian marble. Beside it is a sanctuary for all the gods. Hard by is built a fountain, on which is a bronze Poseidon; under the feet of Poseidon is a dolphin spouting water. There is also a bronze Apollo surnamed Clarius and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. There are two bronze, standing images of Hermes, for one of which a temple has been made. The images of Zeus also are in the open; one had not a surname, another they call Chthonius (of the Lower World) and the third Most High.

3. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ χαλκῇ: τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Μουσῶν ἀγάλματα ἐπειργασμένα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν ἐστιν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων μετὰ Καίσαρα τὸν οἰκιστὴν Κορίνθου τῆς νῦν.

[3.1] III. In the middle of the market-place is a bronze Athena, on the pedestal of which are wrought in relief figures of the Muses. Above the market-place is a temple of Octavia the sister of Augustus, who was emperor of the Romans after Caesar, the founder of the modern Corinth.

[2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου προπύλαιά ἐστι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα ἐπὶ χρύσῳ, τὸ μὲν Φαέθοντα Ἥλιου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἥλιον αὐτὸν φέρον. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τῶν προπυλαίων ἐσιοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔσοδος ἐστὶ τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ λέγουσιν ὡς ἡ Πειρήνη γένοιτο ὑπὸ δακρῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου πηγῇ, τὸν παῖδα ὀδυρομένη Κεγχρίαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀκούσης ἀποθανόντα.

[3.2] On leaving the market-place along the road to Lechaeum you come to a gateway, on which are two gilded chariots, one carrying Phaethon the son of Helius (Sun), the other Helius himself. A little farther away from the gateway, on the right as you go in, is a bronze Heracles. After this is the entrance to the water of Peirene. The legend about Peirene is that she was a woman who became a spring because of her tears shed in lamentation for her son Cenchrias, who was unintentionally killed by Artemis.

[3] κεκόσμηται δὲ ἡ πηγή λίθῳ λευκῷ, καὶ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν οἰκήματα σπηλαίοις κατὰ ταυτά, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς κρήνην ὕπαιθρον ῥεῖ πιεῖν τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸν Κορίνθιον χαλκὸν διάπυρον καὶ θερμὸν ὄντα ὑπὸ ὕδατος τούτου βάπτεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐπεὶ χαλκός * * γε οὐκ ἔστι Κορινθίους. ἔτι γε δὴ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα πρὸς τῇ Πειρήνῃ καὶ περίβολός ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γραφὴ τὸ Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐς τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἔχουσα τόλμημα.

[3.3] The spring is ornamented with white marble, and there have been made chambers like caves, out of which the water flows into an open-air well. It is pleasant to drink, and they say that the Corinthian bronze, when red-hot, is tempered by this water, since bronze . . . the Corinthians have not. Moreover near Peirene are an image and a sacred enclosure of Apollo; in the latter is a painting of the exploit of Odysseus against the suitors.

[4] αὐθις δ' ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λεχαιῶν τὴν εὐθείαν χαλκοῦς καθήμενός ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς, παρέστηκε δέ οἱ κριός, ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν καὶ αὔξειν ποίμνας, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν “υἱὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα

Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὅπασσε:

“Hom. II 14.490 τὸν δὲ ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον καὶ τῷ κριῷ λόγον ἐπιστάμενος οὐ λέγω. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐστὶν ὁ Παλαίμων.

[3.4] Proceeding on the direct road to Lechaeum we see a bronze image of a seated Hermes. By him stands a ram, for Hermes is the god who is thought most to care for and to increase flocks, as Homer puts it in the Iliad:—

Son was he of Phorbas, the dearest of Trojans to Hermes,
Rich in flocks, for the god vouchsafed him wealth in abundance. Hom. II.
14.490

The story told at the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram I know but do not relate. After the image of Hermes come Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon on a dolphin.

[5] λουτρὰ δὲ ἔστι μὲν πολλαχοῦ Κορινθίους καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὸ δὲ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ κατασκευάσαντος; τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. τοῦτο δὲ Εὐρυκλῆς ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης λίθοις κοσμήσας καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ὃν ἐν Κροκεαῖς χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς

ὀρύσσουσιν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Ποσειδῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἄρτεμις θηρεύουσα ἔστηκε. κρῆναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποίηνται πᾶσαν ἄτε ἀφθόνου ῥεόντός σφισιν ὕδατος καὶ ὃ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐσήγαγεν ἐκ Στυμφήλου, θέας δὲ μάλιστα ἄζια ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ οἱ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δι' ὀπλῆς ἵππου ῥεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου.

[3.5] The Corinthians have baths in many parts of the city, some put up at the public charge and one by the emperor Hadrian. The most famous of them is near the Poseidon. It was made by the Spartan Eurycles, who beautified it with various kinds of stone, especially the one quarried at Croceae in Laconia. On the left of the entrance stands a Poseidon, and after him Artemis hunting. Throughout the city are many wells, for the Corinthians have a copious supply of flowing water, besides the water which the emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus, but the most noteworthy is the one by the side of the image of Artemis. Over it is a Bellerophontes, and the water flows through the hoof of the horse Pegasus.

[6] ἐτέραν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἐρχομένοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω κρήνη καλουμένη Γλαύκης· ἐς γὰρ ταύτην ἔρριπεν αὐτήν, ὡς λέγουσι, τῶν Μηδείας ἔσεσθαι φαρμάκων τὸ ὕδωρ νομίζουσα ἴαμα. ὑπὲρ ταύτην πεποιήται τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὠιδεῖον, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸ μνημᾶ ἐστι τοῖς Μηδείας παισίν· ὧν ὀνόματα μὲν σφισι Μέρμερος καὶ Φέρης, καταλιθωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων λέγονται τῶν δώρων ἔνεκα ὧν τῇ Γλαύκῃ κομίσαι φασὶν αὐτούς·

[3.6] As you go along another road from the market-place, which leads to Sicyon, you can see on the right of the road a temple and bronze image of Apollo, and a little farther on a well called the Well of Glauce. Into this they say she threw herself in the belief that the water would be a cure for the drugs of Medea. Above this well has been built what is called the Odeum (Music Hall), beside which is the tomb of Medea's children. Their names were Mermorus and Pheres, and they are said to have been stoned to death by the Corinthians owing to the gifts which legend says they brought to Glauce.

[7] ἄτε δὲ τοῦ θανάτου βιαίου καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ γενομένου, τὰ τέκνα Κορινθίων τὰ νήπια ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφθείρετο, πρὶν ἢ χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ θυσίαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτειοι κατέστησαν καὶ Δεῖμα ἐπεστάθη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι λείπεται, γυναικὸς ἐς τὸ φοβερώτερον εἰκὼν πεποιημένη· Κορίνθου δὲ ἀναστάτου γενομένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορινθίων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπολομένων, οὐκέτι ἐκεῖνα καθεστήκασιν αὐτοῖς αἱ θυσίαι παρὰ τῶν ἐποίκων οὐδὲ ἀποκείρονται σφισιν οἱ παῖδες οὐδὲ μέλαιναν φοροῦσιν ἐσθῆτα.

[3.7] But as their death was violent and illegal, the young babies of the Corinthians were destroyed by them until, at the command of the oracle, yearly sacrifices were established in their honor and a figure of Terror was set up. This figure still exists, being the likeness of a woman frightful to look upon but after Corinth was laid waste by the Romans and the old Corinthians

were wiped out, the new settlers broke the custom of offering those sacrifices to the sons of Medea, nor do their children cut their hair for them or wear black clothes.

[8] Μήδεια δὲ τότε μὲν ἔλθοῦσα ἐς Ἀθήνας συνώκησεν Αἰγεῖ, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον φωραθεῖσα ἐπιβουλεύειν Θησεῖ καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγε, παραγενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν λεγομένην τότε Ἀρίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκε τὸ ὄνομα καλεῖσθαι Μήδους ἀπ' αὐτῆς: τὸν δὲ παῖδα, ὃν ἐπήγετο φεύγουσα ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους, γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγέως, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Μήδον εἶναι: Ἑλλάνικος δὲ αὐτὸν Πολύξενον καλεῖ καὶ πατρὸς Ἰάσονός φησιν εἶναι.

[3.8] On the occasion referred to Medea went to Athens and married Aegeus, but subsequently she was detected plotting against Theseus and fled from Athens also; coming to the land then called Aria she caused its inhabitants to be named after her Medes. The son, whom she brought with her in her flight to the Arii, they say she had by Aegeus, and that his name was Medus. Hellanicus, however, calls him Polyxenus and says that his father was Jason.

[9] ἔφη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλησι Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα: πεποιήται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσονα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν μετοικῆσαι καὶ οἱ Μέρμερον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ λεαίνης διαφθαρῆναι θηρεύοντα ἐν τῇ πέραν ἡπείρῳ: Φέρητι δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην προσκείμενον. Κιναιίθων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος — ἐγενεαλόγησε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἔπει — Μήδειον καὶ θυγατέρα Ἐριῶπιν Ἰάσονι εἶπεν ἐκ Μηδείας γενέσθαι: πέρα δὲ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ τούτῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν.

[3.9] The Greeks have an epic poem called Naupactia. In this Jason is represented as having removed his home after the death of Pelias from Iolcus to Corcyra, and Mermerus, the elder of his children, to have been killed by a lioness while hunting on the mainland opposite. Of Pheres is recorded nothing. But Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, another writer of pedigrees in verse, said that Jason's children by Medea were a son Medeus and a daughter Eriopis; he too, however, gives no further information about these children.

[10] Εὐμηλος δὲ Ἥλιον ἔφη δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἀλωεῖ. μὲν τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, Αἰήτην δὲ τὴν Ἐφυραίαν: καὶ Αἰήτην ἀπόντα ἐς Κόλχους παρακαταθέσθαι Βοῦνον τὴν γῆν, Βοῦνον δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀλκιδαμείας εἶναι, καὶ ἐπεὶ Βοῦνος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὕτως Ἐπωπέα τὸν Ἀλωέως καὶ τὴν Ἐφυραίων σχεῖν ἀρχήν: Κορίνθου δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Μαραθῶνος οὐδένα ὑπολειπομένου παῖδα, τοὺς Κορινθίους Μήδειαν μεταπεψμαμένους ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ παραδοῦναι οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3.10] Eumelus said that Helius (Sun) gave the Asopian land to Aloeus and Epliyræa to Aeetes. When Aeetes was departing for Colchis he entrusted his land to Bunus, the son of Hermes and Alcidamea, and when Bunus died Epopeus the son of Aloeus extended his kingdom to include the Ephyraeans. Afterwards, when Corinthus, the son of Marathon, died childless, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolcus and bestowed upon her the kingdom.

[11] βασιλεύειν μὲν δὴ δι' αὐτὴν Ἰάσονα ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Μηδεία δὲ παῖδας μὲν γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ αἰὶ τικτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν φέρουσαν τῆς Ἥρας, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθανάτους ἔσεσθαι νομίζουσιν: τέλος δὲ αὐτὴν τε μαθεῖν ὡς ἡμαρτήκοι τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰάσονος φωραθεῖσαν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεομένη συγγνώμην, ἀποπλέοντα δὲ ἐς Ἴωλκὸν οἴχεσθαι — , τούτων δὲ ἔνεκα ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Μήδειαν παραδοῦσαν Σισύφῳ τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3.11] Through her Jason was king in Corinth, and Medea, as her children were born, carried each to the sanctuary of Hera and concealed them, doing so in the belief that so they would be immortal. At last she learned that her hopes were vain, and at the same time she was detected by Jason. When she begged for pardon he refused it, and sailed away to Iolcus. For these reasons Medea too departed, and handed over the kingdom to Sisyphus.

4. τάδε μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐπελεξάμην, τοῦ μνήματος δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω Χαλινίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν: Ἀθηνᾶν γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα συγκατεργάσασθαι τά τε ἄλλα Βελλεροφόντη φασὶ καὶ ὡς τὸν Πήγασόν οἱ παραδοίῃ χειρωσαμένη τε καὶ ἐνθεῖσα αὐτὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλινόν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο ξοανόν ἐστί, πρόσωπον δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ ἀκρόποδες εἰσὶ λευκοῦ λίθου.

[4.1] IV. This is the account that I read, and not far from the tomb is the temple of Athena Chalinitis (Bridler). For Athena, they say, was the divinity who gave most help to Bellerophontes, and she delivered to him Pegasus, having herself broken in and bridled him. The image of her is of wood, but face, hands and feet are of white marble.

[2] Βελλεροφόντην δὲ οὐκ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα βασιλεύειν, εἶναι δὲ ἐπὶ Προΐτῳ καὶ Ἀργείοις ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅστις τὰ Ὀμήρου μὴ πάρεργον ἐπελέξατο. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ

Βελλεροφόντου μετοικίσαντος ἐς Λυκίαν οὐδὲν ἥσσον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν ἐν Ἄργει δυναστῶν ἢ Μυκήναις ὑπακούοντες: ἰδίᾳ τε οὐδένα παρέσχοντο ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατιᾶς, συντεταγμένοι δὲ Μυκηναίοις καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων Ἀγαμέμνων ἡγεῖτο μετέσχον τοῦ στόλου.

[4.2] That Bellerophontes was not an absolute king, but was subject to Proetus and the Argives is the belief of myself and of all who have read carefully the Homeric poems. When Bellerophontes migrated to Lycia it is clear that the Corinthians none the less were subject to the despots at Argos or Mycenae. By themselves they provided no leader for the campaign against Troy, but shared in the expedition as part of the forces, Mycenaean and other, led by Agamemnon.

[3] Σισύφῳ δὲ οὐτὶ Γλαῦκος μόνον ὁ Βελλεροφόντου πατὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερος υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ὀρνυτίων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Θέρσανδρός τε καὶ Ἄλμος. Ὀρνυτίωνος δὲ ἦν Φῶκος, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπόκησεν ἐς Τιθορέαν τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Φωκίδος, Θόας δὲ Ὀρνυτίωνος υἱὸς νεώτερος κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ. Θόαντος δὲ Δαμοφῶν, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἦν Προπόδας, Προπόδα

δὲ Δωρίδας καὶ Ὑανθίδας. τούτων βασιλευόντων Δωριεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀλήτης Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Δωρίδας μὲν οὖν καὶ Ὑανθίδας παραδόντες τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλήτῃ καταμένουσιν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Δωριέων κρατηθεὶς μάχῃ.

[4.3] Sisyphus had other sons besides Glaucus, the father of Bellerophontes a second was Ornytion, and besides him there were Thersander and Almus. Ornytion had a son Phocus, reputed to have been begotten by Poseidon. He migrated to Tithorea in what is now called Phocis, but Thoas, the younger son of Ornytion, remained behind at Corinth. Thoas begat Damophon, Damophon begat Propodas, and Propodas begat Doridas and Hyanthidas. While these were kings the Dorians took the field against Corinth, their leader being Aletes, the son of Hippotas, the son of Phylas, the son of Antiochus, the son of Heracles. So Doridas and Hyanthidas gave up the kingship to Aletes and remained at Corinth, but the Corinthian people were conquered in battle and expelled by the Dorians.

[4] Ἀλήτης δὲ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι βασιλεύουσιν ἐς μὲν Βάκχιν τὸν Προῦμνιδος ἐπὶ γενεὰς πέντε, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οἱ Βακχίδαι καλούμενοι πέντε ἄλλας γενεὰς ἐς Τελέστην τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου. καὶ Τελέστην μὲν κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀριεὺς καὶ Περάντας κτείνουσι, βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐγένετο, πρυτάνεις δὲ ἐκ Βακχιδῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες, ἐς ὃ Κῦψελος τυραννήσας ὁ Ἡετίωνος ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Βακχίδας· ἀπόγονος δὲ ἦν ὁ Κῦψελος Μέλανος τοῦ Ἀντάσου. Μέλανα δὲ ἐκ Γονούσσης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος στρατεύοντα σὺν Δωριεῦσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον Ἀλήτης τὸ μὲν παραντίκα ἀπειπόντος τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ δέχεται σῦνοικον.

τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς Κορινθίων βασιλέας συμβάντα εὑρίσκον:

[4.4] Aletes himself and his descendants reigned for five generations to Bacchis, the son of Prumnis, and, named after him, the Bacchidae reigned for five more generations to Telestes, the son of Aristodemus. Telestes was killed in hate by Arieus and Perantas, and there were no more kings, but Prytanes (Presidents) taken from the Bacchidae and ruling for one year, until Cypselus, the son of Eetion, became tyrant and expelled the Bacchidae. Cypselus was a descendant of Melas, the son of Antasus. Melas from Gonussa above Sicyon joined the Dorians in the expedition against Corinth. When the god expressed disapproval Aletes at first ordered Melas to withdraw to other Greeks, but afterwards, mistaking the oracle, he received him as a settler. Such I found to be the history of the Corinthian kings.

[5] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Χαλινίτιδος πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ σφίσιν ἐστὶν καὶ πλησίον ξόانون γυμνὸν Ἡρακλέους, Δαιδάλου δὲ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι τέχνην. Δαίδαλος δὲ ὅποσα εἰργάσατο, ἀτοπώτερα μὲν ἐστὶν ἐς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὅμως τι καὶ ἔνθεον τούτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θεατρὸν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου

φωνῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων: κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κορυφαῖος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦδε οὐ πόρρω γυμνάσιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ πηγὴ καλουμένη Λέρνα: κίονες δὲ ἐστήκασιν περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ καθέδραι πεποίηνται τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἀναψύχειν ὥρα θερούς. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ ναοὶ θεῶν εἰσὶν ὁ μὲν Διός, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀσκληπιὸς μὲν καὶ Ὑγεία λευκοῦ λίθου, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς χαλκοῦν ἐστίν.

[4.5] Now the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis is by their theater, and near is a naked wooden image of Heracles, said to be a work of Daedalus. All the works of this artist, although rather uncouth to look at, are nevertheless distinguished by a kind of inspiration. Above the theater is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed in the Latin tongue Capitolinus, which might be rendered into Greek “Coryphaeos”. Not far from this theater is the ancient gymnasium, and a spring called Lerna. Pillars stand around it, and seats have been made to refresh in summer time those who have entered it. By this gymnasium are temples of Zeus and Asclepius. The images of Asclepius and of Health are of white marble, that of Zeus is of bronze.

[6] ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον — ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κορυφὴ, Βριάρεω μὲν Ἡλίῳ δόντος αὐτὴν ὅτε ἐδίκαζεν, Ἡλίου δὲ ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοί φασιν Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέντος — ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἐστὶν Ἴσιδος τεμένη, ὣν τὴν μὲν Πελαγίαν, τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῶν ἐπονομάζουσιν, καὶ δύο Σαράπιδος, ἐν Κανώβῳ καλουμένου τὸ ἕτερον. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡλίῳ πεποίηνται βωμοί, καὶ Ἀνάγκης καὶ Βίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν: ἐσιέναι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν.

[4.6] The Acrocorinthus is a mountain peak above the city, assigned to Helius by Briareos when he acted as adjudicator, and handed over, the Corinthians say, by Helius to Aphrodite. As you go up this Acrocorinthus you see two precincts of Isis, one if Isis surnamed Pelagian (Marine) and the other of Egyptian Isis, and two of Serapis, one of them being of Serapis called “in Canopus.” After these are altars to Helius, and a sanctuary of Necessity and Force, into which it is not customary to enter.

[7] ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ στήλη καὶ θρόνος: λίθων καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ ὁ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. αὕτη καὶ τὸ τῆς Βουναίας ἐστὶν Ἥρας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσασμένου Βούνου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ: καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ ἡ θεὸς καλεῖται Βουναία.

[4.7] Above it are a temple of the Mother of the gods and a throne; the image and the throne are made of stone. The temple of the Fates and that of Demeter and the Maid have images that are not exposed to view. Here, too, is the temple of Hera Bunaea set up by Bonus the son of Hermes. It is for this reason that the goddess is called Bunaea.

5. ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης: ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτὴ τε ὥπλισμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν, ἣ ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ, δῶρον μὲν Ἀσωποῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι, δοθῆναι δὲ Σισύφῳ:

τοῦτον γὰρ εἰδότα, ὥς εἴη Ζεὺς ἥρπακὼς Αἴγιναν θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ, μὴ πρότερον φάναι ζητοῦντι μηνύσειν πρὶν ἢ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ἀκροκορίνθῳ γένοιτο ὕδωρ: δόντος δὲ Ἀσωποῦ μηνύει τε οὕτως καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μηνύματος δίκην — ὅτῳ πιστὰ — ἐν Ἄιδου δίδωσιν. ἤκουσα δὲ ἤδη τὴν Πειρήνην φαμένων εἶναι ταύτην καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ὑπορρεῖν τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει.

[5.1] V. On the summit of the Acrocorinthus is a temple of Aphrodite. The images are Aphrodite armed, Helius, and Eros with a bow. The spring, which is behind the temple, they say was the gift of Asopus to Sisyphus. The latter knew, so runs the legend, that Zeus had ravished Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, but refused to give information to the seeker before he had a spring given him on the Acrocorinthus. When Asopus granted this request Sisyphus turned informer, and on this account he receives – if anyone believes the story – punishment in Hades. I have heard people say that this spring and Peirene are the same, the water in the city flowing hence under-ground.

[2] ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς οὗτος ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φλιασίας, ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ τῆς Σικωνίας καὶ ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν. θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι Φλιάσιοί φασι Κόρκυραν καὶ Αἴγιναν καὶ Θήβην: ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Κορκύρας καὶ Αἰγίνης τὰς νήσους Σχερίαν καὶ Οἰνώνην καλουμένας μετονομασθῆναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Θήβης τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ κληθῆναι. Θηβαῖοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι, φάμενοι τοῦ Βοιωτίου τὴν Θήβην Ἀσωποῦ καὶ οὐ τοῦ παρὰ Φλιασίου εἶναι.

[5.2] This Asopus rises in the Phliasian territory, flows through the Sicyonian, and empties itself into the sea here. His daughters, say the Phliasiens, were Corcyra, Aegina, and Thebe. Corcyra and Aegina gave new names to the islands called Scheria and Oenone, while from Thebe is named the city below the Cadmea. The Thebans do not agree, but say that Thebe was the daughter of the Boeotian, and not of the Phliasian, Asopus.

[3] τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν Φλιάσιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι λέγουσι, τὸ ὕδωρ ἔπηλυ καὶ οὐκ ἐγχώριον εἶναι οἱ: Μαίανδρον γὰρ κατιόντα ἐκ Κελαινῶν διὰ Φρυγίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὴν πρὸς Μιλήτῳ θάλασσαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀσωπὸν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Δηλίων τοιοῦτο ἀκούσας ἕτερον, ὕδωρ ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἰνωπὸν εἶναι σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου: καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει τὸν Νεῖλον λόγος Εὐφράτην ὄντα ἐς ἔλος ἀφανίζεσθαι καὶ αὖθις ἀνιόντα ὑπὲρ Αἰθιοπίας Νεῖλον γίνεσθαι. Ἀσωποῦ μὲν περὶ τοιαῦτα ἤκουσα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου

[5.3] The other stories about the river are current among both the Phliasiens and the Sicyonians, for instance that its water is foreign and not native, in that the Maeander, descending from Celaenae through Phrygia and Caria, and emptying itself into the sea at Miletus, goes to the Peloponnesus and forms the Asopus. I remember hearing a similar story from the Delians, that the stream which they call Inopus comes to them from the Nile. Further, there is a story that the Nile itself is the Euphrates, which disappears into a marsh, rises again beyond Aethiopia and becomes the Nile.

[4] τραπεῖσι τὴν ὄρεινὴν πύλη τέ ἐστὶν ἡ Τενεατικὴ καὶ Εἰληθυίας ἱερὸν: ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἀπέχει μάλιστα στάδια ἢ καλουμένη Τενέα. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι φασὶν οἱ ταύτῃ Τρῶες εἶναι, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐκ Τενέδου γενόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ἀγαμέμνωνος δόντος οἰκῆσαι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν.

[5.4] Such is the account I heard of the Asopus. When you have turned from the Acrocorinthus into the mountain road you see the Teneatic gate and a sanctuary of Eilethya. The town called Tenea is just about sixty stades distant. The inhabitants say that they are Trojans who were taken prisoners in Tenedos by the Greeks, and were permitted by Agamemnon to dwell in their present home. For this reason they honor Apollo more than any other god.

[5] ἐκ Κορίνθου δὲ οὐκ ἐς μεσόγαίαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἰοῦσι ναὸς ἐμπερησμένος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεμοι περὶ τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ πῦρ ἐπέλαβεν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ ἔξω τείχους: ἀλλὰ τοῦτόν γε τὸν ναὸν Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ὅτι Πύρρος κατακαύσειεν ὁ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτόν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἤκουσα καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοι Διὶ ποιήσαντο Ὀλυμπίῳ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ὡς ἐξαίφνης πῦρ ποθὲν ἐμπεσὼν διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν.

[5.5] As you go from Corinth, not into the interior but along the road to Sicyon, there is on the left not far from the city a burnt temple. There have, of course, been many wars carried on in Corinthian territory, and naturally houses and sanctuaries outside the wall have been fired. But this temple, they say, was Apollo's, and Pyrrhus the son of Achilles burned it down. Subsequently I heard another account, that the Corinthians built the temple for Olympian Zeus, and that suddenly fire from some quarter fell on it and destroyed it.

SICYON, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[6] Σικυῶνιοι δὲ — οὗτοι γὰρ ταύτῃ Κορινθίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοροι — περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρας λέγουσιν ὡς Αἰγιαλεὺς αὐτόχθων πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ γένοιτο, καὶ Πελοποννήσου δὲ ὅσον ἔτι καλεῖται καὶ νῦν Αἰγιαλὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύοντος ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ Αἰγιάλειαν αὐτόν οἰκίσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν: οὗ δὲ ἐστὶ νῦν σφίσι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀκρόπολιν τοῦτο εἶναι. Αἰγιαλέως δὲ Εὐρώπα γενέσθαι φασίν, Εὐρωπαὸς δὲ Τελχίνα, Τελχίνος δὲ Ἄπις.

[5.6] The Sicyonians, the neighbours of the Corinthians at this part of the border, say about their own land that Aegialeus was its first and aboriginal inhabitant, that the district of the Peloponnesus still called Aegialus was named after him because he reigned over it, and that he founded the city Aegialea on the plain. Their citadel, they say, was where is now their sanctuary of Athena; further, that Aegialeus begat Europs, Europs Telchis, and Telchis Apis.

[7] οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις ἐς τοσόνδε ἠϋξήθη δυνάμεως, πρὶν ἢ Πέλοπα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν

ἀφικέσθαι, ὥς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ χώραν Ἀπίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι. Ἄπιδος δὲ ἦν Θελξίων, Θελξίονος δὲ Αἴγυρος, τοῦ δὲ Θουρίμαχος, Θουριμάχου δὲ Λεύκιππος· Λευκίππῳ δὲ ἄρρενες παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, θυγάτηρ δὲ Καλχινία. ταύτῃ τῇ Καλχινίᾳ Ποσειδῶνα συγγενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ τὸν τεχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἔθρεψεν ὁ Λεύκιππος καὶ τελευτῶν παρέδωκέν οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν·

[5.7] This Apis reached such a height of power before Pelops came to Olympia that all the territory south of the Isthmus was called after him Apia. Apis begat Thelxion, Thelxion Aegyros, the Thurimachus, and Thurimachus Leucippus. Leucippus had no male issue, only a daughter Calchinia. There is a story that this Calchinia mated with Poseidon; her child was reared by Leucippus, who at his death handed over to him the kingdom. His name was Peratus.

[8] ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Πέρατος τῷ παιδί. τὰ δὲ ἐς Πλημναῖον τὸν Περάτου μάλιστα ἐφαίνετό μοι θαύματος ἄξια· τὰ γάρ οἱ τικτόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτίκα ὁπότε πρῶτον κλαύσειεν ἠφίει τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐς ὃ Δημήτηρ ἔλεον ἴσχει Πλημναίου, παραγενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ὡς δὴ γυνὴ ξένη Πλημναίῳ παῖδα ἀνέθρεψεν Ὀρθόπολιν. Ὀρθοπόλιδι δὲ θυγάτηρ γίνεται Χρυσόρθη· ταύτην τεκεῖν νομίζουσιν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὁ παῖς ὠνομάσθη Κόρωνος, Κορώνου δὲ γίνονται Κόραξ καὶ νεώτερος Λαμέδων.

[5.8] What is reported of Plemnaeus, the son of Peratus, seemed to me very wonderful. All the children borne to him by his wife died the very first time they wailed. At last Demeter took pity on Plemnaeus, came to Aegialea in the guise of a strange woman, and reared for Plemnaeus his son Orthopolis. Orthopolis had a daughter Chrysorthe, who is thought to have borne a son named Coronus to Apollo. Coronus had two sons, Corax and a younger one Lamedon.

6. Κόρακος δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἁπαιδὸς ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἐπωπεὺς ἀφικόμενος ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος στρατὸν σφισι πολέμιον λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν χώραν τότε ἔλθειν πρῶτον, τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατελέσασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. αἰτία δὲ ἦδε· Ἀντιόπης ἐν Ἑλλήσι τῆς Νυκτέως ὄνομα ἦν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καὶ οἱ καὶ φήμη προσῆν Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρα, ὃς τὴν Θηβαΐδα καὶ Πλαταιίδα ὀρίζει, καὶ οὐ Νυκτέως εἶναι.

[6.1] VI. Corax died without issue, and at about this time came Epopeus from Thessaly and took the kingdom. In his reign the first hostile army is said to have invaded the land, which before this had enjoyed unbroken peace. The reason was this. Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, had a name among the Greeks for beauty, and there was also a report that her father was not Nycteus but Asopus, the river that separates the territories of Thebes and Plataea.

[2] ταύτην οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε γυναῖκα αἰτήσας εἴτε θρασύτερα ἐξ ἀρχῆς βουλευσάμενος Ἐπωπεὺς ἀρπάζει· ὥς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἦλθον, ἐνταῦθα τιτρώσκεται μὲν Νυκτεὺς, ἐτρώθη δὲ κρατῶν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἐπωπεύς. Νυκτέα μὲν δὴ κάμνοντα ὀπίσω κομίζουσιν ἐς Θήβας, καὶ ὥς ἔμελλε

τελευτᾶν, Λύκον ἀδελφὸν ὄντα παραδίδωσι Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἄρχειν: Λάβδακον γὰρ τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου παῖδα ἔτι αὐτός τε ἐπετρόπενεν ὁ Νυκτεὺς καὶ τότε ἀπέλιπεν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκείνῳ. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Λύκον ἰκέτευσε στρατῷ μείζονι ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ἐλάσαντα τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἐπωπέα, κακοῦν δὲ εἰ λάβοι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην.

[6.2] This woman Epopheus carried off but I do not know whether he asked for her hand or adopted a bolder policy from the beginning. The Thebans came against him in arms, and in the battle Nycteus was wounded. Epopheus also was wounded, but won the day. Nycteus they carried back ill to Thebes, and when he was about to die he appointed to be regent of Thebes his brother Lycus for Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, being still a child, was the ward of Nycteus, who on this occasion entrusted the office of guardian to Lycus. He also besought him to attack Aegialeia with a larger army and bring vengeance upon Epopheus; Antiope herself, if taken, was to be punished.

[3] Ἐπωπεὺς δὲ τὸ μὲν παραντίκα ἐπινίκια ἔθυε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ὠκοδόμει ναόν, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένῳ δὲ εὗξατο ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν θεὸν εἰ οἱ τετελεσμένος ἐστὶν ὁ ναὸς κατὰ γνώμην: μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔλαιον λέγουσι ῥυῆναι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ἐπωπέα κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ἀμεληθέντος κατ' ἀρχάς, ὥς μηδὲν ἔτι Λύκῳ δεῖσαι πολέμου: Λαμέδων γὰρ ὁ Κορώνου βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐπωπέα ἐξέδωκεν Ἀντιόπην. ἡ δὲ ὥς ἐς Θήβας ἦγετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευθερῶν, ἐνταῦθα καθ' ὁδὸν τίκτει.

[6.3] As to Epopheus, he forthwith offered sacrifice for his victory and began a temple of Athena, and when this was complete he prayed the goddess to make known whether the temple was finished to her liking, and after the prayer they say that olive oil flowed before the temple. Afterwards Epopheus also died of his wound, which he had neglected at first, so that Lycus had now no need to wage war. For Lamedon, the son of Coronus, who became king after Epopheus, gave up Antiope. As she was being taken to Thebes by way of Eleutherae, she was delivered there on the road.

[4] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεποίηκεν Ἄσιος ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου: “Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε Ζῆθον καὶ Ἀμφίονα δῖον

Ἀσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,

Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐωπέι ποιμένι λαῶν.

“Asius, unknown work” Ὅμηρος δὲ σφᾶς ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον τοῦ γένους καὶ Θήβας φησὶν οἰκίσαι πρῶτους, ἀποκρίνων τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας.

[6.4] On this matter Asius the son of Amphiptolemus says in his poem:—

Zethus and Amphion had Antiope for their mother,
Daughter of Asopus, the swift, deep-eddying river,

Having conceived of Zeus and Epopeus, shepherd of peoples. Asius, unknown work

Homer traces their descent to the more august side of their family, and says that they were the first founders of Thebes, in my opinion distinguishing the lower city from the Cadmea.

[5] Λαμέδων δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔγημεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν γυναῖκα Φηνῶ Κλυτίου: καὶ ὕστερον γενομένου οἱ πόλεμον πρὸς Ἀρχανδρον καὶ Ἀρχιτέλην τοὺς Ἀχαιοῦ συμμαχήσοντα ἐπηγάγετο Σικυῶνα ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ θυγατέρα τε συνώκισεν αὐτῷ Ζευξίπην καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου βασιλεύσαντος ἡ γῆ Σικυωνία καὶ Σικυῶν ἀντὶ Αἰγιάλης ἡ πόλις ὠνομάσθη. Σικυῶνα δὲ οὐ Μαραθῶνος τοῦ Ἑπωπέως, Μητίονος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως φασίν. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἄσιος, ἐπεὶ Ἡσιόδός γε καὶ Ἴβυκος, ὁ μὲν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ἐρεχθέως εἶη Σικυῶν, Ἴβυκος δὲ εἶναι Πέλοπός φησιν αὐτόν.

[6.5] When Lamedon became king he took to wife an Athenian woman, Pheno, the daughter of Clytius. Afterwards also, when war had arisen between him and Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achaeus, he brought in as his ally Sicyon from Attica, and gave him Zeuxippe his daughter to wife. This man became king, and the land was named after him Sicyonia, and the city Sicyon instead of Aegiale. But they say that Sicyon was not the son of Marathon, the son of Epopeus, but of Metion the son of Erechtheus. Asius confirms their statement, while Hesiod makes Sicyon the son of Erechtheus, and Ibycus says that his father was Pelops.

[6] Σικυῶνος δὲ γίνεται Χθονοφύλη, Χθονοφύλης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Πόλυβον γενέσθαι λέγουσιν: ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὴν Φλίας ὁ Διονύσου γαμεῖ, καὶ οἱ παῖς Ἀνδροδάμας γίνεται. Πόλυβος δὲ Ταλαῷ τῷ Βίαντος βασιλεύοντι Ἀργείων Λυσιάνασσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἔδωκε: καὶ ὅτε Ἀδραστος ἔφευγεν ἐξ Ἀργους, παρὰ Πόλυβον ἦλθεν ἐς Σικυῶνα καὶ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος Πολύβου τὴν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. Ἀδράστου δὲ ἐς Ἀργος κατελθόντος Ἰανίσκος ἀπόγονος Κλυτίου τοῦ Λαμέδοντι

κηδεύσαντος ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰανίσκου Φαῖστος τῶν Ἡρακλέους λεγόμενος παίδων καὶ οὗτος εἶναι.

[6.6] Sicyon had a daughter Chthonophyle, and they say that she and Hermes were the parents of Polybus. Afterwards she married Phlias, the son of Dionysus, and gave birth to Androdamas. Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa to Talaus the son of Bias, king of the Argives; and when Adrastus fled from Argos he came to Polybus at Sicyon, and afterwards on the death of Polybus he became king at Sicyon. When Adrastus returned to Argos, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius the father-in-law of Lamedon, came from Attica and was made king, and when Ianiscus died he was succeeded by Phaestus, said to have been one of the children of Heracles.

[7] Φαίστου δὲ κατὰ μαντείαν μετοικήσαντος ἐς Κρήτην βασιλεῦσαι λέγεται

Ζεῦξιππος Ἀπόλλωνος υἱὸς καὶ νύμφης Συλλίδος. μετὰ δὲ Ζεῦξιππον τελευτήσαντα Ἀγαμέμνων στρατὸν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἴππόλυτον Ῥοπάλου παῖδα τοῦ Φαίστου· δεῖσας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπίοντα Ἴππόλυτος συνεχώρησεν Ἀγαμέμνονος κατήκοος καὶ Μυκηναίων εἶναι. Ἴππολύτου δὲ ἦν τοῦτου Λακεστάδης. Φάλκης ταμφάλκης δὲ ὁ Τημένου καταλαβὼν νύκτωρ Σικυῶνα σὺν Δωριεῦσι κακὸν μὲν ἄτε Ἡρακλείδην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδέν, κοινωνὸν δὲ ἔσχε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[6.7] After Phaestus in obedience to an oracle migrated to Crete, the next king is said to have been Zeuxippus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis. On the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon led an army against Sicyon and king Hippolytus, the son of Rhopalus, the son of Phaestus. In terror of the army that was attacking him, Hippolytus agreed to become subject to Agamemnon and the Mycenaeans. This Hippolytus was the father of Lacestades. Phalces the son of Temenus, with the Dorians, surprised Sicyon by night, but did Lacestades no harm, because he too was one of the Heracleidae, and made him partner in the kingdom.

7. καὶ Δωριεῖς μὲν Σικυῶνιοι γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ μοῖρα τῆς Ἀργείας· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Αἰγιαλέως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν Δημήτριος καθελὼν ὁ Ἀντιγόνου τῇ πάλαι ποτὲ ἀκροπόλει προσέκτισε τὴν νῦν πόλιν. ἐχόντων δὲ ἀσθενῶς ἤδη τῶν Σικυωνίων — αἰτίαν δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιοῖ τις ἂν ζητῶν, ἀποχρῶτο δὲ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ λεγομένῳ περὶ Διός, “ὃς δὴ πολλῶν πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα — ,

“Homerδιακειμένοις οὖν ἀδυνάτως ἐπιγενόμενος σεισμὸς ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, πολλὰ δὲ σφᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπιδειξιν ἀφείλετο. ἐκάκωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν τὰς πόλεις καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐσεισθη μάλιστα ἡ νῆσος, ὥστε καὶ τὸ λόγιον τετελέσθαι Σιβύλλῃ τὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον ἔδοξεν.

[7.1] VII. From that time the Sicyonians became Dorians and their land a part of the Argive territory. The city built by Aegialeus on the plain was destroyed by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who founded the modern city near what was once the ancient citadel. The reason why the Sicyonians grew weak it would be wrong to seek; we must be content with Homer's saying about Zeus:—

Many, indeed, are the cities of which he has levelled the strongholds.

When they had lost their power there came upon them an earthquake, which almost depopulated their city and took from them many of their famous sights. It damaged also the cities of Caria and Lycia, and the island of Rhodes was very violently shaken, so that it was thought that the Sibyl had had her utterance about Rhodes fulfilled.

SICYON

[2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν Λύκου Μεσσηνίου μνημά ἐστιν, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Λύκος· οὐ γάρ τινα Λύκον εὕρισκω Μεσσήνιον

ἀσκήσαντα πένταθλον οὐδὲ Ὀλυμπικὴν ἀνηρημένον νίκην. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ χῶμά ἐστι γῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυώνιοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκοῦσι τρόπον θάπτουσι. τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπῖδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν.

[7.2] When you have come from the Corinthian to the Sicyonian territory you see the tomb of Lycus the Messenian, whoever this Lycus may be; for I can discover no Messenian Lycus who practised the pentathlon or won a victory at Olympia. This tomb is a mound of earth, but the Sicyonians themselves usually bury their dead in a uniform manner. They cover the body in the ground, and over it they build a basement of stone upon which they set pillars. Above these they put something very like the pediment of a temple. They add no inscription, except that they give the dead man's name without that of his father and bid him farewell.

[3] μετὰ δὲ τὸ μνημα τοῦ Λύκου διαβεβηκόσιν ἤδη τὸν Ἀσωπόν, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον, ὀλίγον δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Εὐπόλιδι Ἀθηναίῳ ποιήσαντι κωμωδίαν. προελθοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστρέψασιν ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ξενοδικῆς μνημᾶ ἐστὶν ἀποθανούσης ἐν ὧδισι: πεποιήται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν τῇ γραφῇ μάλιστα ἀρμόζοι: γραφὴ δὲ εἶπερ ἄλλη τις καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ θεὰς ἄξια.

[7.3] After the tomb of Lycus, but on the other side of the Asopus, there is on the right the Olympium, and a little farther on, to the left of the road, the grave of Eupolis,⁴ the Athenian comic poet. Farther on, if you turn in the direction of the city, you see the tomb of Xenodice, who died in childbirth. It has not been made after the native fashion, but so as to harmonize best with the painting, which is very well worth seeing.

[4] προελθοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τάφος Σικυωνίοις ἐστίν, ὅσοι περὶ Πελλήνην καὶ Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐτελεύτησαν: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς δηλώσω. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ πηγὴ ἐστὶ σφισιν ἐν σπηλαίῳ, ἥς τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἄνεισιν ἐκ γῆς, ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῦ σπηλαίου: καὶ καλεῖται δι' αὐτὸ Στάζουσα ἢ πηγὴ.

[7.4] Farther on from here is the grave of the Sicyonians who were killed at Pellene, at Dyme of the Achaeans, in Megalopolis and at Sellasia. Their story I will relate more fully presently. By the gate they have a spring in a cave, the water of which does not rise out of the earth, but flows down from the roof of the cave. For this reason it is called the Dripping Spring.

[5] ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκοῦρων: ξόανα δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἐστί. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὠκοδομημένου τὸν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ πεποιημένον ἄνδρα ἀσπίδα ἔχοντα Ἄρατόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν Κλεινίου. μετὰ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Διονύσου ναός ἐστι: χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὁ θεός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχαι

λίθου λευκοῦ. ταῦτας τὰς γυναῖκας ἱεράς εἶναι καὶ Διονύσῳ μαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν. ἄλλα δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Σικυωνίοις ἐστί: ταῦτα μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου κοσμητηρίου κομίζουσι, κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ δάδων τε ἡμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων.

[7.5] On the modern citadel is a sanctuary of Fortune of the Height, and after it one of the Dioscuri. Their images and that of Fortune are of wood. On the stage of the theater built under the citadel is a statue of a man with a shield, who they say is Aratus, the son of Cleinias. After the theater is a temple of Dionysus. The god is of gold and ivory, and by his side are Bacchanals of white marble. These women they say are sacred to Dionysus and maddened by his inspiration. The Sicyonians have also some images which are kept secret. These one night in each year they carry to the temple of Dionysus from what they call the Cosmeterium (Tiring-room), and they do so with lighted torches and native hymns.

[6] ἡγῆται μὲν οὖν ὃν Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσιν — Ἀνδροδάμας σφίσιν ὁ Φλάντος τοῦτον ἰδρύσατο — , ἔπεται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύσιος, ὃν Θηβαῖος Φάνης εἰπούσης τῆς Πυθίας ἐκόμισεν ἐκ Θηβῶν. ἐς δὲ Σικυῶνα ἦλθεν ὁ Φάνης, ὅτε Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεοδαίου τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἀμαρτῶν δι' αὐτὸ καὶ καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἤμαρτεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου βαδίζουσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἔστι ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν δεξιᾷ Λιμναίας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν κατερρύηκεν ὁ ὄροφος, δηλὰ ἐστὶν ἰδόντι: περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος οὔτε ὡς κομισθέντος ἐτέρωσε οὔτε ὄντινα αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη τρόπον εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν.

[7.6] The first is the one named Baccheus, set up by Androdamas, the son of Phlias, and this is followed by the one called Lysius (Deliverer), brought from Thebes by the Theban Phanes at the command of the Pythian priestess. Phanes came to Sicyon when Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, failed to understand the oracle given him, and therefore failed to return to the Peloponnesus. As you walk from the temple of Dionysus to the market-place you see on the right a temple of Artemis of the lake. A look shows that the roof has fallen in, but the inhabitants cannot tell whether the image has been removed or how it was destroyed on the spot.

[7] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσελθοῦσι Πειθοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἔχον. Πειθῷ δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε αὐτοῖς κατέστη σέβεσθαι. Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρσίῳ ἕνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφισι δείματος, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν Φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν ἐς

Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ Αἰγιάλειᾳ νόσος ἐπέλαβε: καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντιες Ἀπόλλωνα ἰλάσασθαι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν.

[7.7] Within the market-place is a sanctuary of Persuasion; this too has no image. The worship of Persuasion was established among them for the following reason. When Apollo and Artemis had killed Pytho they came to

Aegialea to obtain purification. Dread coming upon them at the place now named Fear, they turned aside to Carmanor in Crete, and the people of Aegialea were smitten by a plague. When the seers bade them propitiate Apollo and Artemis,

[8] οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας· ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς φασιν ἐς τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν ἔλθεῖν, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἔνθα πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο Πειθοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν. τούτοις δὲ ἐοικότα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ἴασις οἱ παῖδες τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἀγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὸ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν αὐθις ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φασὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Προΐτου ποιηθῆναι· τὰς γὰρ οἱ θυγατέρας ἐνταῦθα τῆς μανίας παύσασθαι.

[7.8] they sent seven boys and seven maidens as suppliants to the river Sythas. They say that the deities, persuaded by these, came to what was then the citadel, and the place that they reached first is the sanctuary of Persuasion. Conformable with this story is the ceremony they perform at the present day; the children go to the Sythas at the feast of Apollo, and having brought, as they pretend, the deities to the sanctuary of Persuasion, they say that they take them back again to the temple of Apollo. The temple stands in the modern market-place, and was originally, it is said, made by Proetus, because in this place his daughters recovered from their madness.

[9] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὥς Μελέαγρος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ἀνέθηκε τὴν λόγχην ἣ τὸν ὕν κατειργάσατο. καὶ αὐλοὺς ἀνατεθῆναι φασὶν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μαρσύου· γενομένης γὰρ τῷ Σιληνῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαρσύαν κατενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον, ἀναφανέντας δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀσωπῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ ποιμένος τοῦ εὐρόντος δοθῆναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο, συγκατεκαύθη γὰρ ἐμπιπραμένῳ τῷ ναῷ· τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πυθοκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν.

[7.9] It is also said that in this temple Meleager dedicated the spear with which he slew the boar. There is also a story that the flutes of Marsyas are dedicated here. When the Silenus met with his disaster, the river Marsyas carried the flutes to the Maeander; reappearing in the Asopus they were cast ashore in the Sicyonian territory and given to Apollo by the shepherd who found them. I found none of these offerings still in existence, for they were destroyed by fire when the temple was burnt. The temple that I saw, and its image, were dedicated by Pythocles.

8. τῷ δὲ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερῷ τὸ ἐγγὺς τέμενος ἀνειμένον βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων οἰκία ποτὲ ἦν Κλέωνος τυράννου· Κλεισθένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος ἐχόντων ἔτι τὴν κάτω πόλιν Σικυωνίων ἐτυράννησε, Κλέων δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν πόλει. πρὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἡρῳὸν ἐστὶν Ἀράτου μέγιστα Ἑλλήνων ἐργασαμένου τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ· ἔχει δὲ ὧδε τὰ ἐς αὐτόν.

[8.1] VIII. The precinct near the sanctuary of Persuasion that is devoted to Roman emperors was once the house of the tyrant Cleon. He became tyrant in the modern city there was another tyranny while the Sicyonians still lived in the lower city, that of Cleisthenes, the son of Aristonymus, the son of Myron. Before this house is a hero-shrine of Aratus, whose achievements eclipsed those of all contemporary Greeks. His history is as follows.

ARATUS OF SICYON, HISTORY

[2] μετὰ Κλέωνα μοναρχήσαντα ἐνέπεσε τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλοῖς ἐπιθυμία τυραννίδος οὕτω δὴ τι ἀκάθεκτος ὥς καὶ ἄνδρας δύο Εὐθύδημον καὶ Τιμοκλείδαν ὁμοῦ τυραννήσαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξέβαλεν ὁ δῆμος, Κλεινίαν τὸν πατέρα Ἀράτου προστησάμενος· ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἐτυράννησεν Ἀβαντίδας. Κλεινία μὲν οὖν συνεβέβηκει πρότερον ἔτι ἢ τελευτή· Ἄρατον δὲ Ἀβαντίδας φυγάδα ἐποίησεν, ἣ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν Ἄρατος ἐθελοντής. Ἀβαντίδαν μὲν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τύραννος δὲ αὐτίκα ἐγγόνει ὁ Ἀβαντίδου πατὴρ Πασέας·

[8.2] After the despotism of Cleon, many of those in authority were seized with such an ungovernable passion for tyranny that two actually became tyrants together, Euthydemus and Timocleidas. These were expelled by the people, who made Cleinias, the father of Aratus, their champion. A few years afterwards Abantidas became tyrant. Before this time Cleinias had met his death, and Aratus went into exile, either of his own accord or because he was compelled to do so by Abantidas. Now Abantidas was killed by some natives, and his father Paseas immediately became tyrant.

[3] Νικοκλῆς δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀνελὼν ἐτυράννησεν αὐτός. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Νικοκλέα Ἄρατος ἀφικόμενος Σικυωνίων φυγάσι καὶ Ἀργείοις μισθωτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἔλαθεν ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ — νύκτωρ γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐποιεῖτο — , τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιασάμενος τῶν φυλασσόντων ἐγένετο ἐντὸς τείχους· καὶ — ὑπέφαινε γὰρ ἕως ἥδη — προσλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν σπουδῇ τὴν τυραννικὴν τρέπεται. καὶ ταύτην μὲν εἶλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς, ὁ δὲ Νικοκλῆς αὐτὸς ἔλαθεν ἀποδράς. Σικυωνίοις δὲ ἀπέδωκεν Ἄρατος ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι διαλλάξας τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οἰκίας μὲν φυγάσι καὶ ὅσα τῶν κτημάτων ἄλλα ἃ ἐπέπρατο ἀποδούς, τιμὴν δὲ τοῖς πριαμένοις διέλυσεν αὐτός.

[8.3] He was killed by Nicocles, who succeeded him. This Nicocles was attacked by Aratus with a force of Sicyonian exiles and Argive mercenaries. Making his attempt by night, he eluded some of the defenders in the darkness; the others he overcame, and forced his way within the wall. Day was now breaking, and taking the populace with him he hastened to the tyrant's house. This he easily captured, but Nicocles himself succeeded in making his escape. Aratus restored equality of political rights to the Sicyonians, striking a bargain for those in exile; he restored to them their houses and all their other possessions which had been sold, compensating the buyers out of his own purse.

[4] καὶ — ἦν γὰρ δέος τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππον ἐπιτροπεύοντος τὸν Δημητρίου — , τοῦδε ἔνεκα τοὺς Σικωνίους ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν συνέδριον ἐσήγαγε Δωριεῖς ὄντας. αὐτίκα δὲ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦρhto, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλῶν πολέμιον ὄντων τὴν γῆν ἐπόρθησε: Κόρινθον δὲ ἔχοντος Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φρουρᾶς Μακεδόνων ἐνούσης τοὺς Μακεδόνας τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως κατέπληξε καὶ ἄλλους τε κρατήσας μάχῃ διέφθειρε καὶ Περσαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τεταγμένον, ὃς παρὰ Ζήνωνα τὸν Μνασέου κατὰ μάθησιν σοφίας ἐφοίτησεν.

[8.4] Moreover, as all the Greeks were afraid of the Macedonians and of Antigonos, the guardian of Philip, the son of Demetrius, he induced the Sicyonians, who were Dorians, to join the Achaean League. He was immediately elected general by the Achaeans, and leading them against the Locrians of Amphissa and into the land of the Aetolians, their enemies, he ravaged their territory. Corinth was held by Antigonos, and there was a Macedonian garrison in the city, but he threw them into a panic by the suddenness of his assault, winning a battle and killing among others Persaeus, the commander of the garrison, who had studied philosophy under Zeno, the son of Mnaseas.

[5] ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ Ἀράτου Κόρινθον προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Τροιζῆνιοι οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Ἀκτὴν οἰκοῦντες καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ Μεγαρεῖς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἐποίησατο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγις ὁ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεὺς ἐφθησαν μὲν Πελλήνην ἐλόντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, ἤκοντι δὲ Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ συμβαλόντες ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τὴν Πελλήνην ἐκλιπόντες ἀναχωροῦσιν οἴκαδε ὑπόσπονδοι.

[8.5] When Aratus had liberated Corinth, the League was joined by the Epidaurians and Troezenians inhabiting Argolian Acte, and by the Megarians among those beyond the Isthmus, while Ptolemy made an alliance with the Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians and king Agis, the son of Eudamidas, surprised and took Pellene by a sudden onslaught, but when Aratus and his army arrived they were defeated in an engagement, evacuated Pellene, and returned home under a truce.

[6] Ἄρατος δέ, ὥς οἱ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ προεκεχωρήκει, δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν, ἔτι δὲ Σαλαμίνα καὶ Σούνιον ἐχόμενα ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων περιοφθῆναι, καὶ — οὐ γὰρ ἠλπίζε δύνασθαι πρὸς βίαν αὐτὰ ἐξελεῖν — Διογένην πείθει τὸν ἐν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἄρχοντα ἀφεῖναι τὰ χωρία ἐπὶ ταλάντοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων συνετέλεσεν αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἕκτον μέρος. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόμαχον τυραννοῦντα ἐν Ἀργεὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀποδόντα Ἀργείοις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν συντελεῖν,

Μαντίνειάν τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχόντων εἵλεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἀνθρώπων τελεῖται κατὰ γνώμην, εἰ δὴ καὶ Ἄρατον κατέλαβεν ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου σύμμαχον: ἐγένετο δὲ οὕτως.

[8.6] After his success in the Peloponnesus, Aratus thought it a shame to allow the Macedonians to hold unchallenged Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium; but not expecting to be able to take them by force he bribed Diogenes, the commander of the garrisons, to give up the positions for a hundred and fifty talents, himself helping the Athenians by contributing a sixth part of the sum. He induced Aristomachus also, the tyrant of Argos, to restore to the Argives their democracy and to join the Achaean League; he captured Mantinea from the Lacedaemonians who held it. But no man finds all his plans turn out according to his liking, and even Aratus was compelled to become an ally of the Macedonians and Antigonus in the following way.

9. Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν Σπάρτῃ Πausανίαν ἐμιμείτο τυραννίδος τε ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ νόμοις τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος. ἄτε δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ Πausανίου θερμότερῳ καὶ οὐ φιλοψύχῳ ταχὺ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ φρονήματος καὶ τόλμης κατείργαστο, καὶ βασιλέα τε οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Εὐρυδαμίδαν παῖδα ἔτι ἀνελῶν φαρμάκῳ διὰ τῶν ἐφορευόντων ἐς Ἐπικλείδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετέστησε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γερουσίας καταλύσας πατρονόμους τῷ λόγῳ κατέστησεν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ πραγμάτων μειζόνων καὶ ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπέθετο Ἀχαιοῖς πρώτοις, συμμάχους ἐλπίζων ἔξειν ἣν κρατήσῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναί οἱ τοῖς δρωμένοις.

[9.1] IX. Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, having succeeded to the kingship at Sparta, resembled Pausanias in being dissatisfied with the established constitution and in aiming at a tyranny. A more fiery man than Pausanias, and no coward, he quickly succeeded by spirit and daring in accomplishing all his ambition. He poisoned Eurydamidas, the king of the other royal house, while yet a boy, raised to the throne by means of the ephors his brother Epicleidas, destroyed the power of the senate, and appointed in its stead a nominal Council of Fathers. Ambitious for greater things and for supremacy over the Greeks, he first attacked the Achaeans, hoping if successful to have them as allies, and especially wishing that they should not hinder his activities.

[2] συμβαλὼν δὲ περὶ Δύμην τὴν ὑπὲρ Πατρῶν, Ἀράτου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ. τοῦτο Ἄρατον ἠνάγκασεν ὑπὲρ τε Ἀχαιῶν καὶ αὐτῆς Σικυῶνος δεῖσαντα Ἀντίγονον ἐπάγεσθαι. Κλεομένους δὲ παραβάντος ἦν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον συνέθετο εἰρήνην καὶ παράσπονδα ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ ἄλλα δρᾶσαντος καὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους, οὕτω διαβάντος ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀντιγόνου συμβάλλουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ Κλεομένει περὶ Σελλασίαν. νικησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Σελλασία τε ἠνδραποδίσθη καὶ αὐτὴ Λακεδαιμόνων ἐάλω. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν οὖν ἀπέδωκεν Ἀντίγονος καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πολιτείαν τὴν πάτριον:

[9.2] Engaging them at Dyme beyond Patrae, Aratus being still leader of the Achaeans, he won the victory. In fear for the Achaeans and for Sicyon itself, Aratus was forced by this defeat to bring in Antigonus as an ally. Cleomenes

had violated the peace which he had made with Antigonus and had openly acted in many ways contrary to treaty, especially in laying waste Megalopolis. So Antigonus crossed into the Peloponnesus and the Achaeans met Cleomenes at Sellasia. The Achaeans were victorious, the people of Sellasia were sold into slavery, and Lacedaemon itself was captured. Antigonus and the Achaeans restored to the Lacedaemonians the constitution of their fathers;

[3] τῶν δὲ Λεωνίδου παίδων Ἐπικλείδας μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Κλεομένην δὲ φεύγοντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τιμῆς παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ πρῶτα ἔχοντα συνέβη δεθῆναι, καταγινωσθέντα Αἰγυπτίων ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα συνιστάναι. καὶ ἀπέδρα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἀρχὴν θορύβου παρέσχε· τέλος δέ, ὡς ἡλίσκετο, ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτόν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄσμενοι Κλεομένους ἀπαλλαγέντες βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ἠξίωσαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε διαμένει σφίσιν ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας. Ἀράτῳ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἅτε ἀνδρὶ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ συγκατειργασμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω διέμεινεν εὐνους.

[9.3] but of the children of Leonidas, Epicleidas was killed in the battle, and Cleomenes fled to Egypt. Held in the highest honor by Ptolemy, he came to be cast into prison, being convicted of inciting Egyptians to rebel against their king. He made his escape from prison and began a riot among the Alexandrians, but at last, on being captured, he fell by his own hand. The Lacedaemonians, glad to be rid of Cleomenes, refused to be ruled by kings any longer, but the rest of their ancient constitution they have kept to the present day. Antigonus remained a constant friend of Aratus, looking upon him as a benefactor who had helped him to accomplish brilliant deeds.

[4] Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἄρατος θυμῷ πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους χρώμενον ἐπῆνει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὠρμημένον ἐπεῖχε μὴ ποιεῖν —, τούτων ἕνεκεν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἄρατον, οὐδὲν προῖδομένῳ δούς οἱ φάρμακον. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐξ Αἰγίου — ταύτῃ γὰρ τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν αὐτόν — ἐς Σικυῶνα κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸ ἥρῳον Ἀράτειον ἐτι ὀνομάζεται· Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ ἐς Εὐρυκλείδην καὶ Μίκωνα Ἀθηναίους ὅμοια εἰργάσθη· καὶ γὰρ τοῦσδε ὄντας ῥήτορας καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνους τῷ δήμῳ φαρμάκοις ἔκτεινεν.

[9.4] But when Philip succeeded to the throne, since Aratus did not approve of his violent treatment of his subjects, and in some cases even opposed the accomplishment of his purposes, he killed Aratus by giving him secretly a dose of poison. This fate came upon Aratus at Aegium, from which place he was carried to Sicyon and buried, and there is still in that city the hero-shrine of Aratus. Philip treated two Athenians, Eurycleides and Micon, in a similar way. These men also, who were orators enjoying the confidence of the people, he killed by poison.

[5] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ Φιλίππῳ τὸ ἀνδροφόνον φάρμακον ἔσσεσθαι συμφορά· τὸν γὰρ οἱ παῖδα Δημήτριον ὁ νεώτερος τῶν Φιλίππου παίδων Περσεὺς φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρε καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀθυμήσαντι παρέσχεν αἰτίαν ἀποθανεῖν. παρεδήλωσα δὲ τάδε ἀπιδὼν ἐς τὸ Ἡσιόδου σὺν θεῷ

πεποιημένον, τὸν ἐπ' ἄλλω βουλευόντα ἄδικα ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτον τρέπειν.

[9.5] After all, Philip himself in his turn was fated to suffer disaster through the fatal cup. Philip's son, Demetrius, was poisoned by Perseus, his younger son, and grief at the murder brought the father also to his grave. I mention the incident in passing, with my mind turned to the inspired words of the poet Hesiod, that he who plots mischief against his neighbor directs it first to himself.

[6] μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀράτου ἡρῶν ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶν Ἰσθμίῳ βωμός, ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρώα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾶ: πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἡ δὲ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένη. ἐνταῦθα καὶ βουλευτήριόν σφισι πεποιήται καὶ στοὰ καλουμένη Κλεισθένης ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος: ὠκοδόμησε δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ὁ Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν τὸν πρὸς Κίρρα πόλεμον συμπολεμήσας Ἀμφικτύοσι. τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἄρτεμις ἐπίχρυσος.

[9.6] After the hero-shrine of Aratus is an altar to Isthmian Poseidon, and also a Zeus Meilichius (Gracious) and an Artemis named Patroa (Paternal), both of them very inartistic works. The Meilichius is like a pyramid, the Artemis like a pillar. Here too stand their council-chamber and a portico called Cleisthenean from the name of him who built it. It was built from spoils by Cleisthenes, who helped the Amphictyons in the war at Cirrha. In the marketplace under the open sky is a bronze Zeus, a work of Lysippus, and by the side of it a gilded Artemis.

[7] πλησίον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν Λυκίου, κατερρηγός τε ἤδη καὶ ἥκιστα θέας ἄξιον. φοιτῶντων γὰρ λύκων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ποίμνας ὥς μηδὲνα εἶναι καρπὸν ἔτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ θεὸς τόπον τινὰ εἰπὼν ἔνθα ἔκειτο αὖτον ξύλον, τούτου φλοιὸν ἔχρησε τοῦ ξύλου καὶ κρέας ὁμοῦ προθεῖναι τοῖς θηρίοις: καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ὥς ἐγεύσαντο διέφθειρεν ὁ φλοιός, τὸ ξύλον δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Λυκίου, ὃ τι δὲ ἦν δένδρον οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐξηγηταὶ συνέισαν.

[9.7] Hard by is a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius (Wolf-god), now fallen into ruins and not worth any attention. For wolves once so preyed upon their flocks that there was no longer any profit therefrom, and the god, mentioning a certain place where lay a dry log, gave an oracle that the bark of this log mixed with meat was to be set out for the beasts to eat. As soon as they tasted it the bark killed them, and that log lay in my time in the sanctuary of the Wolf-god, but not even the guides of the Sicyonians knew what kind of tree it was.

[8] τούτου δὲ εἰσιν εἰκόνες ἐφεξῆς χαλκαῖ: τὰς Προίτου θυγατέρας λέγουσιν εἶναι σφᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς γυναικας ἄλλας εἶχεν. ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ: Λύσιππος ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν Σικυώνιος, καὶ πλησίον Ἑρμῆς ἔστηκεν Ἀγοραῖος.

[9.8] Next after this are bronze portrait statues, said to be the daughters of

Proetus, but the inscription I found referred to other women. Here there is a bronze Heracles, made by Lysippus the Sicyonian, and hard by stands Hermes of the Market-place.

10. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὄντι οὐ μακρὰν Ἡρακλῆς ἀνάκειται λίθου, Σκόπα ποίημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρῳθι ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους: τὸν μὲν πάντα ἐνταῦθα περίβολον Παιδιζήν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἔστι τῷ περιβόλῳ τὸ ἱερὸν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον, τέχνη Φλιασίου Λαφάους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοιάδε δρᾶν νομίζουσι. Φαῖστον ἐν Σικυωνίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐλθόντα καταλαβεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ σφᾶς ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζοντας: οὐκ οὐν ἤξιον δρᾶν οὐδὲν ὁ Φαῖστος τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς θεῷ θύειν. καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἄρνα οἱ Σικυώνιοι σφάζαντες καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καύσαντες τὰ μὲν ἐσθίουσιν ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερείου, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἥρωι τῶν κρεῶν ἐναγίζουσι. τῆς ἐορτῆς δέ, ἣν ἄγουσι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, τὴν προτέραν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡνιόματα ὀνομάζοντες Ἡράκλεια δὴ καλοῦσι τὴν ὑστέραν.

[10.1] X. In the gymnasium not far from the market-place is dedicated a stone Heracles made by Scopas. There is also in another place a sanctuary of Heracles. The whole of the enclosure here they name Paedize; in the middle of the enclosure is the sanctuary, and in it is an old wooden figure carved by Laphaes the Phliasian. I will now describe the ritual at the festival. The story is that on coming to the Sicyonian land Phaestus found the people giving offerings to Heracles as to a hero. Phaestus then refused to do anything of the kind, but insisted on sacrificing to him as to a god. Even at the present day the Sicyonians, after slaying a lamb and burning the thighs upon the altar, eat some of the meat as part of a victim given to a god, while the rest they offer as to a hero. The first day of the festival in honor of Heracles they name . . . ; the second they call Heraclea.

[2] ἐντεῦθεν ἔστιν ὁδὸς ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ. παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διπλοῦν ἔστιν οἴκημα: κεῖται δὲ Ὑπνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ, καὶ οἱ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔτι λείπεται. τὸ ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνέεται Καρνεῖω, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔσδοτος. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κήτους ὅστουν θαλασσίῳ μεγέθει μέγα καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὀνειρίου καὶ Ὑπνος κατακοιμίζων λέοντα, Ἐπιδώτης δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσιοῦσι καθ' ἕτερον τῆς ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Πανὸς καθημένον ἄγαλμά ἐστι, τῇ δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἔστηκεν.

[10.2] From here is a way to a sanctuary of Asclepius. On passing into the enclosure you see on the left a building with two rooms. In the outer room lies a figure of Sleep, of which nothing remains now except the head. The inner room is given over to the Carnean Apollo; into it none may enter except the priests. In the portico lies a huge bone of a sea-monster, and after it an image of the Dream-god and Sleep, surnamed Epidotes (Bountiful), lulling to sleep a lion. Within the sanctuary on either side of the entrance is an image, on the one hand Pan seated, on the other Artemis standing.

[3] ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεός ἐστιν οὐκ ἔχων γένεια, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος,

Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον· ἔχει δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου. φασὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου κομισθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων δράκοντι εἰκασμένον, τὴν δὲ ἀγαγοῦσαν Νικαγόραν εἶναι Σικυωνίαν Ἀγασικλέους μητέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἐχετίμου. ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματά ἐστιν οὐ μεγάλα ἀπηρτημένα τοῦ ὀρόφου· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δράκοντι Ἀριστοδάμαν Ἀράτου μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσιν.

[10.3] When you have entered you see the god, a beardless figure of gold and ivory made by Calamis. He holds a staff in one hand, and a cone of the cultivated pine in the other. The Sicyonians say that the god was carried to them from Epidaurus on a carriage drawn by two mules, that he was in the likeness of a serpent, and that he was brought by Nicagora of Sicyon, the mother of Agasicles and the wife of Echetimus. Here are small figures hanging from the roof. She who is on the serpent they say is Aristodama, the mother of Aratus, whom they hold to be a son of Asclepius.

[4] οὗτος μὲν δὴ παρείχετο ὁ περίβολος τοσαύτε ἐξ μνήμην, πέραν δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἄλλος ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερός· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀντιόπης· εἶναι γάρ οἱ τοὺς παῖδας Σικυωνίους καὶ δι' ἐκείνους ἐθέλουσι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην προσήκειν σφίσι. μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἐσίασι μὲν δὴ ἐς αὐτὸ γυνή τε νεωκόρος, ἥ μηκέτι θέμις παρ' ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι, καὶ παρθένος ἱερωσύνην ἐπέτειον ἔχουσα· λουτροφόρον τὴν παρθένον ὀνομάζουσι· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὄραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τὴν θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεν προσεύχεσθαι.

[10.4] Such are the noteworthy things that this enclosure presented to me, and opposite is another enclosure, sacred to Aphrodite. The first thing inside is a statue of Antiope. They say that her sons were Sicyonians, and because of them the Sicyonians will have it that Antiope herself is related to themselves. After this is the sanctuary of Aphrodite, into which enter only a female verger, who after her appointment may not have intercourse with a man, and a virgin, called the Bath-bearer, holding her sacred office for a year. All others are wont to behold the goddess from the entrance, and to pray from that place.

[5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Κάναχος Σικυώνιος ἐποίησεν, ὃς καὶ τὸν ἐν Διδύμοις τοῖς Μιλησίων καὶ Θηβαίοις τὸν Ἰσμήνιον εἰργάσατο Ἀπόλλωνα· πεποιήται δὲ ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόλον, τῶν χειρῶν δὲ ἔχει τῇ μὲν μήκωνα τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα μῆλον. τῶν δὲ ἱερείων τοὺς μηροὺς θύουσι πλὴν ὧν, ἄλλα δὲ ἀρκεύθου ξύλοις καθαγίζουσι, καιομένοις δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς μηροῖς φύλλον τοῦ παιδέρωτος συγκαθαγίζουσιν.

[10.5] The image, which is seated, was made by the Sicyonian Canachus, who also fashioned the Apollo at Didyma of the Milesians, and the Ismenian Apollo for the Thebans. It is made of gold and ivory, having on its head a polos, and carrying in one hand a poppy and in the other an apple. They offer the thighs of the victims, excepting pigs; the other parts they burn for the

goddess with juniper wood, but as the thighs are burning they add to the offering a leaf of the paideros.

[6] ἔνεστι δὲ ὁ παιδέρως ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ περιβόλου πόα, φύεται δὲ ἀλλαχόθι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς, οὔτε ἄλλης οὔτε τῆς Σικυωνίας. τὰ δὲ οἱ φύλλα ἐλάσσονα ἢ φηγοῦ, μείζονα δὲ ἔστιν ἢ πρίνου, σχῆμα δὲ σφισιν οἷον τοῖς τῆς δρυός· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπομελαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λευκόν ἔστι· φύλλοις δ' ἂν λεύκης μάλιστα εἰκάζοις τὴν χροιάν.

[10.6] This is a plant in the open parts of the enclosure, and it grows nowhere else either in Sicyonia or in any other land. Its leaves are smaller than those of the esculent oak, but larger than those of the holm; the shape is similar to that of the oak-leaf. One side is of a dark color, the other is white. You might best compare the color to that of white-poplar leaves.

[7] ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀνιούσιν ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φεραίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος· κοιμισθῆναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον λέγουσιν ἐκ Φερῶν. τὸ δὲ σφισι γυμνάσιον τοῦτο Κλεινίας ᾠκοδόμησε, καὶ παιδεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι τοὺς ἐφήβους. κεῖται δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τὰ ἐς ἱξὺν μόνον εἰργασμένη καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰ κάτω τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς τοῖς τετραγώνοις εἰκασμένος.

[10.7] Ascending from here to the gymnasium you see in the right a sanctuary of Artemis Pheraea. It is said that the wooden image was brought from Pherae. This gymnasium was built for the Sicyonians by Cleinias, and they still train the youths here. White marble images are here, an Artemis wrought only to the waist, and a Heracles whose lower parts are similar to the square Hermae.

11. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀποτραπείσιν ἐπὶ πύλην καλουμένην Ἱεράν, οὐ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν Ἐπωπεὺς ποτε ἀνέθηκε μεγέθει καὶ κόσμῳ τοὺς τότε ὑπερβεβλημένον. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦδε ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν μνήμην· κεραυνοῖς θεὸς αὐτὸν κατέκαυσε, βωμὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος — οὐ γάρ τι ἐς αὐτὸν κατέσκηψε — μένει καὶ ἐς τόδε οἷον Ἐπωπεὺς ἐποίησε. πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ μνήμα Ἐπωπεὶ κέχωσται, καὶ τοῦ τάφου πλησίον εἰσὶν Ἀποτρόπαιοι θεοί· παρὰ τούτοις δρῶσιν ὅσα Ἕλληνες ἐς ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν νομίζουσιν. Ἐπωπέα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸ Ἥρας Ἀδραστον· ἀγάλματα δὲ ὑπελείπετο οὐδετέρῳ. βωμοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου τὸν μὲν Πανὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν, Ἥλῳ δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ.

[11.1] XI. Turning away from here towards the gate called Holy you see, not far from the gate, a temple of Athena. Dedicated long ago by Epopeus, it surpassed all its contemporaries in size and splendor. Yet the memory of even this was doomed to perish through lapse of time – it was burnt down by lightning – but the altar there, which escaped injury, remains down to the present day as Epopeus made it. Before the altar a barrow has been raised for Epopeus himself, and near the grave are the gods Averters of evil. Near them the Greeks perform such rites as they are wont to do in order to avert misfortunes. They say that the neighboring sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo was also made by Epopeus, and that of Hera after it by Adrastus. I found no

images remaining in either. Behind the sanctuary of Hera he built an altar to Pan, and one to Helios (Sun) made of white marble.

[2] καταβαίνουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον, ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος: ἰδρῦσαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ Πλημναῖον ἀποδιδόντα χάριν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς τροφῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας, ἣν ἰδρύσατο Ἄδραστος, ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω Καρνείου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος: κίονες δὲ ἐστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ μόνοι, τοίχους δὲ οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ὄροφον οὔτε ἐνταῦθα εὐρήσεις οὔτε ἐν τῷ τῆς Προδρομίας Ἥρας. τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ Φάλκης ἰδρύσατο ὁ Τημένου, τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ τῆς ἐς Σικυῶνα Ἥραν φάμενος ὁδηγὸν γενέσθαι.

[11.2] On the way down to the plain is a sanctuary of Demeter, said to have been founded by Plemnaeis as a thank-offering to the goddess for the rearing of his son. A little farther away from the sanctuary of Hera founded by Adrastus is a temple of the Carnean Apollo. Only the pillars are standing in it; you will no longer find there walls or roof, nor yet in that of Hera Pioneer. This temple was founded by Phalces, son of Temenus, who asserted that Hera guided him on the road to Sicyon.

NEAR SICYON

[3] ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ τὴν κατ' εὐθὴ ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐρχομένοις καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα ἐκτραπεῖσι στάδια, Πυραία καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄλσος, ἱερὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Προστασίας Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. ἐνταῦθα ἐφ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι, τὸν δὲ Νυμφῶνα καλούμενον ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐορτάζειν παρείκασι: καὶ ἀγάλματα Διονύσου καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τὰ πρόσωπα φαίνοντα ἐν τῷ Νυμφῶνι ἐστὶν. ἡ δὲ ἐς Τιτάνην ὁδὸς σταδίων μὲν ἐστὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ζεύγεσιν ἄβατος διὰ στενότητα:

[11.3] On the direct road from Sicyon to Phlius, on the left of the road and just about ten stades from it, is a grove called Pyraea, and in it a sanctuary of Hera Protectress and the Maid. Here the men celebrate a festival by themselves, giving up to the women the temple called Nymphon for the purposes of their festival. In the Nymphon are images of Dionysus, Demeter, and the Maid, with only their faces exposed. The road to Titane is sixty stades long, and too narrow to be used by carriages drawn by a yoke.

[4] σταδίου δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπόν, ἐστὶν ἄλσος πρὶνων καὶ ναὸς θεῶν ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικυῶνιοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ὀνομάζουσι: κατὰ δὲ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐορτὴν ἡμέρα μὶα σφισιν ἄγουσι θύοντες πρόβατα ἐγκύμονα, μελικράτῳ δὲ σπονδῇ καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀντὶ στεφάνων χρῆσθαι νομίζουσιν. εἰκότα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῶν Μοιρῶν δρῶσιν: ὁ δὲ σφισιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἄλσους ἐστίν.

[11.4] At a distance along it, in my opinion, of twenty stades, to the left on the other side of the Asopus, is a grove of holm oaks and a temple of the goddesses named by the Athenians the August, and by the Sicyonians the Kindly Ones. On one day in each year they celebrate a festival to them and

offer sheep big with young as a burnt offering, and they are accustomed to use a libation of honey and water, and flowers instead of garlands. They practise similar rites at the altar of the Fates; it is in an open space in the grove.

TITANE

[5] ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν διαβᾶσί τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἤξασιν, ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Τιτᾶνα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἥλιου καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι Τιτάνην τὸ χωρίον. δοκεῖν δὲ ἐμοὶ δεινὸς ἐγένετο ὁ Τιτὰν τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους φυλάξας καὶ ὅποτε ἥλιος σπέρματα καὶ δένδρων αὔξει καὶ πεπαίνει καρπούς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀδελφὸς ἐνομίσθη τοῦ Ἥλιου. ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλεξάνωρ ὁ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παραγενόμενος ἐς Σικυωνίαν ἐν Τιτάνῃ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐποίησε.

[11.5] On turning back to the road, and having crossed the Asopus again and reached the summit of the hill, you come to the place where the natives say that Titan first dwelt. They add that he was the brother of Helius (Sun), and that after him the place got the name Titane. My own view is that he proved clever at observing the seasons of the year and the times when the sun increases and ripens seeds and fruits, and for this reason was held to be the brother of Helius. Afterwards Alexanor, the son of Machaon, the son of Asclepius, came to Sicyonia and built the sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane.

[6] περιοικοῦσι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ τὸ πολὺ οἰκέται τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου δένδρα ἀρχαῖα· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὔτε ὁποίου ξύλου γέγονεν ἢ μετάλλου μαθεῖν ἔστιν οὔτε τὸν ποιήσαντα ἴσασι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνωρα ἀναφέρει. φαίνεται δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πρόσωπον μόνον καὶ ἄκρα χεῖρες καὶ πόδες· χιτῶν γάρ οἱ λευκὸς ἔρεοῦς καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐπιβέβληται. καὶ Ὑγείας δ' ἔστι κατὰ ταῦτον ἄγαλμα· οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἴδοις ῥαδίως, οὕτω περιέχουσιν αὐτὸ κόμαι τε γυναικῶν αἱ κείρονται τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἐσθῆτος Βαβυλωνίας τελαμῶνες. ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τούτων ἰλάσασθαι θελήσῃ τις, ἀποδέδεικται οἱ τὸ αὐτὸ σέβεσθαι τοῦτο ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὑγείαν καλοῦσι.

[11.6] The neighbors are chiefly servants of the god, and within the enclosure are old cypress trees. One cannot learn of what wood or metal the image is, nor do they know the name of the maker, though one or two attribute it to Alexanor himself. Of the image can be seen only the face, hands, and feet, for it has about it a tunic of white wool and a cloak. There is a similar image of Health; this, too, one cannot see easily because it is so surrounded with the locks of women, who cut them off and offer them to the goddess, and with strips of Babylonian raiment. With whichever of these a votary here is willing to propitiate heaven, the same instructions have been given to him, to worship this image which they are pleased to call Health.

[7] τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνωρι καὶ Εὐαμερίωνι — καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἀγάλματά ἐστι — τῷ μὲν ὥς ἥρωι μετὰ ἥλιον δύναντα ἐναγίζουσιν, Εὐαμερίωνι δὲ ὥς θεῷ θύουσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς εἰκάξω, τὸν Εὐαμερίωνα τοῦτον Περγαμηνοὶ Τελεσφόρον ἐκ

μαντεύματος, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ Ἄκεσιν ὀνομάζουσι. τῆς δὲ Κορωνίδος ἔστι μὲν καὶ ταύτης ξόανον, καθίδρυται δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τοῦ ναοῦ: θυομένων δὲ τῷ θεῷ ταύρου καὶ ἀρνὸς καὶ ὕδς ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὴν Κορωνίδα μετενεγκόντες ἐνταῦθα τιμῶσιν. ὅποσα δὲ τῶν θυομένων καθαγίζουσιν, οὐδὲ ἀποχρᾶ σφισιν ἐκτέμνειν τοὺς μηρούς: χαμαὶ δὲ καίουσι πλὴν τοὺς ὀρνιθας, τούτους δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ.

[11.7] There are images also of Alexanor and of Euamerion; to the former they give offerings as to a hero after the setting of the sun; to Euamerion, as being a god, they give burnt sacrifices. If I conjecture aright, the Pergamenes, in accordance with an oracle, call this Euamerion Telesphorus (Accomplisher) while the Epidaurians call him Acesis (Cure). There is also a wooden image of Coronis, but it has no fixed position anywhere in the temple. While to the god are being sacrificed a bull, a lamb, and a pig, they remove Coronis to the sanctuary of Athena and honor her there. The parts of the victims which they offer as a burnt sacrifice, and they are not content with cutting out the thighs, they burn on the ground, except the birds, which they burn on the altar.

[8] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Νῖκαι πρὸς τοῖς πέρασίν εἰσιν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Διονύσου καὶ Ἑκάτης, Ἀφροδίτη τε καὶ Μήτηρ θεῶν καὶ Τύχη: ταῦτα μὲν ξόανα, λίθου δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Γορτύνιος. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς δράκοντας ἐσιεῖναι τοὺς ἱεροὺς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπὸ δείματος: καταθέντες δὲ σφισι πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τροφήν οὐκέτι πολυπραγμονοῦσι. κεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου Γρανιανὸς Σικυώνιος, ὃς νίκας ἀνεῖλετο Ὀλυμπίᾳσι δύο μὲν πεντάθλου καὶ σταδίου τὴν τρίτην, διαύλου δὲ ἀμφοτέρα καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

[11.8] In the gable at the ends are figures of Heracles and of Victories. In the portico are dedicated images of Dionysus and Hecate, with Aphrodite, the Mother of the gods, and Fortune. These are wooden, but Asclepius, surnamed Gortynian, is of stone. They are unwilling to enter among the sacred serpents through fear, but they place their food before the entrance and take no further trouble. Within the enclosure is a bronze statue of a Sicyonian named Granianus, who won the following victories at Olympia: the pentathlon twice, the foot-race, the double-course foot-race twice, once without and once with the shield.

12. ἐν δὲ Τιτάνῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐστίν, ἐς ὃ τὴν Κορωνίδα ἀνάγουσιν: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐλέγето: ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόφου καταβάσιν — ὥκοδόμηται γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν — βωμός ἐστιν ἀνέμων, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὁ ἱερεὺς μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θύει. δρᾶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπόρρητα ἐς βόθρους τέσσαρας, ἡμερούμενος τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ ἄγριον, καὶ δὴ καὶ Μηδείας ὡς λέγουσιν ἐπωδὰς ἐπάδει.

[12.1] XII. In Titane there is also a sanctuary of Athena, into which they bring up the image of Coronis. In it is an old wooden figure of Athena, and I was told that it, too, was struck by lightning. The sanctuary is built upon a hill, at

the bottom of which is an Altar of the Winds, and on it the priest sacrifices to the winds one night in every year. He also performs other secret rites at four pits, taming the fierceness of the blasts, and he is said to chant as well charms of Medea.

NEAR SICYON

[2] ἐκ δὲ Τιτάνης ἐς Σικυῶνα ἀφικομένους καὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἥρας οὐκ ἔχων ἔτι οὔτε ἄγαλμα οὔτε ὄροφον: τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Προῖτον εἶναι τὸν Ἄβαντός φασι. καταβάσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Σικυωνίων καλούμενον λιμένα καὶ τραπέϊσιν ἐπ' Ἀριστοναύτας τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Πελληνέων, ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν: προελθοῦσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον Ἑλισσῶν τε καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Σύθας ἐστίν, ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν.

[12.2] On reaching Sicyon from Titane, as you go down to the shore you see on the left of the road a temple of Hera having now neither image nor roof. They say that its founder was Proetus, the son of Abas. When you have gone down to the harbor called the Sicyonians' and turned towards Aristonautae, the Port of Pellene, you see a little above the road on the left hand a sanctuary of Poseidon. Farther along the highway is a river called the Helisson, and after it the Sythas, both emptying themselves into the sea.

PHLIUS

[3] ἡ δὲ Φλιασία τῆς Σικυωνίων ἐστὶν ὁμορος: καὶ Τιτάνης μὲν τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἢ πόλις, ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εὐθεῖα. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ἀρκάσι Φλιάσιοι προσήκουσιν οὐδέν, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀρκάδων κατάλογον τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν Ἀρκάσι καὶ οὗτοι συγκατελεγμένοι: ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοί τε ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖς γεγόνασιν Ἡρακλειδῶν κατελθόντων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, φανεῖται προϊόντι ὁμοῦ τῷ λόγῳ. διάφορα δὲ ἐς τοὺς Φλιασίους τὰ πολλὰ εἰδὼς εἰρημένα, τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὠμολογημένοις χρήσομαι.

[12.3] Phliasia borders on Sicyonia. The city is just about forty stades distant from Titane, and there is a straight road to it from Sicyon. That the Phliasians are in no way related to the Arcadians is shown by the passage in Homer that deals with the list of the Arcadians, in which the Sicyonians are not included among the Arcadian confederates. As my narrative progresses it will become clear that they were Argive originally, and became Dorian later after the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus. I know that most of the traditions concerning the Phliasians are contradictory, but I shall make use of those which have been most generally accepted.

[4] ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον Ἀραντὰ φασιν ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα: καὶ πόλιν τε ὥκισε περὶ τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον, ὃς Ἀραντῖνος ἔτι καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐ πολὺ ἐτέρου λόφου διεστηκώς, ἐφ' οὗ Φλιασίοις ἢ τε ἀκρόπολις καὶ τῆς Ἥβης ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν. ἐνταυθὰ τε δὴ πόλιν ὥκισε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον

ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ἀραντία ἐκλήθησαν. τούτῳ βασιλεύοντι Ἀσωπὸς Κηλούσης εἶναι λεγόμενος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἐξεῦρε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὄντινα οἱ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρόντος καλοῦσιν Ἀσωπὸν. τὸ δὲ μνήμα τοῦ Ἀραντός ἐστίν ἐν χωρίῳ Κελαῖς, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Δυσαύλην ἄνδρα Ἐλευσίνιον τεθάφθαι λέγουσιν.

[12.4] They say that the first man in this land was Aras, who sprang from the soil. He founded a city around that hillock which even down to our day is called the Arantine Hill, not far distant from a second hill on which the Phliasians have their citadel and their sanctuary of Hebe. Here, then, he founded a city, and after him in ancient times both the land and the city were called Arantia. While he was king, Asopus, said to be the son of Celusa and Poseidon, discovered for him the water of the river which the present inhabitants call after him Asopus. The tomb of Aras is in the place called Celeae, where they say is also buried Dysaules of Eleusis.

[5] Ἀραντος δὲ υἱὸς Ἀορις καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο Ἀραιθυρέα. τούτους φασὶ Φλιάσιοι θηρᾶσαι τε ἐμπείρους γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀνδρείους. προαποθανούσης δὲ Ἀραιθυρέας Ἀορις ἐς μνήμην τῆς ἀδελφῆς μετωνόμασεν Ἀραιθυρέαν τὴν χώραν: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ὅμηρος τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑπηκόους καταλέγων τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν”Ορνειάς τ’ ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ’ ἐρατεινὴν.

“Hom. II 2.571τάφους δὲ τῶν Ἀραντος παίδων οὐχ ἐτέρωθι ἡγοῦμαι τῆς χώρας, ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ δὲ εἶναι τῷ Ἀραντίνῳ: καὶ σφισιν ἐπίθημα στήλαι περιφανεῖς εἰσι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς ἦν τῇ Δήμητρι ἄγουσιν Ἀραντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς ταῦτα βλέποντες τὰ μνήματα.

[12.5] Aras had a son Aoris and a daughter Araethyrea, who, the Phliasians say, were experienced hunters and brave warriors. Araethyrea died first, and Aoris, in memory of his sister, changed the name of the land to Araethyrea. This is why Homer, in making a list of Agamemnon’s subjects, has the verse:

Orneae was their home and Araethyrea the delightful. Hom. II. 2.571

The graves of the children of Aras are, in my opinion, on the Arantine Hill and not in any other part of the land. On the top of them are far-seen gravestones, and before the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter the people look at these tombs and call Aras and his children to the libations.

[6] Φλίαντα δέ, ὃς τρίτον τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὄνομα ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ τῇ γῇ, Κεῖσου μὲν παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Τημένου κατὰ δὴ τὸν Ἀργείων λόγον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἔγωγε προσίεμαι, Διονύσου δὲ οἶδα καλούμενον καὶ τῶν πλευσάντων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι λεγόμενον. ὁμολογεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδίου ποιητοῦ τὰ ἔπη: “Φλίας αὖτ’ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἀραιθυρέηθεν ἵκανεν,

ἐνθ’ ἀφνειὸς ἕναιε Διωνύσοιο ἔκητι

πατρὸς ἐοῦ, πηγῇσιν ἐφέστιος Ἀσωποῖο.

“Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica 1.115-117τοῦ δὲ Φλίαντος Ἀραιθυρέαν εἶναι μητέρα, ἀλλ’ οὐ Χθονοφύλην: Χθονοφύλην δέ οἱ συνοικῆσαι καὶ

Ἀνδροδάμαν γενέσθαι Φλίαντι ἐξ αὐτῆς.

[12.6] The Argives say that Phlias, who has given the land its third name, was the son of Ceisus, the son of Temenus. This account I can by no means accept, but I know that he is called a son of Dionysus, and that he is said to have been one of those who sailed on the Argo. The verses of the Rhodian poet confirm me in my opinion:—

Came after these Phlias from Araethyrea to the muster;
Here did he dwell and prosper, because Dionysus his father
Cared for him well, and his home was near to the springs of Asopus.
Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.115-117.

The account goes on to say that the mother of Phlias was Araethyrea and not Chthonophyle. The latter was his wife and bore him Androdamas.

13. Ἡρακλειδῶν δὲ κατελθόντων Πελοπόννησος ἐταράχθη πᾶσα πλὴν Ἀρκάδων, ὥς πολλὰς μὲν τῶν πόλεων συνοίκους ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ προσλαβεῖν, πλείονας δὲ ἔτι γενέσθαι τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς οἰκήτορσι. τὰ δὲ κατὰ Φλιοῦντα οὕτως ἔχει. Ῥηγνίδας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Φάλκου τοῦ Τημένου Δωριεὺς ἐκ τε Ἄργους στρατεύει καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σικυωνίας. τῶν δὲ Φλιασίων τοῖς μὲν ᾧ προεκαλεῖτο Ῥηγνίδας ἐφαίνετο ἀρεστά, μένοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν βασιλείᾳ Ῥηγνίδα καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Δωριεῖς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ γῆς δέχεσθαι:

[13.1] XIII. On the return of the Heracleidae disturbances took place throughout the whole of the Peloponnesus except Arcadia, so that many of the cities received additional settlers from the Dorian race, and their inhabitants suffered yet more revolutions. The history of Phlius is as follows. The Dorian Rhegnidas, the son of Phalces, the son of Temenus, attacked it from Argos and Sicyonia. Some of the Phliasians were inclined to accept the offer of Rhegnidas, which was that they should remain on their own estates and receive Rhegnidas as their king, giving the Dorians with him a share in the land.

[2] Ἴππασος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διεκελεύοντο ἀμύνεσθαι μηδὲ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἀρίστασθαι. προσεμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐναντίαν ταύτην γνώμην, οὕτως Ἴππασος σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐς Σάμον φεύγει. Ἰππάσου δὲ τούτου τέταρτος ἦν ἀπόγονος Πυθαγόρας ὁ λεγόμενος γενέσθαι σοφός: Μνησάρχου γὰρ Πυθαγόρας ἦν τοῦ Εὐφρονος τοῦ Ἰππάσου. ταῦτα μὲν Φλιάσιοι λέγουσι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ σφισι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ Σικυώνιοι.

[13.2] Hippasus and his party, on the other hand, urged the citizens to defend themselves, and not to give up many advantages to the Dorians without striking a blow. The people, however, accepted the opposite policy, and so Hippasus and any others who wished fled to Samos. Great-grandson of this Hippasus was Pythagoras, the celebrated sage. For Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus, the son of Euphranor, the son of Hippasus. This is the account

the Phliasians give about themselves, and the Sicyonians in general agree with them.

[3] προσέσται δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπιδειξιν ἡκόντων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Φλιασίῳ ἀκροπόλει κυπαρίσσων ἄλλος καὶ ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ: τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι Φλιασίῳ Γανυμήδαν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἥβην

ὀνομάζουσιν: ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρος μνήμην ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῇ Μενελάου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον μονομαχίᾳ φάμενος οἰνοχόον τῶν θεῶν εἶναι, καὶ αὖτις ἐν Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐς Αἴδου καθόδῳ γυναῖκα Ἡρακλέους εἶπεν εἶναι. Ὡλην δὲ ἐν Ἡρᾷ ἐστὶν ὕμνῳ πεποιημένα τραφήναι τὴν Ἡρὰν ὑπὸ Ὠρῶν, εἶναι δὲ οἱ παῖδας Ἄρην τε καὶ Ἥβην.

[13.3] I will now add an account of the most remarkable of their famous sights. On the Phliasian citadel is a grove of cypress trees and a sanctuary which from ancient times has been held to be peculiarly holy. The earliest Phliasians named the goddess to whom the sanctuary belongs Ganymeda; but later authorities call her Hebe, whom Homer mentions in the duel between Menelaus and Alexander, saying that she was the cup-bearer of the gods; and again he says, in the descent of Odysseus to Hell, that she was the wife of Heracles. Olen, in his hymn to Hera, says that Hera was reared by the Seasons, and that her children were Ares and Hebe. Of the honors that the Phliasians pay to this goddess the greatest is the pardoning of suppliants.

[4] παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τῇ θεῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ καὶ μέγιστον τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐστί: δεδώκασιν γὰρ δὴ ἄδειαν ἐνταῦθα ἱκετεύουσι, λυθέντες δὲ οἱ δεσμῶται τὰς πέδας πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄλσει δένδρα ἀνατιθέασιν. ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴ σφισιν ἐπέτειος, ἣν καλοῦσι Κισσοτόμους. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὔτε ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσιν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐστὶν ἐν φανερῷ δεικνύμενον — ἐφ' ὧν δὲ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, ἱερὸς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς λόγος — , ἐπεὶ τῆς γε Ἡρᾷ ἐστὶν ἐξιόντων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναὸς ἄγαλμα ἔχων Παρίου λίθου.

[13.4] All those who seek sanctuary here receive full forgiveness, and prisoners, when set free, dedicate their fetters on the trees in the grove. The Phliasians also celebrate a yearly festival which they call Ivy-cutters. There is no image, either kept in secret or openly displayed, and the reason for this is set forth in a sacred legend of theirs though on the left as you go out is a temple of Hera with an image of Parian marble.

[5] ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλος περίβολός ἐστιν ἱερὸς Διμήτρος, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός: τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος — ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα — ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαῖον εἶναι μοι. κατιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον πῶ γένεια. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν θέατρον πεποίηται: τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Διμήτρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ καθήμενα ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα.

[13.5] On the citadel is another enclosure, which is sacred to Demeter, and in it

are a temple and statue of Demeter and her daughter. Here there is also a bronze statue of Artemis, which appeared to me to be ancient. As you go down from the citadel you see on the right a temple of Asclepius with an image of the god as a beardless youth. Below this temple is built a theater. Not far from it is a sanctuary of Demeter and old, seated images.

[6] ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αἷξ χαλκῇ, τὰ πολλὰ ἐπίχρυσος· παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τιμὰς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἴληφε. τὸ ἄστρον ἦν ὀνομάζουσιν αἶγα ἀνατέλλουσα τὰς ἀμπέλους λυμαίνεται συνεχῶς· ἵνα δὲ ἄχαρι μὴδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς γένηται, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς χαλκὴν αἶγα ἄλλοις τε τιμῶσι καὶ χρυσῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπικοσμοῦντες. ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀριστίου μνῆμα τοῦ Πρατίνου· τούτῳ τῷ Ἀριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνῳ τῷ πατρὶ εἰσι πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰχύλου δοκιμώτατοι.

[13.6] On the market-place is a votive offering, a bronze she-goat for the most part covered with gold. The following is the reason why it has received honors among the Phliasians. The constellation which they call the Goat on its rising causes continual damage to the vines. In order that they may suffer nothing unpleasant from it, the Phliasians pay honors to the bronze goat on the market-place and adorn the image with gold. Here also is the tomb of Aristias, the son of Pratinas. This Aristias and his father Pratinas composed satyric plays more popular than any save those of Aeschylus.

[7] ὀπισθεν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν οἶκος ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπὸ Φλιασίων μαντικός. ἐς τοῦτον Ἀμφιάρως ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐγκατακοιμηθεὶς μαντεύεσθαι τότε πρῶτον, ὥς οἱ Φλιάσιοι φασιν, ἤρξατο· τέως δὲ ἦν Ἀμφιάρως τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἰδιώτης τε καὶ οὐ μάντις. καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἀπὸ τούτου συγκέκλεισται τὸν πάντα ἤδη χρόνον. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος Ὀμφαλός, Πελοποννήσου δὲ πάσης μέσον, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα εἰρήκασιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὀμφαλοῦ προελθοῦσι Διονύσου σφίσιν ἱερόν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλλο Ἴσιδος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου δῆλον πᾶσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θεάσασθαι μόνον ἔστι.

[13.7] Behind the market-place is a building which the Phliasians name the House of Divination. Into it Amphiarus entered, slept the night there, and then first, say the Phliasians, began to divine. According to their account Amphiarus was for a time an ordinary person and no diviner. Ever since that time the building has been shut up. Not far away is what is called the Omphalos (Navel), the center of all the Peloponnesus, if they speak the truth about it. Farther on from the Omphalos they have an old sanctuary of Dionysus, a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Isis. The image of Dionysus is visible to all, and so also is that of Apollo, but the image of Isis only the priests may behold.

[8] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε ὑπὸ Φλιασίων λόγος· Ἡρακλέα, ὅτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀνεσώθη κομίζων τὰ μῆλα τὰ Ἑσπερίδων καλούμενα, ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐλθεῖν κατὰ δὴ τι

ἴδιον, διαιτωμένου δὲ ἐνταῦθα Οἰνέα ἐξ Αἰτωλίας ἀφικέσθαι παρ' αὐτόν: ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πρότερον ἔτι κηδεστής, τότε δὲ ἀφιγμένος εἰστία τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἢ αὐτὸς εἰσιτᾶτο ὑπὸ ἐκείνου. Κύαθον δ' οὖν παῖδα οἰνοχόον Οἰνέως οὐκ ἄρεσθεις τῷ δοθέντι πώματι παiei τῶν δακτύλων ἐνὶ ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν: ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς

Φλιασίοις ἐστὶν οἴκημα ἐς μνήμην. τοῦτο ὠκοδόμηται μὲν παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀγάλματα δὲ λίθου πεποιημένα ἔχει, κύλικα ὀρέγοντα Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Κύαθον.

[13.8] The Phliasians tell also the following legend. When Heracles came back safe from Libya, bringing the apples of the Hesperides, as they were called, he visited Phlius on some private matter. While he was staying there Oeneus came to him from Aetolia. He had already allied himself to the family of Heracles, and after his arrival on this occasion either he entertained Heracles or Heracles entertained him. Be this as it may, displeased with the drink given him Heracles struck on the head with one of his fingers the boy Cyathus, the cup-bearer of Oeneus, who died on the spot from the blow. A chapel keeps the memory of the deed fresh among the Phliasians; it is built by the side of the sanctuary of Apollo, and it contains statues made of stone representing Cyathus holding out a cup to Heracles.

CELEAE

14. τῆς δὲ πόλεως αἱ Κελαὶ πέντε που σταδίους μάλιστα ἀπέχουσι, καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι ἐνταῦθα δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ τετάρτου τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν. ἱεροφάντης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸν βίον πάντα ἀποδέδεικται, κατὰ δὲ ἐκάστην τελετὴν ἄλλοτε ἐστὶν ἄλλος σφίσιν αἰρετός, λαμβάνων ἢν ἐθέλῃ καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διάφορα τῶν Ἐλευσῖνι νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τελετὴν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἐς μίμησιν: ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μιμεῖσθαι Φλιάσιοι τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι δρώμενα.

[14.1] XIV. Celeae is some five stades distant from the city, and here they celebrate the mysteries in honor of Demeter, not every year but every fourth year. The initiating priest is not appointed for life, but at each celebration they elect a fresh one, who takes, if he cares to do so, a wife. In this respect their custom differs from that at Eleusis, but the actual celebration is modelled on the Eleusinian rites. The Phliasians themselves admit that they copy the "performance" at Eleusis.

[2] Δυσαύλην δέ φασιν ἀδελφὸν Κελεοῦ παραγενόμενόν σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν, ἐκβληθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ὑπὸ Ἰωνος, ὅτε Ἴων Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Εὐθύθου πολέμαρχος τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἡρέθη πολέμου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Φλιασίοις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ὁμολογήσω, κρατηθέντα μάχῃ τινὰ Ἐλευσινίων φυγάδα ἀπελαθέντα οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ πολέμου τε ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καταλυθέντος πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμηθῆναι καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι αὐτοῦ καταμείναντος Εὐμόλπου.

[14.2] They say that it was Dysaules, the brother of Celeus, who came to their land and established the mysteries, and that he had been expelled from Eleusis by Ion, when Ion, the son of Xuthus, was chosen by the Athenians to be commander-in-chief in the Eleusinian war. Now I cannot possibly agree with the Phliasians in supposing that an Eleusinian was conquered in battle and driven away into exile, for the war terminated in a treaty before it was fought out, and Eumolpus himself remained at Eleusis.

[3] δύναιτο δ' ἂν κατὰ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δυσαύλης ἀφικέσθαι πρόφασιν καὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ Φλιάσιοι φασιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Κελεῶ προσήκων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἢν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν Ἐλευσινίων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε Ὅμηρος παρῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Δήμητραν· ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καταλέγων τοὺς διδαχθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν τελετὴν Δυσαύλην οὐδένα οἶδεν Ἐλευσίνιον. ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἔπη· “δεῖξεν Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ

Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῶ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν

δρημοσύνην ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσιν.

“HH Dem. 474-476

[14.3] But it is possible that Dysaules came to Phlius for some other reason than that given by the Phliasians. I do not believe either that he was related to Celeus, or that he was in any way distinguished at Eleusis, otherwise Homer would never have passed him by in his poems. For Homer is one of those who have written in honor of Demeter, and when he is making a list of those to whom the goddess taught the mysteries he knows nothing of an Eleusinian named Dysaules. These are the verses:—

She to Triptolemus taught, and to Diocles, driver of horses,

Also to mighty Eumolpus, to Celeus, leader of peoples,

Cult of the holy rites, to them all her mystery telling. HH Dem. 474-476

[4] οὗτος δ' οὖν, ὥς οἱ Φλιάσιοι φασιν, ὁ Δυσαύλης κατεστήσατο ἐνταῦθα τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὁ τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα παραθέμενος Κελεάς· Δυσαύλου τέ ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, ὥς εἴρηται μοι, μνῆμα. πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ἐπεποιήτο ὁ Ἀράντειος τάφος· ὕστερον γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Φλιασίῳ λόγον καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραντος βασιλείας ἀφίκετο ὁ Δυσαύλης. Φλιάσιοι γὰρ Προμηθεῖ γενέσθαι τῷ Ἰαπετοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον φασιν Ἀραντα καὶ τρισὶν ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς Πελασγοῦ τε εἶναι πρεσβύτερον τοῦ Ἀρκάδος καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Ἀθήνησιν αὐτοχθόνων. — τοῦ δὲ Ἀνακτόρου καλουμένου πρὸς τῷ ὀρόφῳ Πέλοπος ἄρμα λέγουσιν ἀνακεῖσθαι.

[14.4] At all events, this Dysaules, according to the Phliasians, established the mysteries here, and he it was who gave to the place the name Celeae. I have already said that the tomb of Dysaules is here. So the grave of Aras was made earlier, for according to the account of the Phliasians Dysaules did not arrive in the reign of Aras, but later. For Aras, they say, was a contemporary of

Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, and three generations of men older than Pelasgus the son of Arcas and those called at Athens aborigines. On the roof of what is called the Anactorum they say is dedicated the chariot of Pelops.

CLEONAE

15. Φλιασίοις μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα λόγου μάλιστα ἦν ἄξια: ἐκ Κορίνθου δ' ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένῳ Κλεωναὶ πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη. παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Πέλοπος Κλεώνην λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ παρὰ Σικυῶνα ῥέοντι Ἀσωπῷ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις Κλεώνην γενέσθαι: τὸ δ' οὖν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου τούτων ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει. ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Σκύλλιδος τέχνη καὶ Διποίνου: μαθητὰς δὲ εἶναι Δαίδαλου σφᾶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα ἐκ Γόρτυνος ἐθέλουσι λαβεῖν Δαίδαλον καὶ τὸν Δίποινον καὶ Σκύλλιν ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ ταύτης γενέσθαι. ἐν Κλεωναῖς δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μνῆμα Εὐρύτου καὶ Κτεάτου: θεωροὺς γὰρ ἐξ Ἡλίδος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἰόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλῆς κατετόξευσεν, ἔγκλημα ποιούμενος ὅτι οἱ πρὸς Αὐγείαν πολεμοῦντι ἀντετάχθησαν.

[15.1] XV. These are the things that I found most worthy of mention among the Phliasians. On the road from Corinth to Argos is a small city Cleonae. They say that Cleones was a son of Pelops, though there are some who say that Cleone was one of the daughters of Asopus, that flows by the side of Sicyon. Be this as it may, one or other of these two accounts for the name of the city. Here there is a sanctuary of Athena, and the image is a work of Scyllis and Dipoenus. Some hold them to have been the pupils of Daedalus, but others will have it that Daedalus took a wife from Gortyn, and that Dipoenus and Scyllis were his sons by this woman. Cleonae possesses this sanctuary and the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus. The story is that as they were going as ambassadors from Elis to the Isthmian contest they were here shot by Heracles, who charged them with being his adversaries in the war against Augias.

NEMEA

[2] ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δὲ εἰσιν ἐς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων ὄρων, ὀχλήμασι δὲ ἐστὶν ὅμως ἐπιτηδευιτέρα. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἔτι δείκνυται τοῦ λέοντος, καὶ ἡ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον ἀπέχει σταδίους πέντε πρὸς καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμείου τε Διὸς ναὸς ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἄξιος, πλὴν ὅσον κατερρηγμένη τε ὁ ὄροφος καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο: κυπαρίσσω τε ἄλσος ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς τροφοῦ τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθαρῆναι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος.

[15.2] From Cleonae to Argos are two roads; one is direct and only for active men, the other goes along the pass called Tretus (Pierced), is narrow like the other, being surrounded by mountains, but is nevertheless more suitable for carriages. In these mountains is still shown the cave of the famous lion, and the place Nemea is distant some fifteen stades. In Nemea is a noteworthy

temple of Nemean Zeus, but I found that the roof had fallen in and that there was no longer remaining any image. Around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent.

[3] θύουσι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Νεμείου Διὸς ἱερέα αἰροῦνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἄγωνα ἀνδράσιν ὥπλισμένοις Νεμείων πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν θριγκὸς λίθων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου βωμοί: ἔστι δὲ χῶμα γῆς Λυκούργου μνήμα τοῦ Ὀφέλτου πατρός. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν Ἀδράστειαν ὀνομάζουσιν εἴτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ εἴτε καὶ ἀνευρόντος αὐτὴν Ἀδράστου: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα λέγουσι τῇ χώρᾳ Νεμέαν δοῦναι θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ ὄρος Ἀπέσας ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἔνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θῦσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίῳ. —

[15.3] The Argives offer burnt sacrifices to Zeus in Nemea also, and elect a priest of Nemean Zeus; moreover they offer a prize for a race in armour at the winter celebration of the Nemean games. In this place is the grave of Opheltes; around it is a fence of stones, and within the enclosure are altars. There is also a mound of earth which is the tomb of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes. The spring they call Adrastea for some reason or other, perhaps because Adrastus found it. The land was named, they say, after Nemea, who was another daughter of Asopus. Above Nemea is Mount Apesas, where they say that Perseus first sacrificed to Zeus of Apesas.

MYCENAE, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[4] ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Τρητὸν καὶ αὖθις τὴν ἐς Ἄργος ἰοῦσιν ἔστι Μυκηνῶν ἐρείπια ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Περσεὺς ἐγένετο Μυκηνῶν οἰκιστής, ἴσασιν Ἕλληνες: ἐγὼ δὲ αἰτίαν τε γράψω τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ καὶ δι' ἣντινα πρόφασιν Ἀργεῖοι Μυκηναίους ὕστερον ἀνέστησαν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νῦν Ἀργολίδι ὀνομαζομένη τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα οὐ μνημονεύουσιν, Ἴναχον δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ὀνομάσαι καὶ θῦσαι τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

[15.4] Ascending to Tretus, and again going along the road to Argos, you see on the left the ruins of Mycenae. The Greeks are aware that the founder of Mycenae was Perseus, so I will narrate the cause of its foundation and the reason why the Argives afterwards laid Mycenae waste. The oldest tradition in the region now called Argolis is that when Inachus was king he named the river after himself and sacrificed to Hera.

[5] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε λόγος: Φορωνέα ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἴναχον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πατέρα εἶναι Φορωνεῖ: τοῦτον δὲ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἥρᾳ δικάσαι περὶ τῆς χώρας, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Κηφισόν τε καὶ Ἀστερίωνα καὶ τὸν Ἴναχον ποταμόν: κρινάντων δὲ Ἥρας εἶναι τὴν γῆν, οὕτω σφίσιν ἀφανίσαι τὸ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτε Ἴναχος ὕδωρ οὕτε ἄλλος παρέχεται τῶν εἰρημένων ποταμῶν ὅτι μὴ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ: θέρους δὲ

αὐτὰ σφισὶν ἐστὶ τὰ ρεύματα πλὴν τῶν ἐν Λέρνη. Φορωνεύς δὲ ὁ Ἰνάχου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνήγαγε πρῶτον ἐς κοινόν, σποράδας τέως καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστοτε οἰκοῦντας· καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐς ὃ πρῶτον ἠθροίσθησαν ἄστὶ ὠνομάσθη Φορωνικόν.

[15.5] There is also another legend which says that Phoroneus was the first inhabitant of this land, and that Inachus, the father of Phoroneus, was not a man but the river. This river, with the rivers Cephissus and Asterion, judged concerning the land between Poseidon and Hera. They decided that the land belonged to Hera, and so Poseidon made their waters disappear. For this reason neither Inachus nor either of the other rivers I have mentioned provides any water except after rain. In summer their streams are dry except those at Lerna. Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, was the first to gather together the inhabitants, who up to that time had been scattered and living as isolated families. The place into which they were first gathered was named the City of Phoroneus.

16. Ἄργος δὲ Φορωνέως θυγατρίδους βασιλεύσας μετὰ Φορωνέα ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν. Ἄργου δὲ Πείρασος γίνεται καὶ Φόρβας, Φόρβαντος δὲ Τριόπας, Τριόπα δὲ Ἰάσος καὶ Ἀγήνωρ. Ἰὼ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσου θυγάτηρ, εἴτε ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἔγραψεν εἴτε καθ' ὃ λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται Κροτώπος δὲ ὁ Ἀγήνωρος ἔσχε μετὰ Ἰάσον τὴν ἀρχήν, Κροτώπου δὲ Σθενέλας γίνεται, Δαναὸς δ' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλεύσας ἐπὶ Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺς Ἀγήνωρος βασιλείας ἐπαυσεν. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁμοίως ἴσασι, θυγατέρων τῶν Δαναοῦ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνεπιούς τόλμημα καὶ ὡς ἀποθανόντος Δαναοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Λυγκεὺς ἔσχεν.

[16.1] XVI. Argus, the grandson of Phoroneus, succeeding to the throne after Phoroneus, gave his name to the land. Argus begat Peirasus and Phorbas, Phorbas begat Triopas, and Triopas begat Iasus and Agenor. Io, the daughter of Iasus, went to Egypt, whether the circumstances be as Herodotus records or as the Greeks say. After Iasus, Crotopus, the son of Agenor, came to the throne and begat Sthenelas, but Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas, and stayed the succession to the kingdom of the descendants of Agenor. What followed is known to all alike: the crime the daughters of Danaus committed against their cousins, and how, on the death of Danaus, Lynceus succeeded him.

[2] οἱ δὲ Ἄβαντος τοῦ Λυγκέως παῖδες τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνείμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Ἀργεῖ, Προΐτος δὲ τὸ Ἡραϊόν καὶ Μιδεῖαν καὶ Τίρυνθα ἔσχε καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θαλάσση τῆς Ἀργείας· σημεῖα τε τῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκίσεως Προΐτου καὶ ἐς τὸδε λείπεται. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀκρίσιος Περσέα αὐτόν τε περιεῖναι πυνθανόμενος καὶ ἔργα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ἐς Λάρισαν ἀπεχώρησε τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ Πηνειῷ. Περσεὺς δὲ — ἰδεῖν γὰρ πάντως ἤθελε τὸν γονέα τῆς μητρὸς καὶ λόγοις τε χρηστοῖς καὶ ἔργοις δεξιώσασθαι — ἔρχεται παρ' αὐτόν ἐς τὴν Λάρισαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα ἡλικία τε ἀκμάζων καὶ τοῦ δίσκου χαίρων τῷ εὐρήματι ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐς ἅπαντας, Ἀκρίσιος δὲ λανθάνει κατὰ

δαίμονα ὑποπεσὼν τοῦ δίσκου τῇ ὀρμῇ.

[16.2] But the sons of Abas, the son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom between themselves; Acrisius remained where he was at Argos, and Proetus took over the Heraeum, Mideia, Tiryns, and the Argive coast region. Traces of the residence of Proetus in Tiryns remain to the present day. Afterwards Acrisius, learning that Perseus himself was not only alive but accomplishing great achievements, retired to Larisa on the Peneus. And Perseus, wishing at all costs to see the father of his mother and to greet him with fair words and deeds, visited him at Larisa. Being in the prime of life and proud of his inventing the quoit, he gave displays before all, and Acrisius, as luck would have it, stepped unnoticed into the path of the quoit.

[3] καὶ Ἀκρίσιῳ μὲν ἡ πρόρρησις τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲ ἀπέτρεψέν οἱ τὸ χρεὼν τὰ ἐς τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸν θυγατρίδου παρευρήματα: Περσεὺς δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς Ἄργος — ἡσχύνετο γὰρ τοῦ φόνου τῇ φήμῃ — , Μεγαπένθην τὸν Προΐτου πείθει οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδοῦναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκείνου Μυκίνας κτίζει. τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐξέπεσεν ὁ μύκης αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐνόμιζε συμβῆναι πόλεως. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διψῶντι ἐπῆλθεν ἀνελέσθαι οἱ μύκητα ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ρυέντος δὲ ὕδατος πίων καὶ ἡσθείς Μυκίνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ.

[16.3] So the prediction of the god to Acrisius found its fulfillment, nor was his fate prevented by his precautions against his daughter and grandson. Perseus, ashamed because of the gossip about the homicide, on his return to Argos induced Megapenthes, the son of Proetus, to make an exchange of kingdoms; taking over himself that of Megapenthes, he founded Mycenae. For on its site the cap (myces) fell from his scabbard, and he regarded this as a sign to found a city. I have also heard the following account. He was thirsty, and the thought occurred to him to pick up a mushroom (myces) from the ground. Drinking with joy water that flowed from it, he gave to the place the name of Mycenae.

[4] Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ γυναικὸς Μυκίνης ἐν ἔπει τῷδε ἐμνήσθη"Τυρὼ τ' Ἀλκμήνη τε εὐστέφανός τε Μυκίνη.

"Hom. Od. unknown linetaύτην εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰνάχου γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀρέστορος τὰ ἔπη λέγει, ἃ δὴ "Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν Ἡοίας μεγάλας: ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν γεγονέναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει φασίν. ὃν δὲ προσποιοῦσιν Ἀκουσιλάῳ λόγον, Μυκηνέα υἱὸν εἶναι Σπάρτωνος, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε ἀποδεξαίμην, διότι μηδὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ Σπάρτης μὲν γυναικὸς εἰκὼν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως παῖδα θαυμάζοιεν ἂν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀκούσαντες.

[16.4] Homer in the Odyssey mentions a woman Mycene in the following verse:—

Tyro and Alcmene and the fair-crowned lady Mycene. Hom. Od.

She is said to have been the daughter of Inachus and the wife of Arestor in the poem which the Greeks call the Great Eoeae. So they say that this lady has

given her name to the city. But the account which is attributed to Acusilaus, that Myceneus was the son of Sparton, and Sparton of Phoroneus, I cannot accept, because the Lacedaemonians themselves do not accept it either. For the Lacedaemonians have at Amyclae a portrait statue of a woman named Sparte, but they would be amazed at the mere mention of a Sparton, son of Phoroneus.

[5] Μυκίνας δὲ Ἀργεῖοι καθεῖλον ὑπὸ ζήλοτυπίας. ἡσυχαζόντων γὰρ τῶν Ἀργείων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, Μυκηναῖοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοις μετέσχον τοῦ ἔργου: τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν ὀλεθρόν σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα παροξύναν Ἀργεῖους. λείπεται δὲ ὁμως ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἡ πύλη, λέοντες δὲ ἐφεστήκασιν αὐτῇ: Κυκλώπων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ Προΐτω τὸ τεῖχος ἐποίησαν ἐν Τίρυνθι.

[16.5] It was jealousy which caused the Argives to destroy Mycenae. For at the time of the Persian invasion the Argives made no move, but the Mycenaeans sent eighty men to Thermopylae who shared in the achievement of the Lacedaemonians. This eagerness for distinction brought ruin upon them by exasperating the Argives. There still remain, however, parts of the city wall, including the gate, upon which stand lions. These, too, are said to be the work of the Cyclopes, who made for Proetus the wall at Tiryns.

MYCENAE

[6] Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔρειπίοις κρήνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Περσεΐα καὶ Ἀτρέως καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, ἔνθα οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν. τάφος δὲ ἐστι μὲν Ἀτρέως, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ὄσους σὺν

Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπανάκοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δειπνίσας κατεφόνευσεν Αἴγισθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ Κασσάνδρας μνήματος ἀμφισβητοῦσι Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ περὶ Ἀμύκλας οἰκοῦντες: ἕτερον δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀγαμέμνονος, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ ἡνιόχου, καὶ Τελεδάμου τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέλοπος — τούτους γὰρ τεκεῖν διδύμους Κασσάνδραν φασί,

[16.6] In the ruins of Mycenae is a fountain called Persea; there are also underground chambers of Atreus and his children, in which were stored their treasures. There is the grave of Atreus, along with the graves of such as returned with Agamemnon from Troy, and were murdered by Aegisthus after he had given them a banquet. As for the tomb of Cassandra, it is claimed by the Lacedaemonians who dwell around Amyclae. Agamemnon has his tomb, and so has Eurymedon the charioteer, while another is shared by Teledamus and Pelops, twin sons, they say, of Cassandra,

[7] νηπίους δὲ ἔτι ὄντας ἐπικατέσφαξε τοῖς γονεῦσιν Αἴγισθος — καὶ Ἥλέκτρας: Πυλάδῃ γὰρ συνώκησεν Ὀρέστου δόντος. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ καὶ τάδε ἔγραψε, Μέδοντα καὶ Στρόφιον γενέσθαι Πυλάδῃ παῖδας ἐξ Ἥλέκτρας. Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ ἐτάφη καὶ Αἴγισθος ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τεύχους: ἐντὸς δὲ

ἀπαξιώθησαν, ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνων τε αὐτὸς ἔκειτο καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φονευθέντες.

[16.7] whom while yet babies Aegisthus slew after their parents. Electra has her tomb, for Orestes married her to Pylades. Hellanicus adds that the children of Pylades by Electra were Medon and Strophius. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were buried at some little distance from the wall. They were thought unworthy of a place within it, where lay Agamemnon himself and those who were murdered with him.

THE HERAEUM

17. Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα στάδια τὸ Ἡραῖον. ῥεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὕδωρ Ἐλευθέριον καλούμενον: χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς καθάρσια αἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐς τὰς ἀπορρήτους. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας: τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσιν Εὐβοίαν, λέγοντες Ἀστερίωνι γενέσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ θυγατέρας Εὐβοίαν καὶ Πρόσυμναν καὶ Ἀκραίαν, εἶναι δὲ σφᾶς τροφούς τῆς Ἥρας:

[17.1] XVII. Fifteen stades distant from Mycenae is on the left the Heraeum. Beside the road flows the brook called Water of Freedom. The priestesses use it in purifications and for such sacrifices as are secret. The sanctuary itself is on a lower part of Euboea. Euboea is the name they give to the hill here, saying that Asterion the river had three daughters, Euboea, Prosymna, and Acraea, and that they were nurses of Hera.

[2] καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀκραίας τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσι τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Ἡραίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας ὅσον περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, Πρόσυμναν δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡραῖον χώραν. ὁ δὲ Ἀστερίων οὗτος ῥέων ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐς φάραγγα ἐσπίπτων ἀφανίζεται. φύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ πόα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις: ἀστερίωνα ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὴν πόαν: ταύτην τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ αὐτὴν φέρουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων αὐτῆς στεφάνους πλέκουσιν.

[17.2] The hill opposite the Heraeum they name after Acraea, the environs of the sanctuary they name after Euboea, and the land beneath the Heraeum after Prosymna. This Asterion flows above the Heraeum, and falling into a cleft disappears. On its banks grows a plant, which also is called asterion. They offer the plant itself to Hera, and from its leaves weave her garlands.

[3] ἀρχιτέκτονα μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ λέγουσιν Εὐπόλεμον Ἀργεῖον: ὅποσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονάς ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Διὸς γένεσιν καὶ θεῶν καὶ γιγάντων μάχην ἔχει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Τροίαν πόλεμον καὶ Ἰλίου τὴν ἄλωσιν. ἀνδριάντες τε ἐστήκασιν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου καὶ γυναικῶν, αἱ γεγόνασιν ἰέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας, καὶ ἡρώων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ὀρέστου: τὸν γὰρ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχοντα, ὡς εἶη βασιλεὺς Αὔγουστος, Ὀρέστην εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀσπίς ἦν Μενελάος ποτε ἀφείλετο Εὐφορβὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ.

[17.3] It is said that the architect of the temple was Eupolemus, an Argive. The

sculptures carved above the pillars refer either to the birth of Zeus and the battle between the gods and the giants, or to the Trojan war and the capture of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have been priestesses to Hera and of various heroes, including Orestes. They say that Orestes is the one with the inscription, that it represents the Emperor Augustus. In the fore-temple are on the one side ancient statues of the Graces, and on the right a couch of Hera and a votive offering, the shield which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus at Troy.

[4] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον: ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ Ὠρας ἐπειργασμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ροιᾶς, τῇ δὲ σκῆπτρον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ροιάν — ἀπορρητότερος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος — ἀφείσθω μοι: κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ καθῆσθαι φασι λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἦρα παρθένου τῆς Ἥρας, ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἄτε παίγιον θηρᾶσαι. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅσα εὐκότα εἴρηται περὶ θεῶν οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενος γράφω, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον.

[17.4] The statue of Hera is seated on a throne; it is huge, made of gold and ivory, and is a work of Polycleitus. She is wearing a crown with Graces and Seasons worked upon it, and in one hand she carries a pomegranate and in the other a sceptre. About the pomegranate I must say nothing, for its story is somewhat of a holy mystery. The presence of a cuckoo seated on the sceptre they explain by the story that when Zeus was in love with Hera in her maidenhood he changed himself into this bird, and she caught it to be her pet. This tale and similar legends about the gods I relate without believing them, but I relate them nevertheless.

[5] λέγεται δὲ παρεστηκέναι τῇ Ἥρᾳ τέχνη Ναυκύδους ἄγαλμα Ἥβης, ἐλέφαντος καὶ τοῦτο καὶ χρυσοῦ: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κίονος ἄγαλμα Ἥρας ἀρχαῖον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον πεποιήται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐς

Τίρυνθα ὑπὸ Πειράσου τοῦ Ἄργου, Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες Ἀργεῖοι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον: ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα.

[17.5] By the side of Hera stands what is said to be an image of Hebe fashioned by Naucydes; it, too, is of ivory and gold. By its side is an old image of Hera on a pillar. The oldest image is made of wild-pear wood, and was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirasus, son of Argus, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns they carried it away to the Heraeum. I myself saw it, a small, seated image.

[6] ἀναθήματα δὲ τὰ ἄξια λόγου βωμὸς ἔχων ἐπειργασμένον τὸν λεγόμενον Ἥβης καὶ Ἡρακλέους γάμον: οὗτος μὲν ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθων λαμπόντων Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνέθηκεν: ἀνέθηκε δέ, ὅτι τὴν ὄρνιθα ἱερὰν τῆς Ἥρας νομίζουσι. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στέφανος χρυσοῦς καὶ πέπλος πορφύρας, Νέρωνος ταῦτα ἀναθήματα.

[17.6] Of the votive offerings the following are noteworthy. There is an altar

upon which is wrought in relief the fabled marriage of Hebe and Heracles. This is of silver, but the peacock dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian is of gold and gleaming stones. He dedicated it because they hold the bird to be sacred to Hera. There lie here a golden crown and a purple robe, offerings of Nero.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τοῦ προτέρου ναοῦ θεμέλια τε καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ὑπελίπετο ἢ φλόξ. κατεκαύθη δὲ τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἥρας Χρυσηίδα ὕπνου καταλαβόντος, ὅτε ὁ λύχνος πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων ἤπτετο. καὶ Χρυσῆς μὲν ἀπελθοῦσα ἐς Τεγέαν τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν τὴν Ἀλέαν ἰκέτευεν· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καίπερ κακοῦ τηλικούτου παρόντος σφίσι τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ καθεῖλον τῆς Χρυσηίδος, ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸδε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ κατακαυθέντος ἔμπροσθεν.

[17.7] Above this temple are the foundations of the earlier temple and such parts of it as were spared by the flames. It was burnt down because sleep overpowered Chryseis, the priestess of Hera, when the lamp before the wreaths set fire to them. Chryseis went to Tegea and supplicated Athena Alea. Although so great a disaster had befallen them the Argives did not take down the statue of Chryseis; it is still in position in front of the burnt temple.

ROAD TO ARGOS

18. ἐκ Μυκηναῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔστιν ἡρώων. ἔχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστας δὲ ἐν τε Σερίφῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, οἷς Περσέως τέμενος καὶ Δίκτης καὶ Κλυμένης βωμὸς σωτήρων καλουμένων Περσέως. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀργεῖᾳ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώου τούτου Θυέστου τάφος ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ: λίθου δὲ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ κριὸς, ὅτι τὴν ἄρνα ὁ Θυέστης ἔσχε τὴν χρυσῆν, μοιχεύσας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. Ἀτρέα δὲ οὐκ ἐπέσχεν ὁ λογισμὸς μετρήσαι τὴν ἴσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Θυέστου παίδων σφαγὰς καὶ τὰ ἀδόμενα δεῖπνα ἐξείργασατο.

[18.1] XVIII. By the side of the road from Mycenae to Argos there is on the left hand a hero-shrine of Perseus. The neighboring folk, then, pay him honors here, but the greatest honors are paid to him in Seriphus and among the Athenians, who have a precinct sacred to Perseus and an altar of Dictys and Clymene, who are called the saviours of Perseus. Advancing a little way in the Argive territory from this hero-shrine one sees on the right the grave of Thyestes. On it is a stone ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb after debauching his brother's wife. But Atreus was not restrained by prudence from retaliating, but contrived the slaughter of the children of Thyestes and the banquet of which the poets tell us.

[2] ὕστερον δὲ οὐκ ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν πότερον ἀδικίας ἤρξεν Αἰγισθος ἢ προὔπηρξεν Ἀγαμέμνονι φόνος Ταντάλου τοῦ Θυέστου: συνοικεῖν δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν Κλυταιμνήστρα παρθένῳ παρὰ Τυνδάρεω λαβόντα. ἐγὼ δὲ καταγνῶναι μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλω φύσει σφᾶς γενέσθαι κακοὺς: εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὸ μῖασμα τὸ Πέλοπος καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλου προστρώπαιος ἠκολούθησε, τούτοις ἦν ἄρα ὁμολογοῦντα, ἥνικα ἢ Πυθία Γλαῦκῳ τῷ Ἐπικύδους Σπαρτιάτῃ,

βουλεύσαντι ἐπίορκα ὁμόσαι, καὶ τοῦδε εἶπεν ἐς τοὺς ἀπογόνους κατιέναι τὴν δίκην.

[18.2] But as to what followed, I cannot say for certain whether Aegisthus began the sin or whether Agamemnon sinned first in murdering Tantalus, the son of Thyestes. It is said that Tantalus had received Clytaemnestra in marriage from Tyndareus when she was still a virgin. I myself do not wish to condemn them of having been wicked by nature; but if the pollution of Pelops and the avenging spirit of Myrtilus dogged their steps so long, it was after all only consistent that the Pythian priestess said to the Spartan Glaucus, the son of Epicydes, who consulted her about breaking his oath, that the punishment for this also comes upon the descendants of the sinner.

[3] ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κριῶν — οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ Θυέστου τὸ μνῆμα ὀνομάζουσι — προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίον Μυσία καὶ Δήμητρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυσίου τὸ ὄνομα, γενομένου καὶ τούτου, καθάπερ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, ξένου τῇ Δήμητρι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔπεστιν ὄροφος: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὀπτῆς πλίνθου, ξόανα δὲ Κόρης καὶ Πλούτωνος καὶ Δήμητρος ἐστὶ. προελθοῦσι δὲ ποταμός ἐστὶν Ἰναχος, καὶ διαβάσιν Ἥλιου βωμός. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πύλην ἥξεις καλουμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἱεροῦ: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας.

[18.3] A little beyond the Rams – this is the name they give to the tomb of Thyestes – there is on the left a place called Mysia and a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, so named from a man Mysius who, say the Argives, was one of those who entertained Demeter. Now this sanctuary has no roof, but in it is another temple, built of burnt brick, and wooden images of the Maid, Pluto and Demeter. Farther on is a river called Inachus, and on the other side of it an altar of Helius (the Sun). After this you will come to a gate named after the sanctuary near it. This sanctuary belongs to Eileithyia.

ARGOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[4] μόνους δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἶδα Ἀργεῖους ἐς τρεῖς βασιλείας νεμηθέντας. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργεῖου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους μανία ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐνέπεσεν, ἐκφοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθάωνος ἔπαυσε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βίας Ἀναξαγόρα τὸ ἴσον ἔξουσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Βίαντος βασιλεύουσι πέντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας ἐς Κυάνιππον τὸν Αἰγιαλέως, ὄντες Νηλεῖδαι τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμποδος γενεαί τε ἕξ καὶ ἄνδρες ἴσοι μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου:

[18.4] The Argives are the only Greeks that I know of who have been divided into three kingdoms. For in the reign of Anaxagoras, son of Argeus, son of Megapenthes, the women were smitten with madness, and straying from their homes they roamed about the country, until Melampus the son of Amythaon cured them of the plague on condition that he himself and his brother Bias had a share of the kingdom equal to that of Anaxagoras. Now descended from

Bias five men, Neleids on their mother's side, occupied the throne for four generations down to Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, and descended from Melampus six men in six generations down to Amphilochous, son of Amphiaraus.

[5] τὸ δὲ ἐγχώριον γένος οἱ Ἀναξαγορίδαι βασιλεύουσι πλέον. Ἴφιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέκτορος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου Σθενέλῳ τῷ Καπανέως ἀδελφοῦ παιδὶ ἀπέλυε τὴν ἀρχήν· Ἀμφιλόχου δὲ μετὰ ἄλλωσιν Ἰλίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς τοὺς νῦν Ἀμφιλόχους, Κυανίππου δ' ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, οὕτῳ Κυλαράβης ὁ Σθενέλου μόνος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. οὐ μέντοι παῖδας κατέλειπεν οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλὰ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνωνος τὸ Ἄργος κατέσχε παροικῶν τε ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς προσπεποιημένος μὲν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς πολλοὺς, παρεληφὼς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείαν, συμμαχικοῦ δὲ ἐκ Φωκέων ἀεὶ ποτε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐτοίμου παρόντος.

[18.5] But the native house of the family of Anaxagoras ruled longer than the other two. For Iphis, son of Alector, son of Anaxagoras, left the throne to Sthenelus, son of Capaneus his brother. After the capture of Troy, Amphilochous migrated to the people now called the Amphilocheians, and, Cyanippus having died without issue, Cylarabes, son of Sthenelus, became sole king. However, he too left no offspring, and Argos was seized by Orestes, son of Agamemnon, who was a neighbor. Besides his ancestral dominion, he had extended his rule over the greater part of Arcadia and had succeeded to the throne of Sparta; he also had a contingent of Phocian allies always ready to help him.

[6] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀρέστης Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφέντων αὐτῷ: τοὺς γὰρ Τυνδάρεω θυγατρίδοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν οὐκ ἤξιον πρὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους Μενελάῳ γεγεννημένων ἐκ δούλης. Ὀρέστου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἑρμιόνης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς. τὸν δὲ Ὀρέστου νόθον Πενθίλου Κιναίθῳ ἐγραψεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἡριγόνῃ τὴν Αἰγίσθου τεκεῖν.

[18.6] When Orestes became king of the Lacedaemonians, they themselves consented to accept him for they considered that the sons of the daughter of Tyndareus had a claim to the throne prior to that of Nicostratus and Megapenthes, who were sons of Menelaus by a slave woman. On the death of Orestes, there succeeded to the throne Tisamenus, the son of Orestes and of Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus. The mother of Penthilus, the bastard son of Orestes, was, according to the poet Cinaethon, Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus.

[7] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τούτου κατίασιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλεῖδαι, Τήμενος μὲν καὶ Κρεσφόντης Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ τρίτου δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου προτεθνεῶτος εἶποντο οἱ παῖδες. Ἄργους μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ βασιλείας ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἡμφισβήτουν, ὅτι ἦν Πελοπίδης ὁ Τισαμενός, οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὸ ἀνέκαθ' ἐῖσι Περσεῖδαι: Τυνδάρεω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα

ἀπέφαινον ὑπὸ Ἰπποκόωντος, Ἡρακλέα δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποκτείναντα Ἰπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας παρακαταθέσθαι Τυνδάρει τὴν χώραν: τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἕτερα ἔλεγον, παρακαταθήκην Νέστορι δοθῆναι καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐλόντος Πύλον.

[18.7] It was in the reign of this Tisamenus that the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus; they were Temenus and Cresphontes, the sons of Aristomachus, together with the sons of the third brother, Aristodemus, who had died. Their claim to Argos and to the throne of Argos was, in my opinion, most just, because Tisamenus was descended from Pelops, but the Heracleidae were descendants of Perseus. Tyndareus himself, they made out, had been expelled by Hippocoon, and they said that Heracles, having killed Hippocoon and his sons, had given the land in trust to Tyndareus. They gave the same kind of account about Messenia also, that it had been given in trust to Nestor by Heracles after he had taken Pylus.

[8] ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν ἐκ μὲν Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Ἄργους Τισαμενόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους, Ἀλκμαίωνα Σίλλου τοῦ Θρασυμήδους καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τοὺς Παίονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπου τοῦ Βώρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. Τισαμενὸς μὲν οὖν ἦλθε σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἀχαΐαν:

[18.8] So they expelled Tisamenus from Lacedaemon and Argos, and the descendants of Nestor from Messenia, namely Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, son of Thrasymedes, Peisistratus, son of Peisistratus, and the sons of Paeon, son of Antilochus, and with them Melanthus, son of Andropompus, son of Borus, son of Penthilus, son of Periclymenus. So Tisamenus and his sons went with his army to the land that is now Achaia.

[9] οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι πλὴν Πεισιστράτου — τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὔστινας ἀπεχώρησεν — ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠνομάσθησαν. Μέλανθος δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν ἀφελόμενος Θυμοίτην τὸν Ὀξύντου: Θυμοίτης γὰρ Θησειδῶν ἔσχατος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων.

[18.9] To what people Peisistratus retreated I do not know, but the rest of the Neleidae went to Athens, and the clans of the Paeonidae and of the Alcmaeonidae were named after them. Melanthus even came to the throne, having deposed Thymoetes the son of Oxyntes; for Thymoetes was the last Athenian king descended from Theseus.

19. τὰ μὲν οὖν Κρεσφόντου καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οὐκ ἤπειγεν ὁ λόγος με ἐνταῦθα δηλῶσαι: Τήμενος δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ Δηιφόντῃ τῷ

Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Θρασυάνορος τοῦ Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους στρατηγῷ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐχρήσατο ἀντὶ τῶν υἱῶν καὶ σύμβουλον ἐς πάντα εἶχεν, ἅτε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον πεπονημένους πρότερον ἔτι γαμβρόν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀρεσκόμενος

τῇ Ὑρνηθοῖ μάλιστα, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς ἐκείνην καὶ Δηιφόντην τρέπειν. ἐπεβουλεύθη δὲ τούτων ἔνεκα ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν: ἐκεῖνων δὲ αὐτῷ Κεῖσος πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν.

[19.1] XIX. It is not to my purpose that I should set forth here the history of Cresphontes and of the sons of Aristodemus. But Temenus openly employed, instead of his sons, Delphontes, son of Antimachus, son of Thrasyanor, son of Ctesippus, son of Heracles, as general in war and as adviser on all occasions. Even before this he had made him his son-in-law, while Hymetho was his favorite daughter; he was accordingly suspected of intending to divert the throne to her and Delphontes. For this reason his sons plotted against him, and Ceïsus, the eldest of them, seized the kingdom.

[2] Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ἅτε ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον, ὥς Μῆδωνι τῷ Κεῖσου καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνους τὸ ὄνομα λειφθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας μόνον. Μέλταν δὲ τὸν Λακῆδου δέκατον ἀπόγονον Μῆδωνος τὸ παράπαν ἔπαυσεν ἀρχῆς καταγνοῦς ὁ δῆμος.

[19.2] But from the earliest times the Argives have loved freedom and self-government, and they limited to the utmost the authority of their kings, so that to Medon, the son of Ceïsus, and to his descendants was left a kingdom that was such only in name. Meltas, the son of Lacedas, the tenth descendant of Medon, was condemned by the people and deposed altogether from the kingship.

ARGOS

[3] Ἀργεῖοις δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατόν ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀττάλου ποίημα ἦν Ἀθηναίου, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνάθημα ἦν: ξόανα γὰρ δὴ τότε εἶναι πείθομαι πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγύπτια. Δαναὸς δὲ ἰδρύσατο Λύκιον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη. παραγενόμενος ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἡμφισβῆται πρὸς Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ῥηθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον δίκαια λέγειν τοῦ Γελάνορος δόξαντος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὑπερέθετο — φασὶν — ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν κρίνειν:

[19.3] The most famous building in the city of Argos is the sanctuary of Apollo Lycius (Wolf-god). The modern image was made by the Athenian Attalus, but the original temple and wooden image were the offering of Danaus. I am of opinion that in those days all images, especially Egyptian images, were made of wood. The reason why Danaus founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius was this. On coming to Argos he claimed the kingdom against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas. Many plausible arguments were brought forward by both parties, and those of Sthenelas were considered as fair as those of his opponent; so the people, who were sitting in judgment, put off, they say, the decision to the following day.

[4] ἀρχομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐς βοῶν ἀγέλην νεμομένην πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐσπίπτει λύκος, προσπεσὼν δὲ ἐμάχετο πρὸς ταῦρον ἡγεμόνα τῶν βοῶν. παρίσταται δὴ τοῖς Ἀργείοις τῷ μὲν Γελάνορα, Δαναὸν δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ λύκῳ, ὅτι οὔτε τὸ θηρίον τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον οὔτε Δαναὸς σφισιν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ταῦρον κατειργάσατο ὁ λύκος, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαναὸς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὕτω δὲ νομίζων Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγέλην ἐπαγαγεῖν τῶν βοῶν τὸν λύκον, ἰδρύσατο Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου.

[19.4] At dawn a wolf fell upon a herd of oxen that was pasturing before the wall, and attacked and fought with the bull that was the leader of the herd. It occurred to the Argives that Gelanor was like the bull and Danaus like the wolf, for as the wolf will not live with men, so Danaus up to that time had not lived with them. It was because the wolf overcame the bull that Danaus won the kingdom. Accordingly, believing that Apollo had brought the wolf on the herd, he founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius.

[5] ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται μὲν θρόνος Δαναοῦ, κεῖται δὲ εἰκὼν Βίτωνος, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρων ταῦρον: ὥς δὲ Λυκέας ἐποίησεν, ἐς Νεμέαν Ἀργείων ἀγόντων θυσίαν τῷ Διὶ ὁ Βίτων ὑπὸ ῥώμῃς τε καὶ ἰσχύος ταῦρον ἀράμενος ἤνεγκεν. ἐξῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης ταύτης πῦρ καίουσιν ὀνομάζοντες Φορωνέως εἶναι: οὐ γάρ τι ὁμολογοῦσι δοῦναι πῦρ Προμηθεῖ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐς Φορωνέα τοῦ πυρὸς μετὰγειν ἐθέλουσι τὴν εὔρεσιν.

[19.5] Here is dedicated the throne of Danaus, and here is placed a statue of Biton, in the form of a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. According to the poet Lyceas, when the Argives were holding a sacrifice to Zeus at Nemea, Biton by sheer physical strength took up a bull and carried it there. Next to this statue is a fire which they keep burning, calling it the fire of Phoroneus. For they do not admit that fire was given to mankind by Prometheus, but insist in assigning the discovery of fire to Phoroneus.

[6] τὰ δὲ ξόανα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἐπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ Ὑπερμήστρας ἀνάθημα. ταύτην γὰρ τῶν θυγατέρων μόνην τὸ πρόσταγμα ὑπεριδοῦσαν ὑπήγαγεν ὁ Δαναὸς ἐς δικαστήριον, τοῦ τε Λυγκέως οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅτι τοῦ τολμήματος οὐ μετασχοῦσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τῷ βουλευσάντι τὸ ὄνειδος ἠὔξησε. κριθεῖσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀποφεύγει τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀνέθηκε Νικηφόρον.

[19.6] As to the wooden images of Aphrodite and Hermes, the one they say was made by Epeus, while the other is a votive offering of Hypermnestra. She was the only one of the daughters of Danaus who neglected his command, and was accordingly brought to justice by him, because he considered that his life was in danger so long as Lynceus was at large, and that the refusal to share in the crime of her sisters increased the disgrace of the contriver of the deed. On her trial she was acquitted by the Argives, and to commemorate her escape she dedicated an image of Aphrodite, the Bringer of Victory.

[7] τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐντὸς Λάδας ποδῶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐς λύρας ποιήσιν χελώνην ἥρηκώς. ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ βόθρος πεποιημένα ἐν τύπῳ ταύρου μάχην ἔχων καὶ λύκου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρθένον ἀφιεῖσαν πέτραν ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον: Ἄρτεμιν δὲ εἶναι νομίζουσι τὴν παρθένον. Δαναὸς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον.

[19.7] Within the temple is a statue of Ladas, the swiftest runner of his time, and one of Hermes with a tortoise which he has caught to make a lyre. Before the temple is a pit with a relief representing a fight between a bull and a wolf, and with them a maiden throwing a rock at the bull. The maiden is thought to be Artemis. Danaus dedicated these, and some pillars hard by and wooden images of Zeus and Artemis.

[8] τάφοι δέ εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Λίνου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτώπου, τὸν δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λίνου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ ἔπη. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τοῦτον οἰκειότερα ὄντα ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ παρήμι τῷδε, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ψαμάθης ἡ Μεγαρικὴ μοι συγγραφῇ προεδήλωσεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἄγνιεύς καὶ βωμὸς Ὑετίου Διὸς, ἔνθα οἱ συσπεύδοντες Πολυνεῖκει τὴν ἐς Θήβας κάθοδον ἀποθανεῖσθαι συνώμοσαν, ἣν μὴ τὰς Θήβας γένηται σφισιν ἐλεῖν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ μνημα ἦσσόν μοι δοκοῦσιν Ὀπουντίων εἰκότα λέγειν, λέγουσι δὲ ὁμῶς.

[19.8] Here are graves; one is that of Linus, the son of Apollo by Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus; the other, they say, is that of Linus the poet. The story of the latter Linus is more appropriate to another part of my narrative, and so I omit it here, while I have already given the history of the son of Psamathe in my account of Megara. After these is an image of Apollo, God of Streets, and an altar of Zeus, God of Rain, where those who were helping Polyneices in his efforts to be restored to Thebes swore an oath together that they would either capture Thebes or die. As to the tomb of Prometheus, their account seems to me to be less probable than that of the Opuntians, but they hold to it nevertheless.

20. παρέντι δὲ Κρεῦγα τε εἰκόνα ἀνδρὸς πύκτου καὶ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Κορινθίοις ἀνασταθέν, ἄγαλμά ἐστι καθήμενον Διὸς Μειλιχίου, λίθου λευκοῦ, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον. ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτὸ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη. Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἀρξαμένοις οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι ἀπαλλαγὴ, πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος σφᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Ἀμύντου μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅροις τῆς χώρας. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὴδὲν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου περιεργαζόμενοι τῆς Ἀργείας ἀεί τι ἀπετέμνοντο, ἢ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τετραμμένων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐκείνων ὑπερόριον ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐνέκειντο.

[20.1] XX. Passing over a statue of Creugas, a boxer, and a trophy that was set up to celebrate a victory over the Corinthians, you come to a seated image of Zeus Meilichius (Gracious), made of white marble by Polycleitus. I

discovered that it was made for the following reason. Ever since the Lacedaemonians began to make war upon the Argives there was no cessation of hostilities until Philip, the son of Amyntas, forced them to stay within the original boundaries of their territories. Before this, if the Lacedaemonians were not engaged on some business outside the Peloponnesus, they were always trying to annex a piece of Argive territory; or if they were busied with a war beyond their borders it was the turn of the Argives to retaliate.

[2] προηγμένου δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἐς ἄκρον τοῦ μίσους ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοις λογάδας τρέφειν χιλίους· ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἐτέτακτο ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Βρύας Ἀργεῖος, ὃς ἄλλα τε ἐς ἄνδρας ὕβρισε τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρθένον κομιζομένην παρὰ τὸν νυμφίον ἥσχυεν ἀφελόμενος τοὺς ἄγοντας. ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς τυφλοὶ τὸν Βρύαντα ἡ παῖς φυλάξασα ὑπνωμένον· φωραθεῖσα δὲ ὡς ἐπέσχευ ἡμέρα, κατέφυγεν ἰκέτις ἐς τὸν δῆμον. οὐ προεμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τιμωρήσασθαι τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου προαχθέντων ἐς μάχην ἀμφοτέρων, κρατοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, κρατήσαντες δὲ οὐδένᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔλιπον. ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπηγάγοντο καθάρσια ὡς ἐπὶ αἵματι ἐμφυλῶ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκαν Μειλίου Διός.

[20.2] When the hatred of both sides was at its height, the Argives resolved to maintain a thousand picked men. The commander appointed over them was the Argive Bryas. His general behavior to the men of the people was violent, and a maiden who was being taken to the bridegroom he seized from those who were escorting her and ravished. When night came on, the girl waited until he was asleep and put out his eyes. Detected in the morning, she took refuge as a suppliant with the people. When they did not give her up to the Thousand for punishment both sides took up arms; the people won the day, and in their anger left none of their opponents alive. Subsequently they had recourse to purifications for shedding kindred blood; among other things they dedicated an image of Zeus Meilichius.

[3] πλησίον δὲ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι λίθῳ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων αὐτοὶ τε ἔλκοντες τὴν ἄμαξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἄγοντες τὴν μητέρα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ προελθοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φορωνέως τάφος ἐστίν· ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτι τῷ Φορωνεῖ. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Νεμείου Διὸς Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιότητος ναός, εἰ δὴ Παλαμίδης κύβους εὐράν ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ναόν.

[20.3] Hard by are Cleobis and Biton carved in relief on stone, themselves drawing the carriage and taking in it their mother to the sanctuary of Hera. Opposite them is a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus, and an upright bronze statue of the god made by Lysippus. Going forward from this you see on the right the grave of Phoroneus, to whom even in our time they bring offerings as to a hero. Over against the Nemean Zeus is a temple of Fortune, which must be very old if it be the one in which Palamedes dedicated the dice that he had invented.

[4] τὸ δὲ μνῆμα τὸ πλησίον Χορείας μαινάδος ὀνομάζουσι, Διονύσῳ λέγοντες καὶ ἄλλας γυναῖκας καὶ ταύτην ἐς Ἄργος συστρατεύσασθαι, Περσέα δέ, ὡς ἐκράτει τῆς μάχης, φονεῦσαι τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς πολλὰς: τὰς μὲν οὖν λοιπὰς θάπτουσιν ἐν κοινῷ, ταύτῃ δὲ — ἀξιώματι γὰρ δὴ προεῖχεν — ἰδίᾳ τὸ μνῆμα ἐποίησαν.

[20.4] The tomb near this they call that of the maenad Chorea, saying that she was one of the women who joined Dionysus in his expedition against Argos, and that Perseus, being victorious in the battle, put most of the women to the sword. To the rest they gave a common grave, but to Chorea they gave burial apart because of her high rank.

[5] ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ὠρῶν ἱερόν ἐστιν. ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασι Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἐν τέλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος μαχόμενοι τὸ Θηβαίων ἐτελεύτησαν. τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μόνων ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν κατήγαγεν Αἰσχύλος, πλείονων ἔκ τε Ἄργους ἡγεμόνων καὶ Μεσσηνίας καὶ τινων καὶ Ἀρκάδων στρατευσαμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ — ἐπηκολουθήκασι γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ Αἰσχύλου ποιήσει — πλησίον κεῖνται καὶ οἱ τὰς Θήβας ἐλόντες Αἰγιαλεὺς Ἀδράστου καὶ Πρόμαχος ὁ Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ καὶ Πολύδωρος Ἴππομέδοντος καὶ Θέρσανδρος καὶ οἱ Ἀμφιαράου παῖδες, Ἀλκμαίων τε καὶ Ἀμφύλοχος, Διομήδης τε καὶ Σθέnelος: παρῇν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων Εὐρύαλος Μηκιστέως καὶ Πολυνείκους Ἄδραστος καὶ Τιμέας.

[20.5] A little farther on is a sanctuary of the Seasons. On coming back from here you see statues of Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, and of all the chieftains who with him were killed in battle at the wall of Thebes. These men Aeschylus has reduced to the number of seven only, although there were more chiefs than this in the expedition, from Argos, from Messene, with some even from Arcadia. But the Argives have adopted the number seven from the drama of Aeschylus, and near to their statues are the statues of those who took Thebes: Aegialeus, son of Adrastus; Promachus, son of Parthenopaeus, son of Talaus; Polydorus, son of Hippomedon; Thersander; Alcmaeon and Amphilocheus, the sons of Amphiaras; Diomedes, and Sthenelus. Among their company were also Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, and Adrastus and Timeas, sons of Polyneices.

[6] τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οὐ πόρρω δέικνυται Δαναοῦ μνῆμα καὶ Ἀργείων τάφος κενὸς ὁπόσους ἐν τε Ἰλίῳ καὶ ὀπίσω κομιζομένους ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή. καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν Σωτήρος καὶ παριοὔσιν ἐστὶν οἴκημα: ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἄδωνιν αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀργείων ὀδύρονται. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῷ Κηφισῷ πεποιήται τὸ ἱερόν: τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ τούτῳ τὸ ὕδωρ φασὶν οὐ καθάπαξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφανισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, συνίασιν ὑπὸ γῆν ῥέοντος.

[20.6] Not far from the statues are shown the tomb of Danaus and a cenotaph of the Argives who met their death at Troy or on the journey home. Here there is also a sanctuary of Zeus the Saviour. Beyond it is a building where the Argive

women bewail Adonis. On the right of the entrance is the sanctuary of Cephisus. It is said that the water of this river was not utterly destroyed by Poseidon, but that just in this place, where the sanctuary is, it can be heard flowing under the earth.

[7] παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Κηφισοῦ Μεδοῦσης λίθου πεποιημένη κεφαλὴ: Κυκλώπων φασὶν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐς τόδε Κριτήριον ὀνομάζουσιν, Ὑπερμήστραν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ κριθῆναι λέγοντες. τούτου δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω θέατρον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλα θεὰς ἄξια καὶ ἀνὴρ φονεύων ἐστὶν ἄνδρα, Ὅθρυάδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην Περίλαος Ἀργεῖος ὁ Ἀλκίηορος: Περιλάῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπῆρχε Νεμείων ἀνηρῆσθαι νίκην παλαίοντι.

[20.7] Beside the sanctuary of Cephisus is a head of Medusa made of stone, which is said to be another of the works of the Cyclopes. The ground behind it is called even at the present time the Place of Judgment, because it was here that they say Hypermnestra was brought to judgment by Danaus. Not far from this is a theater. In it are some noteworthy sights, including a representation of a man killing another, namely the Argive Perilaus, the son of Alcenor, killing the Spartan Othryadas. Before this, Perilaus had succeeded in winning the prize for wrestling at the Nemean games.

[8] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ ἔδους Τελέσιλλα ἢ ποιήσασα τὰ ἄσματα ἐπείργασται στήλῃ: καὶ βιβλία μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἔρριπται οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς κράνος ὁρᾷ κατέχουσα τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ μέλλουσα. ἦν δὲ ἡ Τελέσιλλα καὶ ἄλλως ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐδόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτιμᾶτο ἔτι ἐπὶ τῇ ποιήσει. συμβάντος δὲ Ἀργείοις ἀτυχήσαι λόγου μειζόνως πρὸς Κλεομένην τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ πεπτωκότων τῇ μάχῃ, ὅσοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου κατέφευγον διαφθαρέντων καὶ τούτων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐξιόντων κατὰ ὁμολογίαν, ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἀπατώμενοι συγκατακαυθέντων τῷ ἄλσει τῶν λοιπῶν, οὕτω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους Κλεομένης ἤγεν ἐπὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ Ἄργος.

[20.8] Above the theater is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and before the image is a slab with a representation wrought on it in relief of Telesilla, the lyric poetess. Her books lie scattered at her feet, and she herself holds in her hand an helmet, which she is looking at and is about to place on her head. Telesilla was a distinguished woman who was especially renowned for her poetry. It happened that the Argives had suffered an awful defeat at the hands of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, and the Lacedaemonians. Some fell in the actual fighting; others, who had fled to the grove of Argus, also perished. At first they left sanctuary under an agreement, which was treacherously broken, and the survivors, when they realized this, were burnt to death in the grove. So when Cleomenes led his troops to Argos there were no men to defend it.

[9] Τελέσιλλα δὲ οἰκέτας μὲν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητα ἢ γῆρας ὄπλα ἀδύνατοι φέρειν ἦσαν, τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὴ δὲ ὅποσα ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπελείπετο καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄπλα ἀθροίσασα τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικία τῶν γυναικῶν ὥπλιζεν, ὀπλίσασα δὲ ἔτασσε κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἠπίστατο. ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε τῷ ἀλαλαγμῷ κατεπλάγησαν δεξάμεναί τε ἐμάχοντο ἐρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρονήσαντες ὥς καὶ διαφθείρασί σφισι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιφθόνως τὸ κατόρθωμα ἔξει καὶ σφαλεῖσι μετὰ ὀνειδῶν γενήσοιτο ἢ συμφορά, ὑπείκουσι ταῖς γυναιξί.

[20.9] But Telesilla mounted on the wall all the slaves and such as were incapable of bearing arms through youth or old age, and she herself, collecting the arms in the sanctuaries and those that were left in the houses, armed the women of vigorous age, and then posted them where she knew the enemy would attack. When the Lacedaemonians came on, the women were not dismayed at their battle-cry, but stood their ground and fought valiantly. Then the Lacedaemonians, realizing that to destroy the women would be an invidious success while defeat would mean a shameful disaster, gave way before the women.

[10] πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον προεσήμηνεν ἡ Πυθία, καὶ τὸ λόγιον εἶτε ἄλλως εἶτε καὶ ὥς συνεῖς ἐδήλωσεν Ἡρόδοτος: “ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρρενα νικήσασα

ἐξέλῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται,

πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφείας τότε θήσει.

“Hdt 6.77

τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον τῶν γυναικῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ χρησιμοῦ ταῦτα ἦν:

[20.10] This fight had been foretold by the Pythian priestess in the oracle quoted by Herodotus, who perhaps understood to what it referred and perhaps did not:—

But when the time shall come that the female conquers in battle,
Driving away the male, and wins great glory in Argos,
Many an Argive woman will tear both cheeks in her sorrow. Hdt. 6.77

Such are the words of the oracle referring to the exploit of the women.

21. κατελθοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τραπεῖσιν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔστι μὲν Κερδοῦς Φωρωνέως γυναικὸς μνήμα, ἔστι δὲ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πειθοῦς, Ὑπερμήστρα καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέθηκε νικήσασα τῇ δίκῃ τὸν πατέρα ἦν τοῦ Λυγκέως ἔνεκα ἔφυγε. καὶ Αἰνεῖον ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἐστι καὶ χωρίον καλούμενον Δέλτα: ἐφ’ ὅτῳ δέ — οὐ γάρ μοι τὰ λεγόμενα ἤρεσκεν — , ἐκὼν παρήμι.

[21.1] XXI. Having descended thence, and having turned again to the market-place, we come to the tomb of Cerdo, the wife of Phoroneus, and to a temple

of Asclepius. The sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Persuasion, is another offering of Hypermnestra after winning the trial to which she was brought by her father because of Lynceus. Here there is also a bronze statue of Aeneas, and a place called Delta. I intentionally do not discuss the origin of the name, because I could not accept the traditional accounts.

[2] πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς καὶ πλησίον Ὑπερμήστρας μνήμα Ἀμφιαράου μητρός, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ὑπερμήστρας τῆς Λαναοῦ: σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ Λυγκεὺς τέθαιπται. τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Τालαοῦ τοῦ Βιάντος ἔστι τάφος: τὰ δὲ ἐς Βιάντα καὶ ἀπογόνους τοῦ Βιάντος ἥδη λέλεκται μοι.

[21.2] In front of it stands an altar of Zeus Phyxius (God of Fight), and near is the tomb of Hypermnestra, the mother of Amphiaras, the other tomb being that of Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, with whom is also buried Lynceus. Opposite these is the grave of Talaus, the son of Bias; the history of Bias and his descendants I have already given.

[3] Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερόν φασιν Ἡγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Λυδῆς, Τυρσηνὸν δὲ σάλπιγγα εὐρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἡγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρσηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριέας τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸν ψόφον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαι Σάλπιγγα. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐπιμενίδου λέγουσιν εἶναι τάφον: Λακεδαιμονίους γὰρ πολεμήσαντας πρὸς Κνωσσίους ἐλεῖν ζῶντα Ἐπιμενίδην, λαβόντας δὲ ἀποκτείνειν, διότι σφίσιν οὐκ αἴσια ἐμαντεύετο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνελόμενοι θάψαι αὐτῇ φασί.

[21.3] A sanctuary of Athena Trumpet they say was founded by Hegeleos. This Hegeleos, according to the story, was the son of Tyrsenus, and Tyrsenus was the son of Heracles and the Lydian woman; Tyrsenus invented the trumpet, and Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenus, taught the Dorians with Temenus how to play the instrument, and for this reason gave Athena the surname Trumpet. Before the temple of Athena is, they say, the grave of Epimenides. The Argive story is that the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Cnossians and took Epimenides alive; they then put him to death for not prophesying good luck to them, and the Argives taking his body buried it here.

[4] τὸ δὲ οἰκοδόμημα λευκοῦ λίθου κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Πύρρῳ τῷ Ἡπειρώτῃ, καθὰ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καυθέντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ νεκροῦ μνήμα καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εὔροι τις, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσοις ὁ Πύρρος ἐχρήτο ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πυρὰν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἐγένετο: αὐτὰ δὲ κεῖται τοῦ Πύρρου τὰ ὅσῃ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δήμητρος, παρ' ᾧ συμβῆναι οἱ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ατθίδι συγγραφῇ. τοῦ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱεροῦ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον ἀσπίδα ἰδεῖν Πύρρου χαλκῆν ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνακειμένην.

[21.4] The building of white marble in just about the middle of the marketplace is not, as the Argives declare, a trophy in honor of a victory over Pyrrhus of Epeirus, but it can be shown that his body was burnt here, and that this is his

monument, on which are carved in relief the elephants and his other instruments of warfare. This building then was set up where the pyre stood, but the bones of Pyrrhus lie in the sanctuary of Demeter, beside which, as I have shown in my account of Attica, his death occurred. At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter you can see a bronze shield of Pyrrhus hanging dedicated over the door.

[5] τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Ἀργείων οἰκοδομήματος οὐ μακρὰν χῶμα γῆς ἐστίν· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν Μεδούσης λέγουσι τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν. ἀπόντος δὲ τοῦ μύθου τάδε ἄλλα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα· Φόρκου μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλεύειν τῶν περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα οἰκοῦντων καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν τε ἐξίεναι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς Λίβυσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀντικαθημένην στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν Περσέως δύναμιν — ἐπεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τῷ Περσεῖ λογάδας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου — δολοφονηθῆναι νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τὸ κάλλος ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ θαυμάζοντα οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντα αὐτῆς ἄγειν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν.

[21.5] Not far from the building in the market-place of Argos is a mound of earth, in which they say lies the head of the Gorgon Medusa. I omit the miraculous, but give the rational parts of the story about her. After the death of her father, Phorcus, she reigned over those living around Lake Tritonis, going out hunting and leading the Libyans to battle. On one such occasion, when she was encamped with an army over against the forces of Perseus, who was followed by picked troops from the Peloponnesus, she was assassinated by night. Perseus, admiring her beauty even in death, cut off her head and carried it to show the Greeks.

[6] Καρχηδονίῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ Προκλεῖ τῷ Εὐκράτους ἕτερος λόγος ὅδε ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τοῦ προτέρου πιθανώτερος. Λιβύης ἢ ἔρημος καὶ ἄλλα παρέχεται θηρία ἀκούσασιν οὐ πιστὰ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐνταῦθα ἄγριοι καὶ ἄγριαι γίνονται γυναῖκες· ἔλεγε τε ὁ Προκλῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν κοιμισθέντα ἐς Ῥώμην. εἵκαζεν οὖν πλανηθεῖσαν γυναῖκα ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἀφικομένην ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς προσοίκους, ἐς ὃ Περσεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτήν· Ἀθηναίαν δὲ οἱ συνεπιλαβέσθαι δοκεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα ἄνθρωποι ταύτης εἰσὶν ἱεροί.

[21.6] But Procles, the son of Eucrates, a Carthaginian, thought a different account more plausible than the preceding. It is as follows. Among the incredible monsters to be found in the Libyan desert are wild men and wild women. Procles affirmed that he had seen a man from them who had been brought to Rome. So he guessed that a woman wandered from them, reached Lake Tritonis, and harried the neighbours until Perseus killed her; Athena was supposed to have helped him in this exploit, because the people who live around Lake Tritonis are sacred to her.

[7] ἐν δὲ Ἀργεὶ παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ μνημα τῆς Γοργόνης Γοργοφόνης τάφος ἐστὶ

τῆς Περσέως. καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη, δῆλον εὐθὺς ἀκούσαντι: γυναικῶν δὲ πρώτην αὐτὴν φασὶ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Περιήρους τοῦ Αἰόλου — τούτῳ γὰρ παρθένος συνώκησε — , τὴν δὲ αὖθις Οἰβάλα γήμασθαι: πρότερον δὲ καθεστήκει ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀποθανόντι χηρεῦειν.

[21.7] In Argos, by the side of this monument of the Gorgon, is the grave of Gorgophone (Gorgon-killer), the daughter of Perseus. As soon as you hear the name you can understand the reason why it was given her. On the death of her husband, Perieres, the son of Aeolus, whom she married when a virgin, she married Oebalus, being the first woman, they say, to marry a second time; for before this wives were wont, on the death of their husbands, to live as widows.

[8] τοῦ τάφου δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τρόπαιον λίθου πεποίηται κατὰ ἀνδρὸς Ἀργεῖου Λαφάου: τοῦτον γὰρ — γράφω δὲ ὅποσα λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Ἀργεῖοι — τυραννοῦντα ἐξέβαλεν ἐπαναστὰς ὁ δῆμος, φυγόντα δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατάγειν ἐπειρῶντο ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ μάχῃ Λαφάν τε καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Λητοῦς ἔστι μὲν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τροπαίου, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους.

[21.8] In front of the grave is a trophy of stone made to commemorate a victory over an Argive Laphaes. When this man was tyrant I write what the Argives themselves say concerning themselves — the people rose up against him and cast him out. He fled to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians tried to restore him to power, but were defeated by the Argives, who killed the greater part of them and Laphaes as well. Not far from the trophy is the sanctuary of Leto; the image is a work of Praxiteles.

[9] τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα παρὰ τῇ θεῷ τῆς παρθένου Χλῶριν ὀνομάζουσι, Νιόβης μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι λέγοντες, Μελίβοιαν δὲ καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς: ἀπολλυμένων δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶν Ἀμφίονος παίδων περιγενέσθαι μόνην τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταύτην καὶ Ἀμύκλαν, περιγενέσθαι δὲ εὖζαμένους τῇ Λητοῖ. Μελίβοιαν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι παραντίκα τε χλωρὰν τὸ δεῖμα ἐποίησε καὶ ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου παρέμεινεν ὥς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἀντὶ Μελιβοίας αὐτῇ γενέσθαι Χλῶριν.

[21.9] The statue of the maiden beside the goddess they call Chloris (Pale), saying that she was a daughter of Niobe, and that she was called Meliboea at the first. When the children of Amphion were destroyed by Apollo and Arternis, she alone of her sisters, along with Amyclas, escaped; their escape was due to their prayers to Leto. Meliboea was struck so pale by her fright, not only at the time but also for the rest of her life, that even her name was accordingly changed from Meliboea to Chloris.

[10] τούτους δὴ φασιν Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκοδομῆσαι τῇ Λητοῖ τὸν ναόν:

ἐγὼ δὲ — πρόσκειμαι γὰρ πλέον τι ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει — δοκῶ τῇ Νιόβῃ τῶν παίδων μηδένα ὑπόλοιπον γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τὸ ἔπος”τὼ δ’ ἄρα καὶ δοιῶ περ ἐόντ’ ἀπὸ πάντας ὄλεσαν.

“Hom. II 24.609

οὗτος μὲν δὴ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίονος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατραπέντα οἶδε:

[21.10] Now the Argives say that these two built originally the temple to Leto, but I think that none of Niobe’s children survived, for I place more reliance than others on the poetry of Homer, one of whose verses bears out my view:—

Though they were only two, yet they gave all to destruction. Hom. II. 24.609

So Homer knows that the house of Amphion was utterly overthrown.

22. τῆς δὲ Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς τῆς Ἀνθείας ἐστὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Λητοῦς ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γυναικῶν τάφος. ἀπέθανον δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν μάχῃ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ Περσέα, ἀπὸ νήσων τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ Διονύσῳ συνεστρατευμένοι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀλίας αὐτὰς ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ μνήματος τῶν γυναικῶν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ τάφος Πελασγοῦ.

[22.1] XXII. The temple of Hera Anthea (Flowery) is on the right of the sanctuary of Leto, and before it is a grave of women. They were killed in a battle against the Argives under Perseus, having come from the Aegean Islands to help Dionysus in war; for which reason they are surnamed Haliae (Women of the Sea). Facing the tomb of the women is a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Pelasgian from Pelasgus, son of Triopas, its founder, and not far from the sanctuary is the grave of Pelasgus.

[2] πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου χαλκεῖόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς. Λυκέας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανέως τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διός, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμενεῖν πολεμοῦντας, ἔστ’ ἂν ἡ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῇ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ: ἐτέροις δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὅσα ἐν τῷ χαλκεῖῳ κεῖσθαι Ταντάλου.

[22.2] Opposite the grave is a small bronze vessel supporting ancient images of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena. Now Lyceas in his poem says that the image is of Zeus Mechaneus (Contriver), and that here the Argives who set out against Troy swore to hold out in the war until they either took Troy or met their end fighting. Others have said that in the bronze vessel lie the bones of Tantalus.

[3] τὸν μὲν δὴ Θυέστου παῖδα ἢ Βροτέου — λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω — , ὃς Κλυταιμνήστρα πρότερον ἢ Ἀγαμέμνων συνώκησε, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν Τάνταλον οὐ διοίσομαι ταφῆναι ταύτῃ: τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Διὸς τε εἶναι καὶ Πλουτοῦς ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ τάφον θεᾶς ἄξιον. πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη συνέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς Σιπύλου φυγεῖν αὐτόν, ὥς Πέλοπα ἐπέλαβεν ὕστερον ἐλαύνοντος Ἴλου τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατεία.

τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω: τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόθρον τὸν πλησίον δρώμενα Νικόστρατον ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον καταστήσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἀφίᾳσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐς τὸν βόθρον καιομένας λαμπάδας Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος.

[22.3] Now that the Tantalus is buried here who was the son of Thyestes or Broteas (both accounts are given) and married Clytaemnestra before Agamemnon did, I will not gainsay; but the grave of him who legend says was son of Zeus and Pluto – it is worth seeing – is on Mount Sipylus. I know because I saw it. Moreover, no constraint came upon him to flee from Sipylus, such as afterwards forced Pelops to run away when Ilus the Phrygian launched an army against him. But I must pursue the inquiry no further. The ritual performed at the pit hard by they say was instituted by Nicostratus, a native. Even at the present day they throw into the pit burning torches in honor of the Maid who is daughter of Demeter.

[4] ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Προσκλυστίου: τῆς γὰρ χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φασιν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι Ἥρας εἶναι καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν Ἴναχος καὶ οἱ συνδικάσαντες ἔγνωσαν. Ἥρα μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος εὗρετο ἀπελθεῖν ὀπίσω τὴν θάλασσαν: Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅθεν τὸ κῆμα ἀνεχώρησεν, ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνι ἐποίησαν Προσκλυστίῳ.

[22.4] Here is a sanctuary of Poseidon, surnamed Prosclystius (Flooder), for they say that Poseidon inundated the greater part of the country because Inachus and his assessors decided that the land belonged to Hera and not to him. Now it was Hera who induced Poseidon to send the sea back, but the Argives made a sanctuary to Poseidon Prosclystius at the spot where the tide ebbed.

[5] προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺν τάφος ἐστὶν Ἄργου Διὸς εἶναι δοκοῦντος καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως Νιόβης: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός. ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν Ἄναξιν καὶ Μνασίνους, σὺν δὲ σφισιν αἱ μητέρες Ἰλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη, τέχνη μὲν Διποῖνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, ξύλου δὲ ἐβένου: τοῖς δ' ἵπποις τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐβένου καὶ τούτοις, ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποιήται.

[22.5] Going on a little further you see the grave of Argus, reputed to be the son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus. After these comes a temple of the Dioscuri. The images represent the Dioscuri themselves and their sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous, and with them are their mothers, Hilaeira and Phoebe. They are of ebony wood, and were made by Dipoenus and Scyllis. The horses, too, are mostly of ebony, but there is a little ivory also in their construction.

[6] πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ἀνάκτων Εἰληθυίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης, ὅτε σὺν Πειρίθῳ Θησέως ἀπελθόντος ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς Ἀφιδνά τε ὑπὸ Διοσκούρων ἐάλω καὶ ἦγετο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Ἑλένη. ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ἐν γαστρί, τεκοῦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀργεῖ καὶ τῆς Εἰληθυίας ἰδρυσαμένην τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν μὲν παῖδα ἦν ἔτεκε Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ δοῦναι — συνοικεῖν γὰρ ἦδη Κλυταιμνήστραν Ἀγαμέμνονι — , αὐτὴν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Μενελάῳ γήμασθαι.

[22.6] Near the Lords is a sanctuary of Eilethia, dedicated by Helen when, Theseus having gone away with Peirithous to Thesprotia, Aphidna had been captured by the Dioscuri and Helen was being brought to Lacedaemon. For it is said that she was with child, was delivered in Argos, and founded there the sanctuary of Eilethia, giving the daughter she bore to Clytaemnestra, who was already wedded to Agamemnon, while she herself subsequently married Menelaus.

[7] καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Εὐφορίων Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Πλευρώνιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπη ποιήσαντες, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος, κατὰ ταῦτα φασιν Ἀργείοις Θησέως εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰφιγένειαν. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Εἰληθείας πέραν ἔστιν Ἑκάτης ναός, Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον. τοῦτο μὲν λίθου· τὰ δ' ἀπαντικρὺ χαλκῷ, Ἑκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυκλείτου Ναυκύδης†Μόθωνος.

[22.7] And on this matter the poets Euphorion of Chalcis and Alexander of Pleuron, and even before them, Stesichorus of Himera, agree with the Argives in asserting that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus. Over against the sanctuary of Eilethia is a temple of Hecate, and the image is a work of Scopas. This one is of stone, while the bronze images opposite, also of Hecate, were made respectively by Polycleitus and his brother Naucydes, son of Mothon.

[8] ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ὁδὸν εὐθείαν ἐς γυμνάσιον Κυλάραβιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ὀνομαζόμενον τοῦ Σθενέλου, τέθαιπται δὴ Λικύμνιος ὁ Ἥλεκτρύωνος· ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ Τληπτολέμου φησὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ διὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦτον ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἀργους Τληπτόλεμος. ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Κυλάραβιν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πύλην ἀποτραπέεισι Σακάδα μνημῆα ἔστιν, ὃς τὸ αὐλῆμα τὸ Πυθικὸν πρῶτος ἡύλησεν ἐν Δελφοῖς:

[22.8] As you go along a straight road to a gymnasium, called Cylarabis after the son of Sthenelus, you come to the grave of Licymnius, the son of Electryon, who, Homer says, was killed by Tleptolemus, the son of Heracles for which homicide Tleptolemus was banished from Argos. On turning a little aside from the road to Cylarabis and to the gate there, you come to the tomb of Sacadas, who was the first to play at Delphi the Pythian flute-tune;

[9] καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Ἀπόλλωνι διαμένον ἐς τοὺς αὐλητὰς ἔτι ἀπὸ Μαρσίου καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης τοῦ Σιληνοῦ παυθῆναι διὰ τοῦτον δοκεῖ τὸν Σακάδαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ γυμνασίῳ τῇ Κυλαράβου καὶ Πανία ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶ καλουμένη καὶ τάφον Σθενέλου δεικνύουσι, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ Κυλαράβου. πεποιήται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ γυμνασίου πολὺν ἀνδρῖον τοῖς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πλεύσασιν Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει Συρακουσῶν τε καὶ Σικελίας.

[22.9] the hostility of Apollo to flute-players, which had lasted ever since the rivalry of Marsyas the Silenus, is supposed to have stayed because of this Sacadas. In the gymnasium of Cylarabes is an Athena called Pania; they show also the graves of Sthenelus and of Cylarabes himself. Not far from the

gymnasium has been built a common grave of those Argives who sailed with the Athenians to enslave Syracuse and Sicily.

23. ἐντεῦθεν ἐρχομένοις ὁδὸν καλουμένην Κοίλῃν ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Διονύσου: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐξ Εὐβοίας. συμβάσης γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῆς πρὸς τῷ Καφηρεῖ ναυαγίας, τοὺς δυνηθέντας ἐς τὴν γῆν διαφυγεῖν τῶν Ἀργείων ῥίγος τε πιάζει καὶ λιμός. εὐξαμένοις δὲ θεῶν τινα ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπόροις γενέσθαι σωτῆρα, αὐτίκα ὡς προήεσαν ἐφάνη σφίσι Διονύσου σπήλαιον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ: τότε δὲ αἶγες ἄγριαι φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἡθορισμένοι. ταύτας οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σφάζαντες τὰ τε κρέα ἐδείπνησαν καὶ δέρμασιν ἐχρήσαντο ἀντὶ ἐσθῆτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἐπισκευάσαντες τὰς ναῦς οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἐπάγονται τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου ξόανον:

[23.1] XXIII. As you go from here along a road called Hollow there is on the right a temple of Dionysus; the image, they say, is from Euboea. For when the Greeks, as they were returning from Troy, met with the shipwreck at Caphereus, those of the Argives who were able to escape to land suffered from cold and hunger. Having prayed that someone of the gods should prove himself a saviour in their present distress, straightway as they advanced they came upon a cave of Dionysus; in the cave was an image of the god, and on this occasion wild she-goats had gathered there to escape from the storm. These the Argives killed, using the flesh as food and the skins as raiment. When the storm was over and the Argives, having refitted their ships, were returning home, they took with them the wooden image from the cave, and continue to honor it to the present day.

[2] καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἐς τόδε τιμῶντες ἔτι. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐγγυτάτῳ οἰκίαν ὄψει τὴν Ἀδράστου καὶ ἀπωτέρω ταύτης ἱερὸν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέραν Ἐριφύλης μνήμα. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέμενος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἱερὸν Βάτωνος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάτων γένους Ἀμφιαράῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν καὶ ἐς μάχην ἐξιώντι ἡνιόχει τοὺς ἵππους: γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίων τείχους χάσμα γῆς Ἀμφιάρων καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑποδεξάμενον ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Βάτωνα.

[23.2] Very near to the temple of Dionysus you will see the house of Adrastus, farther on a sanctuary of Amphiarus, and opposite the sanctuary the tomb of Eriphyle. Next to these is a precinct of Asclepius, and after them a sanctuary of Baton. Now Baton belonged to the same family as Amphiarus, to the Melampodidae, and served as his charioteer when he went forth to battle. When the rout took place at the wall of Thebes, the earth opened and received Amphiarus and his chariot, swallowing up this Baton at the same time.

[3] ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης Ὑρνηθοῦς τάφον λέγουσιν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ κενὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός, εἰκότα λέγουσιν: εἰ δὲ τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς κεῖσθαι τὸν νεκρὸν νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, ἐγὼ μὲν σφισιν οὐ

πειθόμεαι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὅστις τὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων οὐ πέπυσται.

[23.3] Returning from Hollow Street, you see what they say is the grave of Hymetho. If they allow that it is merely a cenotaph erected to the memory of the lady, their account is likely enough but if they believe that the corpse lies here I cannot credit it, and leave anyone to do so who has not learnt the history of Epidaurus.

[4] τὸ δ' ἐπιφανέστατον Ἀργείοις τῶν Ἀσκληπιείων ἄγαλμα ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει καθήμενον Ἀσκληπιὸν λίθου λευκοῦ, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔστηκεν Ὑγεία: κάθονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες τὰ ἀγάλματα Ξενόφιλος καὶ Στράτων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἰδρύσατο Σφῦρος τὸ ἱερόν, Μαχάονος μὲν υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλεξάνορος τοῦ παρὰ Σικυωνίους ἐν Τιτάνῃ τιμᾶς ἔχοντος.

[23.4] The most famous sanctuary of Asclepius at Argos contains at the present day a white-marble image of the god seated, and by his side stands Health. There are also seated figures of Xenophilus and Straton, who made the images. The original founder of the sanctuary was Sphyrus, son of Machaon and brother of the Alexanor who is honored among the Sicyonians in Titane.

[5] τῆς δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Φεραίας — σέβουσι γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Φεραῖαν Ἄρτεμιν κατὰ ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίους καὶ Σικυωνίους — τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ οὗτοί φασιν ἐκ Φερῶν τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κομισθῆναι. τάδε δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁμολογῶ: λέγουσι γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι Δηιανείρας ἐν Ἄργει μνημα εἶναι τῆς Οἰνέως τό τε Ἑλένου τοῦ Πριάμου, καὶ ἄγαλμα κεῖσθαι παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἐκκομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ ἁλῶναι ποιῆσαν Ἴλιον. τὸ μὲν δὴ Παλλάδιον — καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτω — δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐς Ἰταλίαν κομισθὲν ὑπὸ Αἰνείου: Δηιανείρα δὲ τὴν τελευταίην περὶ Τραχίνα ἴσμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐν Ἄργει γενομένην, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τάφος αὐτῇ πλησίον Ἡρακλείας τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Οἴτῃ.

[23.5] The Argives, like the Athenians and Sicyonians, worship Artemis Pheraea, and they, too, assert that the image of the goddess was brought from Pherae in Thessaly. But I cannot agree with them when they say that in Argos are the tombs of Deianeira, the daughter of Oeneus, and of Helenus, son of Priam, and that there is among them the image of Athena that was brought from Troy, thus causing the capture of that city. For the Palladium, as it is called, was manifestly brought to Italy by Aeneas. As to Deianeira, we know that her death took place near Trachis and not in Argos, and her grave is near Heraclea, at the foot of Mount Oeta.

[6] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑλένον τὸν Πριάμου δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι, μετὰ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχλλέως αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἥπειρον καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦσαι τε τοὺς Πύρρου παῖδας συνοικοῦντα Ἀνδρομάχῃ καὶ τὴν Κεστρίνην καλουμένην ἀπὸ Κεστρίνου τοῦ Ἑλένου λαβεῖν τὸ ὄνομα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν λέληθεν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ὅτι μὴ πάντα ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ λέγεται σφισι, λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως: οὐ γάρ τι ἔτοιμον μεταπεῖσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐναντία ὧν δοξάζουσιν.

[23.6] The story of Helenus, son of Priam, I have already given: that he went to

Epeirus with Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles; that, wedded to Andromache, he was guardian to the children of Pyrrhus and that the district called Cestrine received its name from Cestrinus, son of Helenus. Now even the guides of the Argives themselves are aware that their account is not entirely correct. Nevertheless they hold to their opinion, for it is not easy to make the multitude change their views. The Argives have other things worth seeing;

[7] ἄλλα δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀργείοις θέας ἄξια: κατὰ γαίον οἰκοδόμημα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἦν ὁ χαλκοῦς θάλαμος, ὃν Ἀκρίσιός ποτε ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐποίησε: Περίλαος δὲ καθεῖλεν αὐτὸν τυραννήσας. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι καὶ Κροτώπου μνῆμα καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς Κρησίου. Περσεὶ γὰρ πολεμήσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐθις ἐλθόντα ἐς λύσιν τοῦ ἔχθους τά τε ἄλλα τιμηθῆναι μέγας λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων καὶ τέμενός οἱ δοθῆναι τοῦτο ἐξαίρετον:

[23.7] for instance, an underground building over which was the bronze chamber which Acrisius once made to guard his daughter. Perilaus, however, when he became tyrant, pulled it down. Besides this building there is the tomb of Crotopus and a temple of Cretan Dionysus. For they say that the god, having made war on Perseus, afterwards laid aside his enmity, and received great honors at the hands of the Argives, including this precinct set specially apart for himself.

[8] Κρησίου δὲ ὕστερον ὠνομάσθη, διότι Ἀριάδνην ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα. Λυκέας δὲ λέγει κατασκευαζομένου δεύτερον τοῦ ναοῦ κεραμέαν εὑρεθῆναι σορόν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀριάδνης αὐτήν: καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἄλλους Ἀργείων ἰδεῖν ἔφη τὴν σορόν. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶν Οὐρανίας.

[23.8] It was afterwards called the precinct of the Cretan god, because, when Ariadne died, Dionysus buried her here. But Lyceas says that when the temple was being rebuilt an earthenware coffin was found, and that it was Ariadne's. He also said that both he himself and other Argives had seen it. Near the temple of Dionysus is a temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.

ACROPOLIS OF ARGOS

24. τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν Λάρισαν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγοῦ θυγατρὸς: ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλεων, ἧς τε ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὸν Πηγεῖον, ὠνομάσθησαν. ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκράϊας Ἥρας τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν Πυθαεὺς πρῶτος παραγενόμενος ἐκ Δελφῶν λέγεται ποιῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθόν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλωνος καλούμενος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται Δειράς. ἡ δὲ οἱ μαντικὴ — μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς — καθέστηκεν τρόπον τοῦτον. γυνὴ μὲν προφητεύουσα ἐστὶν, ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς εἰργομένη: θυομένης δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀρνὸς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, γευσαμένη δὲ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ γυνὴ κάτοχος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται.

[24.1] XXIV. The citadel they call Larisa, after the daughter of Pelasgus. After

her were also named two of the cities in Thessaly, the one by the sea and the one on the Peneus. As you go up the citadel you come to the sanctuary of Hera of the Height, and also a temple of Apollo, which is said to have been first built by Pythaeus when he came from Delphi. The present image is a bronze standing figure called Apollo Deiradiotes, because this place, too, is called Deiras (Ridge). Oracular responses are still given here, and the oracle acts in the following way. There is a woman who prophesies, being debarred from intercourse with a man. Every month a lamb is sacrificed at night, and the woman, after tasting the blood, becomes inspired by the god.

[2] τοῦ Δειραδιώτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχεται μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὁξυδερκοῦς καλουμένης, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα, ὅτι οἱ μαχομένῳ ποτὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφεῖλεν ἡ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· ἔχεται δὲ τὸ στάδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Νεμεΐῳ Διὶ καὶ τὰ Ἥραϊα ἄγουσιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων καὶ ταύτῃ μνημα. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνταῦθα αἱ κεφαλαί, χωρὶς δὲ ἐν Λέρνη ὅσῳματα τὰ λοιπά· ἐν Λέρνη γὰρ καὶ ὁ φόνος ἐξειργάσθη τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἀποτέμνουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπόδειξιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὧν ἐτόλμησαν.

[24.2] Adjoining the temple of Apollo Deiradiotes is a sanctuary of Athena Oxyderces (Sharp-sighted), dedicated by Diomedes, because once when he was fighting at Troy the goddess removed the mist from his eyes. Adjoining it is the race-course, in which they hold the games in honor of Nemean Zeus and the festival of Hera. As you go to the citadel there is on the left of the road another tomb of the children of Aegyptus. For here are the heads apart from the bodies, which are at Lerna. For it was at Lerna that the youths were murdered, and when they were dead their wives cut off their heads, to prove to their father that they had done the dreadful deed.

[3] ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκες ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστι θεᾶς ἄξιος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῷον ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πρίαμος τὸν βωμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο, λαμβάνει Σθένελος ὁ Καπανέως αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνάκειται μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα:

[24.3] On the top of Larisa is a temple of Zeus, surnamed Larisaean, which has no roof; the wooden image I found no longer standing upon its pedestal. There is also a temple of Athena worth seeing. Here are placed votive offerings, including a wooden image of Zeus, which has two eyes in the natural place and a third on its forehead. This Zeus, they say, was a paternal god of Priam, the son of Laomedon, set up in the uncovered part of his court, and when Troy was taken by the Greeks Priam took sanctuary at the altar of this god. When the spoils were divided, Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, received the image,

and for this reason it has been dedicated here.

[4] τρεῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἂν τις τεκμαίροιο αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὗτος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃν δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὅμηρου Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον:”Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνηα.

“Hom. Il 9.457 Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὀρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν.

[24.4] The reason for its three eyes one might infer to be this. That Zeus is king in heaven is a saying common to all men. As for him who is said to rule under the earth, there is a verse of Homer which calls him, too, Zeus:—

Zeus of the Underworld, and the august Persephonea. Hom. Il. 9.457

The god in the sea, also, is called Zeus by Aeschylus, the son of Euphorion. So whoever made the image made it with three eyes, as signifying that this same god rules in all the three “allotments” of the Universe, as they are called.

MT LYCONE & MT CHAON

[5] ὁδοὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ κατ’ ἄλλα εἰσὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς Ἀρκαδίας ἐπὶ Τεγέαν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκῶνη, δένδρα κυπαρίσσου μάλιστα ἔχουσα. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας ἱερὸν, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποιήται λευκοῦ λίθου: Πολυκλείτου δὲ φασὶν εἶναι ἔργα. καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους αἰθῆς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος.

[24.5] From Argos are roads to various parts of the Peloponnesus, including one to Tegea on the side towards Arcadia. On the right is Mount Lycone, which has trees on it, chiefly cypresses. On the top of the mountain is built a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (of the Steep), and there have been made white-marble images of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, which they say are works of Polycleitus. On descending again from the mountain you see on the left of the highway a temple of Artemis.

[6] ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Χάον ἐστὶν ὄρος ὀνομαζόμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ δένδρα πέφυκεν ἡμερα καὶ ἄνεισι τοῦ Ἐρασίνου φανερόν ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ: τέως δὲ ἐκ Στυμφάλου ῥεῖ τῆς Ἀρκαδῶν ὥσπερ ἐξ Εὐρίπου κατὰ Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὴν ταύτην θάλασσαν οἱ Πειτοί. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἐρασίνου ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐκβολαῖς Διονύσῳ καὶ Πανὶ θύουσι, τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι καλουμένην Τύρβην.

[24.6] A little farther on there is on the right of the road a mountain called Chaon. At its foot grow cultivated trees, and here the water of the Erasinus rises to the surface. Up to this point it flows from Stymphalus in Arcadia, just as the Rheiti, near the sea at Eleusis, flow from the Euripus. At the places where the Erasinus gushes forth from the mountain they sacrifice to Dionysus

and to Pan, and to Dionysus they also hold a festival called Tyrbe (Throng).

CENCHREAE & HYSIAE

[7] ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Τεγέας ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Τρόχου Κεγχρεαί. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν, οὐ λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα ὀνομάσθη διὰ τὸν Πειρήνης παῖδα Κεγχρίαν. καὶ πολυάνδρια ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Ὑσιάζ. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὗρισκον Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Πεισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εικοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν Εὐρύβοτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. καταβάντος δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλώτερον ἐρείπια Ὑσιῶν ἐστὶ πόλεώς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι, καὶ τὸ παῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.

[24.7] On returning to the road that leads to Tegea you see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. Why the place received this name they do not say. Perhaps in this case also it was Cenchrias, son of Peirene, that caused it to be so called. Here are common graves of the Argives who conquered the Lacedaemonians in battle at Hysiae. This fight took place, I discovered, when Peisistratus was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, in which the Athenian, Eurybotus, won the foot-race. On coming down to a lower level you reach the ruins of Hysiae, which once was a city in Argolis, and here it is that they say the Lacedaemonians suffered their reverse.

OENOE & MT ARTEMISIUS

25. ἡ δ' ἐς Μαντίνειαν ἄγουσα ἐξ Ἄργους ἐστὶν οὐχ ἥπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἱερὸν διπλοῦν πεποιήται, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἔσοδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐτέραν ἔχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται ξόανον, πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἄρεως· εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα· Πολυνείκους λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἀργείων, ὅσοι τιμωρήσοντες αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο.

[25.1] XXV. The road from Argos to Mantinea is not the same as that to Tegea, but begins from the gate at the Ridge. On this road is a sanctuary built with two rooms, having an entrance on the west side and another on the east. At the latter is a wooden image of Aphrodite, and at the west entrance one of Ares. They say that the images are votive offerings of Polyneices and of the Argives who joined him in the campaign to redress his wrongs.

[2] προελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτόθεν διαβάντων ποταμὸν χεῖμαρρον Χάραδρον καλούμενον ἐστὶν Οἰνότη, τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα, ὡς Ἀργεῖοι φασιν, ἀπὸ Οἰνέως. Οἰνέα γὰρ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα ἐν Αἰτωλία λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγρίου παίδων ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς παρὰ Διομήδην ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐτιμώρησεν αὐτῷ στρατεύσας ἐς τὴν Καλυδωνίαν, παραμένειν δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἱ δύνασθαι· συνακολουθεῖν δέ, εἰ βούλοιτο, ἐς Ἄργος ἐκείνον ἐκέλευεν. ἀφικόμενον δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐθεράπευεν, ὡς πατὴρ θεραπεύειν πατέρα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα. ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν Οἰνότη χωρίον ἐστὶν

Ἀργεῖοις:

[25.2] Farther on from here, across the torrent called Charadrus (Gully), is Oenoe, named, the Argives say, after Oeneus. The story is that Oeneus, who was king in Aetolia, on being driven from his throne by the sons of Agrius, took refuge with Diomedes at Argos, who aided him by an expedition into Calydonia, but said that he could not remain with him, and urged Oeneus to accompany him, if he wished, to Argos. When he came, he gave him all the attention that it was right to give a father's father, and on his death buried him here. After him the Argives name the place Oenoe.

[3] ὑπὲρ δὲ Οἰνόνης ὄρος ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῷ ὄρει καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου: πηγαὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ ὄντι εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξικνεῖται τῆς γῆς.

[25.3] Above Oenoe is Mount Artemisius, with a sanctuary of Artemis on the top. On this mountain are also the springs of the river Inachus. For it really has springs, though the water does not run far.

LYRCEA & ORNEAE

[4] ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ θεὰς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν ἄξιον: ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Λύρκειαν. ἐς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸ χωρίον Λυγκέα ἀποσωθῆναι τῶν πεντήκοντα ἀδελφῶν μόνον: καὶ ἡνίκα ἐσώθη, πυρσὸν ἀνέσχεν ἐντεῦθεν. συνέκειτο δὲ ἄρα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Ὑπερμήστραν ἀνασχεῖν τὸν πυρσόν, ἦν διαφυγὼν Δαναὸν ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ἀφίκεται ποι: τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνάψαι λέγουσιν ἕτερον ἀπὸ τῆς Λαρίσης, δηλα καὶ ταύτην ποιοῦσαν ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ καθέστηκεν ἔτι κινδύνῳ. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πυρσῶν ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι.

[25.4] Here I found nothing else that is worth seeing. There is another road, that leads to Lyrcea from the gate at the Ridge. The story is that to this place came Lynceus, being the only one of the fifty brothers to escape death, and that on his escape he raised a beacon here. Now to raise the beacon was the signal he had agreed with Hypermnestra to give if he should escape Danaus and reach a place of safety. She also, they say, lighted a beacon on Larisa as a sign that she too was now out of danger. For this reason the Argives hold every year a beacon festival.

[5] τὸ δὲ χωρίον τότε μὲν Λυγκεία ἐκαλεῖτο, οἰκήσαντος δὲ ὕστερον ἐν αὐτῷ Λύρκου — παῖς δὲ ἦν Ἀβαντος νόθος — τὸ ὄνομα δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε: καὶ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις καὶ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ στήλῃ τοῦ Λύρκου. ἐς μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα που στάδια, ἐκ δὲ Λυρκείας ἕτερα τοσαῦτα ἐς Ὀρνεάς. Λυρκείας μὲν δὴ πόλεως, ἅτε ἡρημωμένης ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἰλίον, οὐκ ἐποίησατο Ὅμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ μνήμην: Ὀρνεὰς δέ — ἔτι γὰρ ᾠκοῦντο — , ὥσπερ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔκειντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι προτέρας ἢ Φλιοῦντά τε καὶ Σικυῶνα κατέλεξεν.

[25.5] At the first the place was called Lyncea; its present name is derived from Lyrceus, a bastard son of Abas, who afterwards dwelt there. Among the ruins are several things not worth mentioning, besides a figure of Lyrceus upon a slab. The distance from Argos to Lyrcea is about sixty stades, and the distance from Lyrcea to Orneae is the same. Homer in the Catalogue makes no mention of the city Lyrcea, because at the time of the Greek expedition against Troy it already lay deserted; Orneae, however, was inhabited, and in his poem he places it on the list before Phlius and Sicyon, which order corresponds to the position of the towns in the Argive territory.

[6] ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως· τοῦ δὲ Ὀρνέως ἦν τοῦτου Πετεώς, τοῦ δὲ Μενεσθεύς, ὃς Ἀγαμέμνονι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων τὴν Πριάμου συγκαθεῖλεν ἀρχήν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Ὀρνεάτας ἀνέστησαν· ἀναστάντες δὲ σύνοικοι γεγόνασιν Ἀργεῖοις. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἱερὸν καὶ ξόανον ὀρθὸν καὶ ἕτερος ναὸς θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐς κοινὸν ἀνειμένος. τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Ὀρνεῶν ἢ τε Σικυωνία καὶ ἡ Φλιασία ἐστίν.

[25.6] The name is derived from Orneus, the son of Erechtheus. This Orneus begat Peteos, and Peteos begat Menestheus, who, with a body of Athenians, helped Agamemnon to destroy the kingdom of Priam. From him then did Orneae get its name, and afterwards the Argives removed all its citizens, who thereupon came to live at Argos. At Orneae are a sanctuary and an upright wooden image of Artemis; there is besides a temple devoted to all the gods in common. On the further side of Orneae are Sicyonia and Phliasia.

TIRYNS & MIDEA

[7] ἐρχομένοις δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἐστὶν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν δεξιᾷ πυραμίδι μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, ἔχει δὲ ἀσπίδας σχῆμα Ἀργολικὰς ἐπειργασμένας. ἐνταῦθα Προῖτω περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς Ἀκρίσιον μάχη γίνεται, καὶ τέλος μὲν ἴσον τῷ ἀγῶνι συμβῆναι φασὶ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διαλλαγὰς ὕστερον, ὥς οὐδέτεροι βεβαίως κρατεῖν ἐδύναντο· συμβάλλειν δὲ σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀσπίσι πρῶτον τότε καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὦπλισμένους. τοῖς δὲ πεσοῦσιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων — πολῖται γὰρ καὶ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν — ἐποιήθη ταύτῃ μνῆμα ἐν κοινῷ.

[25.7] On the way from Argos to Epidauria there is on the right a building made very like a pyramid, and on it in relief are wrought shields of the Argive shape. Here took place a fight for the throne between Proetus and Acrisius; the contest, they say, ended in a draw, and a reconciliation resulted afterwards, as neither could gain a decisive victory. The story is that they and their hosts were armed with shields, which were first used in this battle. For those that fell on either side was built here a common tomb, as they were fellow citizens and kinsmen.

[8] προῖοῦσι δὲ ἐνταῦθεν καὶ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν Τίρυνθός ἐστιν ἐρείπια. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τίρυνθίους Ἀργεῖοι, συνοίκους προσλαβεῖν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος

ἐπαυξῆσαι θελήσαντες. Τίρυνθα δὲ ἦρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, παῖδα Ἄργου τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ μόνον τῶν ἐρειπίων λείπεται, Κυκλώπων μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, πεποιήται δὲ ἀργῶν λίθων, μέγεθος ἔχων ἕκαστος λίθος ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μηδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν κινηθῆναι τὸν μικρότατον ὑπὸ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων: λιθία δὲ ἐνήρμοσται πάλαι, ὡς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλοις λίθοις εἶναι.

[25.8] Going on from here and turning to the right, you come to the ruins of Tiryns. The Tirynthians also were removed by the Argives, who wished to make Argos more powerful by adding to the population. The hero Tiryns, from whom the city derived its name, is said to have been a son of Argus, a son of Zeus. The wall, which is the only part of the ruins still remaining, is a work of the Cyclopes made of unwrought stones, each stone being so big that a pair of mules could not move the smallest from its place to the slightest degree. Long ago small stones were so inserted that each of them binds the large blocks firmly together.

[9] καταβάντων δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ θάλαμοι τῶν Προΐτου θυγατέρων εἰσὶν: ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον, ἐπὶ Μήδειαν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἤξεις. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ φασιν Ἥλεκτρύωνα ἐν τῇ Μηδεΐᾳ τὸν πατέρα Ἀλκμήνης: ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Μηδεΐας πλὴν τὸ ἔδαφος ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο.

[25.9] Going down seawards, you come to the chambers of the daughters of Proetus. On returning to the highway you will reach Medea on the left hand. They say that Electryon, the father of Alcmena, was king of Medea, but in my time nothing was left of it except the foundations.

LESSA & MT ARACHNAEUS

[10] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ἐπίδauρον εὐθεΐαν ἐστὶ κώμη Λῆσση, ναὸς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ξόανον οὐδέν τι διάφορον ἢ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ Λαρίσῃ. ἐστὶ δὲ ὄρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Λήσσης τὸ Ἀραχναῖον, πάλαι δὲ ἱσάπυς ἐλάτων ἐπὶ Ἰνάχου τὸ ὄνομα εἰλήφει. βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ Διὸς τε καὶ Ἥρας: δεῖσαν ὄμβρου σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα θύουσι.

[25.10] On the straight road to Epidaurus is a village Lessa, in which is a temple of Athena with a wooden image exactly like the one on the citadel Larisa. Above Lessa is Mount Arachnaeus, which long ago, in the time of Inachus, was named Sapysetaton. On it are altars to Zeus and Hera. When rain is needed they sacrifice to them here.

EPIDAUROS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

26. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λῆσσαν ἔχεται τῆς Ἀργείας ἡ Ἐπιδauρίων: πρὶν δὲ ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφίξῃ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ταύτην τὴν χώραν οὐκ οἶδα οἵτινες πρότερον ὥκησαν πρὶν Ἐπίδauρον ἐλθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ἐπιδauροῦ πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐδυνάμην. τελευταῖον δὲ πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι Δωριέας ἐς Πελοπόννησον βασιλεῦσαι φασὶ Πιτυρέα Ἰωνος ἀπόγονον τοῦ Ξοῦθου. τοῦτον παραδοῦναι

λέγουσιν ἀμαχεὶ τὴν γῆν Δηιφόντη καὶ Ἀργεῖοις:

[26.1] XXVI. At Lessa the Argive territory joins that of Epidaurus. But before you reach Epidaurus itself you will come to the sanctuary of Asclepius. Who dwelt in this land before Epidaurus came to it I do not know, nor could I discover from the natives the descendants of Epidaurus either. But the last king before the Dorians arrived in the Peloponnesus was, they say, Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, son of Xuthus, and they relate that he handed over the land to Deiphontes and the Argives without a struggle.

[2] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ὁμοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὤκησε, Δηιφόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἔσχον. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀργείων Τημένου τελευτήσαντος, Δηιφόντης μὲν καὶ Ὑρνηθῶ κατ' ἔχθος τῶν Τημένου παίδων, ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατὸς Δηιφόντη καὶ Ὑρνηθοῖ πλέον ἢ Κεῖσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς νέμοντες. Ἐπίδauρος δέ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ γῇ ἐτέθη, ὡς μὲν φασιν Ἡλεῖοι, Πέλοπος ἦν: κατὰ δὲ Ἀργείων δόξαν καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἑοίας ἦν Ἐπιδάuρω πατὴρ Ἄργος ὁ Διός: Ἐπιδάuριοι δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπίδαυρον παῖδα προσποιούσιν.

[26.2] He went to Athens with his people and dwelt there, while Deiphontes and the Argives took possession of Epidauria. These on the death of Temenus seceded from the other Argives; Deiphontes and Hyrnetho through hatred of the sons of Temenus, and the army with them, because it respected Deiphontes and Hyrnetho more than Ceisus and his brothers. Epidaurus, who gave the land its name, was, the Eleans say, a son of Pelops but, according to Argive opinion and the poem the Great Eoëae, the father of Epidaurus was Argus, son of Zeus, while the Epidaurians maintain that Epidaurus was the child of Apollo.

[3] Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἱερὰν μάλιστα εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συμβέβηκε τοιῷδε. Φλεγύαν Ἐπιδάuριοί φασιν ἔλθειν ἐς Πελοπόννησον πρόφασιν μὲν ἐπὶ θέᾳ τῆς χώρας, ἔργῳ δὲ κατάσκοπον πλῆθους τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ εἰ τὸ πολὺ μάχιμον εἴη τῶν ἀνθρώπων: ἦν γὰρ δὴ Φλεγύας πολεμικώτατος τῶν τότε καὶ ἐπιῶν ἐκάστοτε ἐφ' οὓς τύχοι τοὺς καρποὺς ἔφερε καὶ ἤλαυνε τὴν λείαν.

[26.3] That the land is especially sacred to Asclepius is due to the following reason. The Epidaurians say that Phlegyas came to the Peloponnesus, ostensibly to see the land, but really to spy out the number of the inhabitants, and whether the greater part of them was warlike. For Phlegyas was the greatest soldier of his time, and making forays in all directions he carried off the crops and lifted the cattle.

[4] ὅτε δὲ παρεγένετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον, εἶπετο ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ, λεληθυῖα ἔτι τὸν πατέρα ὅτι ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶχεν ἑν γαστρί. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ ἔτεκεν, ἐκτίθησι τὸν παῖδα ἐς τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὃ δὴ Τίθιον ὀνομάζουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Μῦρτιον: ἐκκειμένῳ δὲ ἐδίδου μὲν οἱ γάλα μία τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος ποιμαινομένων αἰγῶν, ἐφύλασσε δὲ ὁ κύων ὁ τοῦ αἰπολίου φρουρός.

[26.4] When he went to the Peloponnesus, he was accompanied by his daughter, who all along had kept hidden from her father that she was with child by Apollo. In the country of the Epidaurians she bore a son, and exposed him on the mountain called Nipple at the present day, but then named Myrtium. As the child lay exposed he was given milk by one of the goats that pastured about the mountain, and was guarded by the watch-dog of the herd. And when Aresthanas (for this was the herdsman's name)

[5] Ἀρεσθάνας δὲ — ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ ποιμένι τοῦτο ἦν — ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ εὔρισκεν ὁμολογοῦντα τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ ὁ κύων ἅμα ἀπεσπάται τῆς ποιμένης, οὕτω τὸν Ἀρεσθάναν ἐς πᾶν φασιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ζητήσεως, εὐρόντα δὲ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἀνελεῖσθαι· καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, ἀστραπὴν ἰδεῖν ἐκλάμψασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδός, νομίσαντα δὲ εἶναι θεῖόν τι, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἀποτραπέσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν πᾶσαν ἠγγέλλετο τά τε ἄλλα ὅποσα βούλοιο εὑρίσκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάμνουσι καὶ ὅτι ἀνίστησι τεθνεώτας.

[26.5] discovered that the tale of the goats was not full, and that the watch-dog also was absent from the herd, he left, they say, no stone unturned, and on finding the child desired to take him up. As he drew near he saw lightning that flashed from the child, and, thinking that it was something divine, as in fact it was, he turned away. Presently it was reported over every land and sea that Asclepius was discovering everything he wished to heal the sick, and that he was raising dead men to life.

[6] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, Κορωνίδα κύουσιν Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἴσχυι τῷ Ἐλάτου συγγενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀμυνομένης τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὕβρεως, ἐξημμένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς πυρᾶς ἀρπάσαι λέγεται τὸν παῖδα Ἑρμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός.

[26.6] There is also another tradition concerning him. Coronis, they say, when with child with Asclepius, had intercourse with Ischys, son of Elatus. She was killed by Artemis to punish her for the insult done to Apollo, but when the pyre was already lighted Hermes is said to have snatched the child from the flames.

[7] ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν λόγων ἥκιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀληθὴς ἐστίν, Ἀρσινόης ποιήσας εἶναι τῆς Λευκίπου παῖδα Ἀσκληπιόν. Ἀπολλοφάνει γὰρ τῷ Ἀρκάδι ἐς Δελφοὺς

ἐλθόντι καὶ ἐρομένῳ τὸν θεὸν εἰ γένοιτο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολίτης εἶη, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία· ὦ μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς βλαστὼν Ἀσκληπιὲ πᾶσιν,

ὦν Φλεγυῆς ἔτικτεν ἐμοὶ φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα

ἱμερόεσσα Κορωνὶς ἐνὶ κραναῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ.

“Unknownpóτος ὁ χρησμὸς δηλοῖ μάλιστα οὐκ ὄντα Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἀρσινόης, ἀλλὰ Ἡσίοδον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐμπεποιηκότων ἐς τὰ Ἡσίοδου τὰ ἔπη συνθέντα ἐς

τὴν Μεσσηνίων χάριν.

[26.7] The third account is, in my opinion, the farthest from the truth; it makes Asclepius to be the son of Arsinoe, the daughter of Leucippus. For when Apolophanes the Arcadian, came to Delphi and asked the god if Asclepius was the son of Arsinoe and therefore a Messenian, the Pythian priestess gave this response:—

Asclepius, born to bestow great joy upon mortals,
Pledge of the mutual love I enjoyed with Phlegyas' daughter,
Lovely Coronis, who bare thee in rugged land Epidaurus.

This oracle makes it quite certain that Asclepius was not a son of Arsinoe, and that the story was a fiction invented by Hesiod, or by one of Hesiod's interpolators, just to please the Messenians.

[8] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι: τὰ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιεῖα εὕρισκω τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα γεγονότα ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τελετῆς λέγοντες Ἀσκληπιῶ μεταδοῦναι, τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην Ἐπιδαύρια ὀνομάζουσι καὶ θεὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου φασὶν Ἀσκληπιὸν σφισι νομισθῆναι: τοῦτο δὲ Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀρισταίχμου, τὸ συμβὰν σπᾶσμα θηρεύοντί οἱ περὶ τὸν Πίνδασον ἰαθεὶς ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Πέργαμον.

[26.8] There is other evidence that the god was born in Epidaurus for I find that the most famous sanctuaries of Asclepius had their origin from Epidaurus. In the first place, the Athenians, who say that they gave a share of their mystic rites to Asclepius, call this day of the festival Epidauria, and they allege that their worship of Asclepius dates from then. Again, when Archias, son of Aristaechnus, was healed in Epidauria after spraining himself while hunting about Pindasus, he brought the cult to Pergamus.

[9] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περγαμηνῶν Σμυρναίοις γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. τὸ δ' ἐν Βαλάγγραις ταῖς Κυρηναίων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιὸς καλούμενος Ἰατρὸς ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ οὗτος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ Κυρηναίοις τὸ ἐν Λεβήνῃ τῇ Κρητῶν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον. διάφορον δὲ Κυρηναίοις τοσόνδε ἐξ Ἐπιδαυρίου ἐστίν, ὅτι αἶγας οἱ Κυρηναῖοι θύουσιν, Ἐπιδαυρίοις οὐ καθεστηκότος.

[26.9] From the one at Pergamus has been built in our own day the sanctuary of Asclepius by the sea at Smyrna. Further, at Balagrae of the Cyreneans there is an Asclepius called Healer, who like the others came from Epidaurus. From the one at Cyrene was founded the sanctuary of Asclepius at Lebene, in Crete. There is this difference between the Cyreneans and the Epidaurians, that whereas the former sacrifice goats, it is against the custom of the Epidaurians to do so.

[10] θεὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν νομισθέντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ χρόνον λαβόντα τὴν φήμην τεκμηρίοις καὶ ἄλλοις εὕρισκω καὶ Ὀμήρου μαρτυρεῖ μοι τὰ περὶ Μαχάονος ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰρημένα Ὡτάλθύβι, ὅτι τάχιστα Μαχάονα δεῦρο κάλεσσον

φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱόν,

“Hom. Il 4.193 ὥς ἂν εἰ λέγοι θεοῦ παῖδα ἄνθρωπον.

[26.10] That Asclepius was considered a god from the first, and did not receive the title only in course of time, I infer from several signs, including the evidence of Homer, who makes Agamemnon say about Machaon:—

Talthybius, with all speed go summon me hither Machaon,
Mortal son of Asclepius. Hom. Il. 4.193

As who should say, “human son of a god.”

THE ASCLEPION OF EPIDAUROS

27. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἄλλος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περιέχουσιν ὅροι πανταχόθεν: οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, καθὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Δήλῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον. τὰ δὲ θυόμενα, ἦν τέ τις Ἐπιδaurίων αὐτῶν ἦν τε ξένος ὁ θύων ἦ, καταναλίσκουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρων: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ γινόμενον οἶδα καὶ ἐν Τίτανι.

[27.1] XXVII. The sacred grove of Asclepius is surrounded on all sides by boundary marks. No death or birth takes place within the enclosure the same custom prevails also in the island of Delos. All the offerings, whether the offerer be one of the Epidaurians themselves or a stranger, are entirely consumed within the bounds. At Titane too, I know, there is the same rule.

[2] τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα μεγέθει μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἥμισυ ἀποδεῖ, πεποίηται δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ: μηνύει δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸν εἰργασμένον εἶναι Θρασυμήδην Ἀριγνώτου Πάριον. κάθηται δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου βακτηρίαν κρατῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν τῶν χειρῶν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ οἱ καὶ κύων παρακατακείμενος πεποίηται. τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἡρώων ἐπειργασμένα Ἀργείων ἐστὶν ἔργα, Βελλεροφόντου τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίμαιραν καὶ Περσεὺς ἀφελὼν τὴν Μεδούσης κεφαλὴν. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶ πέραν ἔνθα οἱ ἱκέται τοῦ θεοῦ καθεύδουσιν.

[27.2] The image of Asclepius is, in size, half as big as the Olympian Zeus at Athens, and is made of ivory and gold. An inscription tells us that the artist was Thrasymedes, a Parian, son of Arignotus. The god is sitting on a seat grasping a staff; the other hand he is holding above the head of the serpent; there is also a figure of a dog lying by his side. On the seat are wrought in relief the exploits of Argive heroes, that of Bellerophontes against the Chimaera, and Perseus, who has cut off the head of Medusa. Over against the temple is the place where the suppliants of the god sleep.

[3] οἶκημα δὲ περιφερὲς λίθου λευκοῦ καλούμενον Θόλος ᾠκοδόμηται πλῆσιον, θεὰς ἄξιον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Πausanias γράψαντος βέλη μὲν καὶ τόξον ἐστὶν ἀφεικῶς Ἔρως, λύραν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀράμενος φέρει. γέγραπται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μέθη, Πausanias καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον, ἐξ ὑαλίνης φιάλης πίνουσα: ἴδοις δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φιάλην τε ὑάλου καὶ δι' αὐτῆς γυναικὸς πρόσωπον.

στήλαι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ πλέονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἕξ λοιπαί: ταύταις ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ὀνόματα ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ νόσημα ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐνόσησε καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη:

[27.3] Near has been built a circular building of white marble, called Tholos (Round House), which is worth seeing. In it is a picture by Pausias representing Love, who has cast aside his bow and arrows, and is carrying instead of them a lyre that he has taken up. Here there is also another work of Pausias, Drunkenness drinking out of a crystal cup. You can see even in the painting a crystal cup and a woman's face through it. Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but of old there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric.

[4] γέγραπται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι. χωρὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἀρχαία στήλη: ἵππους δὲ Ἰππόλυτον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ φησὶν εἴκοσι. ταύτης τῆς στήλης τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ὁμολογοῦντα λέγουσιν Ἀρικιεῖς, ὡς τεθνεῶτα Ἰππόλυτον ἐκ τῶν Θησέως ἀρῶν ἀνέστησεν Ἀσκληπιός: ὁ δὲ ὡς αὖθις ἐβίω, οὐκ ἡξίου νέμειν τῷ πατρὶ συγγνώμην, ἀλλὰ ὑπεριδὼν τὰς δεήσεις ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἔρχεται παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρικιεῖς, καὶ ἐβασίλευσέ τε αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τέμενος, ἐνθα ἄχρι ἐμοῦ μονομαχίας ἅθλα ἦν καὶ ἱερᾶσθαι τῇ θεῷ τὸν νικῶντα: ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐλευθέρων μὲν προέκειτο οὐδενί, οἰκέταις δὲ ἀποδρᾶσι τοὺς δεσπότας.

[27.4] Apart from the others is an old slab, which declares that Hippolytus dedicated twenty horses to the god. The Aricians tell a tale that agrees with the inscription on this slab, that when Hippolytus was killed, owing to the curses of Theseus, Asclepius raised him from the dead. On coming to life again he refused to forgive his father rejecting his prayers, he went to the Aricians in Italy. There he became king and devoted a precinct to Artemis, where down to my time the prize for the victor in single combat was the priesthood of the goddess. The contest was open to no freeman, but only to slaves who had run away from their masters.

[5] Ἐπιδαυρίοις δὲ ἐστὶ θεᾶτρον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μάλιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θεᾶς ἄξιον: τὰ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων πολὺν δὴ τι καὶ ὑπερῆκε τῶν πανταχοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ, μεγέθει δὲ Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει: ἀρμονίας δὲ ἢ κάλλους ἕνεκα ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος ἐς ἄμιλλαν Πολυκλείτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως; Πολύκλειτος γὰρ καὶ θεᾶτρον τοῦτο καὶ οἴκημα τὸ περιφερὲς ὁ ποιήσας ἦν. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ναός τέ ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡπιόνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ στάδιον, οἷα Ἑλλήσι τὰ πολλὰ γῆς χῶμα, καὶ κρήνη τῷ τε ὁρόφῳ καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ θεᾶς ἀξία.

[27.5] The Epidaurians have a theater within the sanctuary, in my opinion very well worth seeing. For while the Roman theaters are far superior to those

anywhere else in their splendor, and the Arcadian theater at Megalopolis is unequalled for size, what architect could seriously rival Polycleitus in symmetry and beauty? For it was Polycleitus who built both this theater and the circular building. Within the grove are a temple of Artemis, an image of Epione, a sanctuary of Aphrodite and Themis, a race-course consisting, like most Greek race-courses, of a bank of earth, and a fountain worth seeing for its roof and general splendour.

[6] ὅποσα δὲ Ἀντωνίνος ἀνὴρ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρόν, ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν οὓς Ἐπιδώτας ὀνομάζουσιν: ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ ναὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ κλησιν Αἰγυπτίοις. καὶ ἦν γὰρ στοᾶ καλουμένη Κότυς, καταρρύνεντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ ὀρόφου διέφθαρτο ἤδη πᾶσα ἄτε ὠμῆς τῆς πλίνθου ποιηθεῖσα: ἀνφοδόμησε καὶ ταύτην. Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν, ὅτι μήτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν σκέπη σφίσιν ἔτικτον καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τοῖς κάμνουσιν ὑπαίθριος ἐγένετο: ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπανορθούμενος κατεσκεύασατο οἴκησιν: ἐνταῦθα ἤδη καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τεκεῖν γυναῖκί ὅσιον.

[27.6] A Roman senator, Antoninus, made in our own day a bath of Asclepius and a sanctuary of the gods they call Bountiful. He made also a temple to Health, Asclepius, and Apollo, the last two surnamed Egyptian. He moreover restored the portico that was named the Portico of Cotys, which, as the brick of which it was made had been unburnt, had fallen into utter ruin after it had lost its roof. As the Epidaurians about the sanctuary were in great distress, because their women had no shelter in which to be delivered and the sick breathed their last in the open, he provided a dwelling, so that these grievances also were redressed. Here at last was a place in which without sin a human being could die and a woman be delivered.

[7] ὄρη δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος τό τε Τίτθιον καὶ ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Μαλεάτου καὶ ἔλυτρον κρήνης, ἐς ὃ τὸ ὕδωρ συλλέγεται σφίσι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, Ἀντωνίνος καὶ ταῦτα Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἐποίησεν.

[27.7] Above the grove are the Nipple and another mountain called Cynortium; on the latter is a sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo. The sanctuary itself is an ancient one, but among the things Antoninus made for the Epidaurians are various appurtenances for the sanctuary of the Maleatian, including a reservoir into which the rain-water collects for their use.

28. δράκοντες δὲ — οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἕτερον γένος — ἐς τὸ ξανθότερον ῥέποντες χροᾶς ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ νομίζονται καὶ εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις ἡμεροί, τρέφει δὲ μόνῃ σφᾶς ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆ. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ εὐρίσκω καὶ ἄλλαις χώραις συμβεβηκός: Λιβύῃ μὲν γε μόνῃ κροκοδείλους τρέφει χερσαίους διπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, παρὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν μόνων ἄλλα τε κομίζεται καὶ ὄρνιθες οἱ ψιττακοί. τοὺς δὲ ὄφεις οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοὺς

μεγάλους ἐς πλέον πηχῶν καὶ τριάκοντα προήκοντας, οἳ παρὰ τε Ἴνδοις τρέφονται καὶ ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἄλλο δὴ τι γένος φασὶν εἶναι καὶ οὐ δράκοντας.

[28.1] XXVIII. The serpents, including a peculiar kind of a yellowish color, are considered sacred to Asclepius, and are tame with men. These are peculiar to Epidauria, and I have noticed that other lands have their peculiar animals. For in Libya only are to be found land crocodiles at least two cubits long; from India alone are brought, among other creatures, parrots. But the big snakes that grow to more than thirty cubits, such as are found in India and in Libya, are said by the Epidaurians not to be serpents, but some other kind of creature.

EPIDAUROS

[2] ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνιοῦσι τὸ Κόρυφον, ἔστι καθ' ὁδὸν Στρεπτῆς καλουμένης ἐλαίας φυτόν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναιοὶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἔθηκεν ὄρον τοῦτον, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε εἰδείην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐτέρωθι ἀναστάτου γενομένης χώρας τὸ σαφὲς ἐτι οἷόν τε τῶν ὄρων ἐξευρεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους Κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, οὗ καὶ Τελέσιλλα ἐποιήσατο ἐν ᾧσματι μνήμην.

[28.2] As you go up to Mount Coryphum you see by the road an olive tree called Twisted. It was Heracles who gave it this shape by bending it round with his hand, but I cannot say whether he set it to be a boundary mark against the Asinaeans in Argolis, since in no land, which has been depopulated, is it easy to discover the truth about the boundaries. On the Top of the mountain there is a sanctuary of Artemis Coryphaea (of the Peak), of which Telesilla made mention in an ode.

[3] κατιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων τὴν πόλιν χωρίον ἐστὶ πεφυκυίας ἀγριελαίους ἔχον: Ὑρνήθιον δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτό, ὡς Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τε λέγουσι καὶ εἰκὸς ἔχει, γράψω. Κεῖσος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τημένου παῖδες μάλιστα ἥδεσαν Δηιφόντην λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαλῦσαί πως ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ὑρνηθὴ δυνηθεῖεν. ἀφίκοντο οὖν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης: Ἀγραῖω γὰρ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τὰ ποιούμενα οὐκ ἤρεσκεν. οὗτοι δὲ στήσαντες τὸ ἄρμα ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἐλθεῖν δῆθεν ἐς λόγους αὐτῇ βουλόμενοι.

[28.3] On going down to the city of the Epidaurians, you come to a place where wild olives grow; they call it Hymnethium. I will relate the story of it, which is probable enough, as given by the Epidaurians. Ceisus and the other sons of Temenus knew that they would grieve Deiphontes most if they could find a way to part him and Hymnetho. So Cerynes and Phalces (for Agraeus, the youngest, disapproved of their plan) came to Epidaurus. Staying their chariot under the wall, they sent a herald to their sister, pretending that they wished to parley with her.

[4] ὡς δὲ ὑπήκουσε καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ νεανίσκοι πολλὰ μὲν Δηιφόντου κατηγοροῦν, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἰκέτεον ἐκείνην ἐπανάκειν ἐς Ἄργος, ἄλλα τε

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δώσιν αὐτὴν Δηιφόντου τὰ πάντα ἀμείνوني καὶ ἀνθρώπων πλειόνων καὶ γῆς ἄρχοντι εὐδαιμονεστέρας. Ὑρνηθὼ δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀλγήσασα ἀπεδίδου σφίσι τὴν ἴσιν, Δηιφόντην μὲν αὐτῇ τε ἄνδρα ἄρεστόν εἶναι φήσασα καὶ Τημένῳ γενέσθαι γαμβρόν οὐ μεμπτόν, ἐκείνοις δὲ Τημένου προσήκειν σφαγεῦσιν ὀνομάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ παισίν.

[28.4] When she obeyed their summons, the young men began to make many accusations against Deiphontes, and besought her much that she would return to Argos, promising, among other things, to give her to a husband in every respect better than Deiphontes, one who ruled over more subjects and a more prosperous country. But Hynetho, pained at their words, gave as good as she had received, retorting that Deiphontes was a dear husband to her, and had shown himself a blameless son-in-law to Temenus; as for them, they ought to be called the murderers of Temenus rather than his sons.

[5] καὶ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀποκρινάμενοι συλλαμβάνουσιν, ἀναθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄρμα ἀπήλυνον: Δηιφόντῃ δὲ ἀγγέλλει τις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ὡς Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης ἄγοντες οἴχονται ἄκουσαν Ὑρνηθῶ. ὁ δὲ αὐτός τε ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἤμυνε καὶ οἱ Ἐπιδάυριοι πυνθανόμενοι προσεβοήθουν. Δηιφόντης δὲ Κερύνην μὲν ὡς κατελάμβανεν ἀναιρεῖ βαλὼν, Φάλκην δὲ ἐχόμενον Ὑρνηθοῦς βαλεῖν μὲν ἔδεισε, μὴ ἀμαρτῶν γένοιτο αὐτῆς ἐκείνης φονεύς, συμπλακεῖς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Φάλκης δὲ ἀντεχόμενος καὶ ἔλκων βιαιότερον ἀπέκτεινεν ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ.

[28.5] Without further reply the youths seized her, placed her in the chariot, and drove away. An Epidaurian told Deiphontes that Cerynes and Phalces had gone, taking with them Hynetho against her will; he himself rushed to the rescue with all speed, and as the Epidaurians learned the news they reinforced him. On overtaking the runaways, Deiphontes shot Cerynes and killed him, but he was afraid to shoot at Phalces, who was holding Hynetho, lest he should miss him and become the slayer of his wife; so he closed with them and tried to get her away. But Phalces, holding on and dragging her with greater violence, killed her, as she was with child.

[6] καὶ ὁ μὲν συνεῖς, οἷα ἐς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐξειργασμένος ἔργα ἦν, ἤλυνε τὸ ἄρμα ἀφειδέστερον, προλαβεῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ σπεύδων πρὶν ἢ πάντα ἐπ' αὐτὸν συλλεχθῆναι τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους: Δηιφόντης δὲ σὺν τοῖς παισίν — ἐγεγόνεσαν γὰρ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ πρότερον ἔτι υἱοὶ μὲν Ἀντιμένης καὶ Ξάνθιππός τε καὶ Ἀργεῖος, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ὀρσοβία: ταύτην Πάμφυλον τὸν Αἰγίμιου λέγουσιν ὕστερον γῆμαι: — τότε δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς κομίζουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀνὰ χρόνον Ὑρνήτιον κληθέν.

[28.6] Realizing what he had done to his sister, he began to drive the chariot more recklessly, as he was anxious to gain a start before all the Epidaurians could gather against him. Deiphontes and his children – for before this children had been born to him, Antimenes, Xanthippus, and Argeus, and a daughter, Orsobia, who, they say, after-wards married Pamphylus, son of

Aegimius – took up the dead body of Hyrnetho and carried it to this place, which in course of time was named Hyrnethium.

[7] καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες ἥρῳον τιμᾶς καὶ ἄλλας δεδώκασιν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐλαίοις, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο δένδρον ἔσω, καθέστηκε νόμος τὰ θραυόμενα μηδένα ἐς οἶκον φέρεσθαι μηδὲ χρᾶσθαι σφισιν ἐς μηδέν, κατὰ χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ λείπουσιν ἱερὰ εἶναι τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς.

[28.7] They built for her a hero-shrine, and bestowed upon her various honors; in particular, the custom was established that nobody should carry home, or use for any purpose, the pieces that break off the olive trees, or any other trees, that grow there; these are left there on the spot to be sacred to Hyrnetho.

[8] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς πόλεως Μελίσσης μνημῆα ἔστιν, ἥ Περιάνδρῳ συνώκησε τῷ Κυψέλου, καὶ ἕτερον Προκλέους πατρὸς τῆς Μελίσσης. ἐτυράννει δὲ καὶ οὗτος Ἐπιδαυρίων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ γαμβρός οἱ Περιάνδρος Κορίνθου.

[28.8] Not far from the city is the tomb of Melissa, who married Periander, the son of Cypselus, and another of Procles, the father of Melissa. He, too, was tyrant of Epidaurus, as Periander, his son-in-law, was tyrant of Corinth.

29. αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡ πόλις παρείχετο ἐς μνήμην τάδε ἀξιολογώτατα: τέμενος δὴ ἔστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς καὶ Ἡπιόνη, γυναῖκα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἡπιόνην Ἀσκληπιοῦ φασιν: ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου Παρίου. ναοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἔστιν ἄλσος: εἰκάσαις ἂν θηρευοῦσῃ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται: τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἀνεχούσης ἐς θάλασσαν λέγουσιν Ἥρας εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ξόανον θεᾶς ἄξιον, Κισσαίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν.

[29.1] XXIX. The most noteworthy things which I found the city of Epidaurus itself had to show are these. There is, of course, a precinct of Asclepius, with images of the god himself and of Epione. Epione, they say, was the wife of Asclepius. These are of Parian marble, and are set up in the open. There is also in the city a temple of Dionysus and one of Artemis. The figure of Artemis one might take to be the goddess hunting. There is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite, while the one at the harbor, on a height that juts out into the sea, they say is Hera's. The Athena on the citadel, a wooden image worth seeing, they surname Cissaea (Ivy Goddess).

AEgina, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2] Αἰγινῆται δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ἔχοντες τὴν νῆσον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. ἀνθρώπους δ' οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι: Διὸς δὲ ἐς ἔρημον κομίσαντος Αἰγιναν τὴν Ἀσωποῦ τῇ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη τοῦτο ἀντὶ Οἰνώνης, Αἰακοῦ δὲ αἰτήσαντος ὥς ηὐξήθη παρὰ Διὸς οἰκήτορας, οὕτω οἱ τὸν Δία ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φασὶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ πλὴν Αἰακὸν οὐδένα εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τῶν Αἰακοῦ παίδων τινὰ ἴσμεν καταμείναντα, Πηλεῖ μὲν συμβᾶν καὶ Τελαμῶνι ἐπὶ φόνῳ φεύγειν τῷ Φώκῳ, τῶν δὲ αὖ Φώκου παίδων περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκησάντων ἐν τῇ νῦν

καλουμένη Φωκίδι.

[29.2] The Aeginetans dwell in the island over against Epidauria. It is said that in the beginning there were no men in it; but after Zeus brought to it, when uninhabited, Aegina, daughter of Asopus, its name was changed from Oenone to Aegina; and when Aeacus, on growing up, asked Zeus for settlers, the god, they say, raised up the inhabitants out of the earth. They can mention no king of the island except Aeacus, since we know of none even of the sons of Aeacus who stayed there; for to Peleus and Telamon befell exile for the murder of Phocus, while the sons of Phocus made their home about Parnassus, in the land that is now called Phocis.

[3] τὸ δὲ ὄνομα προϋπῆρχεν ἤδη τῇ χώρᾳ, Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος γενεᾷ πρότερον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντος. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Φώκου τούτου ἡ περὶ Τιθορέαν τε καὶ Παρνασσὸν ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Φωκίς; ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξενίκησεν, ὅσοι Μινύαις τέ εἰσιν Ὀρχομενίοις ὄμοροι καὶ ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν τὴν Λοκρῶν καθήκουσι.

[29.3] This name had already been given to the land, at the time when Phocus, son of Ornytion, came to it a generation previously. In the time, then, of this Phocus only the district about Tithorea and Parnassus was called Phocis, but in the time of Aeacus the name spread to all from the borders of the Minyae at Orchomenos to Scarpheia among the Locri.

[4] γεγόνασι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Πηλέως οἱ ἐν Ἠπειρῷ βασιλεῖς, Τελαμῶνος δὲ τῶν παίδων Αἴαντος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερον γένος οἷα ιδιωτεύσαντος ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον Μιλτιάδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἡγήσατο, καὶ Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου προῆλθον ἐς δόξαν: οἱ δὲ Τευκρίδαι βασιλεῖς διέμειναν Κυπρίων ἄρχοντες ἐς Εὐαγόραν. Φώκῳ δὲ Ἄσιος ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας γενέσθαι φησὶ Πανοπέα καὶ Κρίσον: καὶ Πανοπέως μὲν ἐγένετο Ἐπειὸς ὁ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν, ἐργασάμενος, Κρίσου δὲ ἦν ἀπόγονος τρίτος Πυλάδης, Στροφίου τε ὢν τοῦ Κρίσου καὶ Ἀναξιβίας ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος. γένη μὲν τοσαῦτα τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακιδῶν, ἐξεχώρησε δὲ ἐτέρωσε ἀπ' ἁρχῆς.

[29.4] From Peleus sprang the kings in Epeirus; but as for the sons of Telamon, the family of Ajax is undistinguished, because he was a man who lived a private life; though Miltiades, who led the Athenians to Marathon, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, achieved renown; but the family of Teucer continued to be the royal house in Cyprus down to the time of Evagoras. Asius the epic poet says that to Phocus were born Panopeus and Crisus. To Panopeus was born Epeus, who made, according to Homer, the wooden horse; and the grandson of Crisus was Pylades, whose father was Strophius, son of Crisus, while his mother was Anaxibi, sister of Agamemnon. Such was the pedigree of the Aeacidae (family of. Aeacus), as they are called, but they departed from the beginning to other lands.

[5] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδauρον ὁμοῦ Δηιφόντῃ

κατασχόντων, διαβάσα ἐς Αἶγιναν καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι, τὰ Δωριέων ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. προελθοῦσι δὲ Αἰγινήταις ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως, ὥς Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατεστέρους καὶ ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ παρασχέσθαι πλοῖα μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους πλεῖστα, οὐ παρέμεινεν ἐς ἅπαν ἡ εὐδαιμονία, γενόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀνάστατοι Θυρέαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων ὥκησαν. καὶ ἀπέλαβον μὲν τὴν νῆσον, ὅτε περὶ Ἑλλησποντον αἱ Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐλήφθησαν, πλούτου δὲ ἡ δυνάμεως οὐκέτι ἐξεγένετο ἐς ἴσον προελθεῖν σφισιν.

[29.5] Subsequently a division of the Argives who, under Deiphontes, had seized Epidaurus, crossed to Aegina, and, settling among the old Aeginetans, established in the island Dorian manners and the Dorian dialect. Although the Aeginetans rose to great power, so that their navy was superior to that of Athens, and in the Persian war supplied more ships than any state except Athens, yet their prosperity was not permanent but when the island was depopulated by the Athenians, they took up their abode at Thyrea, in Argolis, which the Lacedaemonians gave them to dwell in. They recovered their island when the Athenian warships were captured in the Hellespont, yet it was never given them to rise again to their old wealth or power.

AEGINA

[6] προσπλευσαι δὲ Αἶγινά ἐστι νήσων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπορωτάτη: πέτραι τε γὰρ ὕφαλοι περὶ πᾶσαν καὶ χοιράδες ἀνεστήκασι. μηχανήσασθαι δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ταῦτα Αἰακὸν φασὶ ληστειῶν τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης φόβῳ, καὶ πολέμοις ἀνδράσι μὴ ἄνευ κινδύνου εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὀρμίζονται ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου.

[29.6] Of the Greek islands, Aegina is the most difficult of access, for it is surrounded by sunken rocks and reefs which rise up. The story is that Aeacus devised this feature of set purpose, because he feared piratical raids by sea, and wished the approach to be perilous to enemies. Near the harbor in which vessels mostly anchor is a temple of Aphrodite, and in the most conspicuous part of the city what is called the shrine of Aeacus, a quadrangular enclosure of white marble.

[7] ἐπειργασμένοι δὲ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακὸν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες: αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Αἰγινήταις καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λέγουσιν. αὐχμὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐπέζε καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ χώραν οὔτε Πελοποννησίους ἔθεν ὁ θεός, ἐς ὃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέστειλαν ἐρησομένους τὸ αἴτιον ὃ τι εἴη καὶ αἰτήσοντας ἅμα λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ. τούτοις ἡ Πυθία εἶπε Δία ἱλάσκεσθαι, χρῆναι δέ, εἴπερ ὑπακούσει σφίσιν, Αἰακὸν τὸν ἰκετεύσαντα εἶναι.

[29.7] Wrought in relief at the entrance are the envoys whom the Greeks once dispatched to Aeacus. The reason for the embassy given by the Aeginetans is

the same as that which the other Greeks assign. A drought had for some time afflicted Greece, and no rain fell either beyond the Isthmus or in the Peloponnesus, until at last they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what was the cause and to beg for deliverance from the evil. The Pythian priestess bade them propitiate Zeus, saying that he would not listen to them unless the one to supplicate him were Aeacus.

[8] οὕτως Αἰακοῦ δεησομένους ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως· καὶ ὁ μὲν τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ἐποίησεν ὕεσθαι, τῶν δὲ

ἐλθόντων ὡς αὐτὸν εἰκόνας ταύτας ἐποίησαντο οἱ Αἰγινῆται. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ἐλαΐαι πεφύκασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ βωμός ἐστιν οὐ πολὺ ἀνέχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς· ὡς δὲ καὶ μνῆμα οὗτος ὁ βωμός εἴη Αἰακοῦ, λεγόμενόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.

[29.8] And so envoys came with a request to Aeacus from each city. By sacrifice and prayer to Zeus, God of all the Greeks (Panellenios), he caused rain to fall upon the earth, and the Aeginetans made these likenesses of those who came to him. Within the enclosure are olive trees that have grown there from of old, and there is an altar which is raised but a little from the ground. That this altar is also the tomb of Aeacus is told as a holy secret.

[9] παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον Φώκου τάφος χῶμά ἐστι περιεχόμενον κύκλῳ κρητῖδι, ἐπίκειται δὲ οἱ λίθος τραχύς· καὶ ἥνικα Φῶκον Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεὺς προηγάγοντο ἐς ἀγῶνα πεντάθλου καὶ περιῆλθεν ἐς Πηλέα ἀφεῖναι τὸν λίθον — οὗτος γὰρ ἀντὶ δίσκου σφίσιν ἦν — , ἐκὼν τυγχάνει τοῦ Φώκου. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχαρίζοντο τῇ μητρί· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ τῆς Σκίρωνος θυγατρὸς, Φῶκος δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδελφῆς Θετίδος ἦν, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες. Πυλάδης τέ μοι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται καὶ οὐκ Ὀρέστου φίλῳ μόνον βουλευσάι Νεοπτολέμῳ τὸν φόνον.

[29.9] Beside the shrine of Aeacus is the grave of Phocus, a barrow surrounded by a basement, and on it lies a rough stone. When Telamon and Peleus had induced Phocus to compete at the pentathlon, and it was now the turn of Peleus to hurl the stone, which they were using for a quoit, he intentionally hit Phocus. The act was done to please their mother; for, while they were both born of the daughter of Sciron, Phocus was not, being, if indeed the report of the Greeks be true, the son of a sister of Thetis. I believe it was for this reason, and not only out of friendship for Orestes, that Pylades plotted the murder of Neoptolemus.

[10] τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ δίσκῳ πληγεῖς ἀπέθανεν ὁ Φῶκος, φεύγουσιν ἐπιβάντες νεὼς οἱ Ἑνδηίδος παῖδες· Τελαμὼν δὲ ὕστερα κήρυκα ἀποστέλλων ἡρνεῖτο μὴ βουλευσάι Φῶκῳ θάνατον. Αἰακὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἀποβαίνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶα, ἐστηκότα δὲ ἐπὶ νεώς, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλοι, χῶμα ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ χῶσαντα ἐκέλευεν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπολογήσασθαι. οὕτως ἐς τὸν Κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας νύκτωρ ἐποίει χῶμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς

ἔτι μένει: καταγνοσθεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀναίτιος εἶναι Φώκῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σαλαμίνα ἀπέπλευσε.

[29.10] When this blow of the quoit killed Phocus, the sons of Endeis boarded a ship and fled. Afterwards Telamon sent a herald denying that he had plotted the death of Phocus. Aeacus, however, refused to allow him to land on the island, and bade him make his defence standing on board ship, or if he wished, from a mole raised in the sea. So he sailed into the harbor called Secret, and proceeded to make a mole by night. This was finished, and still remains at the present day. But Telamon, being condemned as implicated in the murder of Phocus, sailed away a second time and came to Salamis.

[11] τοῦ λιμένος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κρυπτοῦ θέατρον ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπὴν. τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται σταδίου πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέχουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένῃ.

[29.11] Not far from the Secret Harbor is a theater worth seeing; it is very similar to the one at Epidaurus, both in size and in style. Behind it is built one side of a race-course, which not only itself holds up the theater, but also in turn uses it as a support.

30. ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διονύσω δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνόν ἐστι τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδί ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ: καὶ γένεια Διόνυσος ἔχων πεποιήται. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ μὲν ἐτέρωθι καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ, λίθου δὲ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον.

[30.1] XXX. There are three temples close together, one of Apollo, one of Artemis, and a third of Dionysus. Apollo has a naked wooden image of native workmanship, but Artemis is dressed, and so, too, is Dionysus, who is, moreover, represented with a beard. The sanctuary of Asclepius is not here, but in another place, and his image is of stone, and seated.

[2] θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἑκάτης, Ὅρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾶκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ναός ἐστι, ξόανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. Ἀλκαμένης δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργιδίαν: ἔστηκε δὲ παρὰ τῆς Ἀπτέρου Νίκης τὸν ναόν.

[30.2] Of the gods, the Aeginetans worship most Hecate, in whose honor every year they celebrate mystic rites which, they say, Orpheus the Thracian established among them. Within the enclosure is a temple; its wooden image is the work of Myron, and it has one face and one body. It was Alcamenes, in my opinion, who first made three images of Hecate attached to one another, a figure called by the Athenians Epipurgidia (on the Tower); it stands beside the temple of the Wingless Victory.

[3] ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν, ἔστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾄσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρήτες — τούτοις γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια — Καρμάνορος τοῦ καθήραντος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πύθωνος παῖδα Εὐβουλον εἶναι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου Βριτόμαρτιν γενέσθαι: χαίρειν δὲ αὐτὴν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι μάλιστα φίλην εἶναι: Μίνω δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ' ἰχθύων θήρα. ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμις, σέβουσι δὲ οὐ Κρήτες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰγινῆται, λέγοντες φαίνεσθαι σφισιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν Βριτόμαρτιν. ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ οἱ παρὰ τε Αἰγινήταις ἐστὶν Ἀφαία καὶ Δίκτυнна ἐν Κρήτῃ.

[30.3] In Aegina, as you go towards the mountain of Zeus, God of all the Greeks, you reach a sanctuary of Aphaea, in whose honor Pindar composed an ode for the Aeginetans. The Cretans say (the story of Aphaea is Cretan) that Carmanor, who purified Apollo after he had killed Pytho, was the father of Lubulus, and that the daughter of Zeus and of Carme, the daughter of Eubulus, was Britomartis. She took delight, they say, in running and in the chase, and was very dear to Artemis. Fleeing from Minos, who had fallen in love with her, she threw herself into nets which had been cast (aphemena) for a draught of fishes. She was made a goddess by Artemis, and she is worshipped, not only by the Cretans, but also by the Aeginetans, who say that Britomartis shows herself in their island. Her surname among the Aeginetans is Aphaea; in Crete it is Dictynna (Goddess of Nets).

[4] τὸ δὲ Πανελλήνιον, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἱερόν, ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος ἀξιόλογον εἶχεν οὐδέν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱερόν λεγούσιν Αἰακὸν ποιῆσαι τῷ Δίῃ: τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Αὐξησίαν καὶ Δαμίαν, ὥς οὐχ ἔν ἐ θεὸς Ἐπιδαυρίοις, ὥς τὰ ξόανα ταῦτα ἐκ μαντείας ἐποίησαντο ἐλαίας παρ' Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες, ὥς Ἐπιδαυριοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέφερον ἔτι Ἀθηναίοις ἃ ἐτάξαντο οἷα Αἰγινητῶν ἐχόντων τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἀπώλοντο οἱ διαβάντες διὰ ταῦτα ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταῦτα εἰπόντος Ἡροδότου καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὐ μοι γράφειν κατὰ γνώμην ἦν εὖ προειρημένα, πλὴν τοσοῦτό γε ὅτι εἰδόν τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσίνι θύειν νομίζουσιν.

[30.4] The Mount of all the Greeks, except for the sanctuary of Zeus, has, I found, nothing else worthy of mention. This sanctuary, they say, was made for Zeus by Aeacus. The story of Auxesia and Damia, how the Epidaurians suffered from drought, how in obedience to an oracle they had these wooden images made of olive wood that they received from the Athenians, how the Epidaurians left off paying to the Athenians what they had agreed to pay, on the ground that the Aeginetans had the images, how the Athenians perished who crossed over to Aegina to fetch them – all this, as Herodotus has described it accurately and in detail, I have no intention of relating, because the story has been well told already; but I will add that I saw the images, and sacrificed to them in the same way as it is customary to sacrifice at Eleusis.

TROEZEN, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[5] Αἰγίνης μὲν δὴ Αἰακοῦ ἔνεκα καὶ ἔργων ὅποσα ἀπεδείξατο ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη: τῆς δὲ Ἐπιδαυρίας ἔχονται Τροιζήνιοι, σεμνύνοντες εἴπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὰ ἐγχώρια: φασὶ δὲ Ὠρον γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιον φαίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς Ἑλληνικὸν ὄνομα Ὠρος εἶναι: βασιλεῦσαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ὠραίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν, Ἄλθηπον δὲ Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα καὶ Ληίδος τῆς Ὠρου, παραλαβόντα μετὰ Ὠρον τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀλθηπίαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν γῆν.

[30.5] So much I must relate about Aegina, for the sake of Aeacus and his exploits. Bordering on Epidauria are the Troezenians, unrivalled glorifiers of

their own country. They say that Orus was the first to be born in their land. Now, in my opinion, Orus is an Egyptian name and utterly un-Greek; but they assert that he became their king, and that the land was called Oraea after him and that Althepus, the son of Poseidon and of Leis, the daughter of Orus, inheriting the kingdom after Orus, named the land Althepia.

[6] ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀμφισβητήσαι λέγουσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀμφισβητήσαντας δὲ ἔχειν ἐν κοινῷ: προστάξαι γὰρ οὕτω Δία σφίσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα καὶ Σθενιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα Βασιλέα ἐπὶ κλησιν: καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαῖναν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς πρόσωπον.

[30.6] During his reign, they say, Athena and Poseidon disputed about the land, and after disputing held it in common, as Zeus commanded them to do. For this reason they worship both Athena, whom they name both Polias (Urban) and Sthenias (Strong), and also Poseidon, under the surname of King. And moreover their old coins have as device a trident and a face of Athena.

[7] μετὰ δὲ Ἀλθηπον Σάρων ἐβασίλευσεν. ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι οὗτος τῇ Σαρωνίδι τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὠκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τελματώδει καὶ ἐπιπολῇς μᾶλλον, ὥστε καὶ Φοιβαία λίμνη διὰ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο. Σάρωνα δὲ — θηρεύειν γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἤρητο — κατέλαβεν ἔλαφον διώκοντα ἐς θάλασσαν συνεσπεσεῖν φευγούσῃ: καὶ ἦ τε ἔλαφος ἐνήχετο ἀπωτέρω τῆς γῆς καὶ ὁ Σάρων εἶχετο τῆς ἄγρας, ἐς ὃ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος: ἤδη δὲ κάμνοντα αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζόμενον ἐπέλαβε τὸ χρεῶν. ἐκπεσόντα δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν: Φοιβαίαν λίμνην ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιβόλου θάπτουσι, καὶ λίμνην ἀπὸ τούτου Σαρωνίδα τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Φοιβαίας.

[30.7] After Althepus, Saron became king. They said that this man built the sanctuary for Saronian Artemis by a sea which is marshy and shallow, so that for this reason it was called the Phoebaean lagoon. Now Saron was very fond of hunting. As he was chasing a doe, it so chanced that it dashed into the sea and he dashed in after it. The doe swam further and further from the shore, and Saron kept close to his prey, until his ardor brought him to the open ocean. Here his strength failed, and he was drowned in the waves. The body was cast ashore at the grove of Artemis by the Phoebaean lagoon, and they buried it within the sacred enclosure, and after him they named the sea in these parts the Saronic instead of the Phoebaean lagoon.

[8] τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύσαντας οὐκ ἴσασιν ἄχρι Ὑπέρητος καὶ Ἄνθα: τούτους δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης Ἀτλαντος θυγατρός, καὶ πόλεις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φασὶν Ὑπέρειάν τε καὶ Ἄνθειαν οἰκίσαι: Ἀέτιον δὲ τὸν Ἄνθα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραλαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν πόλεων Ποσειδωνιάδα ὀνομάσαι. Τροίζηνος δὲ καὶ Πιτθέως παρὰ Ἀέτιον ἐλθόντων βασιλεῖς μὲν τρεῖς ἀντὶ ἐνὸς ἐγένοντο, ἴσχυον δὲ οἱ παῖδες μᾶλλον οἱ Πέλοπος.

[30.8] They know nothing of the later kings down to Hyperes and Anthas. These they assert to be sons of Poseidon and of Alcyone, daughter of Atlas, adding that they founded in the country the cities of Hyperea and Anthea; Aetius, however, the son of Anthas, on inheriting the kingdoms of his father and of his uncle, named one of the cities Poseidonias. When Troezen and Pittheus came to Aetius there were three kings instead of one, but the sons of Pelops enjoyed the balance of power.

[9] σημείον δέ: ἀποθανόντος γὰρ Τροίζηνος Πιτθεὺς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Τροίζηνα, συλλαβὼν Ὑπέρειάν τε καὶ Ἀνθειαν. πολλοῖς δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐς ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροίζηνος σταλέντες Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ καὶ Μύνδον ἀπέκισαν οἱ γεγονότες ἀπ' Αἰτίου τοῦ Ἀνθα. Τροίζηνος δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἀνάφλυστος καὶ Σφῆττος μετοικοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ οἱ δῆμοι τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τούτων. τὰ δὲ ἐς Θησέα θυγατριδοῦν Πιτθέως εἰδόσι τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ γράφω, δεῖ δέ με τοσόνδε εἰ τι δηλῶσαι.

[30.9] Here is evidence of it. When Troezen died, Pittheus gathered the inhabitants together, incorporating both Hyperea and Anthea into the modern city, which he named Troezen after his brother. Many years afterwards the descendants of Aetius, son of Anthas, were dispatched as colonists from Troezen, and founded Halicarnassus and Myndus in Caria. Anaphlystus and Sphettus, sons of Troezen, migrated to Attica, and the parishes are named after them. As my readers know it already, I shall not relate the story of Theseus, the grandson of Pittheus. There is, however, one incident that I must add.

[10] Ἡρακλειδῶν γὰρ κατελθόντων ἐδέξαντο καὶ οἱ Τροίζηνιοι συνοίκους Δωριέων τῶν ἐξ Ἀργούς καὶ πρότερον ἔτι Ἀργείων ὄντες κατήκοοι: καὶ σφᾶς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ φησὶν ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἄρχεσθαι. Διομήδης γὰρ καὶ Εὐρύαλος ὁ Μηκιστέως Κυάνιππον τὸν Αἰγιαλέως παῖδα ὄντα ἐπιτροπεύοντες Ἀργείων ἡγήσαντο ἐς Τροίαν. Σθένηςλος δέ, ὡς ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς πρότερον, οἰκίας τε ἦν ἐπιφανεστέρας, τῶν Ἀναξαγοριδῶν καλουμένων, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τούτῳ μάλιστα ἦν ἡ Ἀργείων προσήκουσα. τοσαῦτα Τροίζηνίοις ἐχόμενα ἱστορίας ἦν, παρὲς ἣ ὅσαι πόλεις παρ' αὐτῶν φασιν ἀποικισθῆναι: κατασκευὴν δὲ ἱερῶν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπέξειμι.

[30.10] On the return of the Heracleidae, the Troezenians too received Dorian settlers from Argos. They had been subject at even an earlier date to the Argives; Homer, too, in the Catalogue, says that their commander was Diomedes. For Diomedes and Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, who were guardians of the boy Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, led the Argives to Troy. Sthenelus, as I have related above, came of a more illustrious family, called the Anaxagoridae, and he had the best claim to the Kingdom of Argos. Such is the story of the Troezenians, with the exception of the cities that claim to be their colonies. I will now proceed to describe the appointments of their sanctuaries and the remarkable sights of their country.

31. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Τροϊζηνίων ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶ Σωτείρας: Θησέα δὲ ἐλέγετο ιδρύσασθαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι Σώτειραν, ἥνικα Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μίνω καταγωνισάμενος ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης.

ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ εἶναι τοῦτο ἔδοξεν οἱ τῶν κατειργασμένων, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔμοι δοκεῖν ὅτι ἀνδρεία τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Θησέως ὑπερέβαλεν ὁ Ἀστερίων, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἐκ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου δυσέξοδον καὶ τὸ λαθόντα ἀποδρᾶναι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν εἰκότα τὸν λόγον ὥς προνοία θεία καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνασωθεῖη Θησεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

[31.1] XXXI. In the market-place of Troezen is a temple of Artemis Saviour, with images of the goddess. It was said that the temple was founded and the name Saviour given by Theseus when he returned from Crete after overcoming Asterion the son of Minos. This victory he considered the most noteworthy of his achievements, not so much, in my opinion, because Asterion was the bravest of those killed by Theseus, but because his success in unravelling the difficult Maze and in escaping unnoticed after the exploit made credible the saying that it was divine providence that brought Theseus and his company back in safety.

[2] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῷ ναῷ βωμοὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ γῆν ἄρχειν, καὶ φασιν ἐξ Ἰδίου Σεμέλην τε ὑπὸ Διονύσου κομισθῆναι ταύτη καὶ ὥς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἰδίου: ἐγὼ δὲ Σεμέλην μὲν οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἀρχὴν πεῖθομαι Διὸς γε οὖσαν γυναῖκα, τὰ δὲ ἐξ τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἰδίου κύνα ἐτέρωθι ἔσται μοι δῆλα ὅποια εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ.

[31.2] In this temple are altars to the gods said to rule under the earth. It is here that they say Semele was brought out of Hell by Dionysus, and that Heracles dragged up the Hound of Hell. But I cannot bring myself to believe even that Semele died at all, seeing that she was the wife of Zeus; while, as for the so-called Hound of Hell, I will give my views in another place.

[3] ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ Πιτθέως μνημῆα ἐστὶ, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ θρόνοι κεῖνται λίθου λευκοῦ: δικάζειν δὲ Πιτθέα καὶ ἄνδρας δύο σὺν αὐτῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἱερὸν Μουσῶν ἐστὶ, ποιῆσαι δὲ ἔλεγον αὐτὸ Ἄρδαλον παῖδα Ἡφαίστου: καὶ αὐλὸν τε εὐρεῖν νομίζουσι τὸν Ἄρδαλον τοῦτον καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἀρδαλίδας. ἐνταῦθα Πιτθέα διδάξαι λόγων τέχνην φασί, καὶ τι βιβλίον Πιτθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθέν Ἐπιδαυρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην. τοῦ Μουσείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος, Ἀρδάλου καὶ τοῦτον ὧς φασιν ἀναθέντος: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Μούσαις καὶ Ὑπνῷ θύουσι, λέγοντες τὸν Ὑπνον θεὸν μάλιστα εἶναι φίλον ταῖς Μούσαις.

[31.3] Behind the temple is the tomb of Pittheus, on which are placed three seats of white marble. On them they say that Pittheus and two men with him used to sit in judgment. Not far off is a sanctuary of the Muses, made, they told me, by Ardalus, son of Hephaestus. This Ardalus they hold to have invented the

flute, and after him they name the Muses Ardalides. Here, they say, Pittheus taught the art of rhetoric, and I have myself read a book purporting to be a treatise by Pittheus, published by a citizen of Epidaurus. Not far from the Muses' Hall is an old altar, which also, according to report, was dedicated by Ardalus. Upon it they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, saying that Sleep is the god that is dearest to the Muses.

[4] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου Λυκείας ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐποίησεν Ἱππόλυτος: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπικλησιν οὐδὲν εἶχον πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, ἀλλὰ ἡ λύκουσ ἐφαίνετό μοι τὴν Τροιζηνίαν λυμαινομένους ἐξελεῖν ὁ Ἱππόλυτος ἢ Ἀμαζόσι, παρ' ὧν τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἦν, ἐπικλησις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν αὕτη: εἴη δ' ἂν ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο οὐ γινωσκόμενον ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ λίθον, καλούμενον δὲ ἱερὸν, εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐφ' οὗ ποτε ἄνδρες Τροιζηνίων ἐννέα Ὀρέστην ἐκάθηραν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρὸς.

[31.4] Near the theater a temple of Artemis Lycea (Wolfish) was made by Hippolytus. About this surname I could learn nothing from the local guides, but I gathered that either Hippolytus destroyed wolves that were ravaging the land of Troezen, or else that Lycea is a surname of Artemis among the Amazons, from whom he was descended through his mother. Perhaps there may be another explanation that I am unaware of. The stone in front of the temple, called the Sacred Stone, they say is that on which nine men of Troezen once purified Orestes from the stain of matricide.

[5] εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Λυκείας Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοὶ διεστηκότες οὐ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων: ὁ μὲν πρῶτός ἐστιν αὐτῶν Διονύσου κατὰ δὴ τι μάντευμα ἐπικλησιν Σαώτου, δεύτερος δὲ Θεμίδων ὀνομαζόμενος: Πιτθεὺς τοῦτον ἀνέθηκεν, ὡς λέγουσιν. Ἡλίου δὲ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότι λόγῳ δοκοῦσί μοι ποιῆσαι βωμόν, ἐκφυγόντες δουλείαν ἀπὸ Ξέρξου τε καὶ Περσῶν.

[31.5] Not far from Artemis Lycea are altars close to one another. The first of them is to Dionysus, surnamed, in accordance with an oracle, Santes (Saviour); the second is named the altar of the Themides (Laws), and was dedicated, they say, by Pittheus. They had every reason, it seems to me, for making an altar to Helios Eleutherius (Sun, God of Freedom), seeing that they escaped being enslaved by Xerxes and the Persians.

[6] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιτθεά ἔφασαν, ἔστι δὲ ὃν οἶδα παλαιότατον. ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν Ἀρπαγὸς ποτε ὁ Μῆδος ἐνέπρησεν, ἀρχαῖος δὲ καὶ ὁ Σαμίῳις Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου: πλὴν πολὺ γε ὕστερον τοῦ παρὰ Τροιζηνίους ἐποιήθησαν. ἀγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνάθημα Αὐλίσκου, τέχνη δὲ Ἑρμῶνος Τροιζηνίου: τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμῶνος τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ζῶανά ἐστι.

[31.6] The sanctuary of Thearian Apollo, they told me, was set up by Pittheus; it is the oldest I know of. Now the Phocaeans, too, in Ionia have an old temple

of Athena, which was once burnt by Harpagus the Persian, and the Samians also have an old one of Pythian Apollo; these, however, were built much later than the sanctuary at Troezen. The modern image was dedicated by Auliscus, and made by Hermon of Troezen. This Hermon made also the wooden images of the Dioscuri.

[7] κείνται δὲ ἐν στοᾷ τῆς ἀγορᾶς γυναῖκες λίθου καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. εἰσὶ δὲ ᾧς Ἀθηναῖοι Τροιζηνίοις γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἔδωκαν σώζειν, ἐκλιπεῖν σφισιν ἄρεσαν τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ τὸν Μῆδον ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν — οὐ γὰρ δὴ πολλαὶ τινες ἐκεῖναι — , ὅποσαι δὲ ἀξιῶματι προεῖχον, τούτων εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι μόνων.

[31.7] Under a portico in the market-place are set up women; both they and their children are of stone. They are the women and children whom the Athenians gave to the Troezenians to be kept safe, when they had resolved to evacuate Athens and not to await the attack of the Persians by land. They are said to have dedicated likenesses, not of all the women – for, as a matter of fact, the statues are not many – but only of those who were of high rank.

[8] τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν οἰκοδόμημα ἔμπροσθεν, Ὅρέστου καλούμενον σκηνή. πρὶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι καθαρθῆναι τῆς μητρός, Τροιζηνίων οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἤθελεν αὐτὸν οἴκῳ δέξασθαι: καθίσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκάθαιρον καὶ εἰστίων, ἐς ὃ ἀφήγγισαν. καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν καθηράντων ἐνταῦθα δειπνοῦσιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς. κατορυχθέντων δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν καθαρσίων φασὶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφῦναι δάφνην, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν, ἢ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ταύτης.

[31.8] In front of the sanctuary of Apollo is a building called the Booth of Orestes. For before he was cleansed for shedding his mother's blood, no citizen of Troezen would receive him into his home; so they lodged him here and gave him entertainment while they cleansed him, until they had finished the purification. Down to the present day the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes dine here on appointed days. A little way from the booth were buried, they say, the means of cleansing, and from them grew up a bay tree, which, indeed, still remains, being the one before this booth.

[9] καθῆραι δὲ φασιν Ὅρέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ὕδατι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴππου κρήνης. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Τροιζηνίοις Ἴππου καλουμένη κρήνη, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐς αὐτὴν διαφόρως τῷ Βοιωτῶν ἔχει: Πηγάσῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἴππῳ καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν θιγόντι τοῦ ἐδάφους τῇ ὀπλῇ, Βελλεροφόντην δὲ ἔλθειν ἐς Τροιζῆνα γυναῖκα αἰτήσοντα Αἴθραν παρὰ Πιτθέως, πρὶν δὲ γῆμαι συμβῆναι οἱ φυγεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

[31.9] Among the means of cleansing which they say they used to cleanse Orestes was water from Hippocrene (Horse's Fount) for the Troezenians too have a fountain called the Horse's, and the legend about it does not differ from the one which prevails in Boeotia. For they, too, say that the earth sent up the water when the horse Pegasus struck the ground with his hoof, and that

Bellerophon came to Troezen to ask Pittheus to give him Aethra to wife, but before the marriage took place he was banished from Corinth.

[10] καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ Πολύγιος καλούμενος. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι τὸ ρόπαλον θεῖναι φασιν Ἡρακλέα: καὶ — ἣν γὰρ κοτίνου — τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε πιστὰ ἐνέφυ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν αὖθις καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κότινος πεφυκὼς ἔτι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντα τὸν πρὸς τῇ Σαρωνίδι κότινον ἀπὸ τούτου τεμεῖν ρόπαλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτήρος: ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Ἀέτιον τὸν Ἄνθα λέγουσιν. ὕδωρ δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Χρυσορόαν: αὐχμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ ἑτῇ συμβάντος σφίσιν ἐννέα, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὕεν ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀναξηρανθῆναι φασιν ὕδατα, τὸν δὲ Χρυσορόαν τοῦτον καὶ τότε ὁμοίως διαμεῖναι ῥέοντα.

[31.10] Here there is also a Hermes called Polygius. Against this image, they say, Heracles leaned his club. Now this club, which was of wild olive, taking root in the earth (if anyone cares to believe the story), grew up again and is still alive; Heracles, they say, discovering the wild olive by the Saronic Sea, cut a club from it. There is also a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Saviour, which, they say, was made by Aetius, the son of Anthas, when he was king. To a water they give the name River of Gold. They say that when the land was afflicted with a drought for nine years, during which no rain fell, all the other waters dried up, but this River of Gold even then continued to flow as before.

32. Ἴππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ Θησέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεῖται καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. ταῦτα μὲν Διομήδην λέγουσι ποιῆσαι καὶ προσέτι θῆσαι τῷ Ἴππολύτῳ πρῶτον: Τροϊζηνίοις δὲ ἱερεὺς μὲν ἔστιν Ἴππολύτου τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα ἱερώμενος καὶ θυσίαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπέτειοι, δρῶσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τιόνδε: ἐκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκίρεται οἱ πρὸ γάμου, κειραμένη δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φέρουσα. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συρέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὐδὲ τὸν τάφον ἀποφαίνουσιν εἰδότες: τὸν δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλούμενον ἡνίοχον, τοῦτον εἶναι νομίζουσιν ἐκεῖνον Ἴππόλυτον τιμῇ παρὰ θεῶν ταύτην ἔχοντα.

[32.1] XXXII. To Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, is devoted a very famous precinct, in which is a temple with an old image. Diomedes, they say, made these, and, moreover, was the first to sacrifice to Hippolytus. The Troezenians have a priest of Hippolytus, who holds his sacred office for life, and annual sacrifices have been established. They also observe the following custom. Every maiden before marriage cuts off a lock for Hippolytus, and, having cut it, she brings it to the temple and dedicates it. They will not have it that he was dragged to death by his horses, and, though they know his grave, they do not show it. But they believe that what is called the Charioteer in the sky is the Hippolytus of the legend, such being the honor he enjoys from the gods.

[2] τούτου δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιβατηρίου, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα ἐκφυγόντος τὸν χειμῶνα ὃς τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπεγένετο ἀπὸ Ἰλίου κομιζομένοις: καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων Διομήδην πρῶτον θεῖναι φασί

τῷ Απόλλωνι. ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν — καὶ γὰρ Τροϊζηνίους μέτεστιν αὐτῶν — οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὄν Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης: στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν σφισι Λιθοβόλεια ὀνομάζοντες.

[32.2] Within this enclosure is a temple of Apollo Seafaring, an offering of Diomedes for having weathered the storm that came upon the Greeks as they were returning from Troy. They say that Diomedes was also the first to hold the Pythian games in honor of Apollo. Of Damia and Auxesia (for the Troezenians, too, share in their worship) they do not give the same account as the Epidaurians and Aeginetans, but say that they were maidens who came from Crete. A general insurrection having arisen in the city, these too, they say, were stoned to death by the opposite party; and they hold a festival in their honor that they call Stoning.

[3] κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος στάδιόν ἐστιν Ἴππολύτου καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας: αὐτόθεν γάρ, ὅποτε γυμνάζοιτο ὁ Ἴππόλυτος, ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐρῶσα ἡ Φαῖδρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔτι πεφύκει ἡ μυρσίνη, τὰ φύλλα ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα: καὶ ἥνικα ἡπορεῖτο ἡ Φαῖδρα καὶ ῥαστώνην τῷ ἔρωτι οὐδεμίαν εὔρισκεν, ἐς ταύτης τὰ φύλλα ἐσιναμώρει τῆς μυρσίνης.

[32.3] In the other part of the enclosure is a race-course called that of Hippolytus, and above it a temple of Aphrodite Spy. For from here, whenever Hippolytus practised his exercises, Phaedra, who was in love with him, used to gaze upon him. Here there still grew the myrtle, with its leaves, as I have described above, pierced with holes. When Phaedra was in despair and could find no relief for her passion, she used to vent her spleen upon the leaves of this myrtle.

[4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τάφος Φαίδρας, ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Ἴππολύτου μνήματος: τὸ δὲ οὐ πόρρω κέχωσται τῆς μυρσίνης. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησε μὲν Τιμόθεος, Τροϊζήνιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀλλὰ εἰκόνα Ἴππολύτου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ οἰκίαν ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἴππολύτου: πρὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν Ἡράκλειος καλουμένη κρήνη, τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς οἱ Τροϊζήνιοι λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντος Ἡρακλέους.

[32.4] There is also the grave of Phaedra, not far from the tomb of Hippolytus, which is a barrow near the myrtle. The image of Asclepius was made by Timotheus, but the Troezenians say that it is not Asclepius, but a likeness of Hippolytus. I remember, too, seeing the house of Hippolytus; before it is what is called the Fountain of Heracles, for Heracles, say the Troezenians, discovered the water.

[5] ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Σθενιάδος καλουμένης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰργάσατο τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον Κάλλων Αἰγινήτης: μαθητὴς δὲ ὁ Κάλλων ἦν Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος, οἱ Δηλίοις ἐποίησαν τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Απόλλωνος: ὁ

δὲ Ἀγγελίων καὶ Τεκταῖος παρὰ Διποίνῳ καὶ Σκύλλιδι ἐδιδάχθησαν.

[32.5] On the citadel is a temple of Athena, called Sthenias. The wooden image itself of the goddess I was made by Callon, of Aegina. Callon was a pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion, who made the image of Apollo for the Delians. Angelion and Tectaeus were trained in the school of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

[6] κατιόντων δὲ αὐτόθεν Λυτηρίου Πανός ἐστιν ἱερὸν: Τροιζηνίων γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἔδειξεν ὀνείρατα ἃ εἶχεν ἄκεσιν λοιμοῦ πύσαντος τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάλιστα. διαβάς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ναὸν ἂν ἴδοις Ἴσιδος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραιάς: τὸν μὲν ἄτε ἐν μητροπόλει τῇ Τροιζῇνι Ἀλικαρνασσεῖς ἐποίησαν, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἴσιδος ἀνέθηκε Τροιζηνίων δῆμος.

[32.6] On going down from here you come to a sanctuary of Pan Lyterius (Releasing), so named because he showed to the Troezenian magistrates dreams which supplied a cure for the epidemic that had afflicted Troezenia, and the Athenians more than any other people. Having crossed the sanctuary, you can see a temple of Isis, and above it one of Aphrodite of the Height. The temple of Isis was made by the Halicarnassians in Troezen, because this is their mother-city, but the image of Isis was dedicated by the people of Troezen.

[7] ἰοῦσι δὲ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς Ἑρμιόνην πηγὴ τέ ἐστι τοῦ Ὑλλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, Ταυρίου δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλουμένου, καὶ πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελομένου Θησέως ὑπ' αὐτῇ κρηπίδας τὰς Αἰγέως καὶ Ξίφος: πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διός. τῆς δὲ πέτρας πλησίον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Νυμφίας, ποιήσαντος Θησέως ἡνίκα ἔσχε γυναῖκα Ἑλένην.

[32.7] On the road that leads through the mountains to Hermione is a spring of the river Hyllicus, originally called Taurius (Bull-like), and a rock called the Rock of Theseus; when Theseus took up the boots and sword of Aegeus under it, it, too, changed its name, for before it was called the altar of Zeus Sthenius (Strong). Near the rock is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Nymphia (Bridal), made by Theseus when he took Helen to wife.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἔξω τείχους καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν Φυταλμίου: μηνίσαντα γάρ σφισι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ποιεῖν φασιν ἄκαρπον τὴν χώραν ἄλμης ἐς τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰς ρίζας καθικνουμένης, ἐς ὃ θυσίαις τε εἰξας καὶ εὐχαῖς οὐκέτι ἄλμην ἀνῆκεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸν ναὸν ἐστὶ Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος, Ἀλθήπου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἰδρυσαμένου.

[32.8] Outside the wall there is also a sanctuary of Poseidon Nurturer (Phytalmios). For they say that, being wroth with them, Poseidon smote the land with barrenness, brine (halme) reaching the seeds and the roots of the plants (phyta), until, appeased by sacrifices and prayers, he ceased to send up the brine upon the earth. Above the temple of Poseidon is Demeter

Lawbringer (Thesmophoros), set up, they say, by Altheus.

[9] καταβαίνουνσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τῇ Κελενδέρει καλουμένη λιμένα χωρίον ἔστιν ὃ Γενέθλιον ὀνομάζουσι, τεχθῆναι Θησέα ἐνταῦθα λέγοντες. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου ναός ἐστιν Ἄρεως, Θησέως καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἀμαζόνας μάχῃ κρατήσαντος· αὐταὶ δ' ἂν εἶψαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πρὸς Θησέα καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀγωνισαμένων.

[32.9] On going down to the harbor at what is called Celenderis, you come to a place called Birthplace (Genethlion), where Theseus is said to have been born. Before this place is a temple of Ares, for here also did Theseus conquer the Amazons in battle. These must have belonged to the army that strove in Attica against Theseus and the Athenians.

[10] ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ τὴν Ψιφαίαν πορευομένοις κότινος πέφυκεν ὀνομαζόμενος ῥάχος στρεπτός. ῥάχους μὲν δὴ καλοῦσι Τροιζήνιοι πᾶν ὅσον ἄκαρπον ἐλαίας, κότινον καὶ φυλλίαν καὶ ἔλαιον· στρεπτόν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσι τοῦτον, ὅτι ἐνσχεθεῖσθ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἡνῶν ἀνετράπη τοῦ Ἱπολύτου τὸ ἄρμα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαρωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφέστηκε τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐμήνυσεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι. τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι δηλώσω· Σαρώνια γὰρ δὴ κατὰ ἔτος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι.

[32.10] As you make your way to the Psiphæan Sea you see a wild olive growing, which they call the Bent Rhacos. The Troezenians call rhacos every kind of barren olive – cotinos, phylia, or elaios – and this tree they call Bent because it was when the reins caught in it that the chariot of Hippolytus was upset. Not far from this stands the sanctuary of Saronian Artemis, and I have already given an account of it. I must add that every year they hold in honor of Artemis a festival called Saronia.

SPHAERA & CALAUREA

33. νῆσοι δὲ εἰσι Τροιζηνίους μία μὲν πλησίον τῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ διαβῆναι ποσὶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἔστιν· αὕτη Σφαιρία ὀνομαζομένη πρότερον Ἰερὰ δι' αἰτίαν ἐκλήθη τοιαύτην. ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ Σφαίρου μνημα· Πέλοπος δὲ ἡνίοχον εἶναι λέγουσι τὸν Σφαῖρον. τούτῳ κατὰ δὴ τι ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶς ὄνειρον κομίζουσα Αἶθρα ἐς χοᾶς διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, διαβάσῃ δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ποσειδῶνα μυχθῆναι. ἰδρύσατο μὲν διὰ τοῦτο Αἶθρα ναὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀπατουρίας καὶ Ἰερὰν ἀντὶ Σφαιρίας ὠνόμασε τὴν νῆσον· κατεστήσατο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Τροιζηνίων παρθένους ἀνατιθέναι πρὸ γάμου τὴν ζώνην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀπατουρίᾳ.

[33.1] XXXIII. The Troezenians possess islands, one of which is near the mainland, and it is possible to wade across the channel. This was formerly called Sphaeria, but its name was changed to Sacred Island for the following reason. In it is the tomb of Sphaerus, who, they say, was charioteer to Pelops. In obedience forsooth to a dream from Athena, Aethra crossed over into the island with libations for Sphaerus. After she had crossed, Poseidon is said to have had intercourse with her here. So for this reason Aethra set up here a

temple of Athena Apaturia, and changed the name from Sphaeria to Sacred Island. She also established a custom for the Troezenian maidens of dedicating their girdles before wedlock to Athena Apaturia.

[2] Καλαύρειαν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὰν τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὅτε περ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ Ποσειδῶνος· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀντιδοῦναι τὰ χωρία σφᾶς ἀλλήλοις. φασὶ δὲ ἔτι καὶ λόγιον μνημονεύουσιν: "Ἴσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαυρείαν τε νέμεσθαι

Πυθὸ τ' ἡγαθέην καὶ Ταίναρον ἡνεμόεσσαν.

"Unknowḗsti δ' οὖν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἅγιον, ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν προέλθῃ γάμου.

[33.2] Calaurea, they say, was sacred to Apollo of old, at the time when Delphi was sacred to Poseidon. Legend adds that the two gods exchanged the two places. They still say this, and quote an oracle:—

Delos and Calaurea alike thou lovest to dwell in,
Pytho, too, the holy, and Taenarum swept by the high winds.

At any rate, there is a holy sanctuary of Poseidon here, and it is served by a maiden priestess until she reaches an age fit for marriage.

[3] τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνημῆα ἐστὶ. καὶ μοι τὸ δαιμόνιον δεῖξαι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτου δοκεῖ καὶ Ὀμήρου πρότερον ὥς εἴη βάσκανον, εἰ δὴ Ὀμηρον μὲν προδιεφθαρμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτω κακῷ κακὸν δεύτερον πενία πιέζουσα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν πτωχεύοντα ἦγε, Δημοσθένει δὲ φυγῆς τε συνέπεσεν ἐν γῆρα λαβεῖν πείραν καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἐγένετο οὕτω βίαιος. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ Δημοσθένει πλεῖστα, ἣ μὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἤγαγεν Ἄρπαλος μὴ μεταλαβεῖν αὐτόν:

[33.3] Within the enclosure is also the tomb of Demosthenes. His fate, and that of Homer before him, have, in my opinion, showed most plainly how spiteful the deity is; for Homer, after losing his sight, was, in addition to this great affliction, cursed with a second – a poverty which drove him in beggary to every land; while to Demosthenes it befell to experience exile in his old age and to meet with such a violent end. Now, although concerning him, not only others, but Demosthenes himself, have again and again declared that assuredly he took no part of the money that Harpalus brought from Asia,

[4] τὸ δὲ ὕστερον λεχθὲν ἐπέξειμι ὁποῖον ἐγένετο. Ἄρπαλος μὲν ὥς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀπέδρα διαβάς ναυσὶν ἐς Κρήτην, οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἀπέθανεν οἰκετῶν: οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης Πανσανίου δολοφονηθῆναι φασιν αὐτόν. τὸν δὲ οἱ τῶν χρημάτων διοικητὴν φυγόντα ἐς Ῥόδον Φιλόξενος Μακεδὼν συνέλαβεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐξήτησεν Ἄρπαλον. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἔχων ἤλεγχεν ἐς ὃ πάντα ἐπύθετο, ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρπάλου τι ἔτυχον εἰληφότες:

[33.4] yet I must relate the circumstances of the statement made subsequently. Shortly after Harpalus ran away from Athens and crossed with a squadron to Crete, he was put to death by the servants who were attending him, though some assert that he was assassinated by Pausanias, a Macedonian. The steward of his money fled to Rhodes, and was arrested by a Macedonian, Philoxenus, who also had demanded Harpalus from the Athenians. Having this slave in his power, he proceeded to examine him, until he learned everything about such as had allowed themselves to accept a bribe from Harpalus. On obtaining this information he sent a dispatch to Athens,

[5] μαθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας γράμματα ἐπέστελλεν. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασι τοὺς λαβόντας παρὰ Ἀρπάλου καταριθμῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅποσον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν ἕκαστος οὐδὲ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀρχὴν Δημοσθένους, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀπεχθανομένου καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ προσκρούσας.

Δημοσθένει μὲν οὖν τιμαὶ καὶ ἐτέρωθι τῆς

Ἑλλάδος καὶ παρὰ τῶν Καλαυρείας εἰσὶν οἰκητόρων:

[33.5] in which he gave a list of such as had taken a bribe from Harpalus, both their names and the sums each had received. Demosthenes, however, he never mentioned at all, although Alexander held him in bitter hatred, and he himself had a private quarrel with him. So Demosthenes is honored in many parts of Greece, and especially by the dwellers in Calauraea.

METHANA

34. τῆς δὲ Τροιζηνίας γῆς ἐστὶν ἰσθμὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ διέχων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πόλισμα οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Μέθανα ὥκισται. Ἰσιδος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ δὲ πολισματος τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχει θερμὰ λουτρά: φασὶ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντος τότε πρῶτον τὸ ὕδωρ φανῆναι, φανῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἀναζέσαι πολὺ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ μαρανθέντι ρυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄνεισι θερμόν τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄλμυρόν. λουσαμένῳ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς ψυχρὸν οὔτε ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκινδύνως νήχεσθαι: θηρία γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ κύνas παρέχεται πλείστους.

[34.1] XXXIV. Stretching out far into the sea from Troezenia is a peninsula, on the coast of which has been founded a little town called Methana. Here there is a sanctuary of Isis, and on the market-place is an image of Hermes, and also one of Heracles. Some thirty stades distant from the town are hot baths. They say that it was when Antigonos, son of Demetrius, was king of Macedon that the water first appeared, and that what appeared at once was not water, but fire that gushed in great volume from the ground, and when this died down the water flowed; indeed, even at the present day it wells up hot and exceedingly salt. A bather here finds no cold water at hand, and if he dives into the sea his swim is full of danger. For wild creatures live in it, and it swarms with sharks.

[2] ὁ δὲ ἐθαύμασα ἐν τοῖς Μεθάνοις μάλιστα, γράψω καὶ τοῦτο. ἄνεμος ὁ Λῖψ βλαστανούσαις ταῖς ἀμπέλοις ἐμπίπτων ἐκ τοῦ Σαρωνικοῦ κόλπου τὴν βλάστην σφῶν ἀφαιεῖν: κατιόντος οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀλεκτρυόνα τὰ πτερὰ ἔχοντα διὰ παντὸς λευκὰ διελόντες ἄνδρες δύο ἐναντίοι περιθέουσι τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἡμισυ ἑκάτερος τοῦ ἀλεκτρυόνος φέρων: ἀφικόμενοι δ' ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅθεν ὠρμήθησαν, κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα.

[34.2] I will also relate what astonished me most in Methana. The wind called Lips, striking the budding vines from the Saronic Gulf, blights their buds. So while the wind is still rushing on, two men cut in two a cock whose feathers are all white, and run round the vines in opposite directions, each carrying half of the cock. When they meet at their starting place, they bury the pieces there.

[3] τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τὸν Λίβα σφίσιν ἐστὶν εὐρημένον: τὰς δὲ νησίδας αἱ πρόκεινται τῆς χώρας ἀριθμὸν ἐννέα οὖσας Πέλοπος μὲν καλοῦσι, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ ὄντος μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ φασιν ὕεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδα, ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰ Μέθανα, ἐπεὶ χάλαζαν γε ἤδη θυσίαις εἶδον καὶ ἐπαυδαῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτρέποντας.

[34.3] Such are the means they have devised against the Lips. The islets, nine in number, lying off the land are called the Isles of Pelops, and they say that when it rains one of them is not touched. If this be the case I do not know, though the people around Methana said that it was true, and I have seen before now men trying to keep off hail by sacrifices and spells.

HERMIONE

[4] τὰ μὲν δὴ Μέθανα ἰσθμός ἐστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου: ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἰσθοῦ τῆς Τροιζηνίων ὁμορός ἐστιν Ἑρμιόνη. οἰκιστὴν δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως Ἑρμιονεῖς γενέσθαι φασὶν Ἑρμίονα Εὐρώπος. τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπα — ἦν γὰρ δὴ Φορωνέως — Ἡροφάνης ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἔφασκεν εἶναι νόθον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποτε ἐς Ἄργον τὸν Νιόβης θυγατρίδου ὄντα Φορωνέως τὴν ἐν Ἀργεὶ περιελθεῖν ἂν ἀρχὴν παρόντος Φορωνεῖ γησίου παιδός.

[34.4] Methana, then, is a peninsula of the Peloponnesus. Within it, bordering on the land of Troezen, is Hermione. The founder of the old city, the Hermionians say, was Hermion, the son of Europs. Now Europs, whose father was certainly Phoroneus, Herophanes of Troezen said was an illegitimate child. For surely the kingdom of Argos would never have devolved upon Argus, Niobe's son, the grandchild of Phoroneus, in the presence of a legitimate son.

[5] ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ καὶ γνήσιον ὄντα Εὐρωπα πρότερον τὸ χρεὼν ἢ Φορωνέα ἐπέλαβεν, εὖ οἶδα ὥς οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Νιόβης παιδὶ ἴσα οἶσεσθαι Διός γε εἶναι δοκοῦντι. ἐπώκησαν δὲ καὶ Ἑρμιόνα ὕστερον Δωριεῖς οἱ ἐξ Ἀργούς: πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δοκῶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων.

[34.5] But even supposing that Europs was a legitimate child who died before

Phoroneus, I am quite sure that his son was not likely to stand a fair chance against Niobe's child, whose father was supposed to be Zeus. Subsequently the Dorians from Argos settled, among other places, at Hermion, but I do not think there was war between the two peoples, or it would have been spoken of by the Argives.

[6] ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἕξ Ἑρμιόνα ἐκ Τροιζήνος κατὰ τὴν πέτραν ἢ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διὸς βωμός, μετὰ δὲ Θησέα ἀνελόμενον τὰ γνωρίσματα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ νῦν Θησεῶς αὐτήν. κατὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν πέτραν ἰοῦσιν ὀρεινὴν ὁδόν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πλατανιστίου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Εἰλεοὶ χωρίον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερά: τὰ δὲ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐν ὄροις τῆς Ἑρμιονίδος ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Θερμασίας.

[34.6] There is a road from Troezen to Hermion by way of the rock which aforetime was called the altar of Zeus Sthenius (Strong) but afterwards Theseus took up the tokens, and people now call it the Rock of Theseus. As you go, then, along a mountain road by way of this rock, you reach a temple of Apollo surnamed Platanistius (God of the Plane-tree Grove), and a place called Eilei, where are sanctuaries of Demeter and of her daughter Core (Maid). Seawards, on the borders of Hermionis, is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Thermasia (Warmth).

[7] σταδίους δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἄκρα Σκυλλαῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Νίσου καλουμένη θυγατρὸς. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὴν Νίσαιαν ὁ Μίνως καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα εἶλεν ἐκείνης προδοῦσης, οὔτε γυναῖκα ἔξειν αὐτὴν ἔτι ἔφασκε καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐκβάλλειν τῆς νεῶς: ἀποθανοῦσαν δὲ ἀπέρριπεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ταύτην ὁ κλύδων. τάφον δὲ οὐκ ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ περιοφθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν φασὶ διαφορηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ὀρνίθων.

[34.7] Just about eighty stades away is a headland Scyllaeum, which is named alter the daughter of Nisus. For when, owing to her treachery, Minos had taken Nisaea and Megara, he said that now he would not have her to wife, and ordered his Cretans to throw her from the ship. She was drowned, and the waves cast up her body on this headland. They do not show a grave of her, but say that the sea birds were allowed to tear the corpse to pieces.

[8] ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυλλαίου πλέοντι ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄκρα τέ ἐστὶν ἑτέρα Βουκέφαλα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν νῆσοι, πρώτη μὲν Ἀλιοῦσσα — παρέχεται δὲ αὕτη λιμένα ἐνορμίσασθαι ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον — , μετὰ δὲ Πιτυοῦσσα, τρίτη δὲ ἦν Ἀριστερὰν ὀνομάζουσι. ταύτας δὲ παραπλεύσαντί ἐστὶν αὖθις ἄκρα Κωλυεργία ἀνέχουσα ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν νῆσος Τρίκρανα καλουμένη καὶ ὄρος ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προβεβλημένον Βούπορθμος. ἐν Βουπόρθμῳ δὲ πεποιῆται μὲν ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός, πεποιῆται δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς:

[34.8] As you sail from Scyllaeum in the direction of the city, you reach another headland, called Bucephala (Ox-head), and, after the headland, islands, the

first of which is Haliussa (Salt Island). This provides a harbor where there is good anchorage. After it comes Pityussa (Pine Island), and the third they call Aristerae. On sailing past these you come to another headland, Colyergia, jutting out from the mainland, and after it to an island, called Tricrana (Three Heads), and a mountain, projecting into the sea from the Peloponnesus, called Buporthmus (Oxford). On Buporthmus has been built a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter, as well as one of Athena, surnamed Promachorma (Champion of the Anchorage).

[9] ἐπὶ κλησις δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ θεῷ Προμαχόρμα. πρόκειται δὲ Βουπόρθμου νῆσος Ἀπεροπία καλουμένη, τῆς δὲ Ἀπεροπίας ἀφέστηκεν οὐ πολὺ ἑτέρα νῆσος Ὑδρέα. μετὰ ταύτην αἰγιαλὸς τε παρῇκει τῆς ἡπείρου μνηοειδῆς καὶ ἀκτὴ μετὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδῖον, ἐκ θαλάσσης μὲν ἀρχομένη τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολάς, προήκουσα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ λιμένας ἐν αὐτῇ. μῆκος μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐστὶν ἑπτὰ πού σταδία, πλάτος δὲ ἢ πλατυτάτη σταδίων τριῶν οὐ πλέον.

[34.9] Before Buporthmus lies an island called Aperopia, not far from which is another island, Hydrea. After it the mainland is skirted by a crescent-shaped beach and after the beach there is a spit of land up to a sanctuary of Poseidon, beginning at the sea on the east and extending westwards. It possesses harbors, and is some seven stades in length, and not more than three stades in breadth where it is broadest.

[10] ἐνταῦθα ἡ προτέρα πόλις τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἦν. ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ, προελθοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ σταδίου θεμέλια· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας ἀγωνίσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον οὐ μέγα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ὃ δὲ ὄροφος κατερρύηκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἡλίῳ ναὸς καὶ ἄλλος Χάρισιν, ὃ δὲ Σαράπιδι ὠκοδόμηται καὶ Ἰσιδι· καὶ περίβολοι μεγάλων λίθων λογάδων εἰσίν, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερὰ δρῶσιν ἀπόρρητα Δήμητρι.

[34.10] Here the Hermionians had their former city. They still have sanctuaries here: one of Poseidon at the east end of the spit, and a temple of Athena further inland by the side of the latter are the foundations of a race-course, in which legend says the sons of Tyndareus contended. There is also another sanctuary of Athena, of no great size, the roof of which has fallen in. There is a temple to Helius (Sun), another to the Graces, and a third to Serapis and Isis. There are also circuits of large unhewn stones, within which they perform mystic ritual to Demeter.

[11] τοσαῦτα μὲν Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα· ἡ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλις ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς ἄκρας, ἐφ' ἣ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἱερόν, τέσσαρας μάλιστα σταδίου, κειμένη δὲ ἐν ὁμαλῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἡρέμα ἐς πρόσαντες ἄνεισι, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡδὴ τοῦ Πρωνός· Πρῶνα γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσι. τεῖχος μὲν δὴ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑρμιόνα ἔστηκε· τὰ δὲ ἐς συγγραφὴν καὶ ἄλλα παρείχετο καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ποιήσασθαι μάλιστα ἠξίωσα μνήμην. Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησιν

Ποντίας καὶ Λιμενίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἄγαλμα δὲ λευκοῦ λίθου μεγέθει τε μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θέας ἄξιον.

[34.11] Such are the possessions of the Hermionians in these parts. The modern city is just about four stades distant from the headland, upon which is the sanctuary of Poseidon, and it lies on a site which is level at first, gently rising up a slope, which presently merges into Pron, for so they name this mountain. A wall stands all round Hermione, a city which I found afforded much to write about, and among the things which I thought I myself must certainly mention are a temple of Aphrodite, surnamed both Pontia (of the Deep Sea) and Limenia (of the Harbor), and a white-marble image of huge size, and worth seeing for its artistic excellence.

[12] καὶ ναὸς ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης: αὕτη καὶ ἄλλας ἔχει παρὰ Ἑρμιονέων τιμὰς, καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις καὶ ἥν γυνὴ χηρεύουσα παρὰ ἄνδρα μέλλη φοιτᾶν, ἀπάσαις πρὸ γάμου θύειν καθέστηκεν ἐνταῦθα. Δήμητρος δὲ ἱερὰ πεποιῆται Θερμασίας, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ὄροις, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ἤδη μοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει.

[34.12] There is also another temple of Aphrodite. Among the honors paid her by the Hermionians is this custom: maidens, and widows about to remarry, all sacrifice to her before wedding. Sanctuaries have also been built of Demeter Thermasia (Warmth), one at the border towards Troezenia, as I have stated above, while there is another in Hermione itself.

35. πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ναὸς Μελαναίγιδος: τούτῳ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἄγουσι, καὶ ἀμίλλης κολύμβου καὶ πλοίων τιθέασιν ἄθλα: καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἰφιγενείας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἔχων ἐπὶ δελαφῖνος. παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, ἄγαλμα μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, βωμὸς δέ:

[35.1] XXXV. Near the latter is a temple of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin. In his honor every year they hold a competition in music, and they offer prizes for swimming-races and boat-races. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Iphigenia, and a bronze Poseidon with one foot upon a dolphin. Passing by this into the sanctuary of Hestia, we see no image, but only an altar, and they sacrifice to Hestia upon it.

[2] καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ θύουσιν Ἑστία. Απόλλωνος δὲ εἰσι ναοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα τρία: καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησις, τὸν δὲ Πυθαεά οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ὅριον τὸν τρίτον. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Πυθαέως ὄνομα μεμαθήκασι παρὰ Ἀργείων: τούτοις γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοις ἀφικέσθαι Τελείσιλλά φησι τὸν Πυθαεά ἐς τὴν χώραν Απόλλωνος παῖδα ὄντα: τὸν δὲ Ὅριον ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλοῦσιν, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν, τεκμαίρομαι δὲ περὶ γῆς ὄρων πολέμῳ σφᾶς ἢ δίκη νικήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷδε τιμὰς Απόλλωνι Ὅριῳ νεῖμαι.

[35.2] Of Apollo there are three temples and three images. One has no surname; the second they call Pythaeus, and the third Horius (of the Borders). The name

Pythaeus they have learned from the Argives, for Telesilla tells us that they were the first Greeks to whose country came Pythaeus, who was a son of Apollo. I cannot say for certain why they call the third Horius, but I conjecture that they won a victory, either in war or by arbitration, in a dispute concerning the borders (horoi) of their land, and for this reason paid honors to Apollo Horius.

[3] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης νεώτατον μὲν λέγουσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τῶν παρά σφισιν εἶναι, λίθου δὲ Παρίου κολοσσὸς ἔστηκεν. κρήνας δὲ τὴν μὲν σφόδρα ἔχουσιν ἀρχαίαν, ἐς δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ φανερώς τὸ ὕδωρ κάτεισιν, ἐπιλείποι δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες καταβάντες ὑδρεύοιντο ἐξ αὐτῆς: τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιήκασιν, ὄνομα δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ χωρίῳ Λειμών, ὅθεν ῥεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν.

[35.3] The sanctuary of Fortune is said by the Hermionians to be the newest in their city; a colossus of Parian marble stands there. Of their wells, one is very old; nobody can see the water flowing into it, but it would never run dry, even if everybody descended and drew water from it. Another well they made in our own day, and the name of the place from which the water flows into it is Leimon (Meadow).

[4] τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρωνός. τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν Ἑρμιονεῖς μὲν Κλύμενον Φορωνέως παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Κλυμένου Χθονίαν τοὺς ἰδρυσαμένους φασὶν εἶναι. Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅτε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἦλθε Δημήτηρ, τότε Ἀθήραν μὲν λέγουσι καὶ Μύσιον ὡς ξενίαν παράσχοιεν τῇ θεῷ, Κολόνταν δὲ οὔτε οἴκῳ δέξασθαι τὴν θεὸν οὔτε ἀπονείμαί τι ἄλλο ἐς τιμὴν: ταῦτα δὲ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην Χθονία τῇ θυγατρὶ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Κολόνταν μὲν οὖν φασιν ἀντὶ τούτων συγκαταπρησθῆναι τῇ οἰκίᾳ,

Χθονίαν δὲ κομισθεῖσαν ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ὑπὸ Δήμητρος Ἑρμιονεῦσι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱερὸν.

[35.4] The object most worthy of mention is a sanctuary of Demeter on Pron. This sanctuary is said by the Hermionians to have been founded by Clymenus, son of Phoroneus, and Chthonia, sister of Clymenus. But the Argive account is that when Demeter came to Argolis, while Atheras and Mysius afforded hospitality to the goddess, Colontas neither received her into his home nor paid her any other mark of respect. His daughter Chthoia disapproved of this conduct. They say that Colontas was punished by being burnt up along with his house, while Chthonia was brought to Hermion by Demeter, and made the sanctuary for the Hermionians.

[5] Χθονία δ' οὖν ἡ θεὸς τε αὐτὴ καλεῖται καὶ Χθόνια ἐορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν ὥρα θέρους, ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως. ἡγούνται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἱ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετεῖους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἐπονται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες. τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὐσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ: οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοί σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτῃ κοσμοσάνδαλον, ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χρώα:

ἔπεστι δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα.

[35.5] At any rate, the goddess herself is called Chthonia, and Chthonia is the name of the festival they hold in the summer of every year. The manner of it is this. The procession is headed by the priests of the gods and by all those who hold the annual magistracies; these are followed by both men and women. It is now a custom that some who are still children should honor the goddess in the procession. These are dressed in white, and wear wreaths upon their heads. Their wreaths are woven of the flower called by the natives cosmosandalon, which, from its size and color, seems to me to be an iris; it even has inscribed upon it the same letters of mourning.

[6] τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος. ἐλάσαντες δὲ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσω φέρεσθαι τὴν βοῦν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνῆκαν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναπεπταμένους ἔχοντες τέως τὰς θύρας, ἐπειδὴν τὴν βοῦν ἴδωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, προσέθεσαν τὰς θύρας.

[35.6] Those who form the procession are followed by men leading from the herd a full-grown cow, fastened with ropes, and still untamed and frisky. Having driven the cow to the temple, some loose her from the ropes that she may rush into the sanctuary, others, who hitherto have been holding the doors open, when they see the cow within the temple, close the doors.

[7] τέσσαρες δὲ ἔνδον ὑπολειπόμεναι γρᾶες, αὗται τὴν βοῦν εἰσιν αἱ κατεργαζόμεναι: δρεπάνῳ γὰρ ἥτις ἂν τύχῃ τὴν φάρυγγα ὑπέτεμε τῆς βοός. μετὰ δὲ αἱ θύραι τε ἠνοίχθησαν καὶ προσελαύνουσιν οἷς ἐπιτέτακται βοῦν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλην τετάρτην. κατεργάζονται τε δὴ πάσας κατὰ ταυτὰ αἱ γρᾶες καὶ τόδε ἄλλο πρόσκειται τῇ θυσίᾳ θαῦμα: ἐφ' ἣντινα γὰρ ἂν πέσῃ τῶν πλευρῶν ἢ πρώτη βοῦς, ἀνάγκη πεσεῖν καὶ πάσας.

[35.7] Four old women, left behind inside, are they who dispatch the cow. Whichever gets the chance cuts the throat of the cow with a sickle. Afterwards the doors are opened, and those who are appointed drive up a second cow, and a third after that, and yet a fourth. All are dispatched in the same way by the old women, and the sacrifice has yet another strange feature. On whichever of her sides the first cow falls, all the others must fall on the same.

[8] θυσία μὲν δρᾶται τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον: πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γυναικῶν ἱερασαμένων τῇ Δήμητρι εἰκόνες ἐστήκασιν οὐ πολλάί, καὶ παρελθόντι ἔσω θρόνοι τέ εἰσιν, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ γρᾶες ἀναμένουσιν ἐσελαθῆναι καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν βοῶν, καὶ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἄγαν ἀρχαῖα Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Δημήτηρ. αὐτὸ δὲ ὁ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τᾶλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν: μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γρᾶες ἴστωσαν.

[35.8] Such is the manner in which the sacrifice is performed by the Hermionians. Before the temple stand a few statues of the women who have

served Demeter as her priestess, and on passing inside you see seats on which the old women wait for the cows to be driven in one by one, and images, of no great age, of Athena and Demeter. But the thing itself that they worship more than all else, I never saw, nor yet has any other man, whether stranger or Hermionian. The old women may keep their knowledge of its nature to themselves.

[9] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ναός: εἰκόνες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκασιν αὐτόν. οὗτος ὁ ναός ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς Χθονίας, καλεῖται δὲ Κλυμένου, καὶ τῷ Κλυμένῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. Κλύμενον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον ἐλθεῖν ἔγωγε ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἡγοῦμαι, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησις, ὄντινα ἔχει λόγος βασιλέα ὑπὸ γῆν εἶναι.

[35.9] There is also another temple, all round which stand statues. This temple is right opposite that of Chthonia, and is called that of Clymenus, and they sacrifice to Clymenus here. I do not believe that Clymenus was an Argive who came to Hermion “Clymenus” is the surname of the god, whoever legend says is king in the underworld.

[10] παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτόν ἐστιν ἄλλος ναός καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἄρεως, τοῦ δὲ τῆς Χθονίας ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ στοὰ κατὰ τὴν δεξιάν, Ἥχους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλουμένη: φθελγασμένῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ὀλίγιστα ἐς τρεῖς ἀντιβοῆσαι πέφυκεν. ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας χωρία ἐστὶν ἃ καλοῦσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τὸ μὲν Κλυμένου, τὸ δὲ Πλούτωνος, τὸ τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν λίμνην Ἀχερουσίαν. περιεῖργεται μὲν δὴ πάντα θριγκοῖς λίθων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ Κλυμένου καὶ γῆς χάσμα: διὰ τούτου δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνῆγε τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑρμιονέων.

[35.10] Beside this temple is another; it is of Ares, and has an image of the god, while to the right of the sanctuary of Chthonia is a portico, called by the natives the Portico of Echo. It is such that if a man speaks it reverberates at least three times. Behind the temple of Chthonia are three places which the Hermionians call that of Clymenus, that of Pluto, and the Acherusian Lake. All are surrounded by fences of stones, while in the place of Clymenus there is also a chasm in the earth. Through this, according to the legend of the Hermionians, Heracles brought up the Hound of Hell.

[11] πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ, καθ’ ἣν ὁδὸς εὐθεῖά ἐστιν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Μάσητα, Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἱερόν. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θυμιάμασι μέγας τὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκονται καὶ ἀναθήματα δίδοται πλεῖστα τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα ταῖς ἱερείαις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.

[35.11] At the gate through which there is a straight road leading to Mases, there is a sanctuary of Eileithyia within the wall. Every day, both with sacrifices and with incense, they magnificently propitiate the goddess, and, moreover, there is a vast number of votive gifts offered to Eileithyia. But the image no one may see, except, perhaps, the priestesses.

36. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Μάσητα εὐθεῖαν προελθοῦσιν ἑπτὰ που σταδίους καὶ ἐς ἄριστερὰν ἐκτραπεῖσιν, ἐς Ἀλικὴν ἐστὶν ὁδός. ἡ δὲ Ἀλικὴ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἔρημος, ὥκειτο δὲ καὶ αὕτη ποτέ, καὶ Ἀλικῶν λόγος ἐν στήλαις ἐστὶ ταῖς Ἐπιδαυρίων αἱ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἰάματα ἐγγεγραμμένα ἔχουσιν· ἄλλο δὲ σύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οἶδα ἀξιόχρεων, ἔνθα ἢ πόλεως Ἀλικῆς ἢ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν Ἀλικῶν μνήμη. ἔστι δ' οὖν ὁδὸς καὶ ἐς ταύτην, τοῦ τε Πρωνὸς μέση καὶ ὄρους ἐτέρου Θόρνακος καλουμένου τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διὸς ἐς κόκκυγα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆς λεγομένης ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι μετονομασθῆναι τὸ ὄρος φασίν.

[36.1] XXXVI. Proceeding about seven stades along the straight road to Mases, you reach, on turning to the left, a road to Halice. At the present day Halice is deserted, but once it, too, had inhabitants, and there is mention made of citizens of Halice on the Epidaurian slabs on which are inscribed the cures of Asclepius. I know, however, no other authentic document in which mention is made either of the city Halice or of its citizens. Well, to this city also there is a road, which lies midway between Pron and another mountain, called in old days Thornax; but they say that the name was changed because, according to legend, it was here that the transformation of Zeus into a cuckoo took place.

[2] ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωνί ἐστὶν Ἥρας· καὶ τοῦ γε Κοκκυγίου πρὸς τοῖς πέρασιν ναὸς ἐστὶ, θύραι δὲ οὐκ ἐφεστήκασιν οὐδὲ ὄροφον εἶχεν οὐδέ οἱ τι ἐνῆν ἄγαλμα· εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγετο ὁ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Μάσητα τοῖς ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς εὐθείας. Μάσητι δὲ οὔση πόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καθὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἀργεῖον καταλόγῳ πεποίηκεν, ἐπινείῳ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο Ἑρμιονεῖς.

[36.2] Even to the present day there are sanctuaries on the tops of the mountains: on Mount Cuckoo one of Zeus, on Pron one of Hera. At the foot of Mount Cuckoo is a temple, but there are no doors standing, and I found it without a roof or an image inside. The temple was said to be Apollo's. by the side of it runs a road to Mases for those who have turned aside from the straight road. Mases was in old days a city, even as Homer represents it in the catalogue of the Argives, but in my time the Hermionians were using it as a seaport.

NEAR MASES

[3] ἀπὸ Μάσητος δὲ ὁδὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἄκραν καλουμένην Στρουθοῦντα. στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ταύτης κατὰ τῶν ὄρων τὰς κορυφὰς πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ διακόσιοι ἐς Φιλανόριόν τε καλούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ Βολεούς· οἱ δὲ Βολεοὶ οὗτοι λίθων εἰσὶ σωροὶ λογάδων. χωρίον δὲ ἕτερον, ὃ Διδύμους ὀνομάζουσι, στάδια εἴκοσιν αὐτόθεν ἀφέστηκεν· ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐστὶ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Διμήτρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ λίθου λευκοῦ.

[36.3] From Mases there is a road on the right to a headland called Struthus

(Sparrow Peak). From this headland by way of the summits of the mountains the distance to the place called Philanorium and to the Boleoi is two hundred and fifty stades. These Boleoi are heaps of unhewn stones. Another place, called Twins, is twenty stades distant from here. There is here a sanctuary of Apollo, a sanctuary of Poseidon, and in addition one of Demeter. The images are of white marble, and are upright.

ASINE

[4] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν Ἀργείων ἢ ποτε Ἀσιναία καλουμένη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλόντων στρατιᾷ συνεσέβαλόν σφισιν οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι, καὶ ἐδήωσαν σὺν ἐκείνοις τῶν Ἀργείων τὴν γῆν. ὥς δὲ ὁ στόλος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίνην οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Ἔρατος.

[36.4] Next comes a district, belonging to the Argives, that once was called Asinaea, and by the sea are ruins of Asine. When the Lacedaemonians and their king Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, invaded Argolis with an army, the Asinaeans joined in the invasion, and with them ravaged the land of the Argives. When the Lacedaemonian expedition departed home, the Argives under their king Eratus attacked Asine.

[5] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἡμύναντο οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν ἄλλους τε καὶ Λυσίστρατον ἐν τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις ὄντα Ἀργείων· ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι μὲν γυναικας ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ἐνθέμενοι καὶ παῖδας ἐκλείπουσι τὴν αὐτῶν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος καταβαλόντες τὴν Ἀσίνην καὶ τὴν γῆν προσορισάμενοι τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πυθαέως τε Απόλλωνος ὑπέλιποντο τὸ ἱερόν — καὶ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι — καὶ τὸν Λυσίστρατον πρὸς αὐτῷ θάπτουσιν.

[36.5] For a time the Asinaeans defended themselves from their wall, and killed among others Lysistratus, one of the most notable men of Argos. But when the wall was lost, the citizens put their wives and children on board their vessels and abandoned their own country; the Argives, while levelling Asine to the ground and annexing its territory to their own, left the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus, which is still visible, and by it they buried Lysistratus.

LERNA

[6] ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀργείων τῆς πόλεως τεσσαράκοντα καὶ οὐ πλείω στάδια ἢ κατὰ Λέρναν θάλασσα. κατιόντων δὲ ἐς Λέρνην πρῶτον μὲν καθ' ὁδόν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐρασίνος, ἐκδίδωσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Φρίξον, ὁ Φρίξος δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ Τημενίου καὶ Λέρνης. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρασίνου τραπεῖσιν ἐς ἀριστερὰ σταδίους ὅσον ὀκτώ, Διοσκούρων ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀνάκτων· πεποίηται δὲ σφισι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ ξόανα.

[36.6] Distant from Argos forty stades and no more is the sea at Lerna. On the way down to Lerna the first thing on the road is the Erasinus, which empties itself into the Phrixus, and the Phrixus into the sea between Temenium and Lerna. About eight stades to the left from the Erasinus is a sanctuary of the Lords Dioscuri (Sons of Zeus). Their wooden images have been made similar to those in the city.

[7] ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐθεῖαν τὸν τε Ἑρασῖνον διαβήσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Χείμαρρον ποταμὸν ἀφίξῃ. πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ περιβολὸς ἐστὶ λίθων, καὶ τὸν Πλούτωνα ἀρπάσαντα ὡς λέγεται Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καταβῆναι ταύτῃ φασὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπόγειον νομιζομένην ἀρχὴν. ἡ δὲ Λέρνα ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς θαλάσση, καὶ τελετὴν Λερναίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρι.

[36.7] On returning to the straight road, you will cross the Erasinus and reach the river Cheimarrus (Winter-torrent). Near it is a circuit of stones, and they say that Pluto, after carrying off, according to the story, Core, the daughter of Demeter, descended here to his fabled kingdom underground. Lerna is, I have already stated, by the sea, and here they celebrate mysteries in honor of Lernaean Demeter.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος ἱερὸν ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους ὃ καλοῦσι Ποντῖνον, τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ Ποντίνος οὐκ ἔῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρεῖν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καταδέχεται: ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ποντίνος. καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν τε Ἀθηνᾶς Σαῖτιδος, ἐρείπια ἔτι μόνα, καὶ θεμέλια οἰκίας ἐστὶν Ἴππομέδοντος, ὃς Πολυνείκει τῷ Οἰδίποδος τιμωρήσων ἦλθεν ἐς Θήβας.

[36.8] There is a sacred grove beginning on the mountain they call Pontinus. Now Mount Pontinus does not let the rain-water flow away, but absorbs it into itself. From it flows a river, also called Pontinus. Upon the top of the mountain is a sanctuary of Athena Saitis, now merely a ruin; there are also the foundations of a house of Hippomedon, who went to Thebes to redress the wrongs of Polyneices, son of Oedipus.

37. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου τὸ ἄλλος ἀρχόμενον πλατάνων τὸ πολὺ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καθήκει. ὄροι δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν ποταμὸς ὃ Ποντίνος, τῇ δὲ ἑτερος ποταμός: Ἀμυμώνη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Δαναοῦ θυγατρὸς ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλλους ἀγάλματα ἔστι μὲν Δήμητρος Προσύμνης, ἔστι δὲ Διονύσου, καὶ Δήμητρος καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα:

[37.1] XXXVII. At this mountain begins the grove, which consists chiefly of plane trees, and reaches down to the sea. Its boundaries are, on the one side the river Pantinus, on the other side another river, called Amymane, after the daughter of Danaus. Within the grove are images of Demeter Prosymne and of Dionysus. Of Demeter there is a seated image of no great size.

[2] ταῦτα μὲν λίθου πεποιημένα, ἐτέρωθι δ' ἐν ναῷ Διόνυσος Σαώτης καθήμενον ξόανον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ θαλάσση λίθου: ἀναθεῖναι δὲ

αὐτὸ τὰς θυγατέρας λέγουσι τὰς Δαναοῦ, Δαναὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίνῃ ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. καταστήσασθαι δὲ τῶν Λερναίων τὴν τελετὴν Φιλάμμωνα φασι. τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις δηλὰ ἐστὶν οὐκ ὄντα ἀρχαῖα:

[37.2] Both are of stone, but in another temple is a seated wooden image of Dionysus Saotes (Savior), while by the sea is a stone image of Aphrodite. They say that the daughters of Danaus dedicated it, while Danaus himself made the sanctuary of Athena by the Pontinus. The mysteries of the Lernaean were established, they say, by Philammon. Now the words which accompany the ritual are evidently of no antiquity

[3] ἃ δὲ ἤκουσα ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ γεγράφθαι τῇ πεποιημένῃ τοῦ ὀρειχάλκου, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ὄντα Φιλάμμωνος Ἀρριφῶν εὔρε, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Τρικωνιεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Λυκίων τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως δόκιμος, δεινὸς δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἃ μὴ τις πρότερον εἶδε, καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα φωράσας ἐπὶ τῷδε. τὰ ἔπη, καὶ ὅσα οὐ μετὰ μέτρου μεμιγμένα ἦν τοῖς ἔπεσι, τὰ πάντα Δωριστὶ ἐπεποίητο: πρὶν δὲ Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἠφίεσαν Ἀθηναῖοις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φωνήν: ἐπὶ δὲ Φιλάμμωνος οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Δωριέων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐς ἅπαντας ἠκούετο Ἑλλήνας.

[37.3] and the inscription also, which I have heard is written on the heart made of orichalcum, was shown not to be Philammon's by Arriphon, an Aetolian of Triconium by descent, who now enjoys a reputation second to none among the Lycians; excellent at original research, he found the clue to this problem in the following way: the verses, and the prose interspersed among the verses, are all written in Doric. But before the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians, and in Philammon's day I do not suppose that even the name Dorians was familiar to all Greek ears.

[4] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπέφαιναν οὕτως ἔχοντα, τῆς δὲ Ἀμυμώνης πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ πλάτανος: ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τὴν ὕδραν τραφῆναι τῇ πλατάνῳ φασίν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ θηρίον πείθεται τοῦτο καὶ μεγέθει διενεγκεῖν ὕδρων ἄλλων καὶ τὸν ἰὸν οὕτω δὴ τι ἔχειν ἀνίατον ὥς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπὸ τῆς χολῆς αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀκίδας φαρμακεῦσαι τῶν οἰστῶν: κεφαλὴν δὲ εἶχεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν μίαν καὶ οὐ πλείονας, Πείσανδρος δὲ ὁ Καμρεὺς, ἵνα τὸ θηρίον τε δοκοίῃ φοβερώτερον καὶ αὐτῷ γίνηται ἢ ποίησις ἀξιώχρεως μᾶλλον, ἀντὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐποίησε τῇ ὕδρᾳ τὰς πολλὰς.

[37.4] All this was proved in the demonstration. At the source of the Amymone grows a plane tree, beneath which, they say, the hydra (water-snake) grew. I am ready to believe that this beast was superior in size to other water-snakes, and that its poison had something in it so deadly that Heracles treated the points of his arrows with its gall. It had, however, in my opinion, one head, and not several. It was Peisander of Camirus who, in order that the beast might appear more frightful and his poetry might be more remarkable, represented the hydra with its many heads.

[5] εἶδον δὲ καὶ πηγὴν Ἀμφιαράου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Ἀλκυονίαν λίμνην, δι' ἧς φασιν Ἀργεῖοι Διόνυσον εἰς τὸν Ἄϊδην ἐλθεῖν Σεμέλην ἀνάξοντα, τὴν δὲ ταύτην κάθοδον δεῖξαί οἱ Πόλυμνον. τῇ δὲ Ἀλκυονίᾳ πέρας τοῦ βάθους οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ τίνα οἶδα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ τέρμα αὐτῆς οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ καθικέσθαι δυνηθέντα, ὅπου καὶ Νέρων σταδίων πολλῶν κάλους ποιησάμενος καὶ συνάψας ἀλλήλοις, ἀπαρτήσας δὲ καὶ μόλυβδον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι χρήσιμον ἄλλο εἰς τὴν πείραν, οὐδὲ οὗτος οὐδένα ἐξευρεῖν ἐδυνήθη ὅρον τοῦ βάθους.

[37.5] I saw also what is called the Spring of Amphiaraus and the Alcyonian Lake, through which the Argives say Dionysus went down to Hell to bring up Semele, adding that the descent here was shown him by Palymnus. There is no limit to the depth of the Alcyonian Lake, and I know of nobody who by any contrivance has been able to reach the bottom of it since not even Nero, who had ropes made several stades long and fastened them together, tying lead to them, and omitting nothing that might help his experiment, was able to discover any limit to its depth.

[6] καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα ἄλλο: τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς λίμνης ὡς ἰδόντα εἰκάσαι γαληνόν ἐστι καὶ ἡρεμαῖον, παρεχόμενον δὲ ὄψιν τοιαύτην διανήχεσθαι τολμήσαντα πάντα τινὰ καθέλκειν πέφυκε καὶ εἰς βυθὸν ὑπολαβὸν ἀπὴνευκε. περίοδος δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐστὶν οὐ πολλή, ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε σταδίου τρίτον: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῆς πόα καὶ σχοῖνοι πεφύκασιν. τὰ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Διονύσῳ δρώμενα ἐν νυκτὶ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον οὐχ ὅσιον εἰς ἅπαντας ἦν μοι γράψαι.

[37.6] This, too, I heard. The water of the lake is, to all appearance, calm and quiet but, although it is such to look at, every swimmer who ventures to cross it is dragged down, sucked into the depths, and swept away. The circumference of the lake is not great, being about one-third of a stade. Upon its banks grow grass and rushes. The nocturnal rites performed every year in honor of Dionysus I must not divulge to the world at large.

TEMENIUM & NAUPLIA

38. ἐκ Λέρνης δὲ ἰοῦσιν εἰς Τημένιον — τὸ δὲ Τημένιον ἐστὶν Ἀργείων, ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Τημένου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου: καταλαβὼν γὰρ καὶ ἐχυρωσάμενος τὸ χωρίον ἐπολέμει σὺν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν αὐτόθεν τὸν πρὸς Τισαμενὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς πόλεμον — εἰς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Τημένιον ἰοῦσιν ὃ τε Φρίξος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐν Τημένῳ πεποιήται καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἕτερον καὶ μνημῆα ἐστὶ Τημένου τιμὰς ἔχον παρὰ Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ.

[38.1] XXXVIII. Temenium is in Argive territory, and was named after Temenus, the son of Aristomachus. For, having seized and strengthened the position, he waged therefrom with the Dorians the war against Tisamenus and the Achaeans. On the way to Temenium from Lerna the river Phrixus empties itself into the sea, and in Temenium is built a sanctuary of Poseidon, as well as one of Aphrodite; there is also the tomb of Temenus, which is worshipped by

the Dorians in Argos.

[2] Τημενίου δὲ ἀπέχει Ναυπλία πεντήκοντα ἔμοι δοκεῖν σταδίου, τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημος, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Ναύπλιος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης εἶναι. λείπεται δὲ καὶ τειχῶν ἔτι ἐρείπια, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ καὶ πηγὴ Κάναθος καλουμένη· ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἥραν φασὶν Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος λουμένην παρθένον γίνεσθαι.

[38.2] Fifty stades, I conjecture, from Temenium is Nauplia, which at the present day is uninhabited; its founder was Nauplius, reputed to be a son of Poseidon and Amymone. Of the walls, too, ruins still remain and in Nauplia are a sanctuary of Poseidon, harbors, and a spring called Canathus. Here, say the Argives, Hera bathes every year and recovers her maidenhood.

[3] οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφισιν ἐκ τελετῆς, ἣν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ, λόγος τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ λεγόμενα ἐς τὸν ὄνον, ὡς ἐπιφαγὼν ἀμπέλων κλῆμα ἀφθονώτερον ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνε τὸν καρπὸν — καὶ ὄνος σφίσιν ἐν πέτρᾳ πεποιημένος διὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἅτε ἀμπέλων διδάξας τομὴν — , παρήμι οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἡγούμενος.

[38.3] This is one of the sayings told as a holy secret at the mysteries which they celebrate in honor of Hera. The story told by the people in Nauplia about the ass, how by nibbling down the shoots of a vine he caused a more plenteous crop of grapes in the future, and how for this reason they have carved an ass on a rock, because he taught the pruning of vines – all this I pass over as trivial.

GENESIUM & THYREATIS

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Λέρνης καὶ ἑτέρα παρ' αὐτὴν ὁδὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ Γενέσιον ὀνομάζουσι· πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ τοῦ Γενεσίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα. τούτου δ' ἔχεται χωρίον ἄλλο Ἀπόβαθμοι· γῆς δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον τῆς Ἀργολίδος Δαναὸν σὺν ταῖς παισὶν ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν διελθοῦσιν Ἀνιγραῖα καλούμενα ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν καὶ ἄλλως δύσβατον, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν καθήκουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ δένδρα — ἐλαίας μάλιστα — ἀγαθὴ τρέφει γῆ, ἰόντι

[38.4] From Lerna there is also another road, which skirts the sea and leads to a place called Genesium. By the sea is a small sanctuary of Poseidon Genesisius. Next to this is another place, called Apobathmi (Steps). The story is that this is the first place in Argolis where Danaus landed with his daughters. From here we pass through what is called Anigraea, along a narrow and difficult road, until we reach a tract on the left which stretches down to the sea;

[5] δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπ' αὐτῆς χωρίον ἐστίν, ἔνθα δὴ ἐμαχέσαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης λογάδες Ἀργείων τριακόσιοι πρὸς ἄνδρας Λακεδαιμονίων ἀριθμὸν τε ἴσους καὶ ἐπιλέκτους ὁμοίως. ἀποθανόντων δὲ πάντων πλὴν ἑνὸς Σπαρτιάτου καὶ δυοῖν Ἀργείων, τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐχώσθησαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ τάφοι, τὴν χώραν δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενομένου πανδημεῖ σφισιν ἀγῶνος

πρὸς Ἀργεῖους κρατήσαντες βεβαίως αὐτοῖ τε παραντίκα ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήταις ἔδοσαν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῆς νήσου. τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θυρεάτιν ἐνέμοντο Ἀργεῖοι· φασὶ δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι δίκη νικήσαντες.

[38.5] it is fertile in trees, especially the olive. As you go up inland from this is a place where three hundred picked Argives fought for this land with an equal number of specially chosen Lacedaemonian warriors. All were killed except one Spartan and two Argives, and here were raised the graves for the dead. But the Lacedaemonians, having fought against the Argives with all their forces, won a decisive victory; at first they themselves enjoyed the fruits of the land, but afterwards they assigned it to the Aeginetans, when they were expelled from their island by the Athenians. In my time Thyreatis was inhabited by the Argives, who say that they recovered it by the award of an arbitration.

NERIS, EUA & MT PARNON

[6] ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν

πολυανδρίων ἰόντι Ἀνθήνη τέ ἐστιν, ἐς ἣν Αἰγινήται ποτε ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἑτέρα κώμη Νηρίς, τρίτη δὲ Εὐα μεγίστη τῶν κωμῶν· καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ. ὁ δὲ Πολεμοκράτης ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος Μαχάωνος υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλεξάνορος, καὶ ἰᾶται τοὺς ταύτῃ καὶ τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσοίκων ἔχει.

[38.6] As you go from these common graves you come to Athene, where Aeginetans once made their home, another village Neris, and a third Eua, the largest of the villages, in which there is a sanctuary of Polemocrates. This Polemocrates is one of the sons of Machaon, and the brother of Alexanor; he cures the people of the district, and receives honors from the neighbours.

[7] ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κώμας ὄρος Πάρνων, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ὄροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν· ἐστήκασι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ποταμὸς δὲ καλούμενος Τάναος — εἷς γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ Πάρνωνος κάτεισι — ῥέων διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Θυρεάτην κόλπον.

[7] Above the villages extends Mount Parnon, on which the Lacedaemonian border meets the borders of the Argives and Tegeatae. On the borders stand stone figures of Hermes, from which the name of the place is derived. A river called Tanaus, which is the only one descending from Mount Parnon, flows through the Argive territory and empties itself into the Gulf of Thyrea.

BOOK III.

Λακωνικά

BOOK III.

SPARTA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἑρμῆς ἐστὶν ἤδη Λακωνικὴ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρας. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λέλεξ αὐτόχθων ὢν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Λέλεγες ὢν ἤρχεν ὀνομάσθησαν. Λέλεγος δὲ γίνεται Μύλης καὶ νεώτερος Πολυκάων. Πολυκάων μὲν δὴ ὅποι καὶ δι' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω: Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβεν ὁ παῖς Εὐρώτας τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διώρυγι κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπορρύνεντος δὲ — ἦν γὰν δὴ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα — ὀνόμασεν Εὐρώταν.

[1.1] After the figures of Hermes we reach Laconia on the west. According to the tradition of the Lacedaemonians themselves, Lelex, an aboriginal was the first king in this land, after whom his subjects were named Leleges. Lelex had a son Myles, and a younger one Polycæon. Polycæon retired into exile, the place of this retirement and its reason I will set forth elsewhere. On the death of Myles his son Eurotas succeeded to the throne. He led down to the sea by means of a trench the stagnant water on the plain, and when it had flowed away, as what was left formed a river-stream, he named it Eurotas.

[2] ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ὄντων: αὐτῷ παίδων ἀρρένων βασιλεύειν καταλείπει Λακεδαιμόνα, μητρὸς μὲν Ταυγέτης ὄντα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὀνομάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα ἀνήκοντα κατὰ τὴν φήμην: συνώκει δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων Σπάρτῃ θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα. τότε δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτα μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετέθετο ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ᾧκισέ τε καὶ ὀνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πόλιν, ἣ Σπάρτῃ καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς.

[1.2] Having no male issue, he left the kingdom to Lacedaemon, whose mother was Taygete, after whom the mountain was named, while according to report his father was none other than Zeus. Lacedaemon was wedded to Sparta, a daughter of Eurotas. When he came to the throne, he first changed the names of the land and its inhabitants, calling them after himself, and next he founded and named after his wife a city, which even down to our own day has been called Sparta.

[3] Ἀμύκλας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμονος, βουλόμενος ὑπολιπέσθαι τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς μνήμην, πόλισμα ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ. γενομένων δὲ οἱ παίδων Ὑάκινθον μὲν νεώτατον ὄντα καὶ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστον κατέλαβεν ἢ πεπρωμένη πρότερον τοῦ πατρός, καὶ Ὑακίνθου μνημᾶ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ὑπὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀμύκλα ἐς Ἀργαλὸν τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀμύκλα παίδων καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Κυνόρταν Ἀργάλου τελευτήσαντος ἀφίκετο ἡ

ἀρχή.

[1.3] Amyclas, too, son of Lacedaemon, wished to leave some memorial behind him, and built a town in Laconia. Hyacinthus, the youngest and most beautiful of his sons, died before his father, and his tomb is in Amyclae below the image of Apollo. On the death of Amyclas the empire came to Aigalus, the eldest of his sons, and afterwards, when Aigalus died, to Cynortas. Cynortas had a son Oebalus.

[4] Κυνόρτα δὲ ἐγένετο Οἶβαλος. οὗτος Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε Τυνδάρεων, ὃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἴπποκόων ἡμιφισβήτει καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἔχειν ἡξίου τὴν ἀρχὴν. προσλαβὼν δὲ Ἰκάριον καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ πολὺ τε ὑπερεβάλετο δυνάμει Τυνδάρεων καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἀποχωρῆσαι δείσαντα, ὥς μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοί φασιν, ἐς Πελλάναν, Μεσσηνίων δὲ ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος Τυνδάρεων

φεύγοντα ἐλθεῖν ὥς Ἀφαρέα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἶναι τε Ἀφαρέα τὸν Περιήρους ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεω πρὸς μητρός· καὶ οἰκῆσαι τε αὐτὸν τῆς Μεσσηνίας φασὶν ἐν Θαλάμαις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

[1.4] He took a wife from Argos, Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, and begat a son Tyndareus, with whom Hippocoon disputed about the kingship, claiming the throne on the ground of being the eldest. With the end of Icarus and his partisans he had surpassed Tyndareus in power, and forced him to retire in fear; the Lacedaemonians say that he went to Pellana, but a Messenian legend about him is that he fled to Aphareus in Messenia, Aphareus being the son of Perieres and the brother of Tyndareus on his mother's side. The story goes on to say that he settled at Thalamae in Messenia, and that his children were born to him when he was living there.

[5] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατῆλθέ τε ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους Τυνδάρεως καὶ ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐβασίλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες καὶ Μενέλαος ὁ Ἀτρέως Τυνδάρεω γαμβρὸς ὢν Ὀρέστης τε Ἑρμιόνη τῇ Μενελάου συνοικῶν. κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐπὶ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος, Μεσσήνη μὲν καὶ Ἄργος ἑκατέρα μοῖρα Τήμενον, ἡ δὲ Κρεσφόντην ἔσχεν ἄρχοντας· ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι δὲ ὄντων διδύμων τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οἰκίαι δύο βασιλειαὶ γίνονται:

[1.5] Subsequently Tyndareus was brought back by Heracles and recovered his throne. His sons too became kings, as did Menelaus the son of Atreus and son-in-law of Tyndareus, and Orestes the husband of Hermione the daughter of Menelaus. On the return of the Heracleidae in the reign of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, both districts, Messene and Argos, had kings put over them; Argos had Temenus and Messene Cresphontes. In Lacedaemon, as the sons of Aristodemus were twins, there arose two royal houses; for they say that the Pythian priestess approved.

[6] συναρέσαι γὰρ τῇ Πυθίᾳ φασίν. Ἀριστοδήμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὶν ἢ Δωριέας κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν τοξευθῆναι λέγουσιν Ἀριστόδημον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκοιτο ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐντυχόντος οἱ πρότερον πύθοιτο ὥς ἐς Πελοπόννησον Δωριεῦσι γενήσεται ἥδε ἡ κάθοδος· ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστερος ἔχει λόγος Πυλάδου τοὺς παῖδας καὶ Ἥλέκτρας, ἀνεψιοὺς ὄντας Τισαμενῷ τῷ Ὀρέστου, φονεῦσαι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον.

[1.6] Tradition has it that Aristodemus himself died at Delphi before the Dorians returned to the Peloponnesus, but those who glorify his fate assert that he was shot by Apollo for not going to the oracle, having learned from Heracles, who met him before he arrived there, that the Dorians would make this return to the Peloponnesus. But the more correct account is that Aristodemus was murdered by the sons of Pylades and Electra, who were cousins of Tisamenus son of Orestes.

SPARTA, HISTORY

[7] ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης ἐτέθη, δίδυμοι δὲ ὄντες διάφοροι τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν. προεληλυθότες δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπεχθείας ὅμως ἐν κοινῷ Θήρᾳ τῷ Αὐτεσίωνος, ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν ὄντι Ἀργείας, ἐπιτροπεύσαντι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο ἐς ἀποικίαν. τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν ὁ Θήρας ἔστελλεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν τότε ὀνομαζομένην Καλλίστην, τοὺς ἀπογόνους οἱ τοῦ Μεμβλιάρου παραχωρήσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίζων ἐκόντας, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐποίησαν

[1.7] The names given to the sons of Aristodemus were Procles and Eurysthenes, and although they were twins they were bitter enemies. Their enmity reached a high pitch, but nevertheless they combined to help Theras, the son of Autesion and the brother of their mother Argeia and their guardian as well, to found a colony. This colony Theras was dispatching to the island that was then called Calliste, and he hoped that the descendants of Membliarus would of their own accord give up the kingship to him. This as a matter of fact they did,

[8] λαβόντες λογισμὸν ὅτι Θήρᾳ μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνήει Κάδμον τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου· Μεμβλίᾳρον δὲ ἄνδρα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου Κάδμος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κατέλιπεν ἡγεμόνα εἶναι τῶν ἐποίκων. καὶ Θήρας μὲν τῇ τε νήσῳ μετέβαλεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὥς οἰκιστῇ· Προκλεῖ δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθένει μέχρι μὲν τῆς προθυμίας τῆς ἐς τὸν Θήραν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνῆλθον αἱ γνῶμαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διειστῆκει σφίσιν ἐπὶ παντὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα.

[1.8] taking into account that the family of Theras went back to Cadmus himself, while they were only descendants of Membliarus, who was a man of the people whom Cadmus left in the island to be the leader of the settlers. And Theras changed the name of the island, renaming it after himself, and even at

the present day the people of Thera every year offer to him as their founder the sacrifices that are given to a hero. Procles and Eurysthenes were of one mind in their eagerness to serve Theras; but in all else their purposes were always widely different.

[9] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁμονοησάντων τοὺς ἀπογόνους αὐτῶν ἐς κοινὸν κατάλογον ὑπάζειν ἂν ἔμελλον· οὐ γάρ τι τὰ πάντα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνεληλύθασιν ἡλικίας, ὥς ἀνεψιὸν τε ἀνεψιῷ καὶ ἀνεψιῶν παῖδας, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατωτέρω κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις γεγονότας τὸν ἴσον. ἑκατέραν οὖν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπέξειμι αὐτῶν ἰδίως καὶ οὐκ ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναμίξας.

[1.9] Even if they had agreed together, I should never have ventured to include their descendants in a common list; for they did not altogether coincide in respect of age, so that cousins, cousins' children, and later generations were not born so as to make the steps in one pedigree coincide with those of the other. So I shall give the history of each house by itself separately, instead of combining them both in one narrative.

2. Εὐρυσθένει πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων ὄντι ἡλικίαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν υἱὸν Ἄγιν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τὸ γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένους καλοῦσιν Ἀγιάδας. ἐπὶ τούτου Πατρεὶ τῷ Πρευγένους κτίζοντι ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ πόλιν, ἣντινα Πάτρας καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρέως τούτου, συνεπελάβοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ. συνήραντο δὲ καὶ Γρᾶ τῷ Ἐχέλα τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὁρέστου στελλομένῳ ναυσὶν ἐς ἀποικίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ Μυσῶν, καλουμένην δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καθέξειν ἔμελλεν· ὁ δὲ οἱ πρόγονος Πενθίλος Λέσβον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης νῆσον εἶλεν ἔτι πρότερον.

[2.1] II. Eurysthenes, the elder of the sons of Aristodemus, had, they say, a son Agis, after whom the family of Eurysthenes is called the Agiadae. In his time, when Patreus the son of Preuges was founding in Achaea a city which even at the present day is called Patrae from this Patreus, the Lacedaemonians took part in the settlement. They also joined in an expedition overseas to found a colony. Gras the son of Echelas the son of Penthilus the son of Orestes was the leader, who was destined to occupy the land between Ionia and Mysia, called at the present day Aeolis; his ancestor Penthilus had even before this seized the island of Lesbos that lies over against this part of the mainland.

[2] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἁγίδος βασιλεύοντες ἐν Σπάρτῃ Κυνουρέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους, αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκόντες ὥς τὴν Ἀργολίδα συγγενῶν σφισιν ὄντων Ἀργείων λησταί τε ἐκ τῆς Κυνουριακῆς κακουργοῖεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καταδρομας ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιοῖντο ἐς τὴν γῆν. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Κυνουρεῖς Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἶναι, καὶ οἰκιστὴν φασιν αὐτῶν Κύνουρον γενέσθαι τὸν Περσέως.

[2.2] When Echestratus, son of Agis, was king at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians removed all the Cynurians of military age, alleging as a reason that freebooters from the Cynurian territory were harrying Argolis, the Argives

being their kinsmen, and that the Cynurians themselves openly made forays into the land. The Cynurians are said to be Argives by descent, and tradition has it that their founder was Cynurus, son of Perseus.

[3] ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς Λαβώτας ὁ Ἐχεστράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῦτον τὸν Λαβώταν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροῖσον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους φησὶν ἐπιτροπευθῆναι παῖδα ὄντα: Λεωβώτην δὲ οἱ τίθεται τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οὐ Λαβώταν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρῶτον τότε ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς Ἀργεῖους πόλεμον: ἐποιοῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα τὴν τε Κυνουριακὴν ἐλόντων αὐτῶν ἀποτέμεσθαι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὄντας ἀφιστάναι. τότε μὲν δὴ παρὰ οὐδετέρων πολεμησάντων ὁμῶς μνήμης ἄξιον πραχθῆναι φασιν οὐδέν:

[2.3] Not many years afterwards Labotas, son of Echestratus, became king in Sparta. This Labotas Herodotus, in his history of Croesus, says was in his childhood the ward of Lycurgus the lawgiver, but he calls him Leobotes and not Labotas. It was then that the Lacedaemonians first resolved to make war upon the Argives, bringing as charges against them that they were annexing the Cynurian territory which they themselves had captured, and were causing revolts among their subjects the Perioeci (Dwellers around). On this occasion neither of the belligerents, according to the account, achieved anything worthy of mention,

[4] τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς βασιλεύσαντας τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης Δόρυσσον τὸν Λαβώτα καὶ Ἀγησίλαον Δορύσσου δι' ὀλίγου σφᾶς τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Λυκοῦργος Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου βασιλείας: θεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῆς Πυθίης διδαχθέντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ὡς Κρητικὰ ὄντα νόμιμα ἐπαγάγοιτο. τοὺτους δὲ οἱ Κρήτες τοὺς νόμους τεθῆναι σφισιν ὑπὸ Μίνῳ λέγουσι, βουλεύσασθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ τὸν Μίνῳ. ἠνίξαστο δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περὶ τοῦ Μίνῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι: “τῇσι δ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως

ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής.

“Hom. Od 19.178

[2.4] and the next kings of this house, Doryssus, son of Labotas, and Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, were soon both killed. Lycurgus too laid down their laws for the Lacedaemonians in the reign of Artesilaus; some say that he was taught how to do this by the Pythian priestess, others that he introduced Cretan institutions. The Cretans say that these laws of theirs were laid down by Minos, and that Minos was not without divine aid in his deliberations concerning them. Homer too, I think, refers in riddling words to the legislation of Minos in the following verses:—

Cnossus too, great city, among them, where Minos for nine years
Ruled as king, and enjoyed familiar converse with great Zeus. Hom. Od.

[5] Λυκούργου μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι μνήμην: Ἀγησιλάου δὲ παῖς ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος. ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες πόλιν τῶν περιοικίδων ἡνδραποδίσαντο Αἴγυν, ὑποπτεύσαντες ὥς οἱ Αἰγῦται φρονοῦσι τὰ Ἀρκάδων. Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς συνεξέιλε μὲν καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν Αἴγυν, ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἰδία Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸς ἔδρασεν ἡγούμενος, μνήμην καὶ τῶνδε ποιησόμεθα ὁμοῦ τῇ λόγῳ μεταβάντι ἐς τοὺς Εὐρυπωντίδας καλουμένους.

[2.5] Of Lycurgus I shall make further mention later. Agesilaus had a son Archelaus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians took by force of arms Aegys, a city of the Perioeci, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, suspecting them of Arcadian sympathies. Charilaus, the king of the other house, helped Archelaus to destroy Aegys, but the exploits he achieved when leading the Lacedaemonians by himself, these too I shall relate when my narrative comes to treat of those called the Eurypontidae.

[6] Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἦν Τήλεκλος: ἐπὶ τούτου πόλεις Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν περιοικίδων πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἐξεῖλον Ἀμύκλας καὶ Φᾶριν καὶ Γεράνθρας, ἐχόντων ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν. τούτων Φαρῖται καὶ Γερανθῤᾶται τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Δωριέων καταπλαγέντες ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου συγχωροῦνται ὑπόσπονδοι: τοὺς δὲ Ἀμυκλαιεῖς οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς

ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀντισχόντας τε ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἔργα οὐκ ἄδοξα ἐπιδειξαμένους. δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Δωριεῖς τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀμυκλαιεῦσιν ἀναστήσαντες, ὥς ἐν τῷ τότε λόγῳ μάλιστα ἄξιον τοῦτο ὑπάρξαν σφίσιν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τήλεκλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐπεποιήτο ἐν χωρίῳ καλουμένῳ Λίμναις.

[2.6] Archelaus had a son Teleclus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians conquered in war and reduced Amyclae, Pharis, and Geranthrae, cities of the Perioeci, which were still in the possession of the Achaeans. The inhabitants of Pharis and Geranthrae, panic-stricken at the onslaught of the Dorians, made an agreement to retire from the Peloponnesus under a truce, but those of Amyclae were not driven out at the first assault, but only after a long and stubborn resistance, in which they distinguished themselves by glorious achievements. To this heroism the Dorians bore witness by raising a trophy against the Amyclaeans, implying that their success was the most memorable exploit of that time. Not long after this Teleclus was murdered by Messenians in a sanctuary of Artemis. This sanctuary was built on the frontier of Laconia and Messenia, in a place called Limniae (Lakes).

[7] Τηλέκλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἀλκαμένης ἔσχεν ὁ Τηλέκλου τὴν ἀρχήν: καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Κρήτην Χαρμίδαν τὸν Εὐθύος, ἄνδρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ τῶν δοκίμων, στάσεις τε καταπαύσοντα τοῖς Κρησὶ καὶ τὰ πολιύσματα, ὅποσα ἦν ἀπωτέρω θαλάσσης καὶ ἄλλως ἀσθενῇ, ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς Κρηῖτας πείσοντα

ἐκλιπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ τοῦ παράπλου συνοικιοῦντα ἀντ' αὐτῶν. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Ἑλος ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλισμα Ἀχαιῶν ἐχόντων καὶ Ἀργεῖους τοῖς εἰλωσιν ἀμύναντας μάχῃ νικῶσιν.

[2.7] After the death of Teleclus, Alcamenes his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent to Crete Charmidas the son of Euthys, who was a distinguished Spartan, to put down the civil strife among the Cretans, to persuade them to abandon the weak, inland towns, and to help them to people instead those that were conveniently situated for the coasting voyage. They also laid waste Helos, an Achaean town on the coast, and won a battle against the Argives who came to give aid to the Helots.

3. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλκαμένους Πολύδωρος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀλκαμένους, καὶ ἀποικίαν τε ἐς Ἰταλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἐς Κρότωνα ἔστειλαν καὶ ἀποικίαν ἐς Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς ἄκρα Ζεφυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ καλούμενος Μεσσηνιακὸς Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος μάλιστα ἐς ἀκμὴν προῆλθε. λέγουσι δὲ οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε αἰτίας καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

[3.1] III. On the death of Alcamenes, Polydorus his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent colonies to Croton in Italy and to the Locri by the Western headland. The war called the Messenian reached its height in the reign of this king. As to the causes of the war, the Lacedaemonian version differs from the Messenian.

[2] τὰ οὖν λεγόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅποιον ὁ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος πέρας, τοῦ λόγου μοι τὰ ἐφεξῆς δηλώσει: τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνησθηςόμεθα αὐτῶν, τὰ πολλὰ ἡγήσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμῳ Θεόπομπον τὸν Νικάνδρου, βασιλέα ὄντα τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας. διαπεπολεμημένου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνὴν πολέμου καὶ ἤδη Λακεδαιμονίοις δορικτήτου τῆς Μεσσηνίας οὔσης, Πολύδωρον εὐδοκιοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ — οὔτε γὰρ ἔργον βίαιον οὔτε ὑβριστὴν λόγον παρείχετο ἐς οὐδένα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεσι τὰ δίκαια ἐφύλασεν οὐκ ἄνευ φιλανθρωπίας, ἔχοντος δὲ ἤδη Πολυδώρου λαμπρόν

[3.2] The accounts given by the belligerents, and the manner in which this war ended, will be set forth later in my narrative. For the present I must state thus much; the chief leader of the Lacedaemonians in the first war against the Messenians was Theopompus the son of Nicander, a king of the other house. When the war against Messene had been fought to a finish, and Messenia was enslaved to the Lacedaemonians, Polydorus, who had a great reputation at Sparta and was very popular with the masses – for he never did a violent act or said an insulting word to anyone, while as a judge he was both upright and humane –

[3] ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὄνομα, Πολέμαρχος οἰκίας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀδόξου, θρασύτερος δὲ ὥς ἐδήλωσε γνώμην, φονεύει τὸν Πολύδωρον:

ἀποθανόντι δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ τε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δέδοται καὶ ἀξιόλογα ἐς τιμὴν. ἔστι μέντοι καὶ Πολεμάρχου μνημα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, εἴτε ἀγαθοῦ τὰ πρότερα ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομισθέντος εἴτε καὶ κρύφα οἱ προσήκοντες θάπτουσιν αὐτόν.

[3.3] his fame having by this time spread throughout Greece, was murdered by Polemarchus, a member of a distinguished family in Lacedaemon, but, as he showed, a man of an unscrupulous temper. After his death Polydorus received many signal marks of respect from the Lacedaemonians. However, Polemarchus too has a tomb in Sparta; either he had been considered a good man before this murder, or perhaps his relatives buried him secretly.

[4] ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος Μεσσηνιοὶ τε ἠνείχοντο ὑπήκοοι Λακεδαιμονίων ὄντες καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργεῖων οὐδέν σφισιν ἀπήντησε νεώτερον: ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτους — τὸ γὰρ χρεὼν ἤδη Μεσσηνίους ἤλυνεν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου πάσης — ἀφίστανται Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Μεσσηνιοί. καὶ χρόνον μὲν ἀντέσχον πολεμοῦντες: ὑπόσπονδοι δὲ ὡς ἐκρατήθησαν ἀπήεσαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλειφθὲν τῇ γῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένοντο οἰκέται πλὴν οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ πολίσματα ἔχοντες.

[3.4] During the reign of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, the Messenians submitted to be subjects of the Lacedaemonians, neither did any trouble befall from the Argive people. But in the reign of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates — for destiny was by this time driving the Messenians out of all the Peloponnesus — the Messenians revolted from the Lacedaemonians. For a time they held out by force of arms, but at last they were overcome and retired from the Peloponnesus under a truce. The remnant of them left behind in the land became the slaves of the Lacedaemonians, with the exception of those in the towns on the coast.

[5] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμβάντα, ὃν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες ἐπολέμησαν, οὐ μοι κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ παρούσῃ δηλῶσαι: Ἀναξάνδρου δὲ υἱὸς Εὐρυκράτης γίνεται, Εὐρυκράτους δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Λέων. ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλεύοντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέπταιον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τεγέατος πολέμῳ τὰ πλείονα. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξανδρίδου τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπικρατέστεροι Τεγεατῶν γίνονται τῷ πολέμῳ: γίνονται δὲ οὕτως. ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος Λίχας ὄνομα ἀφίκετο ἐς Τεγέαν:

[3.5] The incidents of the war which the Messenians waged after the revolt from the Lacedaemonians it is not pertinent that I should set forth in the present part of my narrative. Anaxander had a son Eurycrates, and this second Eurycrates a son Leon. While these two kings were on the throne the Lacedaemonians were generally unsuccessful in the war with Tegea. But in the reign of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, the Lacedaemonians won the war with Tegea in the following manner. A Lacedaemonian, by name Lichas, came to Tegea when there chanced to be a truce between the cities.

[6] τηνικαῦτα δὲ αἱ πόλεις ἄγουσαι σπονδὰς ἔτυχον. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Λίχα

Ὀρέστου τὰ ὅστᾱ ἀνεζήτουν: ἀνεζήτουν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ θεοπροπίου Σπαρτιᾶται. συνήκεν οὖν ὁ Λίχας ὡς ἔστι κατακείμενα ἐν οἰκίᾳ χαλκέως, συνήκε δὲ οὕτως: ὅποσα ἐν τῇ τοῦ χαλκέως ἐώρα, παρέβαλεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα, ἀνέμοις μὲν τοῦ χαλκέως εἰκάζων τὰς φύσας, ὅτι καὶ αὐταὶ βίαιον πνεῦμα ἠφίεσαν, τύπον δὲ τὴν σφῦραν καὶ τὸν ἄκμονα ἀντίτυπον ταύτῃ, πῆμα δὲ εἰκότως ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν σίδηρον, ὅτι ἐχρῶντο ἐς τὰς μάχας ἥδη τῷ σιδήρῳ: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων ἂν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ πῆμα εἶναι τὸν χαλκόν.

[3.6] When Lichas arrived the Spartans were seeking the bones of Orestes in accordance with an oracle. Now Lichas inferred that they were buried in a smithy, the reason for this inference being this. Everything that he saw in the smithy he compared with the oracle from Delphi, likening to the winds the bellows, for that they too sent forth a violent blast, the hammer to the “stroke,” the anvil to the “counterstroke” to it, while the iron is naturally a “woe to man,” because already men were using iron in warfare. In the time of those called heroes the god would have called bronze a woe to man.

[7] τῷ χρησμῷ δὲ τῷ γενομένῳ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς τοῦ Ὀρέστου τὰ ὅστᾱ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον εὐοκία ἐχρήσθη κατάγουσιν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Σκύρου Θησέα, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ εἶναί σφισιν ἐλεῖν Σκῦρον: ἀνεῦρε δὲ δὴ τὰ ὅστᾱ τοῦ Θησέως Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου, σοφία χρησάμενος καὶ οὗτος, καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ εἴλε τὴν Σκῦρον.

[3.7] Similar to the oracle about the bones of Orestes was the one afterwards given to the Athenians, that they were to bring back Theseus from Scyros to Athens otherwise they could not take Scyros. Now the bones of Theseus were discovered by Cimon the son of Miltiades, who displayed similar sharpness of wit, and shortly afterwards took Scyros.

[8] ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰ ὄπλα ὁμοίως χαλκᾷ ἦν πάντα, μαρτυρεῖ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ ἐς τε ἀξίνην ἔχοντα τὴν Πεισάνδρου καὶ ἐς τοῦ Μηριόνου τὸν οἰστόν. βεβαιοῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μοι τὸν λόγον ἐν Φασήλιδι ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἱερῷ τὸ δόρυ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Νικομηδεῦσιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναῷ μάχαιρα ὁ Μέμνωνος: καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἦ τε αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ σαυρωτήρ, ἡ μάχαιρα δὲ καὶ διὰ πάσης χαλκοῦ πεποίηται.

[3.8] I have evidence that in the heroic age weapons were universally of bronze in the verses of Homer about the axe of Peisander and the arrow of Meriones. My statement is likewise confirmed by the spear of Achilles dedicated in the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis, and by the sword of Memnon in the Nicomedian temple of Asclepius. The point and butt-spike of the spear and the whole of the sword are made of bronze. The truth of these statements I can vouch for.

[9] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσμεν ἔχοντα οὕτως: Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ὁ Λέοντος Λακεδαιμονίων μόνος γυναικᾶς τε δύο ἅμα ἔσχε καὶ οἰκίας δύο ἅμα ὤκησε. τὴν γάρ οἱ πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν ἀρίστην τὰ ἄλλα οὔσαν συνέβαιεν οὐ

τίκτειν: ἀποπέμψασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κελευόντων τῶν ἐφόρων τοῦτο μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται, τοσοῦτον δὲ σφισιν εἵκει γυναιῖκα ἐτέραν λαβεῖν πρὸς ταύτη. καὶ ἥ τε ἐπεισελθοῦσα Κλεομένην παῖδα ἔσχε καὶ ἡ προτέρα τέως οὐ σχοῦσα ἐν γαστρὶ ἐπὶ γεγονότι ἤδη Κλεομένει τίκτει Δωριέα καὶ αὖθις Λεωνίδα, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Κλεόμβροτον.

[3.9] Anaxandrides the son of Leon was the only Lacedaemonian to possess at one and the same time two wives and two households. For his first consort, though an excellent wife, had the misfortune to be barren. When the ephors bade him put her away he firmly refused to do so, but made this concession to them, that he would take another wife in addition to her. The fruit of this union was a son, Cleomenes; and the former wife, who up to this time had not conceived, after the birth of Cleomenes bore Dorieus, then Leonidas, and finally Cleombrotus.

[10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθανεν Ἀναξανδρίδης, Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέα καὶ γνώμην Κλεομένους καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀμείνονα εἶναι νομίζοντες τὸν μὲν ἀπώσαντο ἄκοντες, Κλεομένει δὲ διδόασιν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρεσβεῖα τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3.10] And when Anaxandrides died, the Lacedaemonians, believing Dorieus to be both of a sounder judgment than Cleomenes and a better soldier, much against their will rejected him as their king, and obeyed the laws by giving the throne to the elder claimant Cleomenes.

4. Δωριεὺς μὲν δὴ — οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχετο ὑπακούειν Κλεομένει μένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι — ἐς ἀποικίαν στέλλεται: Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν, αὐτίκα ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα, Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιάν. ὥς δὲ ἐπεξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις, ὁ Κλεομένης ἐνίκα τῇ μάχῃ: καὶ — ἦν γὰρ πλησίον ἄλσος ἱερὸν Ἄργου τοῦ Νιόβης — καταφεύγουσιν ὥς ἐτράποντο ὅσον τε πεντακισχίλιοι τῶν Ἀργείων ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. Κλεομένης δὲ — ἐξώρμει γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ — κελεύει καὶ τότε ἐνεῖναι πῦρ τοῖς εἰλωσιν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ τό τε ἄλσος ἡ φλόξ ἐπέλαβεν ἅπαν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄλσει καιομένῳ συγκατεκαύθησαν αὖθις οἱ ἱκέται.

[4.1] IV. Now Dorieus could not bear to stay at Lacedaemon and be subject to his brother, and so he went on a colonizing expedition. As soon as he became king, Cleomenes gathered together an army, both of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies, and invaded Argolis. The Argives came out under arms to meet them, but Cleomenes won the day. Near the battlefield was a grove sacred to Argus, son of Niobe, and on being routed some five thousand of the Argives took refuge therein. Cleomenes was subject to fits of mad excitement, and on this occasion he ordered the Helots to set the grove on fire, and the flames spread all over the grove, which, as it burned, burned up the suppliants with it.

[2] ἐστράτευσεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρότερον Ἀθηναίους τε ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δόξαν ἐν τοῖς

Ἑλλῆσιν ἀγαθὴν κτώμενος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἀθηναῖον χάριτι ἀνδρὸς Ἰσαγόρου τυραννίδα οἱ συγκατεργασόμενος Ἀθηνῶν. ὥς δὲ ἡμάρτανε τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐμαχέσαντο ἐρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλεομένης ἄλλα τε ἐδήλωσε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς καλουμένης Ὀργάδος θεῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἑλευσίνι ἱερᾶς, καὶ ταύτης τεμεῖν φασιν αὐτόν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγιναν, καὶ Αἰγινητῶν τοὺς δυνατοὺς συνελάμβανεν ὅσοι μηδισμοῦ τε αὐτῶν μετέσχον καὶ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ τῷ Ὑστάσπου γῆν δοῦναι καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπεισαν.

[4.2] He also conducted campaigns against Athens, by the first of which he delivered the Athenians from the sons of Peisistratus and won a good report among the Greeks both for himself personally and for the Lacedaemonians; while the second campaign was to please an Athenian, Isagoras, by helping him to establish a tyranny over Athens. When he was disappointed, and the Athenians fought strenuously for their freedom, Cleomenes devastated the country, including, they say, the district called Orgas, which was sacred to the deities in Eleusis. He advanced as far as Aegina, and proceeded to arrest such influential Aeginetans as had shown Persian sympathies, and had persuaded the citizens to give earth and water to king Dareius, son of Hystaspes.

[3] διατρίβοντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Κλεομένους Δημάρatos ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν ἐς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πλῆθος: Κλεομένης δὲ ὥς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐξ Αἰγίνης, ἔπρασεν ὅπως Δημάρaton παύσειε βασιλεύοντα, καὶ τὴν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς πρόμαντιν ὠνήσατο, Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτὴν ὅποσα αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐς Δημάρaton χρῆσαι, καὶ Λεωτυχίδην ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ οἰκίας Δημαράτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπῆρεν ἀμφισβητεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[4.3] While Cleomenes was occupied in Aegina, Demaratus, the king of the other house, was slandering him to the Lacedaemonian populace. On his return from Aegina, Cleomenes began to intrigue for the deposition of king Demaratus. He bribed the Pythian prophetess to frame responses about Demaratus according to his instructions, and instigated Leotychides, a man of royal birth and of the same family as Demaratus, to put in a claim to the throne.

[4] εἶχετο δὲ Λεωτυχίδης λόγων οὓς Ἀρίστων ποτὲ ἐς Δημάρaton τεχθέντα ἐξέβαλλεν ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐχ αὐτοῦ παῖδα εἶναι φήσας. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰώθεσαν, ἀνάγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα τὸ ὑπὲρ Δημαράτου: ἡ δὲ σφισιν ἔχρησεν ἡ πρόμαντις ὅποσα ἦν Κλεομένει κατὰ γνώμην.

[4.4] Leotychides seized upon the remark that Ariston in his ignorance blurted out when Demaratus was born, denying that he was his child. On the present occasion the Lacedaemonians, according to their wont, referred to the oracle at Delphi the claim against Demaratus, and the prophetess gave them a response which favoured the designs of Cleomenes.

[5] Δημάρatos μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ βασιλείας ἐπαύθη, Κλεομένην δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευτὴ

μανέντα: ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάβετο ξίφους, ἐτίρωσκεν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν καὶ διεξήει τὸ σῶμα ἅπαν κόπτων τε καὶ λυμαινόμενος. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἰκέταις τοῦ Ἄργου διδόντα αὐτὸν δίκην τέλος τοῦ βίου φασὶν εὐρέσθαι τοιοῦτον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὅτι ἐδήλωσε τὴν Ὀργάδα, Δελφοὶ δὲ τῶν δώρων ἔνεκα ὧν τῇ προμάντιδι ἔδωκεν, ἀναπείσας ἐψευσμένα εἰπεῖν ἐς Δημάρaton.

[4.5] So Demaratus was deposed, not rightfully, but because Cleomenes hated him. Subsequently Cleomenes met his end in a fit of madness for seizing a sword he began to wound himself, and hacked and maimed his body all over. The Argives assert that the manner of his end was a punishment for his treatment of the suppliants of Argus; the Athenians say that it was because he had devastated Orgas; the Delphians put it down to the bribes he gave the Pythian prophetess, persuading her to give lying responses about Demaratus.

[6] εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ μηνίματα ἔκ τε ἡρώων ὁμοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Κλεομένει συνελλυθέντα, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἰδία Πρωτεσίλαος ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι οὐδὲν ἥρως Ἄργου φανερώτερος ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν ἐτιμωρήσατο Ἀρταῦκτῃν καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν οὐ ποτε θεῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ὄντων ἐξεγένετο ἰλάσασθαι τὸ μῆνιμα γῆν ἐπεργασαμένοις τὴν ἱεράν. τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ μαντείου τὴν διάπειραν οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν ἄλλον γε οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ μόνον Κλεομένην τολμήσαντα ἴσμεν.

[4.6] It may well be too that the wrath of heroes and the wrath of gods united together to punish Cleomenes since it is a fact that for a personal wrong Protesilaus, a hero not a whit more illustrious than Argus, punished at Elaeus Artayctes, a Persian; while the Megarians never succeeded in propitiating the deities at Eleusis for having encroached upon the sacred land. As to the tampering with the oracle, we know of nobody, with the exception of Cleomenes, who has had the audacity even to attempt it.

[7] Κλεομένει δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ἀρρένων παίδων ἐς Λεωνίδα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου, Δωριέως δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφόν, κατέβαιναν ἡ ἀρχή. καὶ Ξέρξης τε τῆνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν καὶ Λεωνίδας τριακοσίοις ὁμοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπῆντησεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ πόλεμοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους βαρβάρων, εὐαρίθμητοι δὲ ὅπόσους ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς μάλιστα ἀρετὴ προήγαγεν ἐς πλεον δόξης, ὥς Ἀχιλλεύς τε τὸν πρὸς Ἴλιφ πόλεμον καὶ Μιλτιάδης τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεωνίδου κατόρθωμα ὑπερεβάλετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὰ τε ἀνὰ χρόνον συμβάντα καὶ τὰ ἐτι πρότερον.

[4.7] Cleomenes had no male issue, and the kingdom devolved on Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides and full brother of Dorieus. At this time Xerxes led his host against Greece, and Leonidas with three hundred Lacedaemonians met him at Thermopylae. Now although the Greeks have waged many wars, and so have foreigners among themselves, yet there are but few that have been made more illustrious by the exceptional valor of one man, in the way that Achilles shed luster on the Trojan war and Miltiades on the engagement at

Marathon. But in truth the success of Leonidas surpassed, in my opinion, all later as well as all previous achievements.

[8] Ξέρξης γὰρ βασιλέων, ὅποσοι Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις ἐγένοντο ὕστερον, παρασχομένῳ μέγιστον φρόνημα καὶ ἀποδειξαμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Λεωνίδας σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὓς ἡγάγετο ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐγένετο ἂν ἐμποδῶν μηδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ Ἀθηναίων ποτὲ ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς Οἴτης τείνουσαν περιαγαγὼν τὴν μετὰ Ὑδάρνου στρατιὰν ὁ Τραχίνιος κυκλώσασθαι σφισι τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρέσχε καὶ οὕτω κατεργασθέντος Λεωνίδου παρήλθον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἱ βάρβαροι.

[4.8] For Xerxes, the proudest of all who have reigned over the Medes, or over the Persians who succeeded them, the achiever of such brilliant exploits, was met on his march by Leonidas and the handful of men he led to Thermopylae, and they would have prevented him from even seeing Greece at all, and from ever burning Athens, if the man of Trachis had not guided the army with Hydarnes by the path that stretches across Oeta, and enabled the enemy to surround the Greeks; so Leonidas was overwhelmed and the foreigners passed along into Greece.

[9] Πανσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου βασιλεὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο: ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ Πλείσταρχον τὸν Λεωνίδου καταλειφθέντα ἔτι παῖδα ἐς Πλάταιαν τε Λακεδαιμονίους ἤγαγε καὶ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. Πανσανίου δὲ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐς τὴν Κῶαν γυναῖκα ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τίθεμαι μάλιστα, ἦντινα ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀδόξου παρὰ Κώοις θυγατέρα οὖσαν Ἥγητορίδου τοῦ

Ἀνταγόρου Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιδος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, παλλακὴν εἶχεν ἄκουσαν:

[4.9] Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus never became king. For while guardian of Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was a child when his father died, he led the Lacedaemonians to Plataea, and afterwards with their fleet to the Hellespont. I cannot praise too highly the way in which Pausanias treated the Coan lady, who was the daughter of a man of distinction among the Coans, Hegetorides the son of Antagoras, and the unwilling concubine of a Persian, Pharandates the son of Teaspis.

[10] ἐπεὶ δὲ Πλαταιᾷσι Μαρδονίος τε ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἀπώλοντο οἱ βάρβαροι, τὴν γυναῖκα ὁ Πανσανίας ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Κῶν κόσμον τε ὃν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Πέρσης αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγομένην κατασκευήν. Μαρδονίου τε οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Πανσανίας αἰσχῶναι τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Λάμπωνος.

[4.10] When Mardonius fell in the battle of Plataea, and the foreigners were destroyed, Pausanias sent the lady back to Cos, and she took with her the apparel that the Persian had procured for her as well as the rest of her belongings. Pausanias also refused to dishonor the body of Mardonius, as

Lampon the Aeginetan advised him to do.

5. Πλείσταρχος μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδου νεωστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφώς ἐτελεύτησε, Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου: Πλειστοάνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Πausανίας. οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀφίκετο ὁ Πausανίας Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν ἐπιτραπεῖσιν ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καταστησόμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐν βεβαίῳ. καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ἀπάγειν οἴκαδε ἤρесе μὴδὲ ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν τυραννίδα αὖξοντα ἐπισπάσασθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸ αἰσχιστον τῶν ὀνειδῶν.

[5.1] V. Shortly after Pleistarchus the son of Leonidas came to the throne he died, and the kingdom devolved on Pleistoanax, son of the Pausanias who commanded at Plataea. Pleistoanax had a son Pausanias; he was the Pausanias who invaded Attica, ostensibly to oppose Thrasybulus and the Athenians, but really to establish firmly the despotism of those to whom the government had been entrusted by Lysander. Although he won a battle against the Athenians holding the Peiraens, yet immediately after the battle he resolved to lead his army back home, and not to bring upon Sparta the most disgraceful of reproaches by increasing the despotic power of wicked men.

[2] ὥς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μαχεσάμενος ἄπρακτον μάχην, ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν οἱ ἐχθροί. βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθισον οἱ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες, ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας. τέσσαρες μὲν δὴ καὶ δέκα τῶν γερόντων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἄγισ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς, ἀδικεῖν τὸν Πausανίαν κατέγνωσαν:

[5.2] When he returned from Athens with only a fruitless battle to his credit, he was brought to trial by his enemies. The court that sat to try a Lacedaemonian king consisted of the senate, “old men” as they were called, twenty eight in number, the members of the ephorate, and in addition the king of the other house. Fourteen senators, along with Agis, the king of the other house, declared that Pausanias was guilty; the rest of the court voted for his acquittal.

[3] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπέγνω δικαστήριον. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίων συλλεγόντων ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατιάν — αἰτία δὲ ἣτις ἐγένετο προσέσται τῷ ἐς Ἀγησίλαον λόγῳ —, τότε δὲ Λύσανδρος μὲν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν πανδημεὶ τοὺς Φωκέας οὐδένα ἔτι ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἔς τε Βοιωτίαν ἐληλύθει καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο ἐς τὸ Ἀλιαρτίων τεῖχος οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἀφίστασθαι. ἐσεληλύθεσαν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς κρύφα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὧν ἐπεξεληθόντων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ταξαμένων ἄλλοι τε ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λύσανδρος ἔπese.

[5.3] Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians gathered an army against Thebes; the reason for so doing will be given in my account of Agesilaus. On this occasion Lysander came to Phocis, took along with him the entire Phocian army, and without any further delay entered Boeotia and began assaults upon

the wall of Haliartus, the citizens of which refused to revolt from Thebes. Already a band of Thebans and Athenians had secretly entered the city; these came out and offered battle before the wall, and there fell here several Lacedaemonians, including Lysander himself.

[4] Πανσανίας δὲ ὑστέρησε μὲν τοῦ ἀγῶνος παρὰ Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τῆς ἄλλης ἀθροίζων δύναμιν: ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐπυνθάνετό τε τὴν τε ἦτταν τῶν ὁμοῦ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπῆγε δὲ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ διενεοεῖτο ὥς μάχης ἄρξων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ τε Θηβαῖοι τὰ ἐναντία ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Θρασύβουλος ἀπέχειν οὐ πολὺ ἀπηγγέλλετο ἄγων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: ἀνέμενε δὲ ἄρξαι Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἄρξαισι δὲ αὐτὸς ἦδη κατὰ νότου σφίσιν ἔμελλεν ἐπικεῖσεσθαι.

[5.4] Pausanias was too late for the fight, having been collecting forces from Tegea and Arcadia generally; when he finally reached Boeotia, although he heard of the defeat of the forces with Lysander and of the death of Lysander himself, he nevertheless led his army against Thebes and purposed to take the offensive. Thereupon the Thebans offered battle, and Thrasybulus was reported to be not far away with the Athenians. He was waiting for the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive, on which his intention was to launch an attack himself against their rear.

[5] ἔδεισεν οὖν ὁ Πανσανίας διπλοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεταξὺ ἀποληφθῆναι, καὶ οὕτω σπονδὰς τε πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀλιαρτίῳ τείχει πεσόντας ἀνείλετο. τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐγένετο οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ τῶνδε ἔνεκα τὸ βούλευμα: ἅτε γὰρ εὖ εἰδὼς ὁ Πανσανίας ὡς τὰ σφάλματα ἀεὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις

γίνονται ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων ἀποληφθεῖσι, τό τε ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ δεῖμα ἐποιήσατο μὴ σφισι καὶ αὐτὸς τρίτου γένηται κακοῦ πρόφασις.

[5.5] So Pausanias, fearing lest he should be caught between two enemy forces, made a truce with the Thebans and took up for burial those who had fallen under the wall of Haliartus. The Lacedaemonians disapproved of this decision, but the following reason leads me to approve it. Pausanias was well aware that the disasters of the Lacedaemonians always took place when they had been caught between two enemy forces, and the defeats at Thermopylae and on the island of Sphacteria made him afraid lest he himself should prove the occasion of a third misfortune for them.

[6] τότε δὲ ἐν αἰτία ποιουμένων τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν βραδυτῆτα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς Βοιωτίαν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς δικαστήριον, Τεγεᾶται δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰκέτην ἐδέξαντο τῆς Ἀλέας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πελοποννησίοις πᾶσιν αἰδέσιμον καὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι ἰκετεῦουσιν ἀσφάλειαν μάλιστα παρείχετο: ἐδήλωσαν δὲ οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Πανσανίαν καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τούτου Λεωτυχίδην καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Χρυσίδα, καθεζομένους ἐνταῦθα ἰκέτας, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐξαιτῆσαι θελήσαντες.

[5.6] But when his fellow citizens charged him with his slowness in this Boeotian campaign, he did not wait to stand his trial, but was received by the people of Tegea as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Now this sanctuary had been respected from early days by all the Peloponnesians, and afforded peculiar safety to its suppliants, as the Lacedaemonians showed in the case of Pausanias and of Leotychides before him, and the Argives in the case of Chrysis; they never wanted even to ask for these refugees, who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuary, to be given up.

[7] Πausανίου δὲ φυγόντος οἱ μὲν παῖδες Ἀγησίπολις καὶ Κλεόμβροτος νέοι παντάπασιν ἔτι ἦσαν, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ ἐπετρόπευεν αὐτοὺς γένους ἐγγύτατα ὦν: καὶ τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Λακεδαιμονίων κατόρθωμα Ἀριστοδήμου σφίσις ἐγένετο ἡγουμένου.

[5.7] When Pausanias fled, his sons Agesipolis and Cleombrotus were still quite boys, and Aristodemus, their nearest relative, was their guardian. This Aristodemus was in command of the Lacedaemonians when they won their success at Corinth.

[8] Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν αὐξηθεὶς, Πελοποννησίων πρώτοις ἐπολέμησεν Ἀργείοις. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Τεγεατῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἤγαγε τὸν στρατόν, πέμπουσι κήρυκα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σπεισόμενον πρὸς Ἀγησίπολιν σφισι πατρώους δὴ τινας σπονδὰς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστῶσας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τῷ κήρυκι ἐσπείσατο καὶ προῖων ὁμοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν γῆν ἐφθειρεν: ἔσεισέ τε δὴ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίπολις οὐδ' οὕτω τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάξειν ἔμελλε, καίτοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων — ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις — δεῖμα αἱ διοσημεῖαι παρείχοντο.

[5.8] When Agesipolis grew up and came to the throne, the first Peloponnesians against whom he waged war were the Argives. When he led his army from the territory of Tegea into that of Argos, the Argives sent a herald to make for them with Agesipolis a certain ancestral truce, which from ancient times had been an established custom between Dorians and Dorians. But Agesipolis did not make the truce with the herald, but advancing with his army proceeded to devastate the land. Then there was an earthquake, but not even so would Agesipolis consent to take away his forces. And yet more than any other Greeks were the Lacedaemonians (in this respect like the Athenians) frightened by signs from heaven.

[9] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κατεστρατοπεδεύετο ἤδη τὸ Ἀργείων καὶ οὐ παρίει σείων ὁ θεὸς καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεραυνωθέντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονας ἐποίησαν αἱ βρονταί. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος ἀνέξευξεν ἄκων, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλυνθίους ἐποιεῖτο αὐθις στρατείαν. κρατοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἡρηκότα τῶν τε ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν ἐν Χαλκιδεδεῦσι τὰς πολλὰς καὶ αὐτὴν ἐλπίζοντα αἰρήσειν τὴν Ὀλυνθον νόσος τε ἐξαίφνης καὶ θάνατος ἐπέλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

[5.9] By the time that he was encamping under the wall of Argos, the

earthquakes were still occurring, some of the troops had actually been killed by lightning, and some moreover had been driven out of their senses by the thunder. In this circumstance he reluctantly withdrew from Argive territory, and began another campaign, attacking Olynthus. Victorious in the war, having captured most of the cities in Chalcidice, and hoping to capture Olynthus itself, he was suddenly attacked by a disease which ended in his death.

6. Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος ἐς Κλεόμβροτον περιήλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι τούτῳ Βοιωτοῖς ἐναντία ἡγωνίσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις: Κλεόμβροτος δὲ αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀρχομένης ἔτι ἔπασσε τῆς μάχης. μάλιστα δὲ πῶς ἐπὶ πταίσμασιν ἐθέλει μεγάλοις προαφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαίμων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀπῆγεν Ἱπποκράτην τε τὸν Ἀρίφρωνος στρατηγοῦντα ἐπὶ Δηλῷ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Λεωσθένην.

[6.1] VI.As Agesipolis died childless, the kingdom devolved upon Cleombrotus, who was general in the battle at Leuctra against the Boeotians. Cleombrotus showed personal bravery, but fell when the battle was only just beginning. In great disasters Providence is peculiarly apt to cut off early the general, just as the Athenians lost Hippocrates the son of Ariphron, who commanded at Delium, and later on Leosthenes in Thessaly.

[2] Κλεομβρότου δὲ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων Ἀγησίπολις παρέσχετο μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ νεώτερος μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τελευτήσαντα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀκροτάτου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Κλεωνύμου κατήγαγε τὸ χρεὼν Ἀκρότατον ἔτι πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ ὥς Κλεομένης ἀπέθανεν ὕστερον, ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκοντο ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας Κλεώνυμος τε ὁ Κλεομένους καὶ Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου. δικάζουσιν οὖν οἱ γέροντες Ἀρεῖ τῷ Ἀκροτάτου καὶ οὐχὶ Κλεωνύμῳ πατρῶαν εἶναι τὴν τιμήν.

[6.2] Agesipolis, the elder of the sons of Cleombrotus, is not a striking figure in history, and was succeeded by his younger brother Cleomenes. His first son was Acrotatus, his second Cleonymus. Acrotatus did not outlive his father, and when Cleomenes afterwards died, there arose a dispute about the throne between Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes and Areus the son of Acrotatus. So the senators acted as arbitrators, and decided that the dignity was the inheritance of Areus the son of Acrotatus, and not of Cleonymus.

[3] Κλεωνύμῳ δὲ ἀπελαθέντι τῆς βασιλείας περισσῶς δὴ τι ὁ θυμὸς ᾧδει, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ ἄλλοις γέρασι ψυχαγωγοῦντες καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφιστάντες ἄρχοντα παρήγον μὴ ποτε πολέμιον γενέσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ. τέλος δὲ ὁ μὲν πολλὰ τε καὶ ἐχθρὰ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐτόλμησε καὶ Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου σφίσιν ἐπηγάγετο ἐς τὴν χώραν:

[6.3] Deprived of his kingship Cleonymus became violently angry, and the ephors tried to soothe his feelings by bestowing upon him various honors, especially the leadership of the armies, so as to prevent his becoming one day

an enemy of Sparta. But at last he committed many hostile acts against his fatherland, and induced Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides to invade Laconia.

[4] Ἀρέως δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῦ Ἀκροτάτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου πεζῶ τε καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατεύει. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀμυνοῦντες ἀφίκοντο μὲν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων ὁμοῦ Πατρόκλω στόλος, ἐξίασι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεῖ, τὸν βασιλέα ἡγεῖσθαι σφισιν Ἀρέα ἐπιτάξαντες.

[6.4] While Areus the son of Acrotatus was king in Sparta, Antigonus the son of Demetrius attacked Athens with an army and a fleet. To the help of the Athenians there came the Egyptian expedition with Patroclus, and every available man of the Lacedaemonians with Areus their king at their head.

[5] περικαθημένου δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχικὰ εἵργοντος, Πάτροκλος ἀποστέλλων ἀγγέλους προέτρεπε Λακεδαιμόνιους καὶ Ἀρέα ἄρχειν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχης, ἐκεῖνων δὲ ἀρξάντων οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ νότου τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔφασκεν ἐπικεῖσεσθαι: πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι σφᾶς Αἰγυπτίους τε ὄντας καὶ ναύτας Μακεδόσιν ἐπιέναι πεζῇ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ παρακινδυνεύειν ὥρμητο Ἀθηναίων τε εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τι καὶ ἄξιον μνήμης ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐργάσασθαι προθυμοῦμενοι:

[6.5] Antigonus invested Athens and prevented the Athenian reinforcements from entering the city; so Patroclus dispatched messengers urging Areus and the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive against Antigonus. On their doing so, he would himself, he said, attack the Macedonians in rear; but before such a move it was not fair for Egyptian sailors to attack Macedonians on land. The Lacedaemonians were eager to make the venture, both because of their friendship for Athens and also because they were ambitious to hand down to posterity a famous achievement,

[6] Ἀρεὺς δέ, ὥς σφισι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξανήλωτο, ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν. ταμιεύεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἡξίου καὶ μὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις ἀναρρῖσαι. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀντισχοῦσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐποιήσατο Ἀντίγονος εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τέ σφισιν ἐπαγάγῃ φρουρὰν ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἐκουσίως τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, Ἀρέως δὲ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀκροτάτος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρεὺς, ὃς ὀκτῶ μάλιστα ἔτη γεγονὼς τελευτᾷ νόσῳ.

[6.6] but as their supplies were exhausted Areus led his army back home, thinking that desperate measures should be reserved for one's own advantage and not risked recklessly for the benefit of others. After they had held out as long as they could, Antigonus made peace with the Athenians, on condition that he brought a garrison into the Museum to be a guard over them. After a time Antigonus himself removed the garrison from Athens of his own accord while Areus begat Acrotatus, and Acrotatus Areus, who died of disease when he was just about eight years old.

[7] καὶ ἐλείπετο γὰρ τῆς Εὐρυσθένουσ οἰκίας γένος τὸ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμου, παντάπασιν ἤδη γέρων· τούτῳ δὴ διδόασιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀρχὴν. τῷ δὲ Λεωνίδα διάφορος ἐτύγχανε ὢν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Λύσανδρος, ἀπόγονος Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοκρίτου. οὗτος προσποιεῖται Κλεόμβροτον θυγατέρα ἔχοντα Λεωνίδου· τοῦτον δὲ οἰκειωσάμενος ἐπῆγε Λεωνίδα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ ὅρκους αὐτὸν Κλεωνύμῳ τῷ πατρὶ ὁμόσαι παῖδα ὄντα ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Σπάρτης.

[6.7] And as the only male representative of the house of Eurysthenes was Leonidas the son of Cleonymus, by this time a very old man, the Lacedaemonians gave him the throne. Leonidas, it so happened, had a bitter opponent in Lysander, a descendant of Lysander the son of Aristocritus. This Lysander won over to his side Leonidas' son-in-law Cleombrotus. After gaining his support he brought various charges against Leonidas, in particular that when a boy he had sworn to his father Cleonymus to ruin Sparta.

[8] ἐπαύσθη τε δὴ Λεωνίδας βασιλείας καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κλεόμβροτος ἔσχε τὴν τιμὴν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ὁ Λεωνίδας ἐπέτρεψε τῷ θυμῷ καὶ Δημοράτῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνος κατὰ ταῦτα ἀπεχώρησεν ἦτοι παρὰ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλεύοντα ἢ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ μεταγόντων ἂν Σπαρτιατῶν ὦνατο οὐδέν· νῦν δὲ ἐπιβαλόντων οἱ φυγὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς κατάγουσί τε αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὖθις βασιλέα ἐποιήσαντο.

[6.8] So Leonidas ceased to be king and Cleombrotus came to the throne in his stead. Now if Leonidas had given way to impulse and retired, like Demaratus the son of Ariston, either to the king of Macedonia or to the Egyptian king, he would have profited nothing even by the Spartans changing their minds. But as it was, when the citizens sentenced him to exile, he went to Arcadia, whence not many years later he was recalled by the Lacedaemonians, who made him king again.

[9] Κλεομένει δὲ τῷ Λεωνίδου τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅποια ἐς τόλμαν ἐτόλμησαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρείαν ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο ἐξ ἐκείνου Σπαρτιάται βασιλευόμενοι, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσέ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἄρατον· προσεπελάβετο δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι καὶ τρόπον ὄντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Κλεομένης ἐτελεύτησεν.

[6.9] Now how Cleomenes the son of Leonidas performed daring feats of valor, and how after him the Spartans ceased to be ruled by kings, I have already shown in my account of Aratus of Sicyon. My narrative also included the manner of his death in Egypt.

7. γένους μὲν δὴ τοῦ Εὐρυσθένουσ, καλουμένων δὲ Ἀγιαδῶν, Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑτέραν τοιαύδε ἤκουσα εἶναι. Προκλῆς ὁ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα τίθεται Σόον. Εὐρυπῶντα δὲ τὸν Σόου φασὶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀφικέσθαι δόξης ὡς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην Εὐρυπωντίδας ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, Προκλείδας ἐς ἐκεῖνον καλουμένους.

[7.1] VII. So of the family of Eurysthenes, called the Agiadae, Cleomenes the son of Leonidas was the last king in Sparta. I will now relate what I have heard about the other house. Procles the son of Aristodemus called his son Sous, whose son Eurypon they say reached such a pitch of renown that this house, hitherto called the Procleidae, came to be named after him the Eurypontidae.

[2] Εὐρυπῶντος δὲ υἱὸς γίνεται Πρύτανις. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος τὸ ἔχθος τε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρξατο τὸ ἐς Ἀργεῖους καὶ ἔτι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου πρότερον Κυνουρεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν: τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτη γενεάς, Εὐνόμου τε τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου βασιλευόντων, ἐν εἰρήνῃ διετέλεσεν οὔσα ἡ Σπάρτη.

[7.2] The son of Eurypon was Prytanis, in whose reign began the enmity of the Lacedaemonians against the Argives, although even before this quarrel they made war against the Cynurians. During the generations immediately succeeding this, while Eunomus the son of Prytanis and Polydectes the son of Eunomus were on the throne, Sparta continued at peace,

[3] Χάριλλος δὲ ὁ Πολυδέκτου τὴν τε γῆν ἐδήωσεν Ἀργείοις — οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλὼν — καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι Χαρίλλῳ γίνεται καὶ ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπὶ Τεγεάτας ἐξοδος, ὅτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάτας αἰρήσειν ἤλπισαν καὶ ἀποτεμεῖσθαι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τὸ Τεγεατῶν πεδῖον, ὑπούλῳ μαντεύματι ἐπελθόντες.

[7.3] but Charillus the son of Polydectes devastated the land of the Argives – for he it was who invaded Argolis – and not many years afterwards, under the leadership of Charillus, took place the campaign of the Spartans against Tegea, when lured on by a deceptive oracle the Lacedaemonians hoped to capture the city and to annex the Tegean plain from Arcadia.

[4] μετὰ δὲ Χάριλλον τελευτήσαντα Νικάνδρος ὁ Χαρίλλου διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν: καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνίων ἐς Τήλεκλον τὸν τῆς ἐτέρας βασιλέα οἰκίας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Λιμνάδος συμβάντα ἐπὶ Νικάνδρου γίνεται βασιλεύοντος. ἐσέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὁ Νικάνδρος στρατιᾷ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε τῆς χώρας: μετασχόντες δὲ Ἀσινᾶιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῦ ἔργου δίκην μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Ἀργείοις ἀπέδосαν σὺν μεγάλῳ πατρίδος τε ὀλέθρῳ καὶ φυγῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ.

[7.4] After the death of Charillus, Nicander his son succeeded to the throne, in whose reign the Messenians murdered, in the sanctuary of the Lady of the Lake, Teleclus the king of the other house. Nicander also invaded Argolis with an army, and laid waste the greater part of the land. The Asinaeans took part in this action with the Lacedaemonians, and shortly after were punished by the Argives, who inflicted great destruction on their fatherland and drove out the inhabitants.

[5] Θεόπομπον δὲ τὸν Νικάνδρου βασιλεύσαντα μετὰ Νικάνδρον μέλλει καὶ

αὐθις ὁ λόγος μοι προσθήσειν προελθόντι ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν συγγραφὴν. Θεοπόμπου δὲ ἔτι ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γίνεται καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Θυρεάτιδος καλουμένης χώρας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγὼν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους, Θεόπομπος δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἔργου γῆρα καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης τὸ πλεόν: Ἀρχίδαμον γὰρ Θεοπόμπου ζῶντος ἔτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεών.

[7.5] About Theopompus, the son of Nicander, who ascended the throne after him, I shall have more to say later on, when I come to the history of Messenia. While Theopompus was still king in Sparta there also took place the struggle of the Lacedaemonians with the Argives for what is called the Thyreatid district. Theopompus personally took no part in the affair, chiefly because of old age and sorrow, for while he was yet alive Archidamus died.

[6] οὐ μὴν ἅπαις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ζευξίδαμον δὲ ἀπολιπὼν υἱόν. Ζευξιδάμου δὲ Ἀναξίδαμος ὁ παῖς ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐπὶ τούτου Μεσσήνιοι φεύγουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολέμῳ τὸ δεύτερον κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν. Ἀναξιδάμου δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ Ἀγησικλῆς: καὶ σφισιν ὑπῆρξεν ἀμφοτέροις τὸν βίον διατελέσαι πάντα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ πολέμων οὐσιν ἐκτός.

[7.6] Nevertheless Archidamus did not die childless, but left a son Zeuxidamus, whose son Anaxidamus succeeded to the throne. In his reign the Messenians were expelled from the Peloponnesus, being vanquished for the second time by the Spartans. Anaxidamus begat Archidamus, and Archidamus begat Agesicles. It was the lot of both of these to pass all their lives in peace, undisturbed by any wars.

[7] Ἀρίστωνι δὲ τῷ Ἀγησικλέους ἀγαγομένῳ γυναῖκα ἦντινα παρθένον μὲν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἶναι φασιν αἰσχίστην, γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ εἶδος καλλίστην ὑπὸ Ἑλένης γενέσθαι, ταύτην ἀγαγομένῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι ἐγένετο υἱὸς Δημάρατος ἐν μόνοις μηνσὶν ἐπτά: καὶ αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων καθημένῳ τηνικαῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἦλθεν οἰκέτης ἀπαγγέλλων τετέχθαι οἱ παῖδα. Ἀρίστων δὲ ἐπὼν τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως γένεσιν πεποιημένος λήθην ἢ μὴδὲ ἀρχὴν συνεῖς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη τῶν μηνῶν ἕνεκα αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα εἶναι.

[7.7] Ariston, son of Agesicles, married a wife who, they say, was the ugliest maiden in Sparta, but became the most beautiful of her women, because Helen changed her; seven months only after his marriage with her Ariston had born to him a son, Demaratus. As he was sitting in council with the ephors there came to him a servant with the news that a child was born to him. Ariston, forgetting the lines in the Iliad about the birth of Eurystheus, or else never having understood them at all, declared that because of the number of months the child was not his.

[8] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων μετάνοια ἔλαβεν ὕστερον: Δημάρατον δὲ βασιλεύοντα καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Κλεομένει συνελευθερώσαντα Ἀθηναίους ἢ τε Ἀρίστωνος ἀγνωμοσύνη καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους ἐποίησεν ιδιώτην. καὶ τοῦ μὲν παρὰ

βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντος ἐς Πέρσας ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ χρόνον διαμεῖναι τοὺς ἀπογόνους φασί:

[7.8] Afterwards he repented of his words. Demaratus, a king of good repute at Sparta, particularly for his helping Cleomenes to free Athens from the Peisistratidae, became a private citizen through the thoughtlessness of Ariston and the hatred of Cleomenes. He retired to king Dareius in Persia, and they say that his descendants remained in Asia for a long time.

[9] Λεωτυχίδης δὲ ἀντὶ Δημαράτου γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετέσχε μὲν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τῷ στρατηγῷ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Μυκάλη, ἐστράτευσε δὲ ὕστερον τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλευάδας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν: καὶ οἱ καταστρέψασθαι Θεσσαλίαν πᾶσαν ἐξὸν ἅτε ἀεὶ νικῶντι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, δῶρα ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν.

[7.9] Leotychides, on coming to the throne in place of Demaratus, took part with the Athenians and the Athenian general Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, in the engagement of Mycale, and afterwards undertook a campaign against the Aleuadae in Thessaly. Although his uninterrupted victories in the fighting might have enabled him to reduce all Thessaly, he accepted bribes from the Aleuadae.

[10] ὑπαγόμενος δὲ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἐς δίκην ἔφυγεν ἐθελοντῆς ἐς Τεγέαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Ἀλέαν ἰκέτευε, Λεωτυχίδου δὲ ὁ μὲν παῖς Ζευξίδαμος ζῶντος ἔτι Λεωτυχίδου καὶ οὐ πεφευγότες πω τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, Ἀρχίδαμος δὲ ὁ Ζευξιδάμου μετὰ Λεωτυχίδην ἀπελθόντα ἐς Τεγέαν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος Ἀρχίδαμος Ἀθηναίους μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε τὴν χώραν στρατῷ τε ἐσβάλλων ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ὁπότε ἐσβάλῃ διὰ πάσης ἐπεξῆει φθειρῶν καὶ Πλαταιέων Ἀθηναίους ὄντων εὖνων πολιορκίᾳ τὸ ἄστυ εἶλεν.

[7.10] Or, being brought to trial in Lacedaemon he voluntarily went into exile to Tegea, where he sought sanctuary as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Zeuxidamus, the son of Leotychides, died of disease while Leotychides was still alive and before he retired into exile so his son Archidamus succeeded to the throne after the departure of Leotychides for Tegea. This Archidamus did terrible damage to the land of the Athenians, invading Attica with an army every year, on each occasion carrying destruction from end to end; he also besieged and took Plataea, which was friendly to Athens.

[11] οὐ μὴν τὸν πόλεμόν γε τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι συνέσπευσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσον δυνάμεως ἦκε, διαμεῖναι σφισιν ἔπρασσε τὰς σπονδάς. Σθενελαΐδας δὲ ἔς τε ἄλλα ὧν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ ἐφορεύων ἐν τῷ τότε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα ἐγένετο αἴτιος: καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος εὖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔτι βεβηκυῖαν διέσεισεν ἐκ βάθρων, καὶ ὕστερον Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου σαθρὰν ἤδη καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ὑγιῇ προσκατήρειπεν αὐτήν.

[7.11] Nevertheless he was not eager that war should be declared between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, but to the utmost of his power tried to keep the truce between them unbroken. It was Sthenelaidas, an influential Spartan who was an ephor at the time, who was chiefly responsible for the war. Greece, that still stood firm, was shaken to its foundations by this war, and afterwards, when the structure had given way and was far from sound, was finally overthrown by Philip the son of Amyntas.

AGIS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

8. Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα καταλιπόντος παῖδας Ἄγίς τε πρεσβύτερος ἦν ἡλικία καὶ παρέλαβεν ἀντὶ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμῳ καὶ θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν καὶ πρώτη τε ἵπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν πρώτη. Κυνίσκας δὲ ὕστερον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος γεγόνασιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, ὧν ἡ ἐπιφανεστέρα ἐς τὰς νίκας οὐδεμία ἐστὶν αὐτῆς.

[8.1] VIII. Archidamus left sons when he died, of whom Agis was the elder and inherited the throne instead of Agesilaus. Archidamus had also a daughter, whose name was Cynisca; she was exceedingly ambitious to succeed at the Olympic games, and was the first woman to breed horses and the first to win an Olympic victory. After Cynisca other women, especially women of Lacedaemon, have won Olympic victories, but none of them was more distinguished for their victories than she.

[2] δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶταί μοι ποιήσιν καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἥκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῇ Κυνίσκᾳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐποίησεν ὅστις δῆ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πausανία τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίποδι Σιμωνίδης τῷ ἀνατεθέντι ἐς Δελφούς, ἄλλο δέ γε παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ποιητοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην.

[8.2] The Spartans seem to me to be of all men the least moved by poetry and the praise of poets. For with the exception of the epigram upon Cynisca, of uncertain authorship, and the still earlier one upon Pausanias that Simonides wrote on the tripod dedicated at Delphi, there is no poetic composition to commemorate the doings of the royal houses of the Lacedaemonians.

[3] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄλλα τε ἐγένετο ἐς Ἥλείους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπιασιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰργόμενοι μάλιστα ἤχθοντο. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν κήρυκα ἐπίταγμα φέροντα Ἥλείους Λεπρεάτας τε αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλοι σφίσιν ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ Ἥλείων ὡς ἐπειδὴν τὰς περιοικίδας τῆς Σπάρτης πόλεις ἴδωσιν ἐλευθέρως, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ μελλήσουσιν ἔτι ἀφιέναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄγίς ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἥλειαν.

[8.3] In the reign of Agis the son of Archidamus the Lacedaemonians had

several grievances against the people of Elis, being especially exasperated because they were debarred from the Olympic games and the sanctuary at Olympia. So they dispatched a herald commanding the people of Elis to grant home-rule to Lepreum and to any other of their neighbors that were subject to them. The people of Elis replied that, when they saw the cities free that were neighbors of Sparta, they would without delay set free their own subjects; whereupon the Lacedaemonians under king Agis invaded the territory of Elis.

[4] τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν ἄχρι Ὀλυμπίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ προελθόντες· τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Ἄγισ καὶ ἤλασε τῆς λείας τὴν πολλήν. Ξενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος Ἀγιδί τε ἰδίᾳ ξένος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενος ἐπανεῖστη τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἔχουσι· πρὶν δὲ Ἄγιν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφίχθαι σφισιν ἀμύνοντας, Θρασυδαῖος προεστηκὼς τότε τοῦ Ἡλείων δήμου μάχῃ Ξενίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

[8.4] On this occasion there occurred an earthquake, and the army retired home after advancing as far as Olympia and the Alpheus but in the next year Agis devastated the country and carried off most of the booty. Xenias, a man of Elis who was a personal friend of Agis and the state-friend of the Lacedaemonians, rose up with the rich citizens against the people but before Agis and his army could come to their aid, Thrasydaeus, who at this time championed the interests of the popular party at Elis, overthrew in battle Xenias and his followers and cast them out of the city.

[5] Ἄγισ δὲ ὡς ἀπήγαγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Λυσίστρατον Σπαρτιάτην καὶ μοῖράν τε τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Ἡλείων καταλείπει τοὺς φυγάδας, κακουργεῖν σφᾶς ὁμοῦ Λεπρεάταις τὴν χώραν. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Ἄγισ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν καὶ τότε ἐσβαλοῦντες· οἱ δὲ Ἡλείοι καὶ Θρασυδαῖος — κεκακωμένοι γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἦσαν — συγχωροῦσι μήτε τῶν περιοίκων ἔτι ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ἄστεως κατερεῖναι τὸ τεῖχος, Λακεδαιμονίους τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξεῖναι σφισιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

[8.5] When Agis led back his army, he left behind Lysistratus, a Spartan, with a portion of his forces, along with the Elean refugees, that they might help the Lepreans to ravage the land. In the third year of the war the Lacedaemonians under Agis again prepared to invade the territory of Elis. So Thrasydaeus and the Eleans, reduced to dire extremities, agreed to forgo their supremacy over their neighbors, to dismantle the fortifications of their city, and to allow the Lacedaemonians to sacrifice to the god and to compete in the games at Olympia.

[6] ἐνέβαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν συνεχῶς ὁ Ἄγισ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐπετείχισε φρούριον Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἐν Δεκελείᾳ· καταλυθέντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικοῦ Λύσανδρος ὁ

Ἀριστοκρίτου καὶ Ἄγισ ὄρκους μὲν θεῶν ὑπερέβησαν, οὓς ὤμοσαν Ἀθηναίοις

ἐν κοινῷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐ μετὰ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ βούλευμα ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξήνεγκαν ἐκκόσαι προρρίζους τὰς Ἀθήνας.

[8.6] Agis used also to make continual incursions into Attica, and established the fortified post at Decelea to annoy the Athenians. When the Athenian navy was destroyed at Aegospotami, Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and Agis violated the oaths which the Lacedaemonians as a state had sworn by the gods to the Athenians, and it was on their own initiative, and without the approval of the Spartan state, that they put before their allies the proposal to destroy Athens root and branch.

[7] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς πόλεμον μάλιστα ἐπίσημα τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Ἄγιδι: προπέτειαν δὲ τὴν Ἀρίστωνος ἐς Δημάρατον καὶ Ἄγισ ἐς τὸν παῖδα ἔσχε Λεωτυχίδην, καὶ οἱ κατὰ τινα οὐκ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα ἐσηλθεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν ἐφόρων εἰπεῖν ὥς οὐχ αὐτοῦ νομίζοι Λεωτυχίδην. ἐπέλαβε μέντοι καὶ Ἄγιν μετάνοια ὕστερον, καὶ — ἔφερον γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἶκαδε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα — ὥς ἐγίνετο ἐν Ἡραΐᾳ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος μάρτυρας ἐποιεῖτο ἢ μὴν Λεωτυχίδην ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ σφισι σὺν ἰκεσίᾳ τε καὶ δακρύοις ἐπέσκηπτε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλειν.

[8.7] Such were the most remarkable military achievements of Agis. The rash remark that Ariston made about Demaratus was also made by Agis about his son Leotychides; at the suggestion of some evil spirit he said in the hearing of the ephors that he did not believe Leotychides to be his son. Yet Agis, too, repented afterwards; he was at the time being carried home sick from Arcadia, and when he reached Heraea, he not only called the people to witness that he sincerely believed Leotychides to be his very own son, but also with prayers and tears charged them to take the tidings to the Lacedaemonians.

AGESILAEUS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

[8] μετὰ δὲ Ἄγιν ἀποθανόντα ἀπήλυνεν Ἀγησίλαος τῆς βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδην, ἐς μνήμην ἄγων Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ὑπὸ Ἄγιδός ποτε λεχθέντα ἐς τὸν Λεωτυχίδην. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἡραΐας Ἀρκάδες καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Λεωτυχίδῃ μάρτυρες ὅποσα Ἄγιδος τελευτῶντος ἤκουσαν.

[8.8] After the death of Agis, Agesilaus tried to keep Leotychides from the throne, recalling to the minds of the Lacedaemonians what Agis once said about Leotychides. But the Arcadians from Heraea arrived and bore witness for Leotychides, stating what they had heard the dying Agis say.

[9] τῷ δὲ Ἀγησίλῳ καὶ Λεωτυχίδῃ παρέσχεον ἐς πλεον τὸ μάντευμα ἀντιλογία τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, γεγονὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ, ἔχον δὲ οὕτω: “φράζω δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μέγαλαυχος εὐῶσα,

μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάβστη χολῇ βασιλείᾳ.

δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχίσουσιν ἄελπτοι

φθερσιβρότου τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυκωόμενον πολέμοιο.

“

[8.9] Yet further fuel for the controversy between Agesilaus and Leotychides was supplied by the oracle that was delivered at Delphi to this effect:—

Sparta beware! though haughty, pay heed to the warning I give thee.
Never let thy sound limbs give birth to a kingdom that lame is.
Too long then shalt thou lie in the clutches of desperate hardships;
Turmoil of war shall arise, o'erwhelming men in its billows.

[10] τότε οὖν Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ἐς Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἔφασκεν εἰρήσθαι, τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπεπῆρωτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος: Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐς Λεωτυχίδην αὐτὰ ἔτρεπεν οὐ γνήσιον ὄντα Ἄγιδος. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, καίπερ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὄν, οὐκ ἐπανήγαγον τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα ἐς Δελφοῦς: αἴτιος δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Λύσανδρος ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου Ἀγησίλαῷ συσπεύδων ἐξ ἅπαντος τὴν βασιλείαν γενέσθαι.

[8.10] Leotychides on this occasion said that these words pointed to Agesilaus, who was lame in one of his feet, while Agesilaus interpreted them as alluding to the illegitimacy of Leotychides. Although they might have done so, the Lacedaemonians did not refer the disputed point to Delphi; the reason was in my opinion that Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, an active supporter of Agesilaus, would have him king at all costs.

9. βασιλεύει τε δὴ Ἀγησίλαος ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρεσε διαβῆναι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου αἰρήσοντας: ἐδιδάσκοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου μὴ τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, Κῦρον δὲ εἶναι τὸν τὰ χρήματα δίδοντα ἐς τὰς ναῦς. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ — ἀπεδείχθη γὰρ διαβιβάσαι τε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυνάμεως ἡγεμὼν τῆς πεζῆς — περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Πελοπόννησον πλὴν Ἀργούς καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, συμμαχεῖν σφίσιν ἐπαγγέλλων.

[9.1] IX. So Agesilaus, son of Archidamus, became king, and the Lacedaemonians resolved to cross with a fleet to Asia in order to put down Artaxerxes, son of Dareius. For they were informed by several of their magistrates, especially by Lysander, that it was not Artaxerxes but Cyrus who had been supplying the pay for the fleet during the war with Athens. Agesilaus, who was appointed to lead the expedition across to Asia and to be in command of the land forces, sent round to all parts of the Peloponnesus, except Argos, and to the Greeks north of the Isthmus, asking for allies.

[2] Κορίνθιοι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔχοντες προθύμως μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, κατακαυθέντος σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ναοῦ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλήσιν Ὀλυμπίου, ποιησάμενοι πονηρὸν οἰωνὸν καταμένουσιν ἄκοντες. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἦν μὲν ἡ πρόφασις ἐκ τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου καὶ ἐκ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους ἐπανήκειν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὴν πρότερόν ποτε οὔσαν εὐδαιμονίαν:

πυνθανόμενοι δὲ δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς Κόνων ὁ Τιμοθέου παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβεβηκῶς εἶη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἡσύχαζον μάλιστα.

[9.2] Now the Corinthians were most eager to take part in the expedition to Asia, but considering it a bad omen that their temple of Zeus surnamed Olympian had been suddenly burnt down, they reluctantly remained behind. The Athenians excused themselves on the ground that their city was returning to its former state of prosperity after the Peloponnesian war and the epidemic of plague, and the news brought by messengers, that Conon, son of Timotheus, had gone up to the Persian king, strongly confirmed them in their policy of inactivity.

[3] ἀπεστάλη δὲ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρεσβεῦειν Ἀριστομηλίδας, μητρὸς μὲν τῆς Ἀγησίλαου πατὴρ, Θηβαίοις δὲ εἶχεν ἐπιτηδεῖως καὶ ἐγεγόνει τῶν δικαστῶν, οἱ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἄλόντος τοῦ τείχους ἀποθανεῖν τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἔγνωσαν. Θηβαῖοι μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέιπαντο, οὐ φάμενοι βοηθήσειν· Ἀγησίλαος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τά τε οἰκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ στράτευμα ἤθροιστο καὶ ἅμα αἱ νῆες εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν, ἀφίκετο ἐς Αὐλίδα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσων, ὅτι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐνταῦθα ἱλασάμενος τὴν θεὸν τὸν ἐς Τροίαν στόλον ἤγαγεν.

[9.3] The envoy dispatched to Thebes was Aristomelidas, the father of the mother of Agesilaus, a close friend of the Thebans who, when the wall of Plataea had been taken, had been one of the judges voting that the remnant of the garrison should be put to death. Now the Thebans like the Athenians refused, saying that they would give no help. When Agesilaus had assembled his Lacedaemonian forces and those of the allies, and at the same time the fleet was ready, he went to Aulis to sacrifice to Artemis, because Agamemnon too had propitiated the goddess here before leading the expedition to Troy.

[4] ἡξίου δὲ ἄρα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος πόλεώς τε εὐδαιμονεστέρας ἢ Ἀγαμέμνων βασιλεὺς εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, τό τε κατόρθωμα ἐπιφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι βασιλέα κρατήσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην εὐδαιμονίαν κτήσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν ἢ ἀρχὴν καθελεῖν τὴν Πριάμου. θύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Θηβαῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπελθόντες τῶν τε ἱερείων καιόμενα ἤδη τὰ μηρία ἀπορρίπτουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

[9.4] Agesilaus, then, claimed to be king of a more prosperous city than was Agamemnon, and to be like him overlord of all Greece, and that it would be a more glorious success to conquer Artaxerxes and acquire the riches of Persia than to destroy the empire of Priam. but even as he was sacrificing armed Thebans came upon him, threw dawn from the altar the still burning thighbones of the victims, and drove him from the sanctuary.

[5] Ἀγησίλαον δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν ἡ θυσία μὴ τελεσθεῖσα, διέβαινε δὲ ὁμως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις· ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς κάτω μέγιστον μέρος τηνικαῦτα ἡ Λυδία, καὶ αἱ Σάρδεις πλούτῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ προεῖχον, τῷ τε σατραπεύοντι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοῦτο οἰκητήριον ἀπεδέδεικτο καθάπερ γε αὐτῷ

βασιλεῖ τὰ Σοῦσα.

[9.5] Though vexed that the sacrifice was not completed, Agesilaus nevertheless crossed into Asia and launched an attack against Sardes for Lydia at this period was the most important district of lower Asia, and Sardes, pre-eminent for its wealth and resources, had been assigned as a residence to the satrap of the coast region, just as Susa had been to the king himself.

[6] γενομένης δὲ πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην σατράπην τῶν περὶ Ἰωνίαν μάχης ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πεδίῳ τὴν τε ἵππον τῶν Περσῶν ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τότε πλεῖστον ἀθροισθὲν μετὰ γε τὸν Ξέρξου καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείου καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατόν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀγασθέντες τὸ ἐς τὰ πράγματα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου πρόθυμον διδόασιν ἄρχοντα εἶναι καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ταῖς μὲν τριήρεσιν ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα Πείσανδρον — τοῦ Πείσανδρου δὲ ἐτύγχανε συνοικῶν ἀδελφῇ —, τῷ πολέμῳ δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ γῆν προσεῖχεν ἐρρωμένως.

[9.6] A battle was fought on the plain of the Hermus with Tissaphernes, satrap of the parts around Ionia, in which Agesilaus conquered the cavalry of the Persians and the infantry, of which the muster on this occasion had been surpassed only in the expedition of Xerxes and in the earlier ones of Dareius against the Scythians and against Athens. The Lacedaemonians, admiring the energy of Agesilaus, added to his command the control of the fleet. But Agesilaus made his brother-in-law, Peisander, admiral, and devoted himself to carrying on the war vigorously by land.

[7] καὶ οἱ θεῶν τις ἐβάσκηνε μὴ ἀγαγεῖν τὰ βουλευόμενα ἐς τέλος. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐπύθετο Ἀρταξέρξης μάχας τε ἃς ἐνίκησεν Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ὥς ἐς τὸ πρόσω χειρούμενος τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πρόεισιν αἰεὶ σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, Τισσαφέρνην μὲν καίπερ τὰ πρότερα εὐεργέτην ὄντα ζημιοῖ θανάτῳ, Τιθραύστην δὲ κατέπεμψεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ φρονῆσαί τε δεινὸν καὶ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχοντα δυσνοίας.

[9.7] The jealousy of some deity prevented him from bringing his plans to their conclusion. For when Artaxerxes heard of the victories won by Agesilaus, and how, by attending to the task that lay before him, he advanced with his army even further and further, he put Tissaphernes to death in spite of his previous services, and sent down to the sea Tithraustes, a clever schemer who had some grudge against the Lacedaemonians.

[8] οὗτος ὥς ἀφίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, αὐτίκα ἐπενόει τρόπον ᾧ τινι ἀναγκάσει Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνακαλέσασθαι στρατιάν. ἄνδρα οὖν Ῥόδιον Τιμοκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πέμπει χρήματα ἄγοντα, ἐντειλάμενος πόλεμον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐργάσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων μεταλαβόντες Ἀργείων μὲν Κύλων τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ Σωδάμας, ἐν Θήβαις δὲ Ἀνδροκλείδης καὶ Ἰσμηνίας καὶ Ἀμφίθεμις· μετέσχε δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος Κέφαλος καὶ Ἐπικράτης καὶ ὅσοι Κορινθίων ἐφρόνουν τὰ Ἀργείων Πολυάνθης τε καὶ Τιμόλαος.

[9.8] On his arrival at Sardes he at once thought out a plan by which to force the Lacedaemonians to recall their army from Asia. He sent Timocrates, a Rhodian, to Greece with money, instructing him to stir up in Greece a war against the Lacedaemonians. Those who shared in this money are said to have been the Argives Cylon and Sodamas, the Thebans Androcleides, Ismenias and Amphithemis, the Athenians Cephalus and Epicrates, with the Corinthians who had Argive sympathies, Polyanthes and Timolaus.

[9] οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερόν τοῦ πολέμου παρασχόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένοντο οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης Λοκροί. τοῖς γὰρ δὴ Λοκροῖς γῆ πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα

ἀμφισβητήσιμος γῆ: ἐκ ταύτης ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπαρθέντες τῶν περὶ Ἴσμηνίαν τὸν τε σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἔτεμον καὶ ἤλασαν λείαν ἄγοντες: ἐνέβαλον δὲ πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ ἐδήλωσαν τὴν χώραν.

[9.9] But those who first openly started the war were the Locrians from Amphissa. For there happened to be a piece of land the ownership of which was a matter of dispute between the Locrians and the Phocians. Egged on by Ismenias and his party at Thebes, the Locrians cut the ripe corn in this land and drove off the booty. The Phocians on their side invaded Locris with all their forces, and laid waste the land.

[10] ἐπηγάγοντο οὖν οἱ Λοκροὶ συμμάχους Θηβαίους καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐπόρθησαν: ἐς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντες οἱ Φωκεῖς τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπέκειντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον οἷα ἐπεπόνθεσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πόλεμον πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι: ἐποιοῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι αὐτῶν ὕβριν ἐς τὴν Ἀγησιλάου θυσίαν.

[9.10] So the Locrians brought in the Thebans as allies, and devastated Phocis. Going to Lacedaemon the Phocians inveighed against the Thebans, and set forth what they had suffered at their hands. The Lacedaemonians determined to make war against Thebes, chief among their grievances being the outrageous way the Thebans behaved towards Agesilaus when he was sacrificing at Aulis.

[11] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προπετυσμένοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, ὅπλα μὲν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ Θήβας δεόμενοι μὴ κινήσαι, δίκη δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι διακρίνεσθαι: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν πρεσβείαν. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔς τε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔξοδον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Λυσάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Παισανίαν:

[9.11] The Athenians receiving early intimation of the Lacedaemonians' intentions, sent to Sparta begging them to submit their grievances to a court of arbitration instead of appealing to arms, but the Lacedaemonians dismissed the envoys in anger. The sequel, how the Lacedaemonians set forth and how Lysander died, I have already described in my account of Pausanias.

[12] καὶ ὁ κληθεὶς Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἐς πλεον ἅει προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς

Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρξάμενος ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἐξόδου. κατὰ ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπῆγεν Ἀγησίλαος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀβύδου περαιωθεὶς ναυσὶν ἐς Σηστόν καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν Θράκην ἀφίκετο ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ χάριτι τῇ ἐς Θηβαίους τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπειρῶντο εἶργειν· ἦν δέ τι εὐνοίας ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀθηναίων.

[9.12] And what was called the Corinthian war, which continually became more serious, had its origin in the expedition of the Lacedaemonians into Boeotia. So these circumstances compelled Agesilaus to lead his army back from Asia. Crossing with his fleet from Abydos to Sestos he passed through Thrace as far as Thessaly, where the Thessalians, to please the Thebans, tried to prevent his further progress; there was also an old friendship between them and Athens.

[13] Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Θεσσαλίαν τε διεξῆλθε τρεψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἵππικόν καὶ αὖθις διὰ Βοιωτῶν διώδευσε Θηβαίους ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νικήσας συμμαχικόν. ὥς δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ Βοιωτοί, καταφεύγουσιν ἄνδρες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἰωνίας· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ εἶχε μὲν τραῦμα ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἰκέτας παρενόμησεν οὐδ' οὕτως.

[9.13] But Agesilaus put the Thessalian cavalry to flight and passed through Thessaly, and again made his way through Boeotia, winning a victory over Thebes and the allies at Coronea. When the Boeotians were put to flight, certain of them took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena surnamed Itonia. Agesilaus, although suffering from a wound received in the battle, did not sin against the suppliants.

10. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκαν τῶν Ἰσθμίων οἱ ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγοντες Κορίνθιοι. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μὲν τῷ Ἀγησιλάου δέϊματι ἡσύχαζον· ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Ἀργείων τὰ Ἰσθμια ἄγουσιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ Κόρινθον στρατιᾷ· καὶ — ἐπῆει γὰρ Ὑακίνθια — ἀφίησι τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς οἵκαδε ἀπελθόντας τὰ καθεστηκότα τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ὑακίνθῳ δρᾶσαι. ταύτην τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιθέμενοι καθ' ὁδὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἰφικράτης διέφθειραν·

[10.1] X. Not long afterwards the Corinthians in exile for pro-Spartan sympathies held the Isthmian games. The Corinthians in the city made no move at the time, through their fear of Agesilaus but when he marched to Sparta, they too celebrated the Isthmian games along with the Argives. Agesilaus again marched with an army against Corinth, and, as the festival Hyacinthia was at hand, he gave the Amycleans leave to go back home and perform the traditional rites in honor of Apollo and Hyacinthus. This battalion was attacked on the way and annihilated by the Athenians under Iphicrates.

[2] Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπικουρήσων ἀφίκετο Αἰτωλοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις, καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἠνάγκασε καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας Καλυδῶνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Αἰτωλῶν πολιίσματα ἡρηκέναί· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔπλευσε καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀφεστηκότων ἀπὸ

βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθήσων· καὶ ἔστιν Ἀγησιλάῳ πολλὰ τε εἰργασμένα καὶ μνήμης ἄξια ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. καὶ — ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἡδὴ γέρων — τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐπέλαβεν ἡ μοῖρα· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς ἐκομίσθη σφίσιν ὁ νεκρός, θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέων τιμήσαντες μάλιστα.

[10.2] Agesilaus went also to Aetolia to give assistance to the Aetolians, who were hard pressed in a war with the Acarnanians; these he compelled to put an end to the war, although they had come very near capturing Calydon and the other towns of the Aetolians. Afterwards he sailed to Egypt, to succor the Egyptians who had revolted from the king of Persia. Agesilaus performed many noteworthy achievements in Egypt, but, being by this time an old man, he died on the march. then his dead body was brought home, the Lacedaemonians buried it with greater honors than they had given to any other king.

ARCHIDAMAS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

[3] Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βασιλεύοντος κατέλαβον τὸ ἱερὸν Φωκεῖς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Θηβαῖοις μὲν δὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἀφίκετο μὲν καὶ ἰδίᾳ

συμμαχικὰ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀπὸ δὲ κοινοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι σφισιν ἤμυνον, οἱ μὲν ἀρχαίαν δὴ τινα ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων μνημονεύοντες εὐεργεσίαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προφάσει μὲν καὶ οὗτοι φιλίας, κατὰ ἔχθος δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ Θηβαίων. Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ Δαμασιστράτου τόν τε Ἀρχίδαμον μετασχεῖν τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτι Δεινίχαν τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου γυναῖκα παρὰ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἔφη λαμβάνουσαν δωρεὰν ἐτοιμότερον ποιεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν Ἀρχίδαμον.

[10.3] In the reign of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, the Phocians seized the sanctuary at Delphi. To help in a war with Thebes the Phocians hired with its wealth independent mercenaries, but they here also aided publicly by the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, the latter calling to mind some old service rendered by the Phocians, the former, too, pretending to be friends when their real reason was, I think, hatred of the Thebans. Theopompus, son of Damasistratus, said that Archidamus himself had a share of the Delphic money, and further that Deinicha the wife of Archidamus, receiving a bribe from the chief men of the Phocians, made Archidamus more ready to bring them reinforcements.

[4] τὸ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ἱερὰ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀμῦναι μαντείων πορθήσασι τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον οὐκ ἐς ἔπαινον τίθεμαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ οἱ πρόσεστιν ἐς ἔπαινον· Δελφῶν γὰρ τοὺς τε ἡβῶντας ἀποκτείνειν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι, καταβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμων οἱ Φωκεῖς· ταῦτα οὖν μὴ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων αὐτοὺς παρητήσατο Ἀρχίδαμος.

[10.4] To accept sacred money and to help men who had pillaged the most famous of oracles I do not hold praiseworthy, but the following incident does

redound to his praise. The Phocians were contemplating the cruel course of killing the Delphians of vigorous age, enslaving the women and children, and levelling the city itself to the ground; it was due to the intercession of Archidamus that they escaped this fate at the hands of the Phocians.

[5] διέβη δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὕστερον Ταραντίνοις βαρβάρων πόλεμον συνδιοίσων σφίσιν ὁμόρων· καὶ ἀπέθανέ τε αὐτόθι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀμαρτεῖν τάφου τὸ μήνιμα ἐγένετο ἐμποδὼν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον παῖδα Ἄγιν κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Μακεδόσιν ἐναντία καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μαχεσάμενον, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐβασίλευσεν ἄγουσιν εἰρήνην. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἄγιν τὸν Εὐδαμίδου καὶ ἐς Εὐρυδαμίδαν τὸν Ἄγιδος ὥς ἔσχεν, ἥδη μοι καὶ τὰδε ἢ Σικυωνία συγγραφὴ διεξήξει.

[10.5] Archidamus afterwards also crossed over into Italy to help the Tarentines to wage war against their foreign neighbors. Here he was killed by the foreigners, and his corpse missed burial owing to the anger of Apollo. Agis, the elder son of this Archidamus, met his death fighting against Antipater and the Macedonians, but while the younger son, Eudamidas, was king, the Lacedaemonians enjoyed peace. The history of Agis, son of Eudamidas, and of Eurydamidas, son of Agis, my account of Sicyon has already set forth.

SCOTITAS

[6] ἰοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας δρυῶν πλήρης· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν τὸ δὲ σκότος οὐ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα πρὸ στάδια ἐκτραπομένοισι ἱερὸν Σκοτίτα Διός. ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προελθούσιν ὀλίγον καὶ τραπεῖσιν αὐθις ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τρόπαιον· ἀναστῆσαι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνας Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας.

[10.6] On the way from the Hermae the whole of the region is full of oak-trees. The name of the district, Scotitas (Dark), is not due to the unbroken woods but to Zeus surnamed Scotitas, and there is a sanctuary of Zeus Scotitas on the left of the road and about ten stades from it. If you go back from the sanctuary to the road, advance a little and then turn again to the left, you come to an image of Heracles and a trophy, which I was told Heracles raised after killing Hippocoon and his sons.

CARYAE & THORNAX

[7] τρίτῃ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εὐθείας ἐκβολὴ κατὰ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐς Καρύας ἄγει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νυμφῶν ἐστὶν αἱ Κάρυαι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χοροὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι κατὰ ἔτος ἰστᾶσι καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις. ἀναστρέφαντι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἰόντι ἐρείπια Σελλασίας ἐστί· ταύτην, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα, ἠνδραποδίσαντο Ἀχαιοὶ

Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Κλεομένην τὸν Λεωνίδου μάχῃ νικήσαντες.

[10.7] The third branch from the straight road is on the right, and leads to Caryae (Walnut-trees) and to the sanctuary of Artemis. For Caryae is a region sacred to Artemis and the nymphs, and here stands in the open an image of Artemis Caryatis. Here every year the Lacedaemonian maidens hold chorus-dances, and they have a traditional native dance. On returning, as you go along the highway, you come to the ruins of Sellasia. The people of this city, as I have stated already, were sold into slavery by the Achaeans after they had conquered in battle the Lacedaemonians under their king Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas.

[8] ἐν δὲ Θόρνακι — ἐς γὰρ τοῦτον ἀφίξῃ προΐων — ἄγαλμά ἐστι Πυθαέως Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις πεποιημένον: τὸ δὲ σχῆμα ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γράψω. Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ ἐπιφανέστερά ἐστι τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀμυκλαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν χρυσόν, ὃν Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔπεμψε τῷ Πυθαεῖ, τούτῳ ἐς κόσμον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις κατεχρήσαντο ἀγάλματος.

[10.8] In Thornax, which you will reach as you go along, is an image of Apollo Pythaeus, made after the style of the one at Amyclae; the fashion of it I will describe when I come to speak of the latter. For in the eyes of the Lacedaemonians the cult of the Amyclaeon is the more distinguished, so that they spent on adorning the image in Amyclae even the gold which Croesus the Lydian sent for Apollo Pythaeus.

SPARTA

11. ἀπὸ δὲ Θόρνακος προελθόντι ἔστιν ἡ πόλις, Σπάρτη μὲν ὀνομασθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσλαβοῦσα δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ Λακεδαίμων ἡ αὐτὴ καλεῖσθαι: τέως δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔκειτο τῇ γῇ. ὃ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφεξῆς, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας: ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἀφηγήσεως, ὧν ἂ ἕκαστοι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρῖναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ὥς οὖν εὖ βεβουλευμένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου παραβήσομαι.

[11.1] XI. Farther on from Thornax is the city, which was originally named Sparta, but in course of time came to be called Lacedaemon as well, a name which till then belonged to the land. To prevent misconception, I added in my account of Attica that I had not mentioned everything in order, but had made a selection of what was most noteworthy. This I will repeat before beginning my account of Sparta; for from the beginning the plan of my work has been to discard the many trivial stories current among the several communities, and to pick out the things most worthy of mention – an excellent rule which I will never violate.

[2] Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς Σπάρτην ἔχουσιν ἐστὶν ἀγορὰ θεάς ἀξία, καὶ τῆς τε γερουσίας βουλευτήριον καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ νομοφυλάκων καὶ καλουμένων

Βιδιαίων ἀρχεῖά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἡ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίοις κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἄρχοντες: τοῖς δὲ ἐφόροις καὶ Βιδιαίοις πέντε ἀριθμὸν ἑκατέρους οὖσι, τοῖς μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καλουμένῳ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγῶνας τιθέναι καθέστηκεν, ἔφοροι δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα διοικοῦσι τὰ σπουδῆς μάλιστα ἄξια καὶ παρέχονται τὸν ἐπώνυμον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τῶν καλουμένων ἐννέα ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν εἰς ἄρχων.

[11.2] The Lacedaemonians who live in Sparta have a market-place worth seeing; the council-chamber of the senate, and the offices of the ephors, of the guardians of the laws, and of those called the Bidaieans, are all in the market-place. The senate is the council which has the supreme control of the Lacedaemonian constitution, the other officials form the executive. Both the ephors and the Bidaieans are five in number; it is customary for the latter to hold competitions for the lads, particularly the one at the place called Platanistas (Plane-tree Grove), while the ephors transact the most serious business, one of them giving his name to the year, just as at Athens this privilege belongs to one of those called the Nine Archons.

[3] ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἥν στοὰν Περσικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν: ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος τὸ νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου.

πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμισία, θυγάτηρ μὲν Λυγδάμιδος, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ: ταύτην φασὶν ἑκουσίως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατεῦσαι Ξέρξῃ καὶ ἔργα ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἀποδείξασθαι.

[11.3] The most striking feature in the marketplace is the portico which they call Persian because it was made from spoils taken in the Persian wars. In course of time they have altered it until it is as large and as splendid as it is now. On the pillars are white-marble figures of Persians, including Mardonius, son of Gobryas. There is also a figure of Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis and queen of Halicarnassus. It is said that this lady voluntarily joined the expedition of Xerxes against Greece and distinguished herself at the naval engagement off Salamis.

[4] ναοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Καῖσαρος, ὃς μοναρχίας πρῶτος ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν πρῶτος ἐκτίσατο, ὃ δὲ Αὐγούστω πεποιήται παιδὶ ἐκείνου τὴν τε βασιλείαν βεβαιωσαμένῳ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀξιώματος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐς πλεον ἢ ὁ πατὴρ οἱ προελθόντι: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἦν τοῦτῳ Αὐγούστος, ὃ κατὰ γλῶσσαν δύναται τὴν Ἑλλήνων σεβαστός.

[11.4] On the market-place are temples; there is one of Caesar, the first Roman to covet monarchy and the first emperor under the present constitution, and also one to his son Augustus, who put the empire on a firmer footing, and became a more famous and a more powerful man than his father. His name "Augustus" means in Greek sebastos (reverend).

[5] τοῦ δὲ Αὐγούστου δεικνύουσι πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα Ἀγίου. τοῦτον τὸν Ἅγιαν μαντευσάμενόν φασι Λυσάνδρῳ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν ναυτικὸν περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς πλὴν τριήρων δέκα: αὗται δὲ ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐς Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγίας Ἀγελόχου παῖς ἦν τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ:

[11.5] At the altar of Augustus they show a bronze statue of Agias. This Agias, they say, by divining for Lysander captured the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami with the exception of ten ships of war. These made their escape to Cyprus; all the rest the Lacedaemonians captured along with their crews. Agias was a son of Agelochus, a son of Tisamenus.

TISAMENUS OR ELIS, HISTORY

[6] Τισαμενῷ δὲ ὄντι Ἠλείῳ τῶν Ἰαμίδων λόγιον ἐγένετο ἀγῶνας ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτόν. οὕτω πένταθλον Ὀλυμπίαςιν ἀσκήσας ἀπῆλθεν ἡττηθείς, καίτοι τὰ δύο γε ἦν πρῶτος: καὶ γὰρ δρόμῳ τε ἐκράτει καὶ πηδήματι Ἰερώνυμον τὸν Ἄνδριον. καταπαλαισθεὶς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτῶν τῆς νίκης συνήησι τοῦ χρησμοῦ, διδόναι οἱ τὸν θεὸν μαντευομένῳ πέντε ἀγῶνας πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι.

[11.6] Tisamenus belonged to the family of the Iamidae at Elis, and an oracle was given to him that he should win five most famous contests. So he trained for the pentathlon at Olympia, but came away defeated. And yet he was first in two events, beating Hieronymus of Andros in running and in jumping. But when he lost the wrestling bout to this competitor, and so missed the prize, he understood what the oracle meant, that the god granted him to win five contests in war by his divinations.

[7] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ — οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἀνηκόως ὦν Τισαμενῷ προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία — πείθουσι μετοικήσαντα ἐξ Ἥλιδος μαντεύεσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τῷ κοινῷ: καὶ σφισιν ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἀγῶνας πολέμου πέντε ἐνίκησε, πρῶτον μὲν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐναντία Περσῶν, δευτερον δὲ ἐν Τεγέᾳ πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Ἀργεῖους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίοις συνεστῶσης, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἐν Διπαιῦσιν Ἀρκάδων πάντων πλὴν Μαντινέων ἀντιτεταγμένων: οἱ δὲ Διπαιεῖς ἐν τῇ Μαιναλίᾳ πόλισμα Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν.

[11.7] The Lacedaemonians, hearing of the oracle the Pythian priestess had given to Tisamenus, persuaded him to migrate from Elis and to be state-diviner at Sparta. And Tisamenus won them five contests in war. The first was at Plataea against the Persians; the second was at Tegea, when the Lacedaemonians had engaged the Tegeans and Argives; the third was at Dipaea, an Arcadian town in Maenalia, when all the Arcadians except the Mantineans were arrayed against them.

[8] τέταρτον δὲ ἡγωνίσατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ τῶν εἰλώτων: ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ εἰλωτες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνιακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰλώτων ἀποσχισθέντες: καὶ μοι καὶ τάδε ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα

ἐπέξεισι. τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἶασαν Τισαμενῶ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι: τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἐμαντεύσατο ἐν Τανάγρα σφίσι πρὸς Ἀργεῖους καὶ Ἀθηναίους γινομένης συμβολῆς.

[11.8] His fourth contest was against the Helots who had rebelled and left the Isthmus for Ithome. Not all the Helots revolted, only the Messenian element, which separated itself off from the old Helots. These events I shall relate presently. On the occasion I mention the Lacedaemonians allowed the rebels to depart under a truce, in accordance with the advice of Tisamenus and of the oracle at Delphi. The last time Tisamenus divined for them was at Tanagra, an engagement taking place with the Argives and Athenians.

[9] τὰ μὲν Τισαμενοῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην ὄντα: Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαέως τέ ἐστιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις — ἑορτὴ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδία διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν — ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἱστᾷσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἀγοραίου, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀγοραίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὃν ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἀσφάλιον, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐθις καὶ Ἥρας:

[11.9] Such I learned was the history of Tisamenus. On their market-place the Spartans have images of Apollo Pythaeus, of Artemis and of Leto. The whole of this region is called Choros (Dancing), because at the Gymnopaediae, a festival which the Lacedaemonians take more seriously than any other, the lads perform dances in honor of Apollo. Not far from them is a sanctuary of Earth and of Zeus of the Market-place, another of Athena of the Market-place and of Poseidon surnamed Securer, and likewise one of Apollo and of Hera.

[10] ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Δήμου τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδριάς μεγέθει μέγας, καὶ Μοιρῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, Ὁρέστου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρὸς αὐτῷ τάφος: κομισθέντα γὰρ ἐκ Τεγέας τοῦ Ὁρέστου τὰ ὀστέα κατὰ μαντείαν θάπτουσιν ἐνταῦθα. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὁρέστου τὸν τάφον ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένους, ὃν βασιλέων ἐς τοσοῦτο τιμῆς προήχασιν ὥστε οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, ὅποσα δεῖ σημαίνεισθαι, τοῦ Πολυδώρου σημαίνονται τῇ εἰκόνι.

[11.10] There is also dedicated a colossal statue of the Spartan People. The Lacedaemonians have also a sanctuary of the Fates, by which is the grave of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. For when the bones of Orestes were brought from Tegea in accordance with an oracle they were buried here. Beside the grave of Orestes is a statue of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, a king who rose to such honor that the magistrates seal with his likeness everything that requires sealing.

[11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος Διόνυσον φέρων παῖδα, καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα καλούμενα Ἐφορεῖα, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κρητὸς μνῆμα καὶ Ἀφαρέως τοῦ Περιήρου: καὶ τὰ γε ἐς Ἐπιμενίδην Λακεδαιμονίους δοξάζω μᾶλλον Ἀργείων λέγειν εἰκότα. ἐνταῦθα, ἐνθα αἱ Μοῖραι, καὶ Ἑστία τοῖς

Λακεδαιμονίους ἐστὶ καὶ Ζεὺς Ξένιος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ξενία.

[11.11] There is also Hermes of the Market-place carrying Dionysus as a child, besides the old Courts of the Ephors, as they are called, in which are the tombs of Epimenides the Cretan and of Aphareus the son of Perieres. As to Epimenides, I think the Lacedaemonian story is more probable than the Argive. Here, where the Fates are, the Lacedaemonians also have a sanctuary of Hestia. There is also Zeus Hospitable and Athena Hospitable.

12. ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν Ἀφεταιῖδα ὀνομάζουσι, τὰ καλούμενα Βοώνητά ἐστι: καί με ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ πρότερα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῆς ὁδοῦ. τοῖς μνηστήρσιν Ἰκάριον τῆς Πηνελόπης φασὶν ἀγῶνα προθεῖναι δρόμου: καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκράτει, δηλὰ ἐστίν, ἀφεθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀφεταιῖδος.

[12.1] XII. As you go from the market-place by the road they name the Aphetaid Road, you come to the so-called Booneta. But my narrative must first explain why the road has this name.

[2] δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοὶ δρόμου Ἰκάριος τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐποίησε μιμούμενος Δαναόν. Δαναῷ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν εὐρέθη, καὶ ὥς γυναῖκα οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μῖασμα ἀγαγέσθαι, διέπεμπε δὴ ὁ Δαναὸς ἔδνων ἄνευ δώσειν ἢ ἂν ἕκαστος κατὰ κάλλος ἀρέσκηται: ἀφικομένοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ἀγῶνα δρόμου κατέστησε, καὶ πρῶτῳ τε ἐλθόντι ἐγένετο ἐλέσθαι πρῶτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μετ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ἤδη κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἄχρι τοῦ τελευταίου: τὰς δὲ ὑπολειφθείσας μένειν ἔφοδον ἄλλην μνηστήρων ἔδει καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄλλον δρόμου.

[12.2] It is said that Icarius proposed a foot-race for the wooers of Penelope; that Odysseus won is plain, but they say that the competitors were let go (aphethenai) for the race along the Aphetaid Road. In my opinion, Icarius was imitating Danaus when he held the running-race. For Danaus contrived the following plan to solve the difficulty about his daughters. Nobody would take a wife from among them because of their pollution so Danaus sent round a notice that he would give away his daughters without bride-gifts, and that each suitor could choose the one whose beauty pleased him most. A few men came, among whom he held a foot-race the first comer was allowed to choose before all the others, after him the second, and so on to the last. The daughters that were left had to wait until other suitors arrived and competed in another foot-race.

[3] Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐστίν, ὥς ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι, τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα Βοώνητα, Πολυδώρου ποτὲ οἰκία τοῦ βασιλέως: ἀποθανόντος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυδώρου τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπρίαντο ἀντιδόντες βοῦς. ἀργύρου γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πῶ τότε οὐδὲ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα, κατὰ τρόπον δὲ ἐτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀντεδίδονσαν βοῦς καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀργὸν τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν:

[12.3] On this road the Lacedaemonians have, as I have already said, what is

called the Booneta, which once was the house of their king Polydorus. When he died, they bought it from his widow, paying the price in oxen. For at that time there was as yet neither silver nor gold coinage, but they still bartered in the old way with oxen, slaves, and uncoined silver and gold.

[4] οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐσπλέοντες φορτίων φασὶν Ἑλληνικῶν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀγώγιμα ἄλλα ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι, νόμισμα δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα χρυσοῦ τε ἀφθόνου καὶ χαλκοῦ παρόντος σφίσι.

τοῦ δὲ τῶν Βιδιαίων ἀρχείου πέραν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν: Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγεται καὶ ὀνομάσαι Κελευθεῖαν, τοὺς Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρας τῷ δρόμῳ νικήσας. ἰδρύσατο δὲ τῆς Κελευθείας ἱερὰ ἀριθμῷ τρία διεστηκότα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

[12.4] Those who sail to India say that the natives give other merchandise in exchange for Greek cargoes, knowing nothing about coinage, and that though they have plenty of gold and of bronze.

On the opposite side of the office of the Bidaieans is a sanctuary of Athena. Odysseus is said to have set up the image and to have named it Keleuthea (Lady of the Road), when he had beaten the suitors of Penelope in the foot-race. Of Keleuthea he set up sanctuaries, three in number, at some distance from each other.

[5] προϊόντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀφεταΐδα ἡρώα ἐστὶν Ἰοπός τε κατὰ Λέλεγα ἢ Μύλητα γενέσθαι δοκοῦντος καὶ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ Ὀικλέους: τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς Τυνδάρειω παῖδας νομίζουσιν ἅτε ἀνεψιῷ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ ποιῆσαι: καὶ αὐτοῦ Λέλεγός ἐστιν ἡρώων, τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ τέμενος Ποσειδῶνος Ταιναρίου — Ταινάριον δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν —

[12.5] Farther along the Aphetaid Road are hero-shrines, of Iops, who is supposed to have been born in the time of Lelex or. Myles, and of Amphiaras the son of Oicles. The last they think was made by the sons of Tyndareus, for that Amphiaras was their cousin. There is a hero-shrine of Lelex himself. Not far from these is a precinct of Poseidon of Taenarum, which is the surname given him, and near by an image of Athena, which is said to have been dedicated by the colonists

[6] οὐ μακρὰν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ὃ τοὺς ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Τάραντα ἀποικισθέντας ἀναθεῖναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἑλλήνιον, ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὥς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ξέρξην διαβαίνοντα ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον βουλευσάμενοι τρόπον ὄντινα ἀνθέξουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τοὺς Μενελάου χάριτι στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ Ἴλιον βουλευσασθαί φησιν ἐνταῦθα ὅπως ἀναπλεῦσαι τε ἐς Τροίαν καὶ δίκας δυνήσονται παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβεῖν τῆς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγῆς.

[12.6] who left for Tarentum in Italy. As to the place they call the Hellenium, it has been stated that those of the Greeks who were preparing to repel Xerxes

when he was crossing into Europe deliberated at this place how they should resist. The other story is that those who made the expedition against Troy to please Menelaus deliberated here how they could sail out to Troy and exact satisfaction from Alexander for carrying off Helen.

[7] τοῦ δὲ Ἑλληνίου πλησίον Ταλθυβίου μνῆμα ἀποφαίνουσι· δεικνύουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν Αἰγίεις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Ταλθυβίου καὶ οὗτοι φάμενοι μνῆμα εἶναι. Ταλθυβίου δὲ τούτου μῆνιμα ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν κηρύκων, οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως Δαρείου γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ αἰτήσοντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέμφθησαν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐπεσήμαινεν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐς ἐνὸς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς κατέσκηψε Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος· ἐγγόνει δὲ καὶ τῶν κηρύκων τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἀποθανεῖν αἴτιος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

[12.7] Near the Hellenium they point out the tomb of Talthybius. The Achaeans of Aegium too say that a tomb which they show on their market-place belongs to Talthybius. It was this Talthybius whose wrath at the murder of the heralds, who were sent to Greece by king Dareius to demand earth and water, left its mark upon the whole state of the Lacedaemonians, but in Athens fell upon individuals, the members of the house of one man, Miltiades the son of Cimon. Miltiades was responsible for the death at the hands of the Athenians of those of the heralds who came to Attica.

[8] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκρίτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον ἱερὸν Γῆς· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἴδρυται Μαλεάτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πέρατι τῆς Ἀφεταιῖδος, ἐγγύτατα ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, Δικτύννης ἔστιν ἱερὸν καὶ βασιλῆιοι τάφοι τῶν καλουμένων Εὐρυπωντιδῶν· παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἑλλήνιον Ἀρσινόης ἱερὸν, Λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν Πολυδεύκους καὶ Κάστορος ἀδελφῆς. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Φρουρίοις καλουμένοις ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ προσελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον πεποιήται μνῆμα τοῖς ἐξ Ἡλίδος μάντεσι, καλουμένοις δὲ Ἰαμίδασι.

[12.8] The Lacedaemonians have an altar of Apollo Acritas, and a sanctuary, surnamed Gasepton, of Earth. Above it is set up Maleatian Apollo. At the end of the Aphetaid Road, quite close to the wall, are a sanctuary of Dictynna and the royal graves of those called the Eurypontidae. Beside the Hellenium is a sanctuary of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus and sister of the wives of Polydeuces and Castor. At the place called the Forts is a temple of Artemis, and a little further on has been built a tomb for the diviners from Elis, called the Iamidae.

[9] καὶ Μάρωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐς Θερμοπύλας στρατευσαμένων λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως μαχέσασθαι μετὰ γε αὐτὸν δοκοῦσι Λεωνίδαν. τοῦ δὲ Τροπαίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Δωριεῖς πολέμῳ τοὺς τε ἄλλους Ἀχαιοὺς, οἱ γῆν τὴν Λακωνικὴν τηνικαῦτα εἶχον, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίεις κρατήσαντες. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Μεγάλης μητρὸς τιμᾶται περισσῶς δὴ τι. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἡρῶα Ἰπολύτου τέ ἐστι τοῦ Θησέως καὶ

Αὐλῶνος Ἀρκάδος, υἱοῦ δὲ Τλησιμένους: Τλησιμένην δὲ Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Μελανίωνος ἀδελφόν, οἱ δὲ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν.

[12.9] There is also a sanctuary of Maron and of Alpheius. Of the Lacedaemonians who served at Thermopylae they consider that these men distinguished themselves in the fighting more than any save Leonidas himself. The sanctuary of Zeus Tropaeon (He who turns to flight) was made by the Dorians, when they had conquered in war the Amyclaeans, as well as the other Achaeans, who at that time occupied Laconia. The sanctuary of the Great Mother has paid to it the most extraordinary honors. After it come the hero-shrines of Hippolytus, son of Theseus, and of the Arcadian Aulon, son of Tlesimenes. Some say that Tlesimenes was a brother, others a son of Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion.

[10] ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἔξοδος, καθ' ἣν πεποιήται σφισιν ἡ καλουμένη Σκιάς, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐκκλησιάζουσιν. ταύτην τὴν Σκιάδα Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου φασὶν εἶναι ποίημα, ὃς πρῶτος διαχέαι σίδηρον εὗρε καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλάσαι. ἐνταῦθα ἐκρέμασαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν Τιμοθέου τοῦ Μιλησίου κιθάραν, καταγνόντες ὅτι χορδαῖς ἑπτὰ ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἐφεῦρεν ἐν τῇ κιθαρωδίᾳ τέσσαρας χορδάς.

[12.10] Leading from the market-place is another road, on which they have built what is called Scias (Canopy), where even at the present day they hold their meetings of the Assembly. This Canopy was made, they say, by Theodorus of Samos, who discovered the melting of iron and the moulding of images from it. Here the Lacedaemonians hung the harp of Timotheus of Miletus, to express their disapproval of his innovation in harping, the addition of four strings to the seven old ones.

[11] πρὸς δὲ τῇ Σκιάδι οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι περιφερές, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀγάλματα ἐπὶ κλῆσιν Ὀλυμπίων: τοῦτο Ἐπιμενίδην κατασκευάσαι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀργείοις, ὅπου μὴδὲ πολεμῆσαι φασὶ πρὸς Κνωσσίους.

[12.11] By the Canopy is a circular building, and in it images of Zeus and Aphrodite surnamed Olympian. This, they say, was set up by Epimenides, but their account of him does not agree with that of the Argives, for the Lacedaemonians deny that they ever fought with the Cnossians.

13. πλησίον δὲ ἔστι μὲν Κυνόρτου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα τάφος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κάστορος μνήμα, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερὸν πεποιήται: τεσσαρακοστῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴδαν καὶ Λυγκέα θεοὺς τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας καὶ οὐ πρότερον νομισθῆναι φασὶ. δείκνυται δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σκιάδι καὶ Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως τάφος. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκὸς ἐτάφησαν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ:

[13.1] XIII. Hard by is the grave of Cynortas son of Amyclas, together with the tomb of Castor, and over the tomb there has also been made a sanctuary, for

they say that it was not before the fortieth year after the fight with Idas and Lynceus that divine honors were paid to the sons of Tyndareus. By the Canopy is also shown the grave of Idas and Lynceus. Now it fits in best with their history to hold that they were buried not here but in Messenia.

[2] Μεσσηνίων δὲ αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ ὁ χρόνος, ὅσον ἔφυγον ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐποίησεν ἄγνωστα, ἅτε δὲ ἐκείνων οὐκ εἰδότες ἔστιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ ναὸς Κόρης Σωτείας· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν Θρᾶκα Ὀρφέα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἄβαριν ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων.

[13.2] But the disasters of the Messenians, and the length of their exile from the Peloponnesus, even after their return wrapped in darkness much of their ancient history, and their ignorance makes it easy for any who wish to dispute a claim with them.

Opposite the Olympian Aphrodite the Lacedaemonians have a temple of the Saviour Maid. Some say that it was made by Orpheus the Thracian, others by Abairis when he had come from the Hyperboreans.

[3] ὁ δὲ Καρνειός, ὃν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἵδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κριοῦ τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Κριοῦ γεμίζούσῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ὕδωρ συντυγχόντες κατάσκοποι τῶν Δωριέων αὐτῇ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κριὸν ἐλθόντες διδάσκονται τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Σπάρτης.

[13.3] Carneus, whom they surname “of the House,” had honors in Sparta even before the return of the Heracleidae, his seat being in the house of a seer, Crius (Ram) the son of Theocles. The daughter of this Crius was met as she was filling her pitcher by spies of the Dorians, who entered into conversation with her, visited Crius and learned from him how to capture Sparta.

[4] Κάρνειον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριεῦσι μὲν τοῖς πᾶσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, μαντευομένου δὲ ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἐνέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μήνιμα Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἰππότης τε ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ καὶ Δωριεῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀκαρῶνα μάντιν καθέστηκεν ἰλάσκεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ οὗτος ὁ Οἰκέτας ἐστὶ

Καρνειός, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῦ μάντεως Κριοῦ τιμώμενος Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν Σπάρτην.

[13.4] The cult of Apollo Carneus has been established among all the Dorians ever since Carnus, an Acarnanian by birth, who was a seer of Apollo. When he was killed by Hippotes the son of Phylas, the wrath of Apollo fell upon the camp of the Dorians Hippotes went into banishment because of the bloodguilt, and from this time the custom was established among the Dorians of

propitiating the Acarnanian seer. But this Carnus is not the Lacedaemonian Carneus of the House, who was worshipped in the house of Crius the seer while the Achaeans were still in possession of Sparta.

[5] Πραξιῖλλη μὲν δὴ πεπονημένα ἐστὶν ὡς Εὐρώπης εἶη καὶ Διὸς ὁ Κάρνειος καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἀπόλλων καὶ Λητώ: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῇ Τρωικῇ κρανεΐας ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσει πεφυκυΐας τοῦς Ἑλλήνας ἐκτεμεῖν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ δουρείου τὴν ποίησιν: μαθόντες δὲ ὀργὴν σφίσι ἐχειν τὸν θεὸν θυσίαις ἱλάσκονται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Κάρνειον ἀπὸ τῶν κρανεῶν, ὑπερθέντες τὸ ῥῶ κατὰ δὴ τι ἀρχαῖον.

[13.5] The poetess Praxilla represents Carneus as the son of Europa, Apollo and Leto being his nurses. There is also another account of the name; in Trojan Ida there grew in a grove of Apollo cornel-trees, which the Greeks cut down to make the Wooden Horse. Learning that the god was wroth with them they propitiated him with sacrifices and named Apollo Carneus from the cornel-tree (craneia), a custom prevalent in the olden time making them transpose the r and the a.

[6] τοῦ Καρνείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα Ἀφεταιίου: τοῖς δὲ Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρσί φασι ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔστι δέ τι χωρίον ἔχον στοὰς ἐν τετραγώνῳ τῷ σχήματι, ἔνθα σφίσι ἐπιπράσκετο ὁ ῥῶπος τὸ ἀρχαῖον: πρὸς τούτῳ Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ τούτων Ἀμβουλίων.

[13.6] Not far from Carneus is what is called the image of Aphetæus. Here they say was the starting-place of the race run by the suitors of Penelope. There is a place having its porticoes in the form of a square, where of old stuff used to be sold to the people. By this is an altar of Zeus Counsellor and of Athena Counsellor, also of the Dioscuri, likewise surnamed Counsellors.

[7] ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἣ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναός, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος, ὃν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Σπάρτην Διονύσῳ φασι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα: τῷ δὲ ἥρῳι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιπίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἑνδεκα ἅς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα:

[13.7] Opposite is what is called the Knoll, with a temple of Dionysus of the Knoll, by which is a precinct of the hero who they say guided Dionysus on the way to Sparta. To this hero sacrifices are offered before they are offered to the god by the daughters of Dionysus and the daughters of Leucippus. For the other eleven ladies who are named daughters of Dionysus there is held a footrace; this custom came to Sparta from Delphi.

[8] δρᾶν δὲ οὕτω σφίσι ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὐ μακρὰν Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Εὐανέμου, τούτου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πλευρῶνος ἥρῳον. γεγόνاسι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ

Πλευρῶνος: Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἄσιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι

Ἀγῆνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρώνο· τοῦ δὲ ἥρωος λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω καὶ Ἥρας ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναὸς Ἀργείας· ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ Εὐρυδίκην φασὶ Λακεδαιμόνους θυγατέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀκρισίου τοῦ Ἄβαντος. Ἥρας δὲ ἱερὸν Ὑπερχείρας κατὰ μαντείαν ἐποιήθη, τοῦ Εὐρώτα πολὺ τῆς γῆς σφισιν ἐπικλύζοντος.

[13.8] Not far from the Dionysus is a sanctuary of Zeus of Fair Wind, on the right of which is a hero-shrine of Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus were descended on their mother's side from Pleuron, for Asius in his poem says that Thestius the father of Leda was the son of Agenor the son of Pleuron. Not far from the hero-shrine is a hill, and on the hill a temple of Argive Hera, set up, they say, by Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedaemon and the wife of Acrisius the son of Abas. An oracular utterance caused to be built a sanctuary of Hera Hyperchemia (she whose hand is above) at a time when the Eurotas was flooding a great part of the land.

[9] ξόανον δὲ ἀρχαῖον καλοῦσιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἥρας· ἐπὶ δὲ θυγατρὶ γαμουμένη νενομίκασι τὰς μητέρας τῇ θεῇ θύειν. τοῦ λόφου δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐς δεξιὰν ὁδὸν Ἑτοιμοκλέους ἐστὶν εἰκὼν· τῷ δὲ Ἑτοιμοκλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἴπποσθένει τῷ πατρὶ πάλης εἰσὶν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, καὶ συναμφοτέροις μὲν μία τε καὶ δέκα, τῷ δὲ Ἴπποσθένει μᾶν νίκη τὸν υἱὸν παρελθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν.

[13.9] An old wooden image they call that of Aphrodite Hera. A mother is wont to sacrifice to the goddess when a daughter is married. On the road to the right of the hill is a statue of Hetoemocles. Both Hetoemocles himself and his father Hipposthenes won Olympic victories for wrestling the two together won eleven, but Hipposthenes succeeded in beating his son by one victory.

SPARTA

14. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι δυόμενον τάφος κενὸς Βρασίδα τῷ Τέλλιδος πεποιήται· ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τάφου τὸ θέατρον, λίθου λευκοῦ, θέας ἄξιον. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγήσαμένου μνημᾶ ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου — καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλω γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι —, τὰ δὲ ὅστ'α τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πausανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μῆδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν.

[14.1] XIV. On going westwards from the market-place is a cenotaph of Brasidas the son of Tellis. Not far from it is the theater, made of white marble and worth seeing. Opposite the theater are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is set up a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at

[2] καλεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Θεομηλίδα χωρίον: κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως τάφοι τῶν

Ἀγιαδῶν βασιλέων εἰσὶ καὶ πλησίον ὀνομαζομένη λέσχη Κροτανῶν: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Κροτανοὶ Πιτανατῶν μοῖρα. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς λέσχης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἐν Ἀγιαδῶν καλούμενον. προελθοῦσι δὲ Ταινάρου μνημᾶ ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐσέχουσαν ἀπὸ τούτου φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι: θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἴπποκουρίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰγιναίας. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω πρὸς τὴν λέσχην ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰσσωρίας ἱερὸν: ἐπονομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Λιμναίαν, οὗσαν οὐκ Ἄρτεμιν, Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν Κρητῶν: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Αἰγινάιος ἔχει μοι λόγος.

[14.2] There is a place in Sparta called Theomelida. In this part of the city are the graves of the Agiad kings, and near is what is called the lounge of the Crotani, who form a part of the Pitangatans. Not far from the lounge is a sanctuary of Asclepius, called “in the place of the Agiadae.” Farther on is the tomb of Taenarus, after whom they say the headland was named that juts out into the sea. Here are sanctuaries of Poseidon Hippocurius (Horse-tending) and of Artemis Aiginaea (Goat-goddess?). On returning to the lounge you see a sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. They surname her also Lady of the Lake, though she is not really Artemis hut Britomartis of Crete. I deal with her in my account of Aegina.

[3] ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τῶν μνημάτων ἃ τοῖς Ἀγιάδαις πεποιήται στήλην ὄψει, γεγραμμέναι δὲ εἰσιν ἅς Χίονις ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος δρόμου νίκας ἀνείλετο ἄλλας τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαςιν: ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπτὰ ἐγένοντό οἱ νῖκαι, τέσσαρες μὲν σταδίου, διαύλου δὲ αἱ λοιπαί: τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι δρόμον ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινε εἶναι πω. Χίονιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετασχεῖν τῷ Θηραίῳ Βάττῳ καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Λιβύων καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους λέγουσιν.

[14.3] Very near to the tombs which have been built for the Agiadae you will see a slab, on which are written the victories in the foot-race won, at Olympia and elsewhere, by Chionis, a Lacedaemonian. The Olympian victories were seven, four in the single-stade race and three in the double-stade race. The race with the shield, that takes place at the end of the contest, was not at that time one of the events. It is said that Chionis also took part in the expedition of Battus of Thera, helped him to found Cyrene and to reduce the neighboring Libyans.

[4] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος κατασκευασθῆναί φασιν ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη: πολεμεῖν μὲν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀφεστηκότας, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα σφῶν Ἀναξάνδρον ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν λαβεῖν αἰχμαλώτους γυναῖκας, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς εἶναι Κλεώ, Θέτιδος δὲ αὐτὴν ἰέρειαν εἶναι. ταύτην ἡ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου γυνὴ τὴν Κλεώ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου αἰτεῖ, καὶ τό τε ξόανον τῆς Θέτιδος ἀνεῦρεν ἔχουσαν καὶ ναὸν μετ' αὐτῆς ἰδρύσατο τῇ θεῷ: ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Λεανδρίς κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνειράτος.

[14.4] The sanctuary of Thetis was set up, they say, for the following reason. The Lacedaemonians were making war against the Messenians, who had revolted, and their king Anaxander, having invaded Messenia, took prisoners certain women, and among them Cleo, priestess of Thetis. This Cleo the wife of Anaxander asked for from her husband, and discovering that she had the wooden image of Thetis, she set up with her a temple for the goddess. This Leandris did because of a vision in a dream,

[5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ξόανον τῆς Θέτιδος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσι: Δήμητρα δὲ Χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασὶ παραδόντος σφίσις Ὀρφέως, δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἑρμιόνη κατέστη καὶ τούτοις Χθονίαν νομίζειν Δήμητρα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σαράπιδος νεώτατον τοῦτο Σπαρτιάταις ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ὀλυμπίου.

[14.5] but the wooden image of Thetis is guarded in secret. The cult of Demeter Chthonia (of the Lower World) the Lacedaemonians say was handed on to them by Orpheus, but in my opinion it was because of the sanctuary in Hermione that the Lacedaemonians also began to worship Demeter Chthonia. The Spartans have also a sanctuary of Serapis, the newest sanctuary in the city, and one of Zeus surnamed Olympian.

[6] καλοῦσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δρόμον, ἔνθα τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι δρόμου μελέτη καθέστηκεν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Δρόμον ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τῶν Ἀγιαδῶν ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μνημεῖον Εὐμήδους, Ἰπποκόωντος δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὁ Εὐμήδης: ἔστι δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον Ἡρακλέους, ᾧ θύουσιν οἱ Σφαιρεῖς: οἱ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας ἀρχόμενοι συντελεῖν. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια ἐν τῷ Δρόμῳ, τὸ ἕτερον Εὐρυκλέους ἀνάθημα ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου: τοῦ Δρόμου δὲ ἐκτὸς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστιν οἰκία τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἰδιώτου, Μενελάου τὸ ἀρχαῖον. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκοῦρων ἱερὸν καὶ Χαρίτων, τὸ δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἔστιν Ἀπόλλωνός τε Καρνείου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἡγεμόνης:

[14.6] The Lacedaemonians give the name Running Course to the place where it is the custom for the young men even down to the present day to practise running. As you go to this Course from the grave of the Agiadae, you see on the left the tomb of Eumedes – this Eumedes was one of the children of Hippocoon – and also an old image of Heracles, to whom sacrifice is paid by the Sphaereis. These are those who are just passing from youth to manhood. In the Course are two gymnastic schools, one being a votive gift of Eurycles, a Spartan. Outside the Course, over against the image of Heracles, there is a house belonging now to a private individual, but in olden times to Menelaus. Farther away from the Course are sanctuaries of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, of Eileithyia, of Apollo Carneus, and of Artemis Leader.

[7] τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγνίτας πεποιήται μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Δρόμου, Ἀσκληπιοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ κλησις ὁ Ἀγνίτας, ὅτι ἦν ἄγνου τῷ θεῷ ξόανον· ἡ δὲ ἄγνος λύγος καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τῇ ράμνῳ. τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τρόπαιον ἔστηκε, Πολυδεύκην δὲ ἀναστῆσαι φασιν ἐπὶ Λυγκεῖ· καί μοι κάμοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀποφαίνει τὸν λόγον εἰκότα, οὐ ταφῆναι τοὺς Ἀφαρέως παῖδας ἐν Σπάρτῃ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Δρόμου τῇ ἀρχῇ Διόσκουροι τέ εἰσιν Ἀφετήριοι καὶ ὀλίγον προελθόντι ἡρῶν Ἄλκωνος· τὸν δὲ Ἄλκωνα λέγουσιν Ἰπποκόωντας παῖδα εἶναι.

παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἄλκωνος τὸ ἡρῶν Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερόν, Δωματίτην δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν.

[14.7] The sanctuary of Agnitas has been made on the right of the Course; Agnitas is a surname of Asclepius, because the god had a wooden image of agnus castus. The agnus is a willow like the thorn. Not far from Asclepius stands a trophy, raised, they say, by Polydeuces to celebrate his victory over Lynceus. This is one of the pieces of evidence that confirm my statement that the sons of Aphareus were not buried in Sparta. At the beginning of the Course are the Dioscuri Starters, and a little farther on a hero-shrine of Alcon, who they say was a son of Hippocoon. Beside the shrine of Alcon is a sanctuary of Poseidon, whom they surname “of the House.”

[8] καὶ χωρίον Πλατανιστᾶς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, αἱ δὲ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς περὶ αὐτὸ αἱ πλάτανοι πεφύκασιν. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα τοῖς ἐφήβοις μάχεσθαι καθέστηκε, κύκλῳ μὲν εὐρύπος περιέχει κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ εἰ νῆσον θάλασσα, ἔφοδοι δὲ ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν εἰσι. γεφυρῶν δὲ ἐφ’ ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ μὲν ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, τῇ δὲ εἰκὼν Λυκούργου· νόμους δὲ ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ ἔς τὴν μάχην τῶν ἐφήβων ἔθηκεν ὁ Λυκούργος.

[14.8] And there is a place called Platanistas (Plane-tree Grove) from the unbroken ring of tall plane trees growing round it. The place itself, where it is customary for the youths to fight, is surrounded by a moat just like an island in the sea; you enter it by bridges. On each of the two bridges stand images; on one side an image of Heracles, on the other a likeness of Lycurgus. Among the laws Lycurgus laid down for the constitution are those regulating the

fighting of the youths.

[9] καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα τοῖς ἐφήβοις δρώμενά ἐστι: θύουσι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ: τὸ δὲ Φοιβαῖον ἐστὶν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, Θεράπνης οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκός. ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα μοῖρα τῶν ἐφήβων σκύλακα κυνὸς τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσι, θεῶν τῷ ἀλκιμωτάτῳ κρίνοντες ἱερεῖον κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον ζῷον τῶν ἡμέρων. κυνὸς δὲ σκύλακας οὐδένας ἄλλους οἶδα Ἑλλήνων νομίζοντας θύειν ὅτι μὴ Κολοφωνίους: θύουσι γὰρ καὶ Κολοφώνιοι μέλαιναν τῇ Ἐνοδίῳ σκύλακα. νυκτερινὰ δὲ ἢ τε Κολοφωνίων θυσία καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἐφήβων καθεστήκασιν.

[14.9] There are other acts performed by the youths, which I will now describe. Before the fighting they sacrifice in the Phoebaeum, which is outside the city, not far distant from Therapne. Here each company of youths sacrifices a puppy to Enyalios, holding that the most valiant of tame animals is an acceptable victim to the most valiant of the gods. I know of no other Greeks who are accustomed to sacrifice puppies except the people of Colophon; these too sacrifice a puppy, a black bitch, to the Wayside Goddess. Both the sacrifice of the Colophonians and that of the youths at Sparta are appointed to take place at night.

[10] ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ κάπρους ἡθάδας οἱ ἔφηβοι συμβάλλουσι μαχουμένους: ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν ὁ κάπρος τύχῃ νικῶν, ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ κρατῆσαι τούτους ὡς τὰ πλείω συμβαίνει. τοσάδε μὲν δρῶσιν ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὀλίγον πρὸ μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας ἐσίασι κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἔσοδον, καθ' ἣν ἐσελθεῖν δεῦρο ἔστιν ἑκατέραν τάξιν, προεδήλωσε κληρὸς σφισιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί: μάχονται δὲ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐμπηδῶντες λάξ, δάκνουσί τε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀντορύσσουσιν. ἀνὴρ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον μάχεται: ἀθρόοι δὲ ἐμπίπτουσι βιαίως καὶ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ὠθοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.

[14.10] At the sacrifice the youths set trained boars to fight; the company whose boar happens to win generally gains the victory in Plane-tree Grove. Such are the performances in the Phoebaeum. A little before the middle of the next day they enter by the bridges into the place I have mentioned. They cast lots during the night to decide by which entrance each band is to go in. In fighting they use their hands, kick with their feet, bite, and gouge out the eyes of their opponents. Man to man they fight in the way I have described, but in the melee they charge violently and push one another into the water.

15. πρὸς δὲ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καὶ Κυνίσκας ἐστὶν ἡρῶν, θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Σπαρτιατῶν: πρώτη δὲ ἵπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳσι πρώτη νίκην ἀνείλετο ἄρματι. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς, ἣ παρὰ τὸν Πλατανιστᾶν πεποιήται, ταύτης ὀπισθεν ἡρῶα, τὸ μὲν Ἀλκίμου, τὸ δὲ Ἐναρσφόρου καὶ ἀφεστηκός οὐ πολὺ Δορκέως, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Σεβροῦ: παῖδας δὲ Ἱπποκόωντος εἶναι λέγουσιν.

[15.1] XV. At Plane-tree Grove there is also a hero-shrine of Cynisca, daughter

of Archidamus king of the Spartans. She was the first woman to breed horses, and the first to win a chariot race at Olympia. Behind the portico built by the side of Plane-tree Grove are other hero-shrines, of Alcimus, of Enaraephorus, at a little distance away one of Dorceus, and close to it one of Sebrus.

[2] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δορκέως κρήνην τὴν πλησίον τοῦ ἡρώφου Δορκεῖαν, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ Σέβριον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβροῦ. τοῦ Σεβρίου δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μνημα Ἀλκμᾶνος, ὃ ποιήσαντι ἄσματα οὐδὲν ἐς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν ἐλυμήνατο τῶν Λακώνων ἢ γλῶσσα, ἥκιστα παρεχομένη τὸ εὐφωνον.

[15.2] These are said to be sons of Hippocoon. The fountain near the hero-shrine of Dorceus they call Dorcean after him; the place Sebrum is named after Sebrus. On the right of Sebrum is the tomb of Alcman, the lyric poet, the charm of whose works was not in the least spoilt by the Laconian dialect, which is the least musical of them all.

[3] Ἑλένης δὲ ἱερὰ καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ δὲ ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ὠπλισμένον: τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μάχην γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἔχθος Ἡρακλεῖ φασιν ἐς οἶκον ὑπάρξαι τὸν Ἴπποκόωντος, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτου θάνατον καθαρσίῳν ἕνεκα ἐλθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπηξίωσαν καθῆραι:

[15.3] There are sanctuaries of Helen and of Heracles; the former is near the grave of Alcman, the latter is quite close to the wall and contains an armed image of Heracles. The attitude of the image is due, they say, to the fight with Hippocoon and his sons. The enmity of Heracles towards the family of Hippocoon is said to have sprung out of their refusing to cleanse him when he came to Sparta for cleansing after the death of Iphitus.

[4] προσεγένετο δὲ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε. Οἰωνὸς ἡλικίαν μὲν μειράκιον, ἀνεψιὸς δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ — Λικυμνίου γὰρ παῖς ἦν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης — ἀφίκετο ἐς Σπάρτην ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ: περιόντι δὲ καὶ θεωμένῳ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τοῦ Ἴπποκόωντος τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐνταῦθά οἱ κύων ἐπεφέρετο οἰκουρός. ὁ δὲ τυγχάνει τε ἀφείς λίθον ὁ Οἰωνὸς καὶ καταβάλλει τὴν κύνα: ἐπεκθέουσιν οὖν τοῦ Ἴπποκόωντος οἱ παῖδες καὶ ροπάλοις τύπτοντες κατεργάζονται τὸν Οἰωνόν.

[15.4] The following incident, too, helped to begin the feud. Oeonus, a stripling cousin of Heracles – he was the son of Licymnius the brother of Alcmena – came to Sparta along with Heracles, and went round to view the city. When he came to the house of Hippocoon, a house-dog attacked him. Oeonus happened to throw a stone which knocked over the dog. So the sons of Hippocoon ran out, and dispatched Oeonus with their clubs.

[5] τοῦτο Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα ἐξηγρίωσεν ἐς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας: αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς ὀργῆς εἶχε χωρεῖ σφισιν ἐς μάχην. τότε μὲν δὴ τιτρώσκεται καὶ λαθὼν ἀπεχώρησεν: ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεγένετό οἱ στρατεύσαντι ἐς Σπάρτην

τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἴπποκόοντα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Οἰωνοῦ φόνου. τὸ δὲ μνημα τῷ Οἰωνῷ πεποιήται παρὰ τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον.

[15.5] This made Heracles most bitterly wroth with Hippocoon and his sons, and straightway, angry as he was, he set out to give them battle. On this occasion he was wounded, and made good his retreat by stealth but afterwards he made an expedition against Sparta and succeeded in avenging himself on Hippocoon, and also on the sons of Hippocoon for their murder of Oeonus. The tomb of Oeonus is built by the side of the sanctuary of Heracles.

[6] ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δρόμου πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀτραπὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀξιοποίνου καλουμένης ἱερὸν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀμυνόμενος Ἡρακλῆς Ἴπποκόοντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετῆλθε κατ' ἀξίαν ὧν προυπῆρξεν, ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύεται, Ἀξιοποίνου δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅτι τὰς τιμωρίας οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠνόμαζον ποινάς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰόντι ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου: Θήραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι τὸν Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερασάνδρου φασίν, ἥνικα ἀποικίαν ἔστελλεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἣ νῦν ἀπὸ Θήρα τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλίστη.

[15.6] As you go from the Course towards the east, there is a path on the right, with a sanctuary of Athena called Axiopoinos (Just Requitel or Tit for Tat). For when Heracles, in avenging himself on Hippocoon and his sons, had inflicted upon them a just requital for their treatment of his relative, he founded a sanctuary of Athena, and surnamed her Axiopoinos because the ancients used to call vengeance poinei. There is another sanctuary of Athena on another road from the Course. It was dedicated, they say, by Theras son of Autesion son of Tisamenus son of Thersander, when he was leading a colony to the island now called Thera after him, the name of which in ancient times was Calliste (Fairest).

[7] πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶν Ἴπποσθένουσ ναός, ᾧ γεγόνασιν αἱ πολλαὶ νῆκαι πάλης: σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος τὸν Ἴπποσθένην ἅτε Ποσειδῶνι τιμὰς νέμοντες. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐνυάλιος, ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ἄπτερον καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὐποτε τὸν Ἐνυάλιον φεύγοντα οἰχίσσεσθαι σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαις, Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι αἰετὶ μενεῖν οὐκ ὄντων πετερῶν.

τόνδε μὲν εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις αὗται τὰ ξόανα τὸν τρόπον ἰδρυμέναι καὶ ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοιαύτῃ:

[15.7] Near is a temple of Hipposthenes, who won so many victories in wrestling. They worship Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, paying him honors as to Poseidon. Opposite this temple is an old image of Enyalios in fetters. The idea the Lacedaemonians express by this image is the same as the Athenians express by their Wingless Victory; the former think that Enyalios will never run away from them, being bound in the fetters, while the Athenians think that Victory, having no wings, will always remain where she

is.

[8] ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ λέσχη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Ποικίλῃ καὶ ἡρῶα πρὸς αὐτῇ Κάδμου τοῦ Ἀγήνορος τῶν τε ἀπογόνων, Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα καὶ Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου. ποιῆσαι δὲ τὰ ἡρῶα λέγουσι Μαῖσιν καὶ Λαίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὑραίου παῖδας τοῦ Αἰγέως. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τὸ ἡρῶον, ὅτι σφίσιν ὁ πρόγονος Τισαμενὸς μητρὸς ἦν Δημωνάσσης, ἀδελφῆς Ἀμφιλόχου.

[15.8] In this fashion, and with such a belief have these cities set up the wooden images. In Sparta is a lounge called Painted, and by it hero-shrines of Cadmus the son of Agenor, and of his descendants Oeolycus, son of Theras, and Aegeus, son of Oeolycus. They are said to have been made by Maesis, Laeas and Europas, sons of Hyraeus, son of Aegeus. They made for Amphilochous too his hero-shrine, because their ancestor Tisamenus had for his mother Demonassa, the sister of Amphilochous.

[9] μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἥραν ἐπονομάζειν Αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἶγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. Ἡρακλέα δὲ λέγουσιν ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἱερόν καὶ αἶγας θῆσαι πρῶτον, ὅτι μαχομένῳ οἱ πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπήντησεν ἐμπόδιον, ὥσπερ γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδόξαζεν ἐναντιοῦσθαι οἱ τὴν θεόν· αἶγας δὲ αὐτὸν θῆσαι φασιν ἱερείων ἀπορήσαντα ἁλλοίων.

[15.9] The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks who surname Hera Goat-eater, and sacrifice goats to the goddess. They say that Heracles founded the sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because in his fight against Hippocoön and his children he met with no hindrance from Hera, although in his other adventures he thought that the goddess opposed him. He sacrificed goats, they say, because he lacked other kinds of victims.

[10] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶνός τε ἱερόν ἐστι Γενεθλίου καὶ ἡρῶα Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου καὶ Οἰβάλου. τῶν δὲ Ἀσκληπιείων τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον πεποιήται σφισι πρὸς τοῖς Βοωνήτοις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡρῶον Τηλέκλου· τούτου δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. προελθοῦσι δὲ οὐ πολὺν λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἀρχαῖος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον ὥπλισμένης. ναῶν δὲ ὧν οἶδα μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερῶν ἄλλο ἐπωκοδόμηται Μορφοῦς ἱερόν.

[15.10] Not far from the theater is a sanctuary of Poseidon God of Kin, and there are hero-shrines of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and of Oebalus. The most famous of their sanctuaries of Asclepius has been built near Booneta, and on the left is the hero-shrine of Teleclus. I shall mention him again later in my history of Messenia. A little farther on is a small hill, on which is an ancient temple with a wooden image of Aphrodite armed. This is the only temple I know that has an upper storey built upon it.

[11] ἐπὶ κλισίῃς μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἡ Μορφώ, κάθηται δὲ καλύπτραν τε

ἔχουσα καὶ πέδας περὶ τοῖς ποσί: περιθεῖναι δέ οἱ Τυνδάρεων τὰς πέδας φασὶν ἀφομοιοῦντα τοῖς δεσμοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας τῶν γυναικῶν βέβαιον. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον λόγον, ὥς τὴν θεὸν πέδαις ἐτιμωρεῖτο ὁ Τυνδάρεως, γενέσθαι ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἡγούμενος τὰ ὀνειδή, τοῦτον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν προσίεμαι: ἦν γὰρ δὴ παντάπασιν εὐηθες κέδρου ποιησάμενον ζῳδιον καὶ ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτην θέμενον ἐλπίζειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν θεόν.

[15.11] It is a sanctuary of Morpho, a surname of Aphrodite, who sits wearing a veil and with fetters on her feet. The story is that the fetters were put on her by Tyndareus, who symbolized by the bonds the faithfulness of wives to their husbands. The other account, that Tyndareus punished the goddess with fetters because he thought that from Aphrodite had come the shame of his daughters, I will not admit for a moment. For it were surely altogether silly to expect to punish the goddess by making a cedar figure and naming it Aphrodite.

16. πλησίον δὲ Ἰλαείρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερόν: ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι. κόραι δὲ ἱερῶνται σφισι παρθένοι, καλούμεναι κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ αὗται Λευκιππίδες. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερασαμένη τις ταῖς θεαῖς Λευκιππίς ἐπεκόσμησε, πρόσωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ποιησαμένη τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τέχνης τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπικοσμεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπεν ὄνειρον. ἐνταῦθα ἀπήρτηται ῥὸν τοῦ ὀρόφου κατελιγμένον ταινίαις: εἶναι δὲ φασιν ῥὸν ἐκεῖνο ὃ τεκεῖν Λήδαν ἔχει λόγος.

[16.1] XVI. Near is a sanctuary of Hilaeira and of Phoebe. The author of the poem Cypria calls them daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are young maidens, called, as are also the goddesses, Leucippides (Daughter of Leucippus). One of the images was adorned by a Leucippis who had served the goddesses as a priestess. She gave it a face of modern workmanship instead of the old one; she was forbidden by a dream to adorn the other one as well. Here there has been hung from the roof an egg tied to ribands, and they say that it is the famous egg that legend says Leda brought forth.

[2] ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἔνθα ὑφαίνουσι χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν. οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται πλησίον: τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασιν αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκτίησάτο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ξένοις ἀνδράσιν εἰοκότες: ἦκειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φήσαντες καταθῆναι τε ἡξίουσαν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκημα ἡτοῦντο ᾧ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἡνίκα μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν.

[16.2] Each year the women weave a tunic for the Apollo at Amyclae, and they call Tunic the chamber in which they do their weaving. Near it is built a house, said to have been occupied originally by the sons of Tyndareus, but afterwards it was acquired by Phormion, a Spartan. To him came the Dioscuri in the likeness of strangers. They said that they had come from Cyrene, and asked to lodge with him, requesting to have the chamber which had pleased

them most when they dwelt among men.

[3] ὁ δὲ οἰκίας μὲν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ἔνθα ἂν ἐθέλωσιν οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἔτυχεν οἱ παρθένος ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ δίαίταν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρθένος μὲν ἐκείνη καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν παῖδα ἠφάνιστο, Διοσκούρων δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι εὐρέθη καὶ τράπεζά τε καὶ σίλφιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.

[16.3] He replied that they might lodge in any other part of the house they wished, but that they could not have the chamber.

For it so happened that his maiden daughter was living in it. By the next day this maiden and all her girlish apparel had disappeared, and in the room were found images of the Dioscuri, a table, and silphium upon it.

[4] τάδε μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτῶνος Χίλωνός ἐστιν ἡρῶον τοῦ σοφοῦ νομιζομένου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου τῶν ὁμοῦ Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου σταλέντων ἐς Σικελίαν· ἐστάλησαν δὲ τὴν Ἑρυκίνην χώραν νομίζοντες τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ οὐ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐχόντων. Ἡρακλέα γὰρ ἔχει λόγος παλαῖσαι πρὸς Ἑρυκα ἐπὶ τοῖσδε εἰρημένοις, ἦν μὲν Ἡρακλῆς νικήσῃ, γῆν τὴν Ἑρυκος Ἡρακλέους εἶναι, κρατηθέντος δὲ τῇ πάλῃ βοῦς τὰς Γηρυόνας —

[16.4] Such is the story. As you go from the Tunic in the direction of the gate there is a hero-shrine of Cheilon, who is considered one of the Seven Sages, and also of Athenodorus, one of those who with Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides set out for Sicily. The reason of their setting out was that they held that the Erycine district belonged to the descendants of Heracles and not to the foreigners who held it. The story is that Heracles wrestled with Eryx on these terms: if Heracles won, the land of Eryx was to belong to him but if he were beaten, Eryx was to depart with the cows of Geryon;

[5] ταῦτα γὰρ τότε ἤλυνεν Ἡρακλῆς, διανηξαμένης δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν κατὰ τὸν ἔλαιον τὸν κυφὸν ἀνευρήσων ἐπιδιέβη — τὰς οὖν βοῦς ἔδει κρατηθέντος Ἡρακλέους τὸν Ἑρυκα ἄγοντα οἴχεσθαι. τὸ δὲ εὐμενὲς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἀποκτίνουσιν Ἑρυκα, Δωριέα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειραν τὸ πολὺ Ἑγεσταῖοι.

[16.5] for Heracles at the time was driving these away, and when they swam across to Sicily he too crossed over in search of them near the bent olive-tree. The favour of heaven was more partial to Heracles than it was afterwards to Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides; Heracles killed Eryx, but Dorieus himself and the greater part of his army were destroyed by the Eggestaeans.

[6] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Λυκούργῳ τῷ θεμένῳ τοὺς νόμους οἷα δὴ θεῶ πεποιήκασιν καὶ τούτῳ ἱερόν. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶν ὀπισθε μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ Λυκούργου παιδὶ Εὐκόσμῳ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ βωμῷ Λαθρίας καὶ Ἀναξάνδρας· αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τε ἦσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἱ τ' Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες ἅτε ὄντες

καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι λαμβάνουσι, θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμηδίδα, βασιλεύοντος μὲν Κλεωναίων, τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ μνῆμα Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυβιάδου Λακεδαιμονίων τριήρεσιν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντος πρὸς Μήδους, πλησίον δὲ Ἀστραβάκου καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἡρῶν.

[16.6] The Lacedaemonians have also made a sanctuary for Lyncurgus, who drew up the laws, looking upon him as a god. Behind the temple is the grave of Eucosmus, the son of Lyncurgus, and by the altar the grave of Lathria and Anaxandra. Now these were themselves twins, and therefore the sons of Aristodemus, who also were twins likewise, took them to wife; they were daughters of Thersander son of Agamedidas, king of the Cleonaeans and great-grandson of Ctesippus, son of Heracles. Opposite the temple is the tomb of Theopompus son of Nicander, and also that of Eurybiades, who commanded the Lacedaemonian warships that fought the Persians at Artemisium and Salamis. Near is what is called the hero-shrine of Astrabacus.

THE LIMNÆUM OF SPARTA

[7] τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ ξόανον δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι λέγουσιν ὃ ποτε καὶ Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἰφιγένεια ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐκκλέπτουσιν: ἐς δὲ τὴν σφετέραν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κομισθῆναι φασὶν Ὀρέστου καὶ ἐνταῦθα βασιλεύοντος. καὶ μοι εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον τι δοκοῦσιν ἢ Ἀθηναῖοι. ποῖω γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ κατέλιπεν ἂν ἐν Βραυρῶνι Ἰφιγένεια τὸ ἄγαλμα; ἢ πῶς, ἥνικα Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο, οὐκ ἐσέθεντο καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς;

[16.7] The place named Limnaeum (Marshy) is sacred to Artemis Orthia (Upright). The wooden image there they say is that which once Orestes and Iphigenia stole out of the Tauric land, and the Lacedaemonians say that it was brought to their land because there also Orestes was king. I think their story more probable than that of the Athenians. For what could have induced Iphigenia to leave the image behind at Brauron? Or why did the Athenians, when they were preparing to abandon their land, fail to include this image in what they put on board their ships?

[8] καίτοι διαμεμένηκεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τηλικούτο ὄνομα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεᾷ, ὥστε ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν Καππάδοκες καὶ οἱ τὸν Εὐξείνιον οἰκοῦντες τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οἷς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ἀναίτιδος. Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ἄρα παρώφθη γενόμενον λάφυρον τῷ Μῆδω: τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ἐκομίσθη τε ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὕστερον Σελεύκου δόντος Σύροι Λαοδικεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσι.

[16.8] And yet, right down to the present day, the fame of the Tauric goddess has remained so high that the Cappadocians dwelling on the Euxine claim that the image is among them, a like claim being made by those Lydians also who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaeitis. But the Athenians, we are asked to

believe, made light of it becoming booty of the Persians. For the image at Brauron was brought to Susa, and afterwards Seleucus gave it to the Syrians of Laodicea, who still possess it.

[9] μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ὀρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξόανον: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένης τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἀγίδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὐρόντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν: τοῦτο δὲ οἱ Λιμνᾶται Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐκ Μεσόας τε καὶ Πιτάνης θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς διαφοράν, ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς φόνους προήχθησαν, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ πολλῶν νόσος ἐφθειρε τοὺς λοιπούς.

[16.9] I will give other evidence that the Orthia in Lacedaemon is the wooden image from the foreigners. Firstly, Astrabacus and Alopecus, sons of Irbus, son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphicles, son of Agis, when they found the image straightway became insane. Secondly, the Spartan Limnataians, the Cynosurians, and the people of Mesoa and Pitane, while sacrificing to Artemis, fell to quarreling, which led also to bloodshed; many were killed at the altar and the rest died of disease.

[10] καὶ σφισιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γίνεται λόγιον αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν αἰμάσσειν: θυομένου δὲ ὄντινα ὁ κλῆρος ἐπελάμβανε, Λυκοῦργος μετέβαλεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις μαστιγας, ἐμπίπλαται τε οὕτως ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ὁ βωμός. ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια τὸ ξόανον ἔχουσά σφισιν ἐφέστηκε: τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἄλλως μὲν κοῦφον ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἣν δὲ οἱ

[16.10] Whereat an oracle was delivered to them, that they should stain the altar with human blood. He used to be sacrificed upon whomsoever the lot fell, but Lycurgus changed the custom to a scourging of the lads, and so in this way the altar is stained with human blood. By them stands the priestess, holding the wooden image. Now it is small and light,

[11] μαστιγοῦντές ποτε ὑποφειδόμενοι παίωσι κατὰ ἐφήβου κάλλος ἢ ἀξίωμα, τότε ἤδη τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ ξόανον γίνεται βαρὺ καὶ οὐκέτι εὐφορον, ἡ δὲ ἐν αἰτία τοὺς μαστιγοῦντας ποιεῖται καὶ πιέζεσθαι δι' αὐτοὺς φησιν. οὕτω τῷ ἀγάλματι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ θυσίων ἐμμεμένηκεν ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ἥδεσθαι: καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὀρθίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτὴν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων εὐρέθη, περιειληθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν.

[16.11] but if ever the scourgers spare the lash because of a lad's beauty or high rank, then at once the priestess finds the image grow so heavy that she can hardly carry it. She lays the blame on the scourgers, and says that it is their fault that she is being weighed down. So the image ever since the sacrifices in the Tauric land keeps its fondness for human blood. They call it not only Orthia, but also Lygodesma (Willow-bound), because it was found in a thicket of willows, and the encircling willow made the image stand upright.

17. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν: οἰκοδομησαὶ δὲ φασὶν αὐτὸ καὶ Εἰλειθυίαν νομίσαι θεὸν γενομένου σφίσιν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντεύματος.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἐς ὕψος περιφανὲς ἐξίσχουσα οὐκ ἔστι, καθὰ δὴ Θηβαίοις τε ἡ Καδμεία καὶ ἡ Λάρισα Ἀργείοις: ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐς μετέωρον ἀνῆκον ὀνομάζουσιν ἀκρόπολιν.

[17.1] XVII. Not far from the Orthia is a sanctuary of Eileithyia. They say that they built it, and came to worship Eileithyia as a goddess, because of an oracle from Delphi.

The Lacedaemonians have no citadel rising to a conspicuous height like the Cadmea at Thebes and the Larisa at Argos. There are, however, hills in the city, and the highest of them they call the citadel.

[2] ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πεποιῆται Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοίκου τῆς αὐτῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς κατασκευῆς Τυνδάρεως καθὰ λέγουσιν ἤρξατο: ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου δευτέρα οἱ παῖδες ἐξεργάσασθαι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἤθελον, ἀφορμὴ δὲ σφίσιν ἔμελλε τὰ ἐξ Ἀφιδναίων ἔσεσθαι λάφυρα. προαπολιπόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν: Γιτιάδας δὲ εἰργάσατο ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἄσματα Δώρεια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον ἐς τὴν θεόν.

[17.2] Here is built a sanctuary of Athena, who is called both City-protecting and Lady of the Bronze House. The building of the sanctuary was begun, they say, by Tyndareus. On his death his children were desirous of making a second attempt to complete the building, and the resources they intended to use were the spoils of Aphidna. They too left it unfinished, and it was many years afterwards that the Lacedaemonians made of bronze both the temple and the image of Athena. The builder was Gitiadas, a native of Sparta, who also composed Dorian lyrics, including a hymn to the goddess.

[3] ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἡρακλέους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐθελοντῆς κατόρθωσε, Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἀρπαγὴ: καὶ Ἡφαιστος τὴν μητέρα ἐστὶν ἀπολύων τῶν δεσμῶν. ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅποια λέγεται, πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Περσεῖ δ' ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὠρμημένῳ διδοῦσαι νύμφαι δῶρά εἰσι κυνὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα, ὑφ' ὧν οἰσθήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἄερος ἔμελλεν. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θεάς ἄξια.

[17.3] On the bronze are wrought in relief many of the labours of Heracles and many of the voluntary exploits he successfully carried out, besides the rape of the daughters of Leucippus and other achievements of the sons of Tyndareus. There is also Hephaestus releasing his mother from the fetters. The legend about this I have already related in my history of Attica. There are also represented nymphs bestowing upon Perseus, who is starting on his enterprise

against Medusa in Libya, a cap and the shoes by which he was to be carried through the air. There are also wrought the birth of Athena, Amphitrite, and Poseidon, the largest figures, and those which I thought the best worth seeing.

[4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτόθι Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐργάνης ἱερόν. ἐς δὲ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἰόντι στοὰν Κοσμητᾶ τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Διὸς ναὸς καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνημᾶ ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἔχει τῶν στοῶν ἀετούς τε δύο τοὺς ὄρνιθας καὶ ἴσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Νίκας, Λυσάνδρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τῶν δὲ ἔργων ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε περὶ Ἐφεσον, ὅτε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου κυβερνήτην καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς καθεῖλεν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ναυτικόν.

[17.4] There is here another sanctuary of Athena; her surname is the Worker. As you go to the south portico there is a temple of Zeus surnamed Cosmetas (Orderer), and before it is the tomb of Tyndareus. The west portico has two eagles, and upon them are two Victories. Lysander dedicated them to commemorate both his exploits; the one was off Ephesus, when he conquered Antiochus, the captain of Alcibiades, and the Athenian warships and the second occurred later, when he destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami.

[5] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου Μουσῶν ἰδρύσαντο ἱερόν, ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας οὐ μετὰ σαλπίγγων ἐποιοῦντο ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε αὐλῶν μέλη καὶ ὑπὸ λύρας καὶ κιθάρας κρούσμασιν. ὅπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρείας· τὰ δὲ ξόανα ἀρχαῖα εἶπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἑλληνισιν.

[17.5] On the left of the Lady of the Bronze House they have set up a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians used to go out to fight, not to the sound of the trumpet, but to the music of the flute and the accompaniment of lyre and harp. Behind the Lady of the Bronze House is a temple of Aphrodite Areia (Warlike). The wooden images are as old as any in Greece.

[6] τῆς Χαλκιοίκου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ὑπάτου

πεποιήται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὅποσα ἐστὶ χαλκοῦ· δι' ὅλου γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰργασμένον, ἐληλασμένου δὲ ἰδίᾳ τῶν μερῶν καθ' αὐτὸ ἐκάστου συνήρμοσταί τε πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἥλοι συνέχουσιν αὐτὰ μὴ διαλυθῆναι. καὶ Κλέαρχον δὲ ἄνδρα Ῥηγῖνον τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν, ὃν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δαιδάλου φασὶν εἶναι μαθητὴν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ Σκηνώματι ὀνομαζομένῳ γυναικὸς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Εὐρυλεωνίδα λέγουσιν εἶναι· νίκην δὲ ἵππων συνωρίδι ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν.

[17.6] On the right of the Lady of the Bronze House has been set up an image of Zeus Most High, the oldest image that is made of bronze. It is not wrought in one piece. Each of the limbs has been hammered separately; these are fitted together, being prevented from coming apart by nails. They say that the artist was Clearchus of Rhegium, who is said by some to have been a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis, by others of Daedalus himself. By what is called the

Scenoma (Tent) there is a statue of a woman, whom the Lacedaemonians say is Euryleonis. She won a victory at Olympia with a two-horse chariot.

[7] παρὰ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου τὸν βωμὸν ἐστήκασι δύο εἰκόνες Πausανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν ἡγησάμενου. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια ἐγένετο εἰδῶσιν οὐ διηγήσομαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον συγγραφέντα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἀποχρῶντα ἦν· ἐπεξελθεῖν δὲ σφισιν ἀρκέσομαι. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Βυζαντίου Πausανίαν φωραθῆναί τε ἐφ' οἷς ἐβουλεύετο καὶ μόνον τῶν ἱκετευσάντων τὴν Χαλκιοίκον ἀμαρτεῖν ἀδείας κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φόνου δὲ ἄγος ἐκνίψασθαι μὴ δυνηθέντα.

[17.7] By the side of the altar of the Lady of the Bronze House stand two statues of Pausanias, the general at Plataea. His history, as it is known, I will not relate. The accurate accounts of my predecessors suffice; I shall content myself with adding to them what I heard from a man of Byzantium. Pausanias was detected in his treachery, and was the only suppliant of the Lady of the Bronze House who failed to win security, solely because he had been unable to wipe away a defilement of bloodshed.

[8] ὥς γὰρ δὴ διέτριβε περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ναυσὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, παρθένου Βυζαντίας ἐπεθύμησε· καὶ αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης τὴν Κλεονίκην — τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ κόρῃ — κομίζουσιν οἷς ἐπετέτακτο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὑπνωμένον τὸν Πausανίαν ἐπήγειρεν ὁ φόρος· ἰοῦσα γὰρ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιόμενον λύχνον κατέβαλεν ἄκουσα. ἅτε δὲ ὁ Πausανίας συνειδὼς αὐτῷ προδιδόντι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐχόμενος παραχῇ τε αἰεὶ καὶ δείματι, ἐξέστη καὶ τότε καὶ τὴν παῖδα τῷ ἀκινάκῃ παίει.

[17.8] When he was cruising about the Hellespont with the Lacedaemonian and allied fleets, he fell in love with a Byzantine maiden. And straightway at the beginning of night Cleonice – that was the girl's name – was brought by those who had been ordered to do so. But Pausanias was asleep at the time and the noise awoke him. For as she came to him she unintentionally dropped her lighted lamp. And Pausanias, conscious of his treason to Greece, and therefore always nervous and fearful, jumped up then and struck the girl with his sword.

[9] τοῦτο τὸ ἄγος οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀποφυγεῖν Πausανία, καθάρσια παντοῖα καὶ ἱεσίας δεξαμένῳ Διὸς Φυξίου καὶ δὴ ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἐλθόντι τὴν Ἀρκάδων παρὰ τοὺς ψυχαγωγούς· δίκην δὲ ἦν εἰκὸς ἦν Κλεονίκη τε ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῷ θεῷ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τάς τε εἰκόνας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην, τὸ ἐπὶ Πausανία τοῦ Ἴκεσίου μήνιμα ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τοῦτον.

[17.9] From this defilement Pausanias could not escape, although he underwent all sorts of purifications and became a suppliant of Zeus Phyxius (God of Flight), and finally went to the wizards at Phigalia in Arcadia but he paid a fitting penalty to Cleonice and to the god. The Lacedaemonians, in fulfillment of a command from Delphi, had the bronze images made and honor the spirit Bountiful, saying that it was this Bountiful that turns aside the wrath that the

God of Suppliants shows because of Pausanias.

18. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων τοῦ Πausανίου πλησίον ἐστὶν Ἀμβολογήρας Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἰδρυμένον κατὰ μαντείαν, ἄλλα δὲ Ὕπνου καὶ Θανάτου· καὶ σφᾶς ἀδελφοὺς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἤγηνται.

[18.1] XVIII. Near the statues of Pausanias is an image of Aphrodite Ambologera (Postponer of Old Age), which was set up in accordance with an oracle; there are also images of Sleep and of Death. They think them brothers, in accordance with the verses in the Iliad.

[2] ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλπίον καλούμενον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀφθαλμίτιδος· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Λυκούργον λέγουσιν ἐκκοπέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ Ἀλκάνδρου, διότι οὓς ἔθηκε νόμους οὐκ ἄρεστοὺς συνέβαινεν εἶναι τῷ Ἀλκάνδρῳ. διαφυγὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμυνάντων μὴ προσαπολέσθαι οἱ καὶ τὸν λειπόμενον ὀφθαλμόν, οὕτω ναὸν Ὀφθαλμίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἐποίησε.

[18.2] As you go towards what is called the Alpium is a temple of Athena Ophthalmitis (Goddess of the Eye). They say that Lycurgus dedicated it when one of his eyes had been struck out by Alcander, because the laws he had made happened not to find favour with Alcander. Having fled to this place he was saved by the Lacedaemonians from losing his remaining eye, and so he made this temple of Athena Ophthalmitis.

[3] προελθόντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἄμμωνος· φαίνονται δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρῳ πολιορκοῦντι Ἄφυτιν τὴν ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ νύκτωρ ἐπιφανέντα Ἄμμωνα προαγορεύειν ὡς ἄμεινον ἐκείνῳ τε ἔσοιτο καὶ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι

πολέμου πρὸς Ἀφυταίους πανσαμένους· καὶ οὕτω τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσεν ὁ Λύσανδρος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν θεὸν σέβειν προήγαγεν ἐς πλεόν, Ἀφυταῖοι δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἄμμωνα οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἢ οἱ Ἀμμώνιοι Λιβύων.

[18.3] Farther on from here is a sanctuary of Ammon. From the first the Lacedaemonians are known to have used the oracle in Libya more than any other Greeks. It is said also that when Lysander was besieging Aphytis in Pallene Ammon appeared by night and declared that it would be better for him and for Lacedaemon if they ceased from warring against Aphytis. And so Lysander raised the siege, and induced the Lacedaemonians to worship the god still more. The people of Aphytis honor Ammon no less than the Ammonian Libyans.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν ἐστὶν οὕτω λεγόμενα· Κναγέα ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον στρατεῦσαι φασιν ἐς Ἀφιδναν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Διοσκοῦροις, ληφθέντα δὲ αἰχμάλωτον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πραθέντα ἐς Κρήτην δουλεύειν ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τοῖς Κρησὶν ἱερόν, ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτόν τε ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ παρθένον τὴν ἱερωμένην ἔχοντα οἴχεσθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγουσιν ὀνομάζειν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν·

[18.4] The story of Artemis Cnagia is as follows. Cnageus, they say, was a native who joined the Dioscuri in their expedition against Aphidna. Being taken prisoner in the battle and sold into Crete, he lived as a slave where the Cretans had a sanctuary of Artemis; but in course of time he ran away in the company of the maiden priestess, who took the image with her. It is for this reason that they name Artemis Cnagia.

[5] ἐμοὶ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κναγεὺς ἄλλως ἀφικέσθαι πως ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεται καὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φασιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ γενέσθαι δοκῶ πρὸς Ἀφίδνη μάχην Θησεῶς τε ἐν Θεσπρώτοις ἐχομένου καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐχ ὁμονοούντων ἀλλὰ ἐς Μενεσθέα ρεπόντων μᾶλλον ταῖς εὐνοίαις. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀγῶνος συμβάντος πεῖθοιτο ἂν τις αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι παρὰ τῶν κρατησάντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ πολὺ γενομένης τῆς νίκης, ὥστε ἀλῶναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἄφιδναν.

[18.5] But I am of opinion that Cnageus came to Crete in some other way, and not in the manner the Lacedaemonians state; for I do not think there was a battle at Aphidna at all, Theseus being detained among the Thesprotians and the Athenians not being unanimous, their sympathies inclining towards Menestheus. Moreover, even if a fight occurred, nobody would believe that prisoners were taken from the conquerors, especially as the victory was overwhelming, so that Aphidna itself was captured.

AMYCLAE

[6] τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω: ἐς Ἀμύκλας δὲ κατιοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ποταμός ἐστι Τίασα: θυγατέρα δὲ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὴν Τίασαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Φαέννας καὶ Κλητᾶς, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ἐποίησεν. ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνα Χάρισιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα ἡγῆνται.

[18.6] I must now end my criticisms. As you go down to Amyclae from Sparta you come to a river called Tiasa. They hold that Tiasa was a daughter of Eurotas, and by it is a sanctuary of Graces, Phaenna and Cleta, as Alcman calls them in a poem. They believe that Lacedaemon founded the sanctuary for the Graces here, and gave them their names.

[7] τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις θεὰς ἄξια ἀνὴρ γὰρ πένταθλός ἐστιν ἐπὶ στήλης ὄνομα Αἴνητος: τούτῳ νικήσαντι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ ἔτι στεφανουμένῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευταίην λέγουσι. τούτου τε οὗν ἐστὶν εἰκὼν καὶ τρίποδες χαλκοῖ: τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαιότερους δεκάτην τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίου πολέμου φασὶν εἶναι.

[18.7] The things worth seeing in Amyclae include a victor in the pentathlon, named Aenetus, on a slab. The story is that he won a victory at Olympia, but died while the crown was being placed on his head. So there is the statue of this man; there are also bronze tripods. The older ones are said to be a tithe of the Messenian war.

[8] ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ τρίποδι Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐστίκει, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Γιτιάδα καὶ αὐτοὶ τέχνη καὶ τὰ ἐπειρασμένα, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐστὶν

Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος: ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἄγαλμα Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἔστηκεν. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ Πάριος καὶ Πολύκλειτος Ἀργεῖος ὁ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐποίησεν ἔχουσαν λύραν, Σπάρτην δῆθεν, Πολύκλειτος δὲ Ἀφροδίτην παρὰ Ἀμυκλαίῳ καλουμένην. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τρίποδες μεγέθει τε ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης τῆς ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἀνετέθησαν.

[18.8] Under the first tripod stood an image of Aphrodite, and under the second an Artemis. The two tripods themselves and the reliefs are the work of Gitiadas. The third was made by Gallon of Aegina, and under it stands an image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Aristander of Paros and Polycleitus of Argos have statues here; the former a woman with a lyre, supposed to be Sparta, the latter an Aphrodite called “beside the Amyclaeon.” These tripods are larger than the others, and were dedicated from the spoils of the victory at Aegospotami.

THRONE OF THE AMYCLAEAN

[9] Βαθυκλέους δὲ Μάγνητος, ὃς τὸν θρόνον ἐποίησε τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου, ἀναθήματα ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένῳ τῷ θρόνῳ Χάριτες καὶ ἄγαλμα δὲ Λευκοφρυῆνης ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. ὅτου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Βαθυκλῆς μαθητὴς ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐφ’ ὅτου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποίησε, τάδε μὲν παρήμι, τὸν θρόνον δὲ εἰδόν τε καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια ἦν γράψω.

[18.9] Bathycles of Magnesia, who made the throne of the Amyclaeon, dedicated, on the completion of the throne, Graces and an image of Artemis Leucophryene. Whose pupil this Bathycles was, and who was king of Lacedaemon when he made the throne, I pass over; but I saw the throne and will describe its details.

[10] ἀνέχουσιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτόν, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὀπίσω, Χάριτες τε δύο καὶ Ὠραι δύο: ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἐχιδνα ἔστηκε καὶ Τυφώς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Τρίτωνες. τὰ δὲ ἐπεργασμένα καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐπ’ ἀκριβὲς διελθεῖν ὄχλον τοῖς ἐπιλεξιμένοις παρέξειν ἔμελλεν: ὥς δὲ δηλῶσαι συλλαβόντι, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄγνωστα τὰ πολλὰ ἦν, Ταῦγέτην θυγατέρα Ἄτλαντος καὶ ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀλκυνόην φέρουσι Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ζεὺς. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ Ἄτλας καὶ Ἡρακλέους μονομαχία πρὸς Κύκνον καὶ ἡ παρὰ Φόλῳ τῶν Κενταύρων μάχη.

[18.10] It is supported in front, and similarly behind, by two Graces and two Seasons. On the left stand Echidna and Typhos, on the right Tritons. To describe the reliefs one by one in detail would have merely bored my readers; but to be brief and concise (for the greater number of them are not unknown either) Poseidon and Zeus are carrying Taygete, daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone. There are also reliefs of Atlas, the single combat of Heracles and Cynus, and the battle of the Centaurs at the cave of Pholus.

[11] τὸν δὲ Μίνω καλούμενον Ταῦρον οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθ’ ὅτου πεποίηκε Βαθυκλῆς δεδεμένον τε καὶ ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Θησέως ζῶντα: καὶ Φαιάκων χορὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ ἄδων ὁ Δημόδοκος: Περσεὺς τε τὸ ἔργον πεποιήται τὸ ἐς

Μέδουσαν. παρέντι δὲ Ἡρακλέους μάχην πρὸς Θούριον τῶν γιγάντων καὶ Τυνδάρω πρὸς Εὐρυτον, ἔστιν ἀρπαγὴ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων: Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν παῖδα ἔτι ὄντα ἐς οὐρανὸν ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς φέρων, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἄγουσα Ἡρακλέα συνοικήσοντα ἀπὸ τούτου θεοῖς.

[18.11] I cannot say why Bathycles has represented the so-called Bull of Minos bound, and being led along alive by Theseus. There is also on the throne a band of Phaeacian dancers, and Demodocus singing. Perseus, too, is represented killing Medusa. Passing over the fight of Heracles with the giant Thurius and that of Tyndareus with Eurytus, we have next the rape of the daughters of Leucippus. Here are Dionysus, too, and Heracles; Hermes is bearing the infant Dionysus to heaven, and Athena is taking Heracles to dwell henceforth with the gods.

[12] παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέα τραφησόμενον παρὰ Χίρωνι, ὃς καὶ διδάξαι λέγεται: Κέφαλος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἔνεκα ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἔστιν ἥρπασμένος, καὶ ἐς τὸν γάμον τὸν Ἀρμονίας δῶρα κομίζουσιν οἱ θεοί. καὶ Ἀχιλλέως μονομαχία πρὸς Μέμνονα ἐπείργασται, Διομήδην τε Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Θρᾶκα καὶ ἐπ' Εὐήνῳ τῷ ποταμῷ Νέσσον τιμωρούμενος. Ἑρμῆς δὲ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον κριθησομένας ἄγει τὰς θεάς, Ἄδραστος δὲ καὶ Τυδεὺς Ἀμφιάραον καὶ Λυκοῦργον τὸν Πρώνακτος μάχης καταπαύουσιν.

[18.12] There is Peleus handing over Achilles to be reared by Cheiron, who is also said to have been his teacher. There is Cephalus, too, carried off by Day because of his beauty. The gods are bringing gifts to the marriage of Harmonia. There is wrought also the single combat of Achilles and Memnon, and Heracles avenging himself upon Diomedes the Thracian, and upon Nessus at the river Euenus. Hermes is bringing the goddesses to Alexander to be judged. Adrastus and Tydeus are staying the fight between Amphiarus and Lycurgus the son of Pronax.

[13] Ἥρα δὲ ἀφορᾷ πρὸς Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου βοῦν οὖσαν ἤδη, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διώκοντα ἀποφεύγουσά ἔστιν Ἥφαιστον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἡρακλέους πεποίηται τάξεις τῶν ἔργων τῶν τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕδραν καὶ ὡς ἀνήγαγε τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα. Ἀναξίας δὲ καὶ Μνασίνους, τούτων μὲν ἑφ' ἵππου καθήμενός ἔστιν ἑκάτερος, Μεγαπένθην δὲ τὸν Μενελάου καὶ Νικόστρατον ἵππος εἷς φέρων ἔστιν. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντης τὸ ἐν Λυκίᾳ θηρίον, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἐλαύνει.

[18.13] Hera is gazing at Io, the daughter of Inachus, who is already a cow, and Athena is running away from Hephaestus, who chases her. Next to these have been wrought two of the exploits of Heracles – his slaying the hydra, and his bringing up the Hound of Hell. Anaxias and Mnasinous are each seated on horseback, but there is one horse only carrying Megapenthes, the son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus. Bellerophon is destroying the beast in Lycia, and Heracles is driving off the cows of Geryones.

[14] τοῦ θρόνου δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄνω πέρασιν ἑφ' ἵππων ἐκατέρωθέν εἰσιν οἱ

Τυνδάρειο παῖδες· καὶ σφίγγες τέ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ θηρία ἄνω θέοντα, τῇ μὲν ἀρδαλῇ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πολυδεύκην λέαινα. ἀνωτάτῳ δὲ χορὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ πεποιήται, Μάγνητες οἱ συνειργασμένοι Βαθυκλεῖ τὸν θρόνον.

[18.14] At the upper edge of the throne are wrought, one on each side, the sons of Tyndareus on horses. There are sphinxes under the horses, and beasts running upwards, on the one side a leopard, by Polydeuces a lioness. On the very top of the throne has been wrought a band of dancers, the Magnesians who helped Bathycles to make the throne.

[15] ὑπελθόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον τὰ ἔνδον ἀπὸ τῶν Τριτώνων ὅς ἐστι θήρα τοῦ Καλυδωνίου καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνων τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἄκτορος, Κάλαις δὲ καὶ Ζήτης τὰς Ἀρπυίας Φινέως ἀπελαύνουσιν· Πειρίθους τε καὶ Θησεὺς ἥρπακότες εἰσὶν Ἑλένην καὶ ἄγχων Ἡρακλῆς τὸν λέοντα, Τιτυὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων τοξεύει καὶ Ἄρτεμις·

[18.15] Underneath the throne, the inner part away from the Tritons contains the hunting of the Calydonian boar and Heracles killing the children of Actor. Calais and Zetes are driving the Harpies away from Phineus. Peirithous and Theseus have seized Helen, and Heracles is strangling the lion. Apollo and Artemis are shooting Tityus.

[16] Ἡρακλέους τε πρὸς Ὀρειὸν Κένταυρον μάχη πεποιήται καὶ Θησεῶς πρὸς Ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀχελῶν Ἡρακλέους πάλη καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς Ἥραν, ὥς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεθείη, καὶ ὃν Ἄκαστος ἔθηκεν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Πρωτέα ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ. τελευταῖα Ἀδμητός τε ζευγνύων ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα κάπρον καὶ λέοντα καὶ οἱ Τρῶες ἐπιφέροντες χροᾶς Ἑκτορι.

[18.16] There is represented the fight between Heracles and Oreius the Centaur, and also that between Theseus and the Bull of Minos. There are also represented the wrestling of Heracles with Achelous, the fabled binding of Hera by Hephaestus, the games Acastus held in honor of his father, and the story of Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus from the Odyssey. Lastly there is Admetus yoking a boar and a lion to his chariot, and the Trojans are bringing libations to Hector.

19. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἥ καθίζοιτο ἄν ὁ θεός, οὐ διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τοῦτο συνεχοῦς ὄντος ἀλλὰ καθέδρας παρεχομένου πλείονας, παρὰ δὲ καθέδραν ἐκάστην

ὑπολειπομένης καὶ εὐρυχωρίας, τὸ μέσον ἐστὶν εὐρυχωρὲς μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἐνέστηκε.

[19.1] XIX. The part of the throne where the god would sit is not continuous; there are several seats, and by the side of each seat is left a wide empty space, the middle, whereon the image stands, being the widest of them.

[2] μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ μέτρῳ μὲν οὐδένα ἀνευρόντα οἶδα, εἰκάζοντι δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα εἶναι φαίνονται ἂν πήχεις. ἔργον δὲ οὐ Βαθυκλέους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ

ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονι ἐστὶν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον.

[19.2] I know of nobody who has measured the height of the image, but at a guess one would estimate it to be as much as thirty cubits. It is not the work of Bathycles, being old and uncouth; for though it has face, feet, and hands, the rest resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it has a helmet, in its hands a spear and a bow.

ALTAR OF THE AMYCLAEAN

[3] τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος τὸ βάθρον παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάρθαι δὲ τὸν Ὑάκινθον λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ὑακινθίοις πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος θυσίας ἐς τοῦτον Ὑακίνθῳ τὸν βωμὸν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς ἐναγίζουσιν: ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ θύρα τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τοῦτο μὲν ἄγαλμα Βίριδος, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος: Διὸς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ διαλεγομένων ἀλλήλοις πλησίον Διόνυσος ἐστήκασι καὶ Σεμέλη, παρὰ αὐτὴν Ἰνώ.

[19.3] The pedestal of the statue is fashioned into the shape of an altar and they say that Hyacinthus is buried in it, and at the Hyacinthia, before the sacrifice to Apollo, they devote offerings to Hyacinthus as to a hero into this altar through a bronze door, which is on the left of the altar. On the altar are wrought in relief, here an image of Biris, there Amphitrite and Poseidon. Zeus and Hermes are conversing; near stand Dionysus and Semele, with Ino by her side.

[4] πεποιήται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Μοῖραι τε καὶ Ὠραι, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις: κομίζουσι δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ Πολύβοιαν, Ὑακίνθου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔτι παρθένον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ὑακίνθου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχον ἐστὶν ἤδη γένεια, Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικομήδους περισσῶς δὴ τι ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν ὥραϊον, τὸν ἐπὶ Ὑακίνθῳ λεγόμενον Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ὑποσημαίνων.

[19.4] On the altar are also Demeter, the Maid, Pluto, next to them Fates and Seasons, and with them Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis. They are carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and Polyboea, the sister, they say, of Hyacinthus, who died a maid. Now this statue of Hyacinthus represents him as bearded, but Nicias, son of Nicomedes, has painted him in the very prime of youthful beauty, hinting at the love of Apollo for Hyacinthus of which legend tells.

[5] πεποιήται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὗτος ἀγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ Θεστίου θυγατέρες ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ, καὶ Μοῦσαι τε καὶ Ὠραι. περὶ δὲ ἀνέμου Ζεφύρου, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑακίνθος ἀπέθανεν ἄκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ ἄνθος εἰρημένα τάχα μὲν ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλως, δοκεῖτω δὲ ἡ λέγεται.

[19.5] Wrought on the altar is also Heracles; he too is being led to heaven by

Athena and the other gods. On the altar are also the daughters of Thestius, Muses and Seasons. As for the West Wind, how Apollo unintentionally killed Hyacinthus, and the story of the flower, we must be content with the legends, although perhaps they are not true history.

AMYCLAE

[6] Ἀμύκλαι δὲ ἀνάστατος ὑπὸ Δωριέων γενομένη καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κόμη διαμένουσα θεὰς παρείχετο ἄξιον ἱερὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ ἄγαλμα: τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδραν οἱ Ἀμυκλαιεῖς Κασσάνδραν τὴν Πριάμου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα εἰκὼν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀγαμέμνονος νομιζόμενον μνῆμα. θεῶν δὲ σέβουσιν οἱ ταῦτη τὸν τε Ἀμυκλαῖον καὶ Διόνυσον, ὀρθότατα ἔμοι δοκεῖν Ψίλακα ἐπονομάζοντες: ψίλα γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς τὰ πτερά, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οἶνος ἐπαίρει τε καὶ ἀνακουφίζει γνώμην οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἢ ὄρνιθας πτερά.

καὶ Ἀμύκλαι μὲν παρείχοντο τοσαῦτα ἐς μνήμην, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐς Θεράπνην ἄγει:

[19.6] Amyclae was laid waste by the Dorians, and since that time has remained a village; I found there a sanctuary and image of Alexandra worth seeing. Alexandra is said by the Amyclaeans to be Cassandra, the daughter of Priam. Here is also a statue of Clytaemnestra, together with what is supposed to be the tomb of Agamemnon. The natives worship the Amyclaeian god and Dionysus, surnaming the latter, quite correctly I think, Psilax. For psila is Doric for wings, and wine uplifts men and lightens their spirit no less than wings do birds. Such I found were the things worth mentioning about Amyclae.

ROAD TO THERAPNE

[7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανόν ἐστιν Ἀλέας. πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐρώταν, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἱερὸν δέικνυται Διὸς Πλουσίου. διαβάσι δὲ Κοτυλέως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς, ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς: καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν Κοτυλέα ὠνόμασεν ἀκεσθεῖς τὸ τραῦμα τὸ ἐς τὴν κοτύλην οἱ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προτέρᾳ μάχῃ. ὁπόσα δὲ πεποιήται κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον αὐτῶν Ἄρεως ἱερὸν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶ κομίσαι ἐκ Κόλχων:

[19.7] Another road from the city leads to Therapne, and on this road is a wooden image of Athena Alea. Before the Eurotas is crossed, a little above the bank is shown a sanctuary of Zeus Wealthy. Across the river is a temple of Asclepius Cotyleus (of the Hip-joint); it was made by Heracles, who named Asclepius Cotyleus, because he was cured of the wound in the hip-joint that he received in the former fight with Hippocoon and his sons. Of all the objects along this road the oldest is a sanctuary of Ares. This is on the left of the road, and the image is said to have been brought from Colchis by the Dioscuri.

[8] Θηρίταν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν ἀπὸ Θηροῦς, ταύτην γὰρ τροφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἄρεως λέγουσι. τάχα δ' ἂν ἀκηκοότες παρὰ Κόλχων Θηρίταν λέγοιεν, ἐπεὶ Ἑλληνὲς γε οὐκ ἴσασιν Ἄρεως τροφὸν Θηρώ: δοκεῖν δέ μοι Θηρίτας οὐ διὰ τὴν τροφὸν ἢ ἐπωνυμία τῷ Ἄρει γέγονεν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνδρὶ χρή πολεμίῳ καταστάντα ἐς μάχην οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχειν ἥπιον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ περὶ Ἀχιλλέως πεποιήται “λέων δ' ὥς ἄγρια οἶδεν.

“Hom. II 24.41

[19.8] They surname him Theritas after Thero, who is said to have been the nurse of Ares. Perhaps it was from the Colchians that they heard the name Theritas, since the Greeks know of no Thero, nurse of Ares. My own belief is that the surname Theritas was not given to Ares because of his nurse, but because when a man meets an enemy in battle he must cast aside all gentleness, as Homer says of Achilles: And he is fierce as a lion. Hom. II. 24.41

THERAPNE

[9] Θεράπνη δὲ ὄνομα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λέλεγος θυγατρὸς, Μενελάου δέ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῇ ναός, καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ Ἑλένην ἐνταῦθα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν. Ῥόδιοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίοις φασὶν Ἑλένην Μενελάου τελευτήσαντος, Ὀρέστου δὲ ἔτι πλανωμένου, τηνικαῦτα ὑπὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους διωχθεῖσαν ἐς Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι Πολυξοῖ τῇ Τληπολέμου γυναικὶ ἔχουσιν ἐπιτηδεύως:

[19.9] The name of Therapne is derived from the daughter of Lelex, and in it is a temple of Menelaus; they say that Menelaus and Helen were buried here. The account of the Rhodians is different. They say that when Menelaus was dead, and Orestes still a wanderer, Helen was driven out by Nicostratus and Megapenthes and came to Rhodes, where she had a friend in Polyxo,

[10] εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Πολυξὴ τὸ γένος Ἀργεῖαν, Τληπολέμῳ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν φυγῆς μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐς Ῥόδον καὶ τῆς νήσου τηνικαῦτα ἄρχειν ὑπολειπομένην ἐπὶ ὀρφανῷ παιδί. ταύτην τὴν Πολυξὴ φασιν ἐπιθυμοῦσαν Ἑλένην τιμωρήσασθαι τελευτῆς τῆς Τληπολέμου τότε, ὥς ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον, ἐπιτέμναι οἱ λουμένη θεραπαίνας Ἐρινύσιν ἴσα ἐσκευασμένας: καὶ αὗται διαλαβοῦσαι δὴ τὴν Ἑλένην αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπάγχουσιν ἐπὶ δένδρου, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ῥοδίοις Ἑλένης ἱερόν ἐστι Δενδρίτιδος.

[19.10] the wife of Tlepolemus. For Polyxo, they say, was an Argive by descent, and when she was already married to Tlepolemus shared his flight to Rhodes. At the time she was queen of the island, having been left with an orphan boy. They say that this Polyxo desired to avenge the death of Tlepolemus on Helen, now that she had her in her power. So she sent against her when she was bathing handmaidens dressed up as Furies, who seized Helen and hanged her on a tree, and for this reason the Rhodians have a sanctuary of Helen of the Tree.

[11] ὃν δὲ οἶδα λέγοντας Κροτωνιάτας περὶ Ἑλένης λόγον, ὁμολογοῦντας δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἱμεραίους, ἐπιμνησθήσομαι καὶ τοῦδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Εὐξεινῷ νῆσος κατὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου τὰς ἐκβολὰς Ἀχιλλέως ἱερά: ὄνομα μὲν τῇ νήσῳ Λευκή, περίπλους δὲ αὐτῇ σταδίων εἴκοσι, δασεῖα δὲ ὕλῃ πᾶσα καὶ πλήρης ζῶων ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων, καὶ ναὸς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῇ.

[19.11] A story too I will tell which I know the people of Crotona tell about Helen. The people of Himera too agree with this account. In the Euxine at the mouths of the Ister is an island sacred to Achilles. It is called White Island, and its circumference is twenty stades. It is wooded throughout and abounds in animals, wild and tame, while on it is a temple of Achilles with an image of him.

[12] ἐς ταύτην πρῶτος ἐσπλευσαι λέγεται Κροτωνιάτης Λεώνυμος. πολέμου γὰρ Κροτωνιάταις συνεστηκότος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λοκρούς, τῶν Λοκρῶν κατὰ οἰκειότητα πρὸς Ὀπουντίους Αἴαντα τὸν Οἰλέως ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπικαλουμένων, ὁ Λεώνυμος Κροτωνιάταις στρατηγῶν ἐπήει τοῖς ἐναντίοις κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ προτετάχθαι σφίσι τὸν Αἴαντα ἤκουε. τιτρώσκεται δὴ τὸ στέρνον καὶ — ἔκαμνε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος — ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφοῦς. ἐλθόντα δὲ ἡ Πυθία Λεώνυμον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς νῆσον τὴν Λευκὴν, ἐνταῦθα εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ φανήσεσθαι τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἀκέσεσθαι τὸ τραῦμα.

[19.12] The first to sail thither legend says was Leonymus of Crotona. For when war had arisen between the people of Crotona and the Locri in Italy, the Locri, in virtue of the relationship between them and the Opuntians, called upon Ajax son of Oileus to help them in battle. So Leonymus the general of the people of Crotona attacked his enemy at that point where he heard that Ajax was posted in the front line. Now he was wounded in the breast, and weak with his hurt came to Delphi. When he arrived the Pythian priestess sent Leonymus to White Island, telling him that there Ajax would appear to him and cure his wound.

[13] χρόνῳ δὲ ὥς ὑγιάνας ἐπανήλθεν ἐκ τῆς Λευκῆς, ἰδεῖν μὲν ἔφασκεν Ἀχιλλέα, ἰδεῖν δὲ τὸν Οἰλέως καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν σφισι καὶ Ἀντίλοχον: Ἑλένην δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν συνοικεῖν, προστάξαι δὲ οἱ πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἱμέραν πρὸς Στησίχορον ἀγγέλλειν ὥς ἡ διαφθορά τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἑλένης γένοιτο αὐτῷ μηνίματος. Στησίχορος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν παλινωδίαν ἐποίησεν:

[19.13] In time he was healed and returned from White Island, where, he used to declare, he saw Achilles, as well as Ajax the son of Oileus and Ajax the son of Telamon. With them, he said, were Patroclus and Antilochus; Helen was wedded to Achilles, and had bidden him sail to Stesichorus at Himera, and announce that the loss of his sight was caused by her wrath.

20. ἐν Θεράπνῃ δὲ κρίνην τὴν Μεσσηίδα ἰδὼν οἶδα. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐτέροις ἔστιν εἰρημένον τὴν Πολυδεύκειαν ὀνομαζομένην ἐφ' ἡμῶν, οὐ τὴν ἐν Θεράπνῃ Μεσσηίδα καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον: ἡ δὲ Πολυδεύκειά ἐστιν αὐτὴ τε ἡ

κρήνη καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐς Θεράπνην ὁδοῦ.

[20.1] XX. Therefore Stesichorus composed his recantation. In Therapne I remember seeing the fountain Messeis. Some of the Lacedaemonians, however, have declared that of old the name Messeis was given, not to the fountain at Therapne, but to the one we call Polydeucea. The fountain Polydeucea and a sanctuary of Polydeuces are on the right of the road to Therapne.

[2] Θεράπνης δὲ οὐ πόρρω Φοιβαῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διοσκούρων ναός· καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Γαιαόχου. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ταῦγετον ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀλεσίας χωρίον, Μύλητα τὸν Λέλεγος πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων μύλην τε εὗρεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλεσίαις ταύταις ἀλέσαι. καὶ σφισι Λακεδαίμονος τοῦ Ταυγέτης ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἡρώον.

[20.2] Not far from Therapne is what is called Phoebaeum, in which is a temple of the Dioscuri. Here the youths sacrifice to Enyalios. At no great distance from it stands a sanctuary of Poseidon surnamed Earth-embracer. Going on from here in the direction of Taygetus you come to a place called Alesiae (Place of Grinding) they say that Myles (Mill-man) the son of Lelex was the first human being to invent a mill, and that he ground corn in this Alesiae. Here they have a hero-shrine of Lacedaemon, the son of Taygete.

PHARIS & BRYSEAE

[3] διαβάσι δὲ αὐτόθεν ποταμὸν Φελλίαν, παρὰ Ἀμύκλας ἰοῦσιν εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτε ᾤκειτο· ἀποτρεπομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φελλίας ἐς δεξιὰν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ταῦγετόν ἐστιν ὁδός. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Διὸς Μεσσαπέως τέμενος· γενέσθαι δέ οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς λέγουσιν ἱερασαμένου τῷ θεῷ. ἐντεῦθεν ἐστιν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταυγέτου χωρίον ἔνθα πόλις ποτὲ ᾤκειτο Βρυσαίαι· καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόναις γυναιξὶν ἔστιν ὄρᾶν· γυναῖκες γὰρ δὴ μόναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρῶσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.

[20.3] Crossing from here a river Phellia, and going past Amyclae along a road leading straight towards the sea, you come to the site of Pharis, which was once a city of Laconia. Turning away from the Phellia to the right is the road that leads to Mount Taygetus. On the plain is a precinct of Zeus Messapeus, who is surnamed, they say, after a man who served the god as his priest. Leaving Taygetus from here you come to the site of the city Bryseae. There still remains here a temple of Dionysus with an image in the open. But the image in the temple women only may see, for women by themselves perform in secret the sacrificial rites.

MT TAYGETUS & THERAE

[4] ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταυγέτου Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἥλιον καλοῦσιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἥλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ

Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας. Ταλετοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενός ἐστιν Εὐόρας, θηρία καὶ ἄλλα τρέφων καὶ αἶγας μάλιστα ἀγρίας. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ δι' ὅλου τὸ Ταῦγετον τῶν αἰγῶν τούτων ἄγραν καὶ ὕδν, πλείστην δὲ καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ ἄρκτων.

[20.4] Above Bryseae rises Taletum, a peak of Taygetus. They call it sacred to Helius (the Sun), and among the sacrifices they offer here to Helius are horses. I am aware that the Persians also are wont to offer the same sacrifice. Not far from Taletum is a place called Euoras, the haunt of wild animals, especially wild goats. In fact all Taygetus is a hunting-ground for these goats and for boars, and it is well stocked with both deer and bears.

[5] Ταλετοῦ δὲ τὸ μεταξύ καὶ Εὐόρα Θήρας ὀνομάζοντες Λητώ φασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Ταυγέτου * * * Δήμητρος ἐπίκησιν Ἐλευσινίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν: ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ τραῦμα ἰώμενον: καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ξόανον, Πελασγῶν ὥς φασιν ἔργον. καὶ τότε δὲ ἄλλο δρώμενον ἐνταῦθα οἶδα:

[20.5] Between Taletum and Euoras is a place they name Therae, where they say Leto from the Peaks of Taygetus . . . is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian. Here according to the Lacedaemonian story Heracles was hidden by Asclepius while he was being healed of a wound. In the sanctuary is a wooden image of Orpheus, a work, they say, of Pelasgians.

HELOS, LAPITHAEUM & DEREUM

[6] ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλισμα Ἔλος ἦν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐμνημόνευκεν ἐν καταλόγῳ Λακεδαιμονίων: "οἱ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἔλος τ' ἔφαλον ποτολίεθρον.

"Hom. II 2.584 τοῦτο ᾧκισε μὲν Ἔλιος νεώτατος τῶν Περσέως παίδων, Δωριεῖς δὲ παρεστήσαντο ὕστερον πολιορκία, καὶ πρῶτοί τε ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδαιμονίων δοῦλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν: τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτηθὲν ὕστερον, Δωριεῖς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξενίκησεν εἰλωτας, καθότι καὶ Ἑλληνας τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλία ποτὲ καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος.

[20.6] I know also of the following rite which is performed here. By the sea was a city Helos, which Homer too has mentioned in his list of the Lacedaemonians:

These had their home in Amyclae, and in Helos the town by the seaside. Hom. II. 2.584

It was founded by Helius, the youngest of the sons of Perseus, and the Dorians afterwards reduced it by siege. Its inhabitants became the first slaves of the Lacedaemonian state, and were the first to be called Helots, as in fact Helots they were. The slaves afterwards acquired, although they were Dorians of Messenia, also came to be called Helots, just as the whole Greek race were

called Hellenes from the region in Thessaly once called Hellas.

[7] ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Ἑλούς ξόανον Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον. πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου σταδίους ἀφέστηκε Λαπίθαιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐγχωρίου Λαπίθου· τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ Λαπίθαιον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Ταῦγέτῳ καὶ οὐ πόρρω Δέρειον, ἔνθα Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερεάτιδος, καὶ πηγὴ παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν Ἄνονον ὀνομάζουσι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δέρειον σταδίους προελθόντι ὥς εἴκοσιν ἔστιν Ἄρπλεια καθήκοντα ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου.

[20.7] From this Helos, on stated days, they bring up to the sanctuary of the Eleusinian a wooden image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Fifteen stades distant from the sanctuary is Lapithaeum, named after Lapithus, a native of the district. So this Lapithaeum is on Taygetus, and not far off is Dereium, where is in the open an image of Artemis Dereatis, and beside it is a spring which they name Anonus. About twenty stades past Dereum is Harpleia, which extends as far as the plain.

ROAD TO ARCADIA

[8] τὴν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἰοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Παρείας ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀχιλλέως· ἀνοίγειν δὲ αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν· ὅποσοι δ' ἂν τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγωνεῖσθαι μέλλωσιν ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πρὸ τῆς μάχης θύειν. ποιῆσαι δέ σφισι τὸ ἱερόν Σπαρτιᾶται λέγουσι Πράκα ἀπόγονον τρίτον Περγάμου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου.

[20.8] On the road from Sparta to Arcadia there stands in the open an image of Athena surnamed Pareia, and after it is a sanctuary of Achilles. This it is not customary to open, but all the youths who are going to take part in the contest in Plane-tree Grove are wont to sacrifice to Achilles before the fight. The Spartans say that the sanctuary was made for them by Prax, a grandson of Pergamus the son of Neoptolemus.

[9] προῖοῦσι δὲ Ἴππου καλούμενον μνημά ἐστι. Τυνδάρεως γὰρ θύσας ἐνταῦθα ἵππον τοὺς Ἑλένης ἐξώρκου μνηστῆρας ἰστάς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου τῶν τομίων· ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἦν Ἑλένη καὶ τῷ γῆμαι προκριθέντι Ἑλένην ἀμυνεῖν ἀδικουμένοις· ἐξορκώσας δὲ τὸν ἵππον κατάρυξεν ἐνταῦθα. κίονες δὲ ἐπτα οἱ τοῦ μνήματος τούτου διέχουσιν οὐ πολὺ, κατὰ τρόπον οἶμαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον, οὓς ἀστέρων τῶν πλανητῶν φασιν ἀγάλματα. καὶ Κρανίου τέμενος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Στεμματίου καὶ Μυσίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν Ἀρτέμιδος.

[20.9] Further on is what is called the Tomb of Horse. For Tyndareus, having sacrificed a horse here, administered an oath to the suitors of Helen, making them stand upon the pieces of the horse. The oath was to defend Helen and him who might be chosen to marry her if ever they should be wronged. When he had sworn the suitors he buried the horse here. Seven pillars, which are not far from this tomb . . . in the ancient manner, I believe, which they say are

images of the planets. On the road is a precinct of Cranius surnamed Stemmatias, and a sanctuary of Mysian Artemis.

[10] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Αἰδοῦς τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχον τῆς πόλεως Ἰκαρίου μὲν ἀνάθημα εἶναι, ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ φασὶ τοιῷδε. ὅτ' ἔδωκεν Ὀδυσσεὶ Πηνελόπην γυναῖκα Ἰκάριος, ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν κατοικίσαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, διαμαρτάνων δὲ ἐκείνου δευτέρα τὴν θυγατέρα ἰκέτευσεν καταμεῖναι καὶ ἐξορμωμένης ἐς Ἰθάκην ἐπακολουθῶν τῷ ἄρματι ἔδειτο.

[20.10] The image of Modesty, some thirty stades distant from the city, they say was dedicated by Icarus, the following being the reason for making it. When Icarus gave Penelope in marriage to Odysseus, he tried to make Odysseus himself settle in Lacedaemon, but failing in the attempt, he next besought his daughter to remain behind, and when she was setting forth to Ithaca he followed the chariot, begging her to stay.

[11] Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τέως μὲν ἡνείχετο, τέλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Πηνελόπην συνακολουθεῖν ἐκοῦσαν ἢ τὸν πατέρα ἐλομένην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. καὶ τὴν ἀποκρίνασθαί φασιν οὐδέν· ἐγκαλυψαμένης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα, Ἰκάριος τὴν μὲν ἄτε δὴ συνιεῖς ὥς βούλεται ἀπιέναι μετὰ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφήσιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Αἰδοῦς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τῆς ὁδοῦ προήκουσαν ἤδη τὴν Πηνελόπην λέγουσιν ἐγκαλύψασθαι.

[20.11] Odysseus endured it for a time, but at last he bade Penelope either to accompany him willingly, or else, if she preferred her father, to go back to Lacedaemon. They say that she made no reply, but covered her face with a veil in reply to the question, so that Icarus, realizing that she wished to depart with Odysseus, let her go, and dedicated an image of Modesty; for Penelope, they say, had reached this point of the road when she veiled herself.

21. προελθόντι δὲ αὐτόθεν σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ρεῦμα ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ γίνεται, καὶ Λάδα μνημῆα ἐστὶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλομένου ποδῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐστεφανοῦτο δολίχῳ κρατῶν, δοκεῖν δέ μοι κάμων αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκομίζετο, καὶ συμβάσης ἐνταῦθα οἱ τελευτῆς ὁ τάφος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον. τὸν δὲ ὁμώνυμον τούτῳ, νίκην καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι, πλὴν οὐ δολίχου, σταδίου δὲ ἀνελόμενον, Ἀχαιὸν ἐξ Αἰγίου φησὶν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα.

[21.1] XXI. Twenty stades from here the stream of the Eurotas comes very near to the road, and here is the tomb of Ladas, the fastest runner of his day. He was crowned at Olympia for a victory in the long race, and falling ill, I take it, immediately after the victory he was on his way home; his death took place here, and his grave is above the highway. His namesake, who also won at Olympia a victory, not in the long race but in the short race, is stated in the Elean records of Olympic victors to have been a native of Aegium in Achaia.

[2] προΐοντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελλάναν Χαράκωμά ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Πελλάνα πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Τυνδάρεων δὲ οἰκῆσαι φασιν ἐνταῦθα, ὅτε Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔφρευγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης. θέας δὲ ἄξια αὐτόθι ἰδὼν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε οἶδα ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πηγὴν Πελλανίδα. ἐς ταύτην λέγουσιν ὑδρευομένην ἐσπεσεῖν παρθένον, ἀφανισθείσης δὲ τὸ κάλυμμα ἀναφανῆναι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐν ἐτέρᾳ πηγῇ Λαγκία.

[21.2] Farther on in the direction of Pellana is what is called Characoma (Trench); and after it Pellana, which in the olden time was a city. They say that Tyndareus dwelt here when he fled from Sparta before Hippocoon and his sons. Remarkable sights I remember seeing here were a sanctuary of Asclepius and the spring Pellanis. Into it they say a maiden fell when she was drawing water, and when she had disappeared the veil on her head reappeared in another spring, Lancia.

[3] Πελλάνας δὲ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀπέχει Βελεμίνα καλουμένη: τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἡ Βελεμίνα μάλιστα ἄρδεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἦντινα διοδεύει μὲν τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ὕδωρ, παρέχεται δὲ ἀφθόνους καὶ αὐτὴ πηγὰς.

[21.3] A hundred stades away from Pellana is the place called Belemina. It is naturally The best watered region of Laconia, seeing that The river Eurotas passes through it, while it has abundant springs of its own.

CROCEAE

[4] ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντί ἐστι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ κόμη καλουμένη Κροκέαι καὶ

λιθοτομία: μία μὲν πέτρα συνεχῆς οὐ διήκουσα, λίθοι δὲ ὀρύσσονται σχῆμα τοῖς ποταμίοις ἐοικότες, ἄλλως μὲν δυσεργεῖς, ἦν δὲ ἐπεργασθῶσιν, ἐπικοσμήσαιεν ἂν καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, κολυμβήθραις δὲ καὶ ὕδασι συντελοῦσι μάλιστα ἐς κάλλος. θεῶν δὲ αὐτόθι πρὸ μὲν τῆς κόμης Διὸς Κροκέατα λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε, Διόσκουροι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λιθοτομίᾳ χαλκοῖ.

[21.4] As you go down to the sea towards Gythium you come to a village called Croceae and a quarry. It is not a continuous stretch of rock, but the stones they dig out are shaped like river pebbles; they are hard to work, but when worked sanctuaries of the gods might be adorned with them, while they are especially adapted for beautifying swimming-baths and fountains. Here before the village stands an image of Zeus of Croceae in marble, and the Dioscuri in bronze are at the quarry.

AEGIAE & GYTHIUM

[5] μετὰ δὲ Κροκέας ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐς Γύθιον εὐθείας ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἥξεις Αἰγίας: Ὅμηρον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸ πόλισμα τοῦτο ὀνομάζειν λέγουσιν Αὐγείας. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν λίμνη καλουμένη Ποσειδῶνος, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ. τοὺς δὲ ἰχθῦς δεδοίκασιν ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν θηρεύσαντα ἀλιέα γενέσθαι λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπου.

[21.5] After Croceae, turning away to the right from the straight road to Gythium, you will reach a city Aegiae. They say that this is the city which Homer in his poem calls Augeae. Here is a lake called Poseidon's, and by the lake is a temple with an image of the god. They are afraid to take out the fish, saying that a fisherman in these waters turns into the fish called the fisher.

[6] Γύθιον δὲ ἀπέχει μὲν σταδίους τριάκοντα Αἰγίων, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ δὲ ὤκισμένον ἔστιν ἤδη τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων, οὓς βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος δουλείας ἀφῆκε Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατηκόους ὄντας. θαλάσῃ μὲν δὴ πλὴν τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ περιέχεται πᾶσα ἡ Πελοπόννησος: κόχλους δὲ ἐς βαφὴν πορφύρας παρέχεται τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιτηδείοτάτα μετὰ γε τὴν Φοινίκων θάλασσαν.

[21.6] Gythium is thirty stades distant from Aegiae, built by the sea in the territory of the Free Laconians, whom the emperor Augustus freed from the bondage in which they had been to the Lacedaemonians in Sparta. All the Peloponnesus, except the Isthmus of Corinth, is surrounded by sea, but the best shell-fish for the manufacture of purple dye after those of the Phoenician sea are to be found on the coast of Laconia.

[7] ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων ὀκτὼ πόλεις καὶ δέκα εἰσί, πρώτη μὲν καταβάσιν ἐξ Αἰγίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Γύθιον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Τευθρόνῃ τε καὶ Λᾶς καὶ Πύρριχος, ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ δὲ Καινήπολις Οἰτυλὸς τε καὶ Λευκτρα καὶ Θαλάμαι, πρὸς δὲ Ἀλαγονία τε καὶ Γερηνία: τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Γυθίου πρὸς θαλάσῃ Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριαὶ Βοιαὶ Ζάραξ Ἐπίδauρος ἡ Λιμηρὰ Βρασιαὶ Γερόνθραι Μαριός. αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ποτὲ καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων: τὰς δὲ ἄλλας, ἐφ' ἃς ἂν καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ λόγος ἐπέλθῃ δὴ μοι, συντελούσας ἴστω τις ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς προλεχθεῖσιν αὐτονόμους.

[21.7] The Free Laconians have eighteen cities; the first as you go down from Aegiae to the sea is Gythium; after it come Teuthrone and Las and Pyrrhichus; on Taenarum are Caenepolis, Oetylus, Leuctra and Thalamae, and in addition Alagoma and Gerenia. On the other side of Clythium by the sea are Asopus, Acraiae, Boeae, Larax, Epidauros Limera, Brasiae, Geronthrae and Marius. These are all that are left to the Free Laconians out of twenty-four cities which once were theirs. All the other cities with which my narrative will deal belong, it must be remembered, to Sparta, and are not independent like those I have already mentioned.

[8] Γυθεᾶται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Απόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας, ὥς διηλλάγησαν, μετὰ τὴν ἔριν οἰκίσαι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν: καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σφισιν Απόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἔστιν ἀγάλματα, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Διόνυσος. ἐτέρωθι δὲ Απόλλων Κάρνειος καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀμμωνος καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐπόντος ὀρόφου τῷ ναῷ, καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Δῆμητρος ἱερὸν ἅγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα Γαιαόχου.

[21.8] The people of Gythium say that their city had no human founder, but that Heracles and Apollo, when they were reconciled after their strife for the possession of the tripod, united to found the city. In the market-place they have images of Apollo and of Heracles, and a Dionysus stands near them. In another part of the city are Carnean Apollo, a sanctuary of Ammon and a bronze image of Asclepius, whose temple is roofless, a spring belonging to the god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter and an image of Poseidon Earth-embracer.

[9] ὃν δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Γυθεῖται Γέροντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν θαλάσῃ φάμενοι, Νηρέα ὄντα εὔρισκον· καὶ σφισι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου παρέσχευ ἄρχῃν Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐν Θέτιδος λόγοις·”ὕμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,

ὀψόμεναί τε γέρονθ’ ἄλιον καὶ δώματα πατρός.

“Hom. II 18.140-141καλοῦνται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πύλαι Καστορίδες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιήται.

[21.9] Him whom the people of Gythium name Old Man, saying that he lives in the sea, I found to be Nereus. They got this name originally from Homer, who says in a part of the Iliad, where Thetis is speaking:—

Into the broad expanse, and into the bosom of ocean

Plunge, to behold the old man of the sea and the home of your father. Hom. II. 18.140-141

Here is also a gate called the Gate of Castor, and on the citadel have been built a temple and image of Athena.

22. Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἄργος λίθος· Ὀρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα. ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἡ Κρανάη πρόκειται Γυθίου, καὶ Ὅμηρος Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐνταῦθα ἔφη συγγενέσθαι οἱ πρῶτον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῇ ἡλείῳ Μιγωνίτιδος, καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας καλεῖται Μιγώνιον.

[22.1] XXII. Just about three stades from Gythium is an unwrought stone. Legend has it that when Orestes sat down upon it his madness left him. For this reason the stone was named in the Dorian tongue Zeus Cappotas.

CRANAE

Before Gythium lies the island Cranae, and Homer says that when Alexander had carried off Helen he had intercourse with her there for the first time. On the mainland opposite the island is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Migonitis (Union), and the whole place is called Migonium.

[2] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν Ἀλέξανδρον· Μενέλαος δὲ Ἴλιον ἔλων καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὀκτῶ μετὰ Τροίας πόρθησιν οἴκαδε ἀνασωθεὶς ἄγαλμα Θέτιδος καὶ θεᾶς Πραξιδίκας ἰδρύσατο ἐγγὺς τῆς Μιγωνίτιδος. Διονύσου δὲ ὄρος ἱερὸν Λαρύσιον καλούμενόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μιγωνίου· καὶ

ἥρος ἀρχομένου Διονύσω τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐς τὰ δρώμενα λέγοντες καὶ ὥς βότρυν ἐνταῦθα ἀνευρίσκουσιν ὠραῖον.

[22.2] This sanctuary, they say, was made by Alexander. But when Menelaus had taken Ilium and had returned safe home eight years after the sack of Troy, he set up near the sanctuary of Migonitis an image of Thetis and the goddesses Praxidicae (Exacters of Justice). Above Migonium is a mountain called Larysium sacred to Dionysus, and at the beginning of spring they hold a festival in honor of Dionysus, and among the things they say about the ritual is that they find here a ripe bunch of grapes.

TRINASUS & ACRIAE

[3] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Γυθίου στάδια προελθόντι ὥς τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Τρινασοῦ καλουμένης τείχῃ, φρουρίου ποτὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν καὶ οὐ πόλεως. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ δοκῶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν νησίδων, αἱ ταύτῃ πρόκεινται τῆς ἡπείρου τρεῖς ἀριθμόν. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Τρινασοῦ στάδια ὥς ὀγδοήκοντα τοῦ Ἑλούς τὰ ἐρείπια ὑπόλοιπα ἦν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τριάκοντα

[22.3] Some thirty stades beyond Gythium on the left there are on the mainland walls of a place called Trinasus (Three Islands), which was in my opinion a fort and not a city. Its name I think is derived from the islets which lie off the coast here, three in number. About eighty stades beyond Trinasus I came to the ruins of Helos,

[4] προελθόντι πού σταδίους ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἔστιν Ἀκρία: θεὰς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατον δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι φασιν οἱ τὰς Ἀκρίας ἔχοντες, ὅποσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίοις ἱερά ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ Μαγνησί γε, οἱ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρα Μητρός ἔστι θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἄγαλμα: ποιῆσαι δὲ οἱ Μάγνητες αὐτὸ Βροτέαν λέγουσι τὸν

Ταντάλου.

[22.4] and some thirty stades farther is Acriae, a city on the coast. Well worth seeing here are a temple and marble image of the Mother of the Gods. The people of Acriae say that this is the oldest sanctuary of this goddess in the Peloponnesus, although the Magnesians, who live to the north of Mount Sipylus, have on the rock Coddinus the most ancient of all the images of the Mother of the gods. The Magnesians say that it was made by Broteas the son of Tantalus.

[5] Ἀκριᾷται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ποτὲ Ὀλυμπιονίκην παρέσχοντο Νικοκλέα, Ὀλυμπιάσι δύο ἀνελόμενον δρόμου νίκας πέντε: πεποίηται δὲ καὶ μνημα τῷ Νικοκλεῖ τοῦ τε γυμνασίου μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι.

[22.5] The people of Acriae once produced an Olympian victor, Nicocles, who at two Olympian festivals carried off five prizes for running. There has been raised to him a monument between the gymnasium and the wall by the harbor.

[6] ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω Γερὸνθραι σταδίους ἀπέχουσιν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ἀκριῶν. ταύτας οἰκουμένας πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας ἔλθειν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους Δωριεῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνα ἔχοντες, ἀναστήσαντες δὲ Γερωνθρῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς παρὰ σφῶν ἐποίκους ἀπέστειλαν: ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Ἐλευθερολακῶνων καὶ οὗτοι μοῖρα ἦσαν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκριῶν εἰς Γερὸνθρας ὁδὸν ἔστι Παλαιὰ καλουμένη κώμη, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερὸνθραις Ἄρεως ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος:

[22.6] A hundred and twenty stades inland from Acraiae is Geronthrae. It was inhabited before the Heracleidae came to Peloponnesus, but the Dorians of Lacedaemon expelled the Achaeans inhabitants and afterwards sent to it settlers of their own; but in my time it belonged to the Free Laconians. On the road from Acraiae to Geronthrae is a village called Palaea (Old), and in Geronthrae itself are a temple and grove of Ares.

[7] ἐορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος, ἐν ἣ γυναιξὶν ἐστὶν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἄλσος. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισιν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων εἰσὶν ὑδάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀγάλματος ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένου κεφαλῇ: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πῦρ ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ τῷ προτέρῳ ναῷ.

[22.7] Every year they hold a festival in honor of the God, at which women are forbidden to enter the grove. Around the market-place are their springs of drinking-water. On the citadel is a temple of Apollo with the head of an ivory image. The rest of the image was destroyed by fire along with the former temple.

[8] Μαρὶὸς δὲ ἄλλο Ἐλευθερολακῶνων πόλισμα, ὃ ἀπὸ Γερωνθρῶν στάδια ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκεν. ἱερόν ἐστιν αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον κοινὸν θεῶν ἀπάντων καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος παρεχόμενον πηγᾶς, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ πηγαί: ὕδωρ δὲ ἄφθονον εἶπερ ἄλλο τι χωρίον παρέχεται καὶ Μαρὶός. κώμη δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμά ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ, Γλυππία: καὶ εἰς κώμην ἐτέραν Σελινούντα ἐκ Γερωνθρῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς σταδίων εἴκοσι.

[22.8] Marius is another town of the Free Laconians, distant from Geronthrae one hundred stades. Here is an ancient sanctuary common to all the gods, and around it is a grove containing springs. In a sanctuary of Artemis also there are springs. In fact Marius has an unsurpassed supply of water. Above the town, and like it in the interior, is a village, Glyppia. From Geronthrae to another village, Selinus, is a journey of twenty stades.

ASOPUS

[9] τάδε μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀκριῶν ἄνω πρὸς ἡπειρον: τὰ δὲ πρὸς θαλάσση, πόλις Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριῶν ἀπέχει σταδίους ἐξήκοντα. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ναὸς τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλέων καὶ ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ὅσον τε σταδίους δώδεκα καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ: Φιλόλαον τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ ὅσα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τὰ

τιμώμενα μεγέθει μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὁμῶς ἐστί. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κυπαρισσίας ἐπὶ κλησιν. τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια καλουμένης Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Παρακυπαρισσίων.

[22.9] These places are inland from Acriae. By the sea is a city Asopus, sixty stades distant from Acriae. In it is a temple of the Roman emperors, and about twelve stades inland from the city is a sanctuary of Asclepius. They call the god Philolaus, and the bones in the gymnasium, which they worship, are human, although of superhuman size. On the citadel is also a sanctuary of Athena, surnamed Cyparissia (Cypress Goddess). At the foot of the citadel are the ruins of a city called the City of the Paracyparissian Achaeans.

[10] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ στάδια ἀπέχον ὡς πενήκοντα Ἀσωποῦ: τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἔνθα τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον, Ὑπερτελέατον ὀνομάζουσιν. ἄκρα δὲ ἀνέχουσα ἐς θάλασσαν ἀφέστηκεν Ἀσωποῦ διακόσια στάδια: καλοῦσι δὲ Ὅνου γνάθον τὴν ἄκραν. ἐνταῦθ' ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον, οὐδὲ ὄροφος ἔπεστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ: λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐποίηθη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μνῆμα Κινάδου: νεῶς τῆς Μενελάου καὶ οὗτος κυβερνήτης ἦν.

[22.10] There is also in this district a sanctuary of Asclepius, about fifty stades from Asopus the place where the sanctuary is they name Hyperteleatium. Two hundred stades from Asopus there juts out into the sea a headland, which they call Onugnathus (Jaw of an Ass). Here is a sanctuary of Athena, having neither image nor roof. Agamemnon is said to have made it. There is also the tomb of Cinadus, one of the pilots of the ship of Menelaus.

BOEAE

[11] ἐσέχει δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν Βοιωτικὸς καλούμενος κόλπος, καὶ Βοιαί πόλις πρὸς τῷ πέρατι ἐστὶ τοῦ κόλπου. ταύτην ὥκισε μὲν Βοιοὺς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, συναγαγεῖν δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐς αὐτὴν λέγεται πόλεων, Ἡτιδος καὶ Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Σίδης. τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς μὲν δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν φεύγοντα Αἰνεῖαν καὶ ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀπενεχθέντα ἐς τοῦτον τὸν κόλπον οἰκίσαι φασί, τὴν Ἡτιάδα Αἰνείου θυγατέρα λέγοντες εἶναι: τὴν τρίτην δὲ κληθῆναι τῶν πόλεων λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Δαναοῦ Σίδης.

[22.11] After the peak there runs into the land the Gulf of Boeae, and the city of Boeae is at the head of the gulf. This was founded by Boeus, one of the Heracleidae, and he is said to have collected inhabitants for it from three cities, Etis, Aphrodisias and Side. Of the ancient cities two are said to have been founded by Aeneas when he was fleeing to Italy and had been driven into this gulf by storms. Etias, they allege, was a daughter of Aeneas. The third city they say was named after Side, daughter of Danaus.

[12] ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάντες ἐζήτουν ἔνθα οἰκῆσαι σφᾶς χρεῶν εἴη: καὶ τι καὶ μάντευμα ἦν αὐτοῖς Ἄρτεμιν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν ἐπιδείξειν. ὡς οὖν ἐκβάσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν λαγῶς ἐπιφαίνεται, τὸν λαγὼν ἐποίησαντο ἡγεμόνα

τῆς ὁδοῦ: καταδύντος δὲ ἐς μυρσίνην πόλιν τε οἰκίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐπὲρ ἡ μυρσίνη ἦν, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἔτι ἐκείνην σέβουσι τὴν μυρσίνην καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ὀνομάζουσι Σώτειραν.

[22.12] When the inhabitants of these cities were expelled, they were anxious to know where they ought to settle, and an oracle was given them that Artemis would show them where they were to dwell. When therefore they had gone on shore, and a hare appeared to them, they looked upon the hare as their guide on the way. When it dived into a myrtle tree, they built a city on the site of the myrtle, and down to this day they worship that myrtle tree, and name Artemis Saviour.

[13] καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῶν ἀγορᾷ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐτέρωθι Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Σαράπιδος τε καὶ Ἰσιδος. Ἥτιδος δ' ἐρείπια ἀπέχει μὲν Βοιωτῶν οὐ πλέον ἢ σταδίους ἑπτὰ: ἰόντι δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ λίθινον ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγείας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀφανές.

[23.13] In the market-place of Boeae is a temple of Apollo, and in another part of the town are temples of Asclepius, of Serapis, and of Isis. The ruins of Etis are not more than seven stades distant from Boeae. On the way to them there stands on the left a stone image of Hermes. Among the ruins is a not insignificant sanctuary of Asclepius and Health.

CYTHERA

23. Κύθηρα δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ Βοιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ Πλατανιστοῦντα — ἐλάχιστον γὰρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτῃ διέστηκεν ἡ νῆσος — ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄκραν τὸν Πλατανιστοῦντα ἀπὸ ἄκρας τῆς ἡπείρου, καλουμένης δὲ Ὀνου γνάθου, σταδίων πλοῦς τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν. ἐν Κυθήροις δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Σκάνδειά ἐστιν ἐπίνειον, Κύθηρα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἀναβάντι ἀπὸ Σκανδείας στάδια ὡς δέκα. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Οὐρανίας ἀγιώτατον καὶ ἱερῶν ὅποσα Ἀφροδίτης παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον: αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ θεὸς ξόανον ὠπλισμένον.

[23.1] XXIII. Cythera lies opposite Boeae; to the promontory of Platanistus, the point where the island lies nearest to the mainland, it is a voyage of forty stades from a promontory on the mainland called Onugnathus. In Cythera is a port Scandeia on the coast, but the town Cythera is about ten stades inland from Scandeia. The sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (the Heavenly) is most holy, and it is the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Aphrodite among the Greeks. The goddess herself is represented by an armed image of wood.

NYMPHAEUM & EPIDELIUM

[2] πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας λιμὴν ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Νύμφαιον καὶ

Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν καὶ σπήλαιον θαλάσσης ἐγγύτατα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γλυκεὸς ὕδατος πηγή: καὶ ἄνθρωποι περιουκοῦσι πολλοί. περιπλεύσαντι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀποσχόντι, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίον ἐν

ῥοις Βοιατῶν Απόλλωνος μὲν ἱερὸν ἔστιν, Ἐπιδήλιον δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον:

[23.2] On the voyage from Boeae towards the point of Malea is a harbor called Nymphaeum, with a statue of Poseidon standing, and a cave close to the sea; in it is a spring of sweet water. There is a large population in the district. After doubling the point of Malea and proceeding a hundred stades, you reach a place on the coast within the frontier of the Boeatae, which is sacred to Apollo and called Epidelium.

[3] τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Απόλλωνος ξόανον, ὃ νῦν ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν Δήλῳ ποτὲ ἴδρυτο. τῆς γὰρ Δήλου τότε ἐμπορίου τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὕσης καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις διὰ τὸν θεὸν δοκούσης παρέχειν, Μηνοφάνης Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς εἶτε αὐτὸς ὑπερφρονήσας εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου προστεταγμένον — ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἀφορῶντι ἐς κέρδος τὰ θεῖα ὕστερα λημμάτων —, οὗτος οὖν ὁ Μηνοφάνης, ἅτε οὕσης

[23.3] For the wooden image which is now here, once stood in Delos. Delos was then a Greek market, and seemed to offer security to traders on account of the god; but as the place was unfortified and the inhabitants unarmed, Menophanes, an officer of Mithridates, attacked it with a fleet, to show his contempt for the god, or acting on the orders of Mithridates; for to a man whose object is gain what is sacred is of less account than what is profitable.

[4] ἀτειχίστου τῆς Δήλου καὶ ὅπλα οὐ κεκτημένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τριήρεσιν ἐσπλεύσας ἐφόνευσε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν ξένων, ἐφόνευσε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δηλίους: κατασύρας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα, προσεξανδραποδισάμενος δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλε τὴν Δήλον. ἅτε δὲ πορθουμένης τε καὶ ἀρπαζομένης, τῶν τις βαρβάρων ὑπὸ ὕβρεως τὸ ξόανον τοῦτο ἀπέρριπεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν: ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ κλύδων ἐνταῦθα τῆς Βοιατῶν ἀπήνεγκε, καὶ τὸ χωρίον διὰ τοῦτο Ἐπιδήλιον ὀνομάζουσι.

[23.4] This Menophanes put to death the foreigners residing there and the Delians themselves, and after plundering much property belonging to the traders and all the offerings, and also carrying women and children away as slaves, he razed Delos itself to the ground. As it was being sacked and pillaged, one of the barbarians wantonly flung this image into the sea; but the wave took it and brought it to land here in the country of the Boeatae. For this reason they call the place Epidelium.

[5] τὸ μέντοι μήνιμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διέφυγεν οὔτε Μηνοφάνης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιθριδάτης: ἀλλὰ Μηνοφάνην μὲν παραντίκα, ὥς ἀνήγετο ἐρημώσας τὴν Δήλον, λοχίσαντες ναυσὶν οἱ διαπεφευγότες τῶν ἐμπόρων καταδύουσι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ

ὕστερον τούτων ἠνάγκασεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτόχειρα αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς οἱ καθηρημένης καὶ ἐλαυνόμενον πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασιν αὐτὸν παρά του τῶν μισθοφόρων θάνατον βίαιον ἐν μέρει χάριτος εὑρασθαι.

[23.5] But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates himself escaped the wrath of the god. Menophanes, as he was putting to sea after the sack of Delos was sunk at once by those of the merchants who had escaped; for they lay in wait for him in ships. The god caused Mithridates at a later date to lay hands upon himself, when his empire had been destroyed and he himself was being hunted on all sides by the Romans. There are some who say that he obtained a violent death as a favour at the hands of one of his mercenaries. This was the reward of their impiety.

EPIDAUROS LIMERA

[6] τούτοις μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπῆντησεν ἀσεβήσασσι: τῇ δὲ Βοιαῶν ὄμορος Ἐπίδauρός ἐστιν ἡ Λιμηρά, σταδίους ὡς διακοσίους ἀπέχουσα Ἐπιδηλίου. φασὶ δὲ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἐπιδauρίων εἶναι, πλέοντες δὲ ἐς Κῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσσχεῖν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων γενομένων σφίσι καταμείναντες οἰκῆσαι.

[23.6] The country of the Boeatae is adjoined by Epidaurus Limera, distant some two hundred stades from Epidelium. The people say that they are not descended from the Lacedaemonians but from the Epidaurians of the Argolid, and that they touched at this point in Laconia when sailing on public business to Asclepius in Cos. Warned by dreams that appeared to them, they remained and settled here.

[7] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς οἰκοθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδauροῦ δράκοντα ἐπαγομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐξέφυγεν ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ὁ δράκων, ἐκφυγὼν δὲ οὐ πόρρω κατέδω θαλάσσης, καὶ σφισιν ὁμοῦ τῶν ὄνειράτων τῇ ὄψει καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν δράκοντα ἔδοξεν αὐτόθι καταμείναντας οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ἔνθα ὁ δράκων κατέδω, βωμοὶ τέ εἰσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἐλαῖαι περὶ αὐτοὺς πεφύκασιν.

[23.7] They also say that a snake, which they were bringing from their home in Epidaurus, escaped from the ship, and disappeared into the ground not far from the sea. As a result of the portent of the snake together with the vision in their dreams they resolved to remain and settle here. There are altars to Asclepius where the snake disappeared, with olive trees growing round them.

[8] προελθόντι δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ δύο πού σταδίους, ἔστιν Ἰνοῦς καλούμενον ὕδωρ, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ λίμνην μικράν, τῆς γῆς δὲ ἐν βάθει μᾶλλον: ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἐμβάλλουσιν ἀλφίτων μάζας. ταῦτας ἐπὶ μὲν αἰσίῳ τοῦ ἐμβalόντος καταδεξάμενον ἔχει τὸ ὕδωρ: εἰ δὲ ἀναπέμψαιτο σφᾶς, πονηρὸν κέκριται σημεῖον.

[23.8] About two stades to the right is the water of Ino, as it is called, in extent like a small lake, but going deeper into the earth. Into this water they throw cakes of barley meal at the festival of Ino. If good luck is portended to the thrower, the water keeps them under. But if it brings them to the surface, it is judged a bad sign.

[9] τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν Αἴτνῃ δηλοῦσιν οἱ κρατῆρες: καὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ ἐς αὐτοὺς

καὶ ἀργύρου ποιήματα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖα τὰ πάντα ἀφιασι: ταῦτα δὲ ἦν μὲν ὑπολαβὸν ἀπενέγκη τὸ πῦρ, οἱ δὲ χαίρουσιν ὥς ἐπὶ πεφηνότι ἀγαθῷ, ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τὰ ἐμβληθέντα συμφορὰν ἔσσεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ νομίζουσι.

[23.9] The craters in Aetna have the same feature; for they lower into them objects of gold and silver and also all kinds of victims. If the fire receives and consumes them, they rejoice at the appearance of a good sign, but if it casts up what has been thrown in, they think misfortune will befall the man to whom this happens.

[10] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λιμηρὰν ἄγουσαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ Λιμνάτιδος. ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀπέχουσα οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ μὲν ὄκισται, θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια τὸ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, τὸ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ λιμένος Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτήρος.

[23.10] By the road leading from Boeae to Epidaurus Limera is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (Of the Lake) in the country of the Epidaurians. The city lies on high ground, not far from the sea. Here the sanctuary of Artemis is worth seeing, also that of Asclepius with a standing statue of stone, a temple of Athena on the acropolis, and of Zeus with the title Saviour in front of the harbor.

[11] ἄκρα δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέχει καλουμένη Μινῶα: καὶ ὁ μὲν κόλπος οὐδέν τι ἔχει διάφορον ἢ ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄλλαι θαλάσσης εἰσὶν ἐσβολαί, αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ὁ ταύτη παρέχεται ψηφίδας σχῆμα εὐπρεπεστέρας καὶ χροᾶς παντοδαπῆς.

[23.11] A promontory called Minoa projects into the sea near the town. The bay has nothing to distinguish it from all the other inlets of the sea in Laconia, but the beach here contains pebbles of prettier form and of all colors.

ZARAX & CYPHANTA

24. Ἐπιδάουρου δὲ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἀπέχει Ζάραξ, ἄλλως μὲν εὐλίμενον χωρίον, τῶν δὲ Ἐλευθερολακῶνων μάλιστα τοῦτο ἐκτετρύχεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κλεόνυμος ὁ Κλεομένους τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος μόνον τοῦτο τῶν Λακωνικῶν πολισμάτων ἐποίησεν ἀνάστατον: καὶ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Κλεόνυμον ἐτέρωθί ἐστιν εἰρημένα. ἐν Ζάρακι δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ λιμένος τῷ πέρατι Ἀπόλλωνος ναός ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα κιθάραν ἔχον.

[24.1] XXIV. A hundred stades from Epidaurus is Zarax; though possessing a good harbor, it is the most ruinous of the towns of the Free Laconians, since it was the only town of theirs to be depopulated by Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, son of Agesipolis. I have told the story of Cleomenes elsewhere. There is nothing in Zarax except a temple of Apollo, with a statue holding a lyre, at the head of the harbor.

[2] προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Ζάρακος παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἑκατόν που στάδια καὶ

ἐπιστρέψαντι αὐτόθεν ἐς μεσόγαιαν καὶ ἐπαναβάντι σταδίους ὥς δέκα, Κυφάντων καλουμένων ἐρείπιά ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς σπήλαιον ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ψυχροῦ κρουνὸς ἐκβάλλων ἐκ πέτρας· Ἀταλάντην θηρεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα φασιν, ὡς ἡνιάτο ὑπὸ δίψης, παῖσαι τῇ λόγχῃ τὴν πέτραν καὶ οὕτω ῥυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ.

[24.2] The road from Zarax follows the coast for about a hundred stades, and there strikes inland. After an ascent of ten stades inland are the ruins of the so-called Cyphanta, among which is a cave sacred to Asclepius; the image is of stone. There is a fountain of cold water springing from the rock, where they say that Atalanta, distressed by thirst when hunting, struck the rock with her spear, so that the water gushed forth.

BRASIAE

[3] Βρασιαὶ δὲ ἐσχάτη μὲν ταύτῃ τῶν Ἑλευθερολακόνων πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστί, Κυφάντων δὲ ἀπέχουσι πλοῦν σταδίων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσιν οἱ ἐνταῦθα, οὐδέσιν ὁμολογοῦντες Ἑλλήνων, ὡς Σεμέλη τέκοι τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Διὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φωραθεῖσα ἐς λάρνακα αὐτὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθεῖη· καὶ τὴν λάρνακα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν σφετέραν, καὶ Σεμέλῃν μὲν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν περιούσαν ἔτι εὐρεῖν — ἐπιφανῶς θάψαι, Διόνυσον δὲ ἀναθρεῖναι λέγουσιν.

[24.3] Brasiae is the last town on the coast belonging to the Free Laconians in this direction. It is distant two hundred stades by sea from Cyphanta. The inhabitants have a story, found nowhere else in Greece, that Semele, after giving birth to her son by Zeus, was discovered by Cadmus and put with Dionysus into a chest, which was washed up by the waves in their country. Semele, who was no longer alive when found, received a splendid funeral, but they brought up Dionysus.

[4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, Ὀρειάτας ἐς ἐκεῖνο ὀνομαζομένην, μετονομασθῆναι Βρασιάς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν γῆν τῆς λάρνακος· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπωθούμενα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβεβράσθαι καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί. Βρασιᾶται δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἰνώ σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀφικέσθαι πλανωμένην, ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ ἐθελῆσαι τοῦ Διονύσου γενέσθαι τροφόν· καὶ ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἄντρον ἔνθα τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν Ἰνώ, καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον Διονύσου κῆπον.

[24.4] For this reason the name of their city, hitherto called Oreiatae, was changed to Brasiae after the washing up of the chest to land; so too in our time the common word used of the waves casting things ashore is ekbrazein. The people of Brasiae add that Ino in the course of her wanderings came to the country, and agreed to become the nurse of Dionysus. They show the cave where Ino nursed him, and call the plain the garden of Dionysus.

[5] ἱερὰ δὲ αὐτόθι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν Ἀχιλλεῖ. ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς Βρασιαῖς μικρά, προέχουσα

ἡρέμα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῖ ποδιαίων ἐστήκασιν οὐ μείζονες, πῖλους ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ Διοσκούρους σφᾶς ἢ Κορύβαντας νομίζουσι: τρεῖς δ' οὖν εἰσὶ, τέταρτον δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα.

[24.5] The temples here are those of Asclepius and of Achilles, in whose honor they hold an annual festival. There is a small promontory at Brasiae, which projects gently into the sea; on it stand bronze figures, not more than a foot high, with caps on their heads. I am not sure whether they consider them to be Dioscuri or Corybants. They are three in number; a statue of Athena makes a fourth.

LAS & HYP SOI

[6] τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Γυθίου Λᾶς ἐστὶ, θαλάσσης μὲν δέκα στάδια, Γυθίου δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχουσα. ὥκισται δὲ νῦν μὲν Ἰλίου καλουμένου καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Κνακαδίου, τῶν ὁρῶν τούτων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐπέχουσα, πρότερον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ ὅρους ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ: καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐρείπια καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων τρόπαιον, οἱ μοῖρα τῆς Φιλίππου στρατιᾶς ἦσαν, ἥνικα ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀποτραπόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐληλάτουν τῆς χώρας.

[24.6] To the right of Gythium is Las, ten stades from the sea and forty from Gythium. The site of the present town extends over the ground between the mountains called Ilius, Asia and Cnacadium; formerly it lay on the summit of Mount Asia. Even now there are ruins of the old town, with a statue of Heracles outside the walls, and a trophy for a victory over the Macedonians. These formed a detachment of Philip's army, when he invaded Laconia, but were separated from the main body and were plundering the coastal districts.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλῆσιν Ἀσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκην καὶ Κάστορά φασιν ἀνασθάντας ἐκ Κόλχων: εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Κόλχοις Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀσίας ἱερόν. μετασχόντας μὲν οὖν οἶδα Ἰάσονι τοῦ στόλου τοὺς Τυνδάρω παῖδας: ὅτι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀσίαν τιμῶσιν οἱ Κόλχοι, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκούσας γράφω. τῆς δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένης πόλεως κρήνη τέ ἐστι πλησίον διὰ τὴν χροάν τοῦ ὕδατος καλουμένη Γαλακῶ καὶ πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυμνάσιον: Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἔστηκεν ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον.

[24.7] Among the ruins is a temple of Athena named Asia, made, it is said, by Polydeuces and Castor on their return home from Colchis; for the Colchians had a shrine of Athena Asia. I know that the sons of Tyndareus took part in Jason's expedition. As to the Colchians honoring Athena Asia, I give what I heard from the Lacedaemonians. Near the present town is a spring called Galaco (Milky) from the color of the water, and beside the spring a gymnasium, which contains an ancient statue of Hermes.

[8] τῶν δὲ ὁρῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἰλίου Διονύσου τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Κνακαδίῳ Κάρνειος καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καρνείου σταδίου προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντα, ἔστιν ἐν χωρίῳ Ὑψοῖς ἐν ὅροις ἤδη Σπαρτιατῶν ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Δαφναίας.

[24.8] On Mount Ilius is a temple of Dionysus, and of Asclepius at the very summit. On Cnacadium is an Apollo called Carneius.

Some thirty stades from the Apollo is a place Hypsoi, within the Spartan frontier. Here is a sanctuary of Asclepius and of Artemis called Daphnaea (of the laurel).

[9] πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ναός ἐστι Δικτύνης Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι. ταύτης δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἄκρας ποταμός ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν Σμήνος, ὕδωρ πιεῖν ἡδὺ εἴπερ ἄλλος τις παρασχόμενος ποταμός· ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ταυγέτῳ τὰς πηγάς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου οὐ πλέον πέντε.

[24.9] By the sea is a temple of Artemis Dictynna on a promontory, in whose honor they hold an annual festival. A river Smenus reaches the sea to the left of the promontory; its water is extremely sweet to drink; its sources are in Mount Taygetus, and it passes within five stades of the town.

[10] ἐν δὲ Ἀραῖνῳ καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ τάφος Λᾶ καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἔπεστι. τοῦτον τὸν Λᾶν οἰκιστὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, Ἀχιλλέα δὲ κατὰραί σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἑλένην παρὰ Τυνδάρεω γυναῖκα αἰτοῦντα. λέγοντι δὲ ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ Πάτροκλός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν Λᾶν ἀποκτείνας· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ μνηστευσάμενός ἐστιν Ἑλένην. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῶν Ἑλένης μνηστήρων Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν Καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν, μηδὲν τοῦτο ἔστω τεκμήριον οὐκ αἰτῆσαι Ἑλένην αὐτόν:

[24.10] At a spot called Arainus is the tomb of Las with a statue upon it. The natives say that Las was their founder and was killed by Achilles, and that Achilles put in to their country to ask the hand of Helen of Tyndareus. In point of fact it was Patroclus who killed Las, for it was he who was Helen's suitor. We need not regard it as a proof that Achilles did not ask for Helen because he is not mentioned in the Catalogue of Women as one of her suitors.

[11] Ὅμηρος δὲ ἔγραψε μὲν τῆς ποιήσεως ἀρχόμενος ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀτρώεω παισὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐνεχόμενος τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς Τυνδάρεω παραγένοιτο ἐς Τροίαν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἐν ἄθλοις λέγοντα Ἀντίλοχον ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ γενεᾷ, τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεά πρὸς Ἀλκίνοον περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰδου καὶ ἄλλα διηγούμενον καὶ ὅτι Θησέα ἰδεῖν ἐθελῆσαι καὶ Πειρίθουν προτέρους ἄνδρας ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ· Θησέα δὲ ἴσμεν ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην. οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐγχωροῦν ἐστιν ἀρχὴν Ἑλένης μνηστήρα Ἀχιλλέα γενέσθαι.

[24.11] But at the beginning of his poem Homer says that Achilles came to Troy as a favour to the sons of Atreus, and not because he was bound by the oaths which Tyndareus exacted; and in the Games he makes Antilohus say that

Odysseus was a generation older than he, whereas Odysseus, telling Alcinous of his descent to Hades and other adventures, said that he wished to see Theseus and Peirithous, men of an earlier age. We know that Theseus carried off Helen, so that it is quite impossible that Achilles could have been her suitor.

25. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Σκύρας, ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτον ἀνώνυμον τέως ὄντα Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἔσχε ταῖς ναυσίν, ἥνικα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης γάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐκ Σκύρου. διαβάντων δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔστιν ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον * * ἀπωτέρω Διὸς βωμοῦ. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει Πύρριχος ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι φασὶν ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, οἱ δὲ εἶναι θεὸν Πύρριχον τῶν καλουμένων

[25.1] XXV. Beyond the tomb a river named Scyras enters the sea. Formerly it was without a name, but was so called, because Pyrrhus the son of Achilles put in here when he sailed from Scyros to wed Hermione. Across the river is an ancient shrine . . . further from an altar of Zeus.

PYRRHICHUS

Inland, forty stades from the river, lies Pyrrhichus, the name of which is said to be derived from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles;

[2] Κουρήτων: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιληνὸν ἐκ Μαλέας ἐλθόντα ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἰκῆσαι. τραφῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν Σιληνὸν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἐξ ἄσματος Πινδάρου”ὁ ζαμενῆς δὲ ὁ χοροῖτύπος, ὃν Μαλέας ὄρος

ἔθρεψε, Ναΐδος ἀκοίτας, Σιληνός:

“Pindar, Frag. 156 (Schroeder) ὡς δὲ καὶ Πύρριχος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, Πινδάρῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρημένον, λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Μαλέαν οἰκοῦντες.

[25.2] but according to another account Pyrrhichus was one of the gods called Curetes. Others say that Silenus came from Malea and settled here. That Silenus was brought up in Malea is clear from these words in an ode of Pindar:

The mighty one, the dancer, whom the mount of Malea nurtured, husband of Nais, Silenus. Pind. Frag. 156 (Schröder)

Not that Pindar said his name was Pyrrhichus; that is a statement of the men of Malea.

[3] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρρίχῳ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, δοῦναι δὲ σφισι τὸν Σιληνὸν νομίζουσι: σπανίζοιεν τ’ ἂν ὕδατος, εἰ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦτο ἐπιλείποι. θεῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ σφισιν ἱερά ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀστρατείας, ὅτι τῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσω στρατείας ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος: ζόανα μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκας.

[25.3] At Pyrrhichus there is a well in the market-place, considered to be the gift of Silenus. If this were to fail, they would be short of water. The sanctuaries of the gods, that they have in the country, are of Artemis, called Astrateia, because the Amazons stayed their advance (strateia) here, and an Apollo Amazonius. Both gods are represented by wooden images, said to have been dedicated by the women from Thermodon.

TEUTHRONE & TAENARUM

[4] ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρήχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔστι Τευθρώνη: τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ταύτῃ Τεύθραντα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα ἀποφαίνουσι, τιμῶσι δὲ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἰσσωρίαν Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ πηγὴ σφισὶν ἔστι Ναΐα. Τευθρώνης δὲ ἀπέχει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνέχουσα ἄκρα Ταίναρον, καὶ λιμένες ὃ τε Ἀχιλλεῖος ἔστι καὶ Ψαμαθοῦς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα.

[25.4] From Pyrrhichus the road comes down to the sea at Teuthrone. The inhabitants declare that their founder was Teuthras, an Athenian. They honor Artemis Issoria most of the Gods, and have a spring Naia. The promontory of Taenarum projects into the sea 150 stades from Teuthrone, with the harbors Achilleius and Psamathus. On the promontory is a temple like a cave, with a statue of Poseidon in front of it.

[5] ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα, οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆν ὁδοῦ διὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου φερούσης οὔτε ἔτοιμον ὃν πεισθῆναι θεῶν ὑπόγαιον εἶναι τινα οἴκησιν ἐς ἣν ἀθροίζεσθαι τὰς ψυχάς. ἀλλὰ Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὔρεν εἰκότα, ὅφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τραφῆναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἄιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παρατυκὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ, καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ' Εὐρυσθέα:

[25.5] Some of the Greek poets state that Heracles brought up the hound of Hades here, though there is no road that leads underground through the cave, and it is not easy to believe that the gods possess any underground dwelling where the souls collect. But Hecataeus of Miletus gave a plausible explanation, stating that a terrible serpent lived on Taenarum, and was called the hound of Hades, because any one bitten was bound to die of the poison at once, and it was this snake, he said, that was brought by Heracles to Eurystheus.

[6] Ὅμηρος δὲ — πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν Ἄιδου κύνα ὄντινα Ἡρακλῆς ἤγεν — οὔτε ὄνομα ἔθετο οὐδὲν οὔτε συνέπλασεν ἐς τὸ εἶδος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ: οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Κέρβερον ὄνομα ἐποίησαν καὶ κυνὶ τάλλα εἰκάζοντες κεφαλὰς τρεῖς φασιν ἔχειν αὐτὸν, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον Ὀμήρου κύνα τὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σύντροφον εἰρηκότος ἢ εἰ δράκοντα ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν Ἄιδου κύνα.

[25.6] But Homer, who was the first to call the creature brought by Heracles the hound of Hades, did not give it a name or describe it as of manifold form, as

he did in the case of the Chimaera. Later poets gave the name Cerberus, and though in other respects they made him resemble a dog, they say that he had three heads. Homer, however, does not imply that he was a dog, the friend of man, any more than if he had called a real serpent the hound of Hades.

[7] ἀναθήματα δὲ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ καθαροδὸς χαλκοῦς ἐπὶ δελφίνος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀρίωνα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ δελφίνι Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν ἀκοὴν ἐν τῇ Λυδία συγγραφῇ: τὸν δὲ ἐν Ποροσελήνῃ δελφίνα τῷ παιδὶ σῶστρα ἀποδιδόντα, ὅτι συγκοπέντα ὑπὸ ἀλιέων αὐτὸν ἰάσατο, τοῦτον τὸν δελφίνα εἶδον καὶ καλοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ὑπακούοντα καὶ φέροντα, ὅποτε ἐποχεῖσθαι οἱ βούλοιο.

[25.7] Among other offerings on Taenarum is a bronze statue of Arion the harper on a dolphin. Herodotus has told the story of Arion and the dolphin, as he heard it, in his history of Lydia. I have seen the dolphin at Poroselene that rewards the boy for saving his life. It had been damaged by fishermen and he cured it. I saw this dolphin obeying his call and carrying him whenever he wanted to ride on it.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ πηγὴ, νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ θαῦμα εἶναι παρεχομένη, πρότερον δὲ τοῖς ἐνιδούσιν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοὺς λιμένας — φασὶ — καὶ τὰς ναῦς θεάσασθαι παρεῖχε. τοῦτο ἔπαυσε γυνὴ τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μεμιασμένην ἐναποπλύνασα ἐσθῆτα.

[25.8] There is a spring also on Taenarum but now it possesses nothing marvellous. Formerly, as they say, it showed harbors and ships to those who looked into the water. These sights in the water were brought to an end for good and all by a woman washing dirty clothes in it.

[9] Ταινάρου δὲ τῆς ἄκρας πλοῦν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἀφέστηκε Καινήπολις: ὄνομα δὲ ἦν πάλαι καὶ ταύτῃ Ταίναρον. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ μέγαρον Δήμητρος καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου. ἐντεῦθεν ἀποσχόντι τριάκοντα σταδίους Θυρίδες ἄκρα Ταινάρου καὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια Ἰππόλας ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Ἰππολαΐτιδος: ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Μέσσα πόλις καὶ λιμὴν.

[25.9] From the point of Taenarum Caenepolis is distant forty stades by sea. Its name also was formerly Taenarum. In it is a hall of Demeter, and a temple of Aphrodite on the shore, with a standing statue of stone. Thirty stades distant is Thyrides, a headland of Taenarum, with the ruins of a city Hippola; among them is a sanctuary of Athena Hippolaitis. A little further are the town and harbor of Messa.

OETYLUS, THALAMAE & PEPHUS

[10] ἀπὸ τούτου στάδια τοῦ λιμένος πενήκοντά ἐστι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Οἰτύλον: ὁ δὲ ἥρως ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἀργεῖος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν, Ἀμφιάνακτος υἱὸς ὦν τοῦ Ἀντιμάχου. θεὰς δὲ ἄξια ἐν Οἰτύλῳ Σαράπιδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Καρνείου ξόανον Ἀπόλλωνος.

[25.10] From this harbor it is 150 stades to Oetylus. The hero, from whom the city received its name, was an Argive by descent, son of Amphianax, the son of Antimachus. In Oetylus the sanctuary of Sarapis, and in the market-place a wooden image of Apollo Carneius are worth seeing.

26. ἐς Θαλάμας δὲ ἐξ Οἰτύλου μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ στάδιοι περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντά εἰσι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἴνου καὶ μαντεῖον. μαντεύονται μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες, ὅποσα δ' ἂν πυθέσθαι δεηθῶσιν, ὀνείρατα δείκνυσί σφισιν ἢ θεός. χαλκᾷ δὲ ἔστηκεν ἀγάλματα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε Πασιφᾶς καὶ Ἥλιου τὸ ἕτερον: αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ ναῷ σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ στεφανωμάτων, χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι λέγουσι. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἱερᾶς πιεῖν ἡδύ: Σελήνης δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς καὶ οὐ Θαλαμάταις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἐστὶν ἢ Πασιφάη.

[26.1] XXVI. From Oetylus to Thalamae the road is about eighty stades long. On it is a sanctuary of Ino and an oracle. They consult the oracle in sleep, and the goddess reveals whatever they wish to learn, in dreams. Bronze statues of Pasiphae and of Helios stand in the unroofed part of the sanctuary. It was not possible to see the one within the temple clearly, owing to the garlands, but they say this too is of bronze. Water, sweet to drink, flows from a sacred spring. Pasiphae is a title of the Moon, and is not a local goddess of the people of Thalamae.

[2] Θαλαμῶν δὲ ἀπέχει σταδίους εἴκοσιν ὀνομαζομένη Πέφνος ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ. πρόκειται δὲ νησίς πέτρας τῶν μεγάλων οὐ μείζων, Πέφνος καὶ ταύτη τὸ ὄνομα: τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶν οἱ Θαλαμάται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα ἐν ἄσματι οἶδα εἰπόντα: τραφῆναι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐν τῇ Πέφνῳ φασὶν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἐς Πελλάναν κομίσαντα εἶναι.

[26.2] Twenty stades from Thalamae is a place called Pephnus on the coast. In front of it lies a small island no larger than a big rock, also called Pephnus. The people of Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born here. I know that Alcman too says this in a song: but they do not say that they remained to be brought up in Pephnus, but that it was Hermes who took them to Pellana.

[3] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νησίδι ἀγάλματα Διοσκούρων χαλκᾷ μέγεθος ποδιαῖα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς νησίδος ἐστὶν: ταῦτα ἢ θάλασσα ἀποκινεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλει κατακλύζουσα ὥρα χειμῶνος τὴν πέτραν. τοῦτό τε δὴ θαῦμά ἐστι καὶ οἱ μύρμηκες αὐτόθι λευκότερον ἢ ὥς μυρμῆκων τὸ χρῶμα φαίνουσι. τὴν δὲ χώραν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ταύτην αὐτῶν φασὶν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους μᾶλλον τι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίοις προσήκειν νομίζουσιν.

[26.3] In this little island there are bronze statues of the Dioscuri, a foot high, in the open air. The sea will not move them, though in winter-time it washes over the rock, which is wonderful. Also the ants here have a whiter color than is usual. The Messenians say that this district was originally theirs, and so they think that the Dioscuri belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians.

[4] Πέφνου δὲ στάδια εἴκοσιν ἀπέχει Λευκτρα. ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει Λευκτρα, οὐκ οἶδα· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ Λευκίππου τοῦ Περιήρους, ὡς οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασὶ, τούτου μοι δοκοῦσιν ἔνεκα οἱ ταύτῃ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀσκληπιὸν τιμᾶν, ἅτε Ἀρσινόης παῖδα εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου νομίζοντες. λίθου δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἴνους ἐτέρωθι.

[26.4] Twenty stades from Pephnus is Leuctra. I do not know why the city has this name. If indeed it is derived from Leucippus the son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, it is for this reason, I think, that the inhabitants honor Asclepius most of the gods, supposing him to be the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus. There is a stone statue of Asclepius, and of Ino in another place.

[5] πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρας τῆς Πριάμου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα, Ἀλεξάνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγχωρίων καλουμένης· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου ξόανά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων νομίζουσιν οἱ Σπάρτην ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ Ἑρωτός ἐστὶν ἐν Λεύκτροις ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος· ὕδωρ δὲ ὥρα χειμῶνος διαρρεῖ τὸ ἄλσος, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τῷ ἥρι ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων πίπτοντα οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐδὲ πλεονάσαντος παρενεχθεῖ.

[26.5] Also a temple and statue have been erected to Cassandra the daughter of Priam, called Alexandra by the natives. There are wooden images of Apollo Carneius according to the same custom that prevails among the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. On the acropolis is a sanctuary and image of Athena, and there is a temple and grove of Eros in Leuctra. Water flows through the grove in winter-time, but the leaves which are shaken from the trees by the wind would not be carried away by the water even in flood.

[6] ὁ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσση χώρα τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γράφω. ἄνεμος πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον ψιλόν, ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἰθωμάτα. τοῦτο οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασὶ μαρτύριον εἶναι σφισὶ τὰ Λευκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι· δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λευκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἰθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμάς.

[26.6] I record an event which I know to have taken place in my time on the coast of Leuctra. A fire carried by the wind into a wood destroyed most of the trees, and when the place showed bare, a statue of Zeus of Ithome was found to have been dedicated there. The Messenians say that this is evidence that Leuctra was formerly a part of Messenia. But it is possible, if the Lacedaemonians originally lived in Leuctra, that Zeus of Ithome might be worshipped among them.

[7] Καρδαμύλη δέ, ἥς καὶ Ὅμηρος μνήμην ἐποίησατο ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονος

ὑποσχέσεσι δῶρων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶν ὑπήκοος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, βασιλέως Αὐγούστου τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀποτεμομένου. ἀπέχει δὲ Καρδαμύλη θαλάσσης μὲν ὀκτὼ σταδίους, Λεύκτρων δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐνταῦθα οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τέμενος ἱερὸν τῶν Νηρέως θυγατέρων ἐστίν· ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο ἀναβῆναι τὸ χωρίον φασὶν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὰς Πύρρον ὀψομένας τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅτε ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης ἀπῆει γάμον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολίσματι Ἀθηνᾶς τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Κάρνειος, καθὰ Δωριεῦσιν ἐπιχώριον.

[26.7] Cardamyle, which is mentioned by Homer in the Gifts promised by Agamemnon, is subject to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, having been separated from Messenia by the emperor Augustus. It is eight stades from the sea and sixty from Leuctra. Here not far from the beach is a precinct sacred to the daughters of Nereus. They say that they came up from the sea to this spot to see Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, when he was going to Sparta to wed Hermione. In the town is a sanctuary of Athena, and an Apollo Carneius according to the local Dorian custom.

GERENIA, MT CALATHIUM & ALAGONIA

[8] πόλιν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἐνόπην τοῖς Ὀμήρου, Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον συντελοῦντας τὸ Ἐλευθερολακόνων, καλοῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Γερηνίαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Νέστορα οἱ μὲν τραφῆναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν φεύγοντα τὸ χωρίον, ἥνικα Πύλος ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους.

[26.8] A city, called in Homer's poems Enope, with Messenian inhabitants but belonging to the league of the Free Laconians, is called in our time Gerenia. One account states that Nestor was brought up in this city, another that he took refuge here, when Pylos was captured by Heracles.

[9] ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ μνῆμα καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἅγιον, καὶ ἀνθρώποις νόσων ἰάματα παρὰ τῷ Μαχάονι ἔστιν εὐρέσθαι. καὶ Ῥόδον μὲν τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἱερόν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ τοῦ Μαχάονος χαλκοῦν ἐστιν ὀρθόν· ἐπικείται δὲ οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ὃν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κίφος καλοῦσι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ. Μαχάονα δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρύπυλου τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτῆσαι φησὶν ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα.

[26.9] Here in Gerenia is a tomb of Machaon, son of Asclepius, and a holy sanctuary. In his temple men may find cures for diseases. They call the holy spot Rhodos; there is a standing bronze statue of Machaon, with a crown on his head which the Messenians in the local speech call kiphos. The author of the epic The Little Iliad says that Machaon was killed by Eurypylus, son of Telephus.

[10] διὸ καὶ τάδε αὐτὸς οἶδα περὶ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐν Περγάμῳ γινόμενα: ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ Τηλέφου τῶν ὕμνων, προσάδουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπυλον, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ θέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν αὐτόν, οἷα ἐπιστάμενοι φονέα ὄντα Μαχάονος. ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ Νέστορα λέγεται τοῦ Μαχάονος τὰ ὁστᾶ: Ποδαλείριον δέ, ὡς ὀπίσω πορθήσαντες Ἴλιον ἐκομίζοντο, ἁμαρτεῖν τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς Σύρνον τῆς Καρικῆς ἡπέιρου φασὶν ἀποσωθέντα οἰκῆσαι.

[26.10] I myself know that to be the reason of the practice at the temple of Asclepius at Pergamum, where they begin their hymns with Telephus but make no reference to Eurypylus, or care to mention his name in the temple at all, as they know that he was the slayer of Machaon. It is said that the bones of Machaon were brought home by Nestor, but that Podaleirius, as they were

returning after the sack of Troy, was carried out of his course and reached Syrnus on the Carian mainland in safety and settled there.

[11] τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Γερηνίας ὄρος Καλάθιον ἐστίν· ἐν αὐτῷ Κλαίας ἱερὸν καὶ σπήλαιον παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερὸν, ἔσοδον μὲν στενὴν, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον παρεχόμενον θεὰς ἄξια. Γερηνίας δὲ ὥς ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἄνω τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίου· Ἀλαγονία, καὶ τὸ πόλισμα κατηρίθμησα ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἐλευθερολάκῳσι· θεὰς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερά.

[26.11] In the territory of Gerenia is a mountain, Calathium; on it is a sanctuary of Claea with a cave close beside it; it has a narrow entrance, but contains objects which are worth seeing. Thirty stades inland from Gerenia is Alagonia, a town which I have already mentioned in the list of the Free Laconians. Worth seeing here are temples of Dionysus and of Artemis.

BOOK IV.

Μεσσηνιακά

BOOK IV.

MESSENIA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. Μεσσηνίοις δὲ πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν τὴν ἀπονεμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὸ Λακωνικὸν ὅροι κατὰ τὴν Γερηνίαν εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἡ ὀνομαζομένη Χοῖριος νάπη. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔρημον οὖσαν οὕτω σχεῖν τοὺς πρώτους λέγουσιν οἰκήτορας: ἀποθανόντος Λέλεγος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λακωνικῇ, τότε δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνου Λελεγία καλουμένη, Μύλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ὢν τῶν παίδων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, Πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερός τε ἦν ἡλικία καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ιδιώτης, ἐς ὃ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα τοῦ Φόρβαντος ἔλαβε γυναῖκα ἐξ Ἄργους.

[1.1] I. The frontier between Messenia and that part of it which was incorporated by the emperor in Laconia towards Gerenia is formed in our time by the valley called Choerius. They say that this country, being unoccupied, received its first inhabitants in the following manner: On the death of Lelex, who ruled in the present Laconia, then called after him Lelegia, Myles, the elder of his sons, received the kingdom. Polycæon was the younger and for this reason a private person, until he took to wife Messene, the daughter of Triopas, son of Phorbas, from Argos.

[2] φρονοῦσα δὲ ἡ Μεσσήνη διὰ τὸν πατέρα, ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει τῶν τότε προέχοντα Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἡξίου τὸν ἄνδρα ιδιωτεύειν. ἀθροίσαντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἄργους δύναμιν καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν, καὶ συμπάσῃ μὲν ἐτέθη τῇ γῇ Μεσσήνῃ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Πολυκάωνος γυναικός, πόλεις δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ — ἐνθα τὰ βασίλεια κατεσκευάσθη σφίσιν — Ἀνδανία.

[1.2] Messene, being proud of her origin, for her father was the chief of the Greeks of his day in reputation and power, was not content that her husband should be a private person. They collected a force from Argos and from Lacedæmon and came to this country, the whole land receiving the name Messene from the wife of Polycæon. Together with other cities, they founded Andania, where their palace was built.

[3] πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης, ἦν Θηβαῖοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο ἐν Λεῦκτροις, καὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθάμῃ, πόλιν οὐδεμίαν πω κληθῆναι πρότερον δοκῶ Μεσσήνην: εἰκάζω δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ὀμήρου τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ καταλόγῳ τῶν ἐς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένων Πύλον καὶ Ἀρήνην καὶ ἄλλας καταλέγων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν Μεσσήνην ἐκάλεσεν: ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ δὲ δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἔθνος καὶ οὐ πόλιν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, μῆλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες αἶριαν,

“Hom. Od 21.18

[1.3] Before the battle which the Thebans fought with the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, and the foundation of the present city of Messene under Ithome, I think that no city had the name Messene. I base this conclusion principally on Homer’s lines. In the catalogue of those who came to Troy he enumerated Pylos, Arene and other towns, but called no town Messene. In the Odyssey he shows that the Messenians were a tribe and not a city by the following:—

For Messenian men carried away sheep from Ithaca. Hom. Od. 21.18

[4] σαφέστερον δὲ ἔτι περὶ τοῦ τόξου λέγων τοῦ Ἰφίτου”τὸ δ’ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ
συμβλήτην ἀλλήλουν

οἶκῳ ἐν Ὀρτιλόχῳ.

“Hom. Od 21.15 τοῦ γὰρ Ὀρτιλόχου τὸν οἶκον ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πόλισμα εἶρηκε
τὰς Φηράς, καὶ τότε ἐξηγήσατο αὐτὸς ἐν Πεισιστράτου παρὰ Μενέλαον
ἀποδημία: “ἐς Φηράς δ’ ἵκοντο Διοκλῆος ποτὶ δῶμα,

υἱέος Ὀρτιλόχῳ.

“Hom. Od 3.488

[1.4] He is still more clear when speaking about the bow of Iphitus:—

They met one another in Messene in the dwelling of Ortilochus. Hom. Od. 21.15

By the dwelling of Ortilochus he meant the city of Pherae in Messene, and explained this himself in the visit of Peisistratus to Menelaus:—

They came to Pherae to the house of Diocleus,
son of Ortilochus. Hom. Od. 3.488

[5] πρῶτοι δ’ οὖν βασιλεύουσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ Πολυκάων τε ὁ Λέλεγος καὶ
Μεσσήνῃ γυνὴ τοῦ Πολυκάονος. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Μεσσήνην τὰ ὄργια
κομίζων τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Καύκων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ὁ Κελαινοῦ τοῦ
Φλύου. Φλῦον δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς: ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι
καὶ ὕμνος Μουσαίου Λυκομίδαις ποιηθεὶς ἐς Δήμητρα.

[1.5] The first rulers then in this country were Polycæon, the son of Lelex, and Messene his wife. It was to her that Caucon, the son of Celaenus, son of Phlyus, brought the rites of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis. Phlyus himself is said by the Athenians to have been the son of Earth, and the hymn of Musæus to Demeter made for the Lycomidae agrees.

[6] τὴν δὲ τελετὴν τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν
ὕστερον Καύκωνος προήγαγεν ἐς πλεόν τιμῆς: καὶ Λύκου δρυμὸν ἔτι
ὀνομάζουσιν ἔνθα ἐκάθηρε τοὺς μύστας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δρυμὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γῇ
ταύτῃ Λύκου καλούμενος, Ῥιανῶ τῷ Κρητὶ ἐστὶ πεποιημένον”πάρ τε τρηχὺν
Ἐλαιὸν ὑπὲρ δρυμὸν τε Λύκοιο:

[1.6] But the mysteries of the Great Goddesses were raised to greater honor many years later than Caucon by Lycus, the son of Pandion, an oak-wood, where he purified the celebrants, being still called Lycus' wood. That there is a wood in this land so called is stated by Rhianus the Cretan:—

By rugged Elaeum above Lycus' wood.

[7] ὥς δὲ ὁ Πανδίωνος οὗτος ἦν Λύκος, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ἔπη τῇ Μεθάπου. μετεκόσμησε γὰρ καὶ

Μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς ἔστιν ἄ· ὁ δὲ Μέθαπος γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, τελεστῆς δὲ καὶ ὀργίων καὶ παντοίων συνθέτης. οὗτος καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν Καβείρων τὴν τελετὴν κατεστήσατο, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ κλίσιον τὸ Λυκομιδῶν εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλα τε λέγον καὶ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐς πίστιν συντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου:

[1.7] That this Lycus was the son of Pandion is made clear by the lines on the statue of Methapus, who made certain improvements in the mysteries. Methapus was an Athenian by birth, an expert in the mysteries and founder of all kinds of rites. It was he who established the mysteries of the Cabiri at Thebes, and dedicated in the hut of the Lycomidae a statue with an inscription that amongst other things helps to confirm my account:—

[8] “ἦγγνισα δ’ Ἑρμείῳ δόμους σεμνῆς τε κέλευθα

Δάματρος καὶ πρωτογόνου Κούρας, ὅθι φασὶ

Μεσσήνην θεῖναι Μεγάλαισι θεαῖσιν ἀγῶνα

Φλυάδεω κλεινοῖο γόνου Καυκωνιάδαο.

θαύμασα δ’ ὥς σύμπαντα Λύκος Πανδίωνιος φῶς

Ἀτθίδος ἱερὰ ἔργα παρ’ Ἀνδανίῃ θέτο κεδνῇ.

“

[1.8] I sanctified houses of Hermes and paths of holy Demeter and Kore her firstborn, where they say that Messene established the feast of the Great Goddesses, taught by Caucon, sprung from Phlyus' noble son. And I wondered that Lycus, son of Pandion, brought all the Attic rite to wise Andania.

[9] τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ μὲν ὥς παρὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Καύκων ἀπόγονος ὦν Φλύου, δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Λύκον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὥς ἡ τελετὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ. καὶ μοι καὶ τοῦτο εἰκὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ ἐτέρωθι, ἀλλὰ ἔνθα αὐτὴ τε καὶ Πολυκάων ὥκουν, καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν.

[1.9] This inscription shows that Caucon who came to Messene was a descendant of Phlyus, and proves my other statements with regard to Lycus, and that the mysteries were originally at Andania. And it seems natural to me

that Messene should have established the mysteries where she and Polycæon lived, not anywhere else.

2. πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῇ πάνν ἐθελήσας, οἱ τινες παῖδες Πολυκάωνι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἑοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναιθῶν καὶ Ἀσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. οὐ μὴν ἔς γε ταῦτα ἦν σφισιν οὐδὲν πεποιημένον, ἀλλὰ Ὑλλου μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐαίχμῃ συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάωνα υἱὸν Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς

μεγάλας οἶδα Ἑοίας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεσσήνης ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν Μεσσήνην παρεῖται σφισι.

[2.1] II. As I was extremely anxious to learn what children were born to Polycæon by Messene, I read the poem called Eoeæ and the epic Naupactia, and in addition to these all the genealogies of Cinaethon and Asius. However, they made no reference to this matter, although I know that the Great Eoeæ says that Polycæon, the son of Butes, married Euaichme, the daughter of Hyllus, son of Heracles, but it omits all reference to the husband of Messene and to Messene herself.

[2] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὥς ἦν τῶν Πολυκάωνος οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀπογόνων, ἐς γενεὰς πέντε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προελθόντων καὶ οὐ πλέονας, Περιήρην τὸν Αἰόλου βασιλέα ἐπάγονται. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκετο, ὥς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι φασι, Μελανεύς, τοξεύειν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι νομιζόμενος· καὶ οἱ τῆς χώρας τὸ Καρνάσιον, τότε δὲ Οἰχαλίαν κληθεῖσαν, ἀπένειμεν ὁ Περιήρης ἐνοικῆσαι· γενέσθαι δὲ ὄνομα Οἰχαλίαν τῇ πόλει φασὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μελανέως τῆς γυναικός.

[2.2] Some time later, as no descendant of Polycæon survived (in my opinion his house lasted for five generations, but no more), they summoned Perieres, the son of Aeolus, as king. To him, the Messenians say, came Melaneus, a good archer and considered for this reason to be a son of Apollo; Perieres assigned to him as a dwelling a part of the country now called the Carnasium, but which then received the name Oechalia, derived, as they say, from the wife of Melaneus.

[3] Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ καὶ Εὐβοεῖς, ἥκει γὰρ δὴ ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὰ πλείω, λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὥς τὸ Εὐρύτιον — χωρίον δὲ ἔρημον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστι τὸ Εὐρύτιον — πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Οἰχαλία, τῷ δὲ Εὐβοέων λόγῳ Κρεώφυλος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίηκεν ὁμολογοῦντα· Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Σκίῳ μοῖρα τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς ἔγραψεν εἶναι Οἰχαλίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὰ τε ἄλλα δοκοῦσί μοι μᾶλλον εἰκότα ἐκείνων λέγειν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ὁστῶν ἔνεκα τῶν Εὐρύτου, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτά που ὁ λόγος ἐπέξεισί μοι.

[2.3] Most matters of Greek history have come to be disputed. The Thessalians say that Eurytium, which to-day is not inhabited, was formerly a city and was called Oechalia. The account given by the Euboeans agrees with the

statements of Creophylus in his Heraeleia; and Hecataeus of Miletus stated that Oechalia is in Scius, a part of the territory of Eretria. Nevertheless, I think that the whole version of the Messenians is more probable than these, particularly on account of the bones of Eurytus, which my story will deal with later.

[4] Περιήρει δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ Γοργοφόνης τῆς Περσέως Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ Λεύκιππος, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε Περιήρης, ἔσχον οὗτοι τὴν Μεσσηνίων ἀρχήν: κυριώτερος δὲ ἔτι Ἀφαρεὺς ἦν. οὗτος βασιλεύσας πόλιν ὤκισεν Ἀρήνην ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰβάλου θυγατρὸς, αὐτοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀδελφῆς ὁμομητρίας: καὶ γὰρ

Οἰβάλῳ συνώκησε Γοργοφόνη, καὶ μοι δις ἤδη τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ἐν τε τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἐδήλωσε καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ συγγραφῇ.

[2.4] Perieres had issue by Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, Aphareus and Leucippus, and after his death they inherited the Messenian kingdom. But Aphareus had the greater authority. On his accession he founded a city Arene, named after the daughter of Oebalus, who was both his wife and sister by the same mother. For Gorgophone was married to Oebalus. The facts regarding her have already been given twice, in my account of the Argolid and of Laconia.

[5] ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀφαρεὺς πόλιν τε ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ Νηλέα τὸν Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ, φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελίαν ἐδέξατο οἴκῳ καὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἔδωκε τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν οἷς ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν πόλεις καὶ ἡ Πύλος, ἔνθα καὶ ὤκησε καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον κατεστήσατο ὁ Νηλεὺς.

[2.5] Aphareus then founded the city of Arena in Messenia, and received into his house his cousin Neleus the son of Cretheus, son of Aeolus (he was also called a son of Poseidon), when he was driven from Iolcos by Pelias. He gave him the maritime part of the land, where with other towns was Pylos, in which Neleus settled and established his palace.

[6] ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἰγέα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφευγε: καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐπέδειξε τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Ἀφαρεῖ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀρήνῃ: ταῦτα δὲ σφισιν ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην ὁ Καῦκων ἐμύθησεν ἐνταῦθα.

[2.6] Lycus the son of Pandion also came to Arene, when he too was driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus, and revealed the rites of the Great Goddesses to Aphareus and his children and to his wife Arene; but it was to Andania that he brought the rites and revealed them there, as it was there that Caucon initiated Messene.

[7] Ἀφαρεῖ δὲ τῶν παίδων πρεσβύτερος μὲν καὶ ἀνδρειότερος Ἴδας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Λυγκεύς, ὃν ἔφη Πίνδαρος — ὅτῳ πιστὰ — οὕτως ὁξὺ ὄρᾱν ὡς καὶ διὰ στελέχους θεᾶσθαι δρυός. Λυγκέως μὲν δὴ παῖδα οὐκ ἴσμεν γενόμενον, Ἴδα

δὲ Κλεοπάτραν θυγατέρα ἐκ Μαρπήσσης, ἣ Μελεάγρῳ συνώκησεν. ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὰ Κύπρια Πρωτεσιλάου φησίν, ὃς ὅτε κατὰ τὴν Τρωάδα ἔσχον Ἕλληνες ἀποβῆναι πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε, Πρωτεσιλάου τούτου τὴν γυναῖκα Πολυδώραν μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, θυγατέρα δὲ Μελεάγρου φησίν εἶναι τοῦ Οἰνέως. εἰ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἀληθές, αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται τρεῖς οὔσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Μαρπήσσης ἀρξάμεναι προαποθανοῦσι πᾶσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἑαυτάς ἐπικατέσφαξαν.

[2.7] Of the children born to Aphareus Idas was the elder and more brave, Lynceus the younger; he, if Pindar's words are credible, possessed eyesight so keen that he saw through the trunk of an oak. We know of no child of Lynceus, but Idas had by Marpessa a daughter Cleopatra, who married Meleager. The writer of the epic Cypria says that the wife of Protesilaus, the first who dared to land when the Greeks reached Troy, was named Polydora, whom he calls a daughter of Meleager the son of Oeneus. If this is correct, these three women, the first of whom was Marpessa, all slew themselves on the death of their husbands.

3. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἀφαρέως παισὶ πρὸς τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐγένετο ἀνεψιοὺς ὄντας μάχῃ περὶ τῶν βοῶν καὶ τὸν μὲν Πολυδεύκης ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἴδαν δὲ ἐπέλαβε τὸ χρεὼν κεραυνωθέντα, ὁ μὲν Ἀφαρέως οἶκος γένους παντὸς ἡρήμωτο τοῦ ἄρρενος, ἐς δὲ Νέστορα τὸν τοῦ Νηλέως περιῆλθε Μεσσηνίων ἢ ἀρχὴ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσων πρότερον ἐβασίλευεν Ἴδας, πλὴν ὅσοι τοῖς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παισὶν αὐτῶν ὑπῆκουον.

[3.1] III. After the fight about the cattle between the sons of Aphareus and their cousins the Dioscuri, when Lynceus was killed by Polydeuces and Idas met his doom from the lightning, the house of Aphareus was bereft of all male descendants, and the kingdom of Messenia passed to Nestor the son of Neleus, including all the part ruled formerly by Idas, but not that subject to the sons of Asclepius.

[2] καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδας στρατεῦσαί φασιν ἐπ' Ἴλιον Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, Ἀρσινόης γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸν τῆς Λευκίππου καὶ οὐ Κορωνίδος παῖδα εἶναι: καὶ Τρίκκαν τε καλοῦσιν ἔρημον ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον καὶ ἔπη τῶν Ὀμήρου καταλέγουσιν, ἐν οἷς τὸν Μαχάονα ὁ Νέστωρ τῷ οἰστῷ βεβλημένον περιέπων ἐστὶν εὐνοϊκῶς: οὐκ ἂν οὖν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ ἐς γείτονα καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα ὁμοφύλων προθυμίαν τοσήνδε γε ἐπιδείξασθαι. οἱ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἤδη βεβαιοῦνται τὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας λόγον, ἀποφαίνοντες ἐν Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος μνημα καὶ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς τῶν Μαχάονος παίδων ἱερόν.

[3.2] For they say that the sons of Asclepius who went to Troy were Messenians, Asclepius being the son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, not the son of Coronis, and they call a desolate spot in Messenia by the name Tricca and quote the lines of Homer, in which Nestor tends Machaon kindly, when he has been wounded by the arrow. He would not have shown such readiness except to a neighbor and king of a kindred people. But the surest

warrant for their account of the Asclepiadae is that they point to a tomb of Machaon in Gerenia and to the sanctuary of his sons at Pharae.

[3] διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον πολέμου καὶ Νέστορος ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν οἴκαδε τελευτήσαντος, Δωριέων στόλος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ἡρακλειδῶν γενομένη δύο γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Νηλέως ἀπογόνους ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. καὶ μοι ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἥδη τῷ λόγῳ προσθήκη τῷ ἐς Τισαμενόν· πλὴν τοσόνδε ἔτι δηλώσω. Τημένῳ τῶν Δωριέων Ἄργος ἐφέντων ἔχειν, Κρεσφόντης γῆν σφᾶς ἥτει τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἅτε καὶ αὐτὸς

Ἀριστοδήμου πρεσβύτερος.

[3.3] After the conclusion of the Trojan war and the death of Nestor after his return home, the Dorian expedition and return of the Heracleidae, which took place two generations later, drove the descendants of Nestor from Messenia. This has already formed a part of my account of Tisamenus.

MESSENIA, HISTORY

I will only add the following: When the Dorians assigned Argos to Temenus, Cresphontes asked them for the land of Messenia, in that he was older than Aristodemus.

[4] Ἀριστόδημος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγγανεν ἤδη τεθνεώς, Θήρας δὲ ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Θηβαῖός τε καὶ ἀπόγονος πέμπτος Πολυνεῖκος τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, τότε δὲ ἐπετρόπευεν Ἀριστοδήμου τοὺς παῖδας θεῖος ὢν πρὸς μητρός· Αὐτεσίωνος γὰρ θυγατέρα Ἀριστόδημος ἔγχευεν ὄνομα Ἀργεῖαν. Κρεσφόντης δὲ — γενέσθαι γάρ οἱ ἤθελε τὴν Μεσσηνίαν πάντως μοῖραν — Τημένου δεῖται, παρεσκευασμένος δὲ τοῦτον τῷ κλήρῳ δῆθεν ἐφίησι.

[3.4] Aristodemus was now dead, but Cresphontes was vigorously opposed by Theras the son of Autesion, who was of Theban origin and fourth in descent from Polyneices the son of Oedipus. He was at that time guardian of the sons of Aristodemus, being their uncle on the mother's side, Aristodemus having married a daughter of Autesion, called Argeia. Cresphontes, wishing to obtain Messenia as his portion at all costs, approached Temenus, and having suborned him pretended to leave the decision to the lot.

[5] Τήμενος δὲ ἐς ὕδριαν, ἐνόντος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατος, καθίησι τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων καὶ Κρεσφόντου τοὺς πάλους ἐπὶ διηρημένοις, μοῖραν ἀναιρεῖσθαι τῆς χώρας προτέρους ὀποτέρων ἂν πάλος ἀνέλθῃ πρότερον. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πάλους γῆς ὁ Τήμενος ἐπεποίητο ἀμφοτέρους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ ξηρᾶς ὑπὸ ἡλίου, Κρεσφόντῃ δὲ ὀπτῆς πυρί· ὃ τε δὴ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων πάλος κατετέθηκτο καὶ ὁ Κρεσφόντης οὕτω λαχὼν γῆν αἰρεῖται τὴν Μεσσηνίαν.

[3.5] Temenus put the lots of the children of Aristodemus and of Cresphontes into a jar containing water, the terms being that the party whose lot came up

first should be the first to choose a portion of the country. Temenus had caused both lots to be made of clay, but for the sons of Aristodemus sun-dried, for Cresphontes baked with fire. So the lot of the sons of Aristodemus was dissolved, and Cresphontes, winning in this way, chose Messenia.

[6] Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων ὁ δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν· ταῦτα δὲ σφισιν εἶκιν παρίστατο ὑποψία πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύοντας, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οἱ Νηλεῖδαι. γυναῖκα δὲ ἔσχε Κρεσφόντης Μερόπην τὴν Κυψέλου, βασιλεύοντος τότε Ἀρκάδων, ἀφ' ἧς ἄλλοι τε δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ καὶ νεώτατος Αἴπυτος·

[3.6] The common people of the old Messenians were not dispossessed by the Dorians, but agreed to be ruled by Cresphontes and to divide the land with the Dorians. They were induced to give way to them in this by the suspicion which they felt for their rulers, as the Neleidae were originally of Iolcos. Cresphontes took to wife Merope the daughter of Cypselus, then king of the Arcadians, by whom with other children was born to him Aepytus his youngest.

[7] τὰ δὲ βασιλεία, ἔνθα αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἔμελλον οἰκήσειν, ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Περιήρης ὥκουν ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ, κτίσαντος δὲ Ἀφαρέως Ἀρήνην αὖθις Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐνταῦθα ὥκησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ Νέστορος καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἐν Πύλῳ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν· Κρεσφόντης δὲ ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τὸν βασιλέα οἰκεῖν κατεστήσατο. διοικούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτὸν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς λοιπούς, ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος — παῖδα

[3.7] He had the palace, which he and his children were to occupy, built in Stenyclerus. Originally Perieres and the other kings dwelt at Andania, but when Aphareus founded Arene, he and his sons settled there. In the time of Nestor and his descendants the palace was at Pylos, but Cresphontes ordained that the king should live in Stenyclerus. As his government for the most part was directed in favour of the people, the rich rebelled and killed Cresphontes and all his sons except Aepytus.

[8] γὰρ ἔτι ὄντα ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύψελος — περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην· συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωριέων, οἳ τε Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Ἴσθμιος ὁ Τημένου. Αἴπυτος δὲ ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐτιμώρησατο μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς φονέας, ἐτιμώρησατο δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ φόνου παραίτιοι καθεστήκεσαν· προσαγόμενος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τέλει τῶν Μεσσηνίων θεραπείαις, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ δήμου, δωρεαῖς, ἐς τοσοῦτο προέβη τιμῆς ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Αἰπυτίδας ἀντὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κληθῆναι.

[3.8] He was still a boy and being brought up by Cypselus, and was the sole

survivor of his house. When he reached manhood, he was brought back by the Arcadians to Messene, the other Dorian kings, the sons of Aristodemus and Isthmius, the son of Temenus, helping to restore him. On becoming king, Aepytus punished his father's murderers and all who had been accessories to the crime. By winning the Messenian nobles to his side by deference, and all who were of the people by gifts, he attained to such honor that his descendants were given the name of Aepytidae instead of Heracleidae.

[9] Γλαύκῳ δὲ τῷ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύσαντι μετὰ Αἴπυτον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξήρκεσε μιμήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας, εὐσεβείας δὲ ἐς πλεόν προέβη. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Ἰθώμης τέμενος, ἀνέντων Πολυκάονος καὶ Μεσσήνης, οὐκ ἔχον παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πῶ τιμάς, Γλαῦκος ἦν ὁ καὶ τούτοις σέβειν καταστησάμενος· καὶ Μαχάονι τῷ Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρῶτος ἔθυσεν ἐν Γερηνίᾳ, γέρα δὲ ἀπένευμε Μεσσήνῃ τῇ Τριόπα τὰ νομιζόμενα ἥρωσιν.

[3.9] Glaucus, his son and successor, was content to imitate his father in all other matters, both publicly and in his treatment of individuals, but attained to greater piety. For the precinct of Zeus on the summit of Ithome, having been consecrated by Polycæon and Messene, had hitherto received no honor among the Dorians, and it was Glaucus who established this worship among them and he was the first to sacrifice to Machaon the son of Asclepius in Gerenia, and to assign to Messene, the daughter of Triopas, the honors customarily paid to heroes.

[10] Ἴσθμιος δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Γοργάσῳ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς ἐποίησεν· Ἴσθμίου δὲ γίνεται Δωτάδας, ὃς ἐπίνεια καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Μεσσηνίας παρεχομένης τὸ ἐν Μοθώνῃ κατεσκευάσατο. Συβότας δὲ ὁ Δωτάδα τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμίσῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον θύειν τὸν βασιλεύοντα καὶ Εὐρύτῳ τῷ Μελανέως ἐναγίζειν ἐν Οἰχαλία πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἀγομένης ἔτι ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ.

[3.10] Isthmius the son of Glaucus built a shrine also to Gorgasus and Nicomachus which is in Pharae. Isthmius had a son Dotadas, who constructed the harbor at Mothone, though Messenia contained others. Sybotas the son of Dotadas established the annual sacrifice by the king to the river Pamisus and also the offering to the hero Eurytus the son of Melaneus at Oechalia before the mysteries of the great Goddesses, which were still held at Andania.

4. ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι· τὸ δὲ σφισιν ἕσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἶναί τε ὥς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τῆς Φίντα βασιλείας διαφορὰ πρῶτον, ἀπὸ αἰτίας ἀμφισβητουμένης μὲν καὶ ταύτης, γενέσθαι δὲ οὕτω λεγομένης.

[4.1] IV. In the reign of Phintas the son of Sybotas the Messenians for the first time sent an offering and chorus of men to Apollo at Delos. Their

processional hymn to the god was composed by Eumelus, this poem being the only one of his that is considered genuine. It was in the reign of Phintas that a quarrel first took place with the Lacedaemonians. The very cause is disputed, but is said to have been as follows:

[2] ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἱ τε Μεσσήνιοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ φασιν ὡς παρθένους αὐτῶν παραγενομένας ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτάς τε βιάσαιντο ἄνδρες τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀποκτείναιεν πειρώμενον κωλύειν, Τήλεκλον Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λαβῶτα τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος, πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις τὰς

βιασθείσας τῶν παρθένων διεργάσασθαι λέγουσιν αὐτὰς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης:

[4.2] There is a sanctuary of Artemis called Limnatis (of the Lake) on the frontier of Messenian, in which the Messenians and the Lacedaemonians alone of the Dorians shared. According to the Lacedaemonians their maidens coming to the festival were violated by Messenian men and their king was killed in trying to prevent it. He was Teleclus the son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Labotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis. In addition to this they say that the maidens who were violated killed themselves for shame.

[3] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἔλθοῦσι σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κατὰ ἀξίωμα, τούτοις φασὶν ἐπιβουλευσαι Τήλεκλον, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπιβουλευόντα δὲ ἐπιλέξαι Σπαρτιατῶν ὅποσοι πῶ γένεια οὐκ εἶχον, τούτους δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους ἀναπαυομένοις τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπεισαγαγεῖν, δόντα ἐγχειρίδια: καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τοὺς τε ἀγενεῖους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει Τήλεκλον, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα βουλευσαι σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα — συνειδότας ὡς ἄρξαιεν ἀδικίας, τοῦ φόνου σφῶς τοῦ Τηλέκλου δίκας οὐκ ἀπαιτῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν ἑκάτεροι λέγουσι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὡς ἔχει τις ἐς τοὺς ἑτέρους σπουδῆς.

[4.3] The Messenians say that a plot was formed by Teleclus against persons of the highest rank in Messene who had come to the sanctuary, his incentive being the excellence of the Messenian land; in furtherance of his design he selected some Spartan youths, all without beards, dressed them in girls' clothes and ornaments, and providing them with daggers introduced them among the Messenians when they were resting; the Messenians, in defending themselves, killed the beardless youths and Teleclus himself; but the Lacedaemonians, they say, whose king did not plan this without the general consent, being conscious that they had begun the wrong, did not demand justice for the murder of Teleclus. These are the accounts given by the two sides; one may believe them according to one's feelings towards either side.

[4] γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος, Μεσσηνίων δὲ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τῶν Φίντα, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἐξήρθη τὸ ἐς ἀλλήλους μῖσος: καὶ ἦρξαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμου, ἐπιγενομένης ἀφορμῆς σφισιν ἐθελέχθως μὲν ἔχουσι καὶ πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἐγνωκόσιν οὐ μόνον ἀποχρώσης ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐπροσώπου, μετὰ δὲ εἰρηνικωτέρας γνώμης κἂν διελύθη δικαστηρίου γνώσει. τὰ δὲ συμβάντα ἔσχεν οὕτω.

[4.4] A generation later in the reign of Alcamenes the son of Teleclus in Lacedaemon — the king of the other house was Theopompus the son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon in Messenia Antiochus and Androcles, the sons of Phintas were reigning — the mutual hatred of the Lacedaemonians and Messenians was aroused, and the Lacedaemonians began war, obtaining a pretext which was not only sufficient for them, eager for a quarrel as they were and resolved on war at all costs, but also plausible in the highest degree, although with a more peaceful disposition it could have been settled by the decision of a court. What happened was as follows.

[5] Πολυχάρης Μεσσηνίος τὰ τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀφανὴς καὶ νίκην Ὀλυμπίαισιν ἀννηρημένος — τετάρτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἦγον Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ἀγώνισμα ἦν σταδίου μόνον, ὅτε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐνίκησεν — , τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐγένοντο βοῦς: καὶ — οὐ γὰρ ἐκέκτετο ἰδίαν γῆν ὥς νομὰς ταῖς βουσίην ἱκανὰς εἶναι — Σπαρτιάτῃ σφᾶς δίδωσιν Εὐαίφνῳ βόσκεισθαι τε ἐν ἐκείνου καὶ μοῖραν εἶναι καὶ Εὐαίφνῳ τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν βοῶν.

[4.5] There was a Messenian Polychares, a man of no small distinction in all respects and an Olympic victor. (The Eleians were holding the fourth Olympiad, the only event being the short foot-race, when Polychares won his victory.) This man, possessing cattle without land of his own to provide them with sufficient grazing, gave them to a Spartan Euaephnus to feed on his own land, Euaephnus to have a share of the produce.

[6] ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοιόσδε τις ὁ Εὐαίφνος, κέρδη τε ἄδικα ἐπίπροσθεν ἢ πιστὸς εἶναι ποιούμενος καὶ ἄλλως αἰμύλος: ὃς καὶ τότε καταπλεύσας ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμπορίῳ ἀποδόμενος βοῦς τὰς Πολυχάρους ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ὥς Πολυχάρην ἄγγελος, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἀποβάντας ἔλεγεν ἐς τὴν χώραν ληστὰς καὶ βιασαμένους αὐτὸν λείαν βοῦς τε ἄγεσθαι καὶ βουκόλους. ἕως δὲ οὕτως παρέπειθεν, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις βουκόλων ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς ἐμποροὺς, ἐπανήκων δὲ καταλαμβάνει τε αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸν Εὐαίφνον καὶ Πολυχάρους ἐναντίον ἤλεγχεν.

[4.6] Now Euaephnus was a man who set unjust gain above loyalty, and a trickster besides. He sold the cattle of Polychares to some merchants who put in to Laconia, and went himself to inform Polychares but he said that pirates

had landed in the country, had overcome him and carried off the cattle and the herdsmen. While he was trying to deceive him by his lies, one of the herdsmen, escaping in the meantime from the merchants, returned and found Euaephnus there with his master, and convicted him before Polychares.

[7] ἀλίσκόμενος δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἀπαρνήσασθαι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸν Πολυχάρην, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν παῖδα ἰκέτευε νεῖμαί οἱ συγγνώμην: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει καὶ ἄλλων ἐνόντων, ἐφ' οἷς βιαζόμεθα ἄδικοι γίνεσθαι, τὰ κέρδη μεγίστην ἀνάγκην ἔχειν: τιμὴν δὲ ἦντινα εἰλήφει τῶν βοῶν, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἡξίου τὸν Πολυχάρους ἔπεσθαι οἱ κοιμούμενον. ὥς δὲ προϊόντες ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ, ἔργον ἐτόλμησεν Εὐαίφνος ἀνοσιώτερον τοῦ προτέρου:

[4.7] Thus caught and unable to deny it, he made many appeals to Polychares himself and to his son to grant him pardon; for among the many inducements to be found in human nature which drive us to wrongdoing the love of gain exercises the greatest power. He stated the price which he had received for the cattle and begged that the son of Polychares should come with him to receive it. When on their way they reached Laconia, Euaephnus dared a deed more impious than the first; he murdered Polychares' son.

[8] φονεύει τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν υἱόν. ὁ δὲ ὥς καὶ ταῦτα ἔγνω πεπονθώς, φοιτῶν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις δι' ὄχλου, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν παῖδα ἀνακλαίων, καταριθμούμενος δὲ οἷα ὑπὸ Εὐαίφνου πεπονθώς ἦν, ὃν αὐτὸς ξένον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸ πάντων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπίστευσεν. ὥς δέ οἱ συνεχῶς ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐδεμία ἐγένετο τιμωρία, ἐνταῦθα παρετράπη τε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἅτε ἔχων ἀφειδῶς ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῦ, πάντα τινὰ ὃν λάβοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτόλμα φονεύειν.

[4.8] Polychares, when he heard of this new misfortune, went to Lacedaemon and plagued the kings and ephors, loudly lamenting his son and recounting the wrongs that he had suffered from Euaephnus, whom he had made his friend and trusted above all the Lacedaemonians. Obtaining no redress in spite of continual visits to the authorities, Polychares at last was driven out of his mind, gave way to his rage, and, regardless of himself, dared to murder every Lacedaemonian whom he could capture.

5. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ Πολυχάρους τε ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐκδοθέντος σφίσι καὶ διὰ τὸν Τηλέκλου φόνον, καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούργημα ἐς τὸν κληρον, πολεμήσαι λέγουσι: Μεσσήνιοι δὲ περὶ Τηλέκλου ἀντιλέγουσι τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι καὶ Αἵπυτον τὸν Κρεσφόντου συγκαταχθέντα ἀποφαίνουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου τῶν παίδων, ὃ μήποτ' ἂν ποιῆσαι σφᾶς Κρεσφόντῃ γε ὄντας διαφόρους.

[5.1] V. The Lacedaemonians say that they went to war because Polychares was not surrendered to them, and on account of the murder of Teleclus; even before this they had been suspicious on account of the wrongdoing of

Cresphontes in the matter of the lot. The Messenians make the reply that I have already given with regard to Teleclus, and point to the fact that the sons of Aristodemus helped to restore Aegyptus the son of Cresphontes, which they would never have done if they had been at variance with Cresphontes.

[2] Πολυχάρην δὲ ἐκδοῦναι μὲν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐ φασιν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν Εὐαιφνον, ἐθέλειν μέντοι παρὰ Ἀργείοις συγγενέσιν οὓσιν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Ἀμφικτυονίᾳ διδόναι δίκας, ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίῳ, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ὅτι δίκας τὰς φονικὰς τὸ δικαστήριον τοῦτο ἐδόκει δικάζειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ.

[5.2] They say that they did not surrender Polychares to the Lacedaemonians for punishment because they also had not surrendered Euaephnus, but that they offered to stand trial at the meeting of the league before the Argives, kinsmen of both parties, and to submit the matter to the court at Athens called the Areopagus, as this court was held to exercise an ancient jurisdiction in cases pertaining to murder.

[3] Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πολεμῆσαί φασιν, ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τε ἐπιβουλευσαι καὶ ἄλλα ἐργάσασθαι, προφέροντες μὲν σφισι τὰ Ἀρκάδων, προφέροντες δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἀργείων, ὥς οὐποτε ἐσχήκασι κόρον ἀποτεμνόμενοι τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ τι ἐκατέρων: Κροίσῳ τε αὐτοῖς δῶρα ἀποστείλαντι γενέσθαι φίλους βαρβάρῳ πρώτους, ἀφ' οὗ γε τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατεδουλώσατο Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσοι Δωριεῖς ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ κατοικοῦσιν ἡπείρω.

[5.3] They say that these were not the reasons of the Lacedaemonians in going to war, but that they had formed designs on their country through covetousness, as in others of their actions, bringing forward against them their treatment of the Arcadians and of the Argives; for in both cases they have never been satisfied with their continual encroachments. When Croesus sent them presents they were the first to become friends with the barbarian, after he had reduced the other Greeks of Asia Minor and all the Dorians who live on the Carian mainland.

[4] ἀποφαίνουσι δὲ καὶ ἡνίκα οἱ Φωκέων δυνάσται τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατειλήφασιν, ἰδίᾳ τε κατὰ ἄνδρα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπ' ἀξιώματος καὶ κοινῇ τῶν τε ἐφόρων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν μετασχόντας τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. πρό τε δὴ πάντων, ὥς οὐδὲν ἂν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κέρδους ἔνεκα ὀκνήσαντας, τὴν συμμαχίαν ὀνειδίζουσί σφισι τὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἐν Κασσανδρείᾳ τυραννήσαντα.

[5.4] They point out too that when the Phocian leaders had seized the temple at Delphi, the kings and every Spartan of repute privately, and the board of ephors and senate publicly, had a share of the god's property. As the most convincing proof that the Lacedaemonians would stick at nothing for the sake of gain, they reproach them with their alliance with Apollodorus, who became tyrant in Cassandreia.

[5] ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ τὸ ὄνειδος ἤγηνται τοῦτο οὕτω πικρόν, οὗ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ παρόντι ἦν ἐπεισάγεσθαι: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ εὐψυχον καὶ χρόνου μῆκος ὃν ἐπολέμησαν διάφορα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου τυραννίδος, ἔς γε τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ πολλῶ τι ἀποδέοι ἂν ἃ οἱ Κασσανδρεῖς πεπόνθασιν.

[5.5] I could not introduce into the present account the reasons why the Messenians have come to regard this as so bitter a reproach. Although the courage of the Messenians and the length of time for which they fought differ from the facts of the tyranny of Apollodorus, in their disastrous character the sufferings of the people of Cassandreia would not fall far short of the Messenian.

[6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αἷτια ἑκάτεροι τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι λέγουσι: τότε δὲ πρεσβεῖα Λακεδαιμονίων ἤκουσα ἐξήτει Πολυχάρην. οἱ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων βασιλεῖς τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα ἐπιστελοῦσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς πολίτας συνῆγον. αἱ δὲ γνώμαι διάφοροι παρὰ πολλὸν ἐγίνοντο, Ἀνδροκλέους μὲν ἐκδιδόναι Πολυχάρην ὡς ἀνόσιά τε καὶ πέρα δεινῶν εἰργασμένον: Ἀντίοχος δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντέλεγε καὶ τὸ ἀπάντων οἰκτιστον, εἰ Πολυχάρης ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πείσεται τοῖς Εὐαίφνου, καταριθμούμενος ὅσα καὶ οἷα ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν.

[5.6] These then are the reasons for the war which the two sides allege. An embassy then came from the Lacedaemonians to demand the surrender of Polychares. The Messenian kings replied to the ambassadors that after deliberation with the people they would send the findings to Sparta and after their departure they themselves summoned the citizens to a meeting. The views put forward differed widely, Androcles urging the surrender of Polychares as guilty of an impious and abominable crime. Antiochus among other arguments urged against him that it would be the most piteous thing that Polychares should suffer before the eyes of Euaephnus, and enumerated in detail all that he would have to undergo.

[7] τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο προήχθησαν οἱ τε Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ οἱ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ συσπεύδοντες ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβον. οὐ μὴν ἐς μακράν γε προῆλθέ σφισιν ἡ μάχη: περιόντες γὰρ ἀριθμῶ καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ τὸν τε Ἀνδροκλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίους ἀποκτείνουσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ βασιλεύων ἤδη μόνος ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἃ ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ λέγονται τοῖς κομίσασι τὰ γράμματα ἀποκρίνασθαι.

[5.7] Finally the supporters of Androcles and of Antiochus were so carried away that they took up arms. But the battle did not last long, for the party of Antiochus, far outnumbering the other, killed Androcles and his principal supporters, Antiochus, now sole king, sent to Sparta that he was ready to submit the matter to the courts which I have already mentioned. But the Lacedaemonians are said to have made no reply to the bearers of the letter.

[8] μησὶ δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου τελευτήσαντος Εὐφαιῆς ὁ Ἀντιόχου παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔτε κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι προεροῦντα Μεσσηνίοις πόλεμον οὔτε προαπειπάμενοι τὴν φιλίαν, κρύφα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ὥς ἐδύναντο ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρασκευασάμενοι, προομνύουσιν ὄρκον μήτε τοῦ πολέμου μήκος, ἢν μὴ δι' ὀλίγου κριθῇ, μήτε τὰς συμφοράς, εἰ μεγάλοι πολεμοῦσι γένοιντο, ἀποστρέψειν σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ κτήσαιντο χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν δοριάλωτον.

[5.8] Not many months later Antiochus died and his son Euphaes succeeded to the kingdom. The Lacedaemonians, without sending a herald to declare war on the Messenians or renouncing their friendship beforehand, had made their preparations secretly and with all the concealment possible; they first took an oath that neither the length of the war, should it not be decided soon, nor their disasters, however great they might be, would deter them until they won the land of Messenia by the sword.

[9] ταῦτα προομόσαντες ἔξοδον νύκτωρ ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ Ἄμφειαν, Ἀλκαμένην τὸν Τηλέκλου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἀποδείξαντες. ἡ δὲ Ἄμφεια πρὸς τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλισμα ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, μεγέθει μὲν οὐ μέγα, ἐπὶ λόφου δὲ ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, καὶ ὑδάτων πηγὰς εἶχεν ἀφθόνης; ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὀρμητηρίον σφίσι ἐπιτήδειον ἢ Ἄμφεια εἶναι. καὶ τό τε πόλισμα αἰροῦσι πυλῶν ἀνεωγμένων καὶ φυλακῆς οὐκ ἐνούσης καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας φονεύουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, τοὺς δὲ ὥς ἥσθοντο πρὸς τε ἱερὰ θεῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθημένους ἰκέτας; ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐγένοντο.

[5.9] After taking this oath, they attacked Ampheia by night, appointing Alcamenes the son of Teleclus leader of the force. Ampheia is a small town in Messenia near the Laconian border, of no great size, but situated on a high hill and possessing copious springs of water. It seemed generally a suitable base for the whole war. The gates being open and the town not garrisoned, they took it and killed the Messenians captured there, some still in their beds and others who had taken refuge at the sanctuaries and altars of the gods when they realized what had happened. Those who escaped were few.

[10] ταύτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρώτην ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔξοδον ἐποίησαντο ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐνάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν Ξενοδόκος Μεσσηνίος ἐνίκα στάδιον: Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν πω τότε οἱ τῷ κλήρῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες: τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ Μελάνθου, καλουμένους δὲ Μεδοντίδας, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφείλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησαν ἐς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας Αἰσιμίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἦρχεν ὁ Αἰσχύλου πέμπτον ἔτος.

[5.10] This was the first attack which the Lacedaemonians made on the Messenians, in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, when Xenodocus of Messenia won the short foot-race. In Athens there were not as yet the archons

appointed annually by lot for at first the people deprived the descendants of Melanthus, called Medontidae, of most of their power, transforming the kingship into a constitutional office; afterwards they limited their tenure of office to ten years. At the time of the seizure of Ampheia, Aesimides the son of Aeschylus was holding his fifth year office at Athens.

6. πρὶν δὲ ἢ συγγράφειν με τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅποσα πολεμοῦσιν ἑκατέροις ὁ δαίμων παθεῖν ἢ δρᾶσαι παρεσκεύασε, διακρινάι τι καὶ ἡλικίας ἔργα πέρι ἠθέλησα ἀνδρὸς Μεσσηνίου. τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον τοῦτον γενόμενον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους, ὀνομασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὥσπερ γε ὁ Μηδικὸς καὶ ὁ Πελοποννησιος, Μεσσήνιον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰλῖφ κληθῆναι Τρωικὸν καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐξενίκησεν, τοῦτον γὰρ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον Ῥιανὸς τε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ

Βηναῖος καὶ ὁ Πριηνεὺς Μύρων· λόγοι δὲ πεζοὶ Μύρωνός ἐστιν ἡ συγγραφή.

[6.1] VI. Before I wrote the history of the war and all the sufferings and actions that heaven prepared in it for both sides, I wished to reach a decision regarding the age of a certain Messenian. This war was fought between the Lacedaemonians with their allies and the Messenians with their supporters, but received its name not from the invaders like the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, but was called Messenian from their disasters, just as the name Trojan war, rather than Greek, came to be universally applied to the war at Troy. An account of this war of the Messenians has been given by Rhianus of Bene in his epic, and by Myron of Priene. Myron's history is in prose.

[2] συνεχῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδετέρῳ διήνυσται· μέρος δὲ ᾧ ἑκάτερος ἡρέσκετο, ὁ μὲν τῆς τε Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνέθηκεν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς, Ῥιανὸς δὲ τοῦδε μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πολέμων οὐδὲ ἦψατο ἀρχῇ· ὅποσα δὲ χρόνῳ συνέβη τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποσταῖν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἔγραψε, τῆς μάχης δὲ τὰ ὕστερα ἦν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ.

[6.2] Neither writer achieved a complete and continuous account of the whole war from its beginning to the end, but only of the part which each selected: Myron narrated the capture of Ampheia and subsequent events down to the death of Aristodemus; Rhianus did not touch this first war at all. He described the events that in time befell the Messenians after their revolt from the Lacedaemonians, not indeed the whole of them, but those subsequent to the battle which they fought at the Great Trench, as it is called.

[3] ἄνδρα οὖν Μεσσήνιον — τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἔνεκα τὸν πάντα ἐποιησάμην Ῥιανοῦ καὶ Μύρωνος λόγον — Ἀριστομένην, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Μεσσήνης ὄνομα ἐς ἀξίωμα προήγαγε, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἐς τὴν συγγραφὴν, Ῥιανῷ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν οὐδὲν Ἀριστομένης ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὀμήρῳ. διάφορα οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

εἰρηκότων, προσέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἕτερόν μοι τῶν λόγων καὶ οὐχ ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους ὑπελείπετο, Ῥιανὸς δέ μοι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο εἰκότα ἐς τὴν Ἀριστομένους ἡλικίαν:

[6.3] The Messenian, Aristomenes, on whose account I have made my whole mention of Rhianus and Myron, was the man who first and foremost raised the name of Messene to renown. He was introduced by Myron into his history, while to Rhianus in his epic Aristomenes is as great a man as is the Achilles of the Iliad to Homer. As their statements differ so widely, it remained for me to adopt one or other of the accounts, but not both together, and Rhianus appeared to me to have given the more probable account as to the age of Aristomenes.

[4] Μύρωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἄλλοις καταμαθεῖν ἔστιν οὐ προορώμενον εἰ ψευδῇ τε καὶ οὐ πιθανᾷ δόξει λέγειν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. πεποίηκε γὰρ ὡς ἀποκτείνειε Θεόπομπον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀριστομένης ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς: Θεόπομπον δὲ οὔτε μάχης γινομένης οὔτε ἄλλως προαποθανόντα ἴσμεν πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμηθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον.

[6.4] One may realize in others of his works that Myron gives no heed to the question of his statements seeming to lack truth and credibility, and particularly in this Messenian history. For he has made Aristomenes kill Theopompus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, shortly before the death of Aristodemus but we know that Theopompus was not killed either in battle or in any other way before the war was concluded.

[5] οὗτος δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος: ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῷ πολέμῳ: μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία τῶν Τυρταίου λέγοντα “ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῇ θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,

ὄν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἴλομεν εὐρύχορον.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location. ὁ τοίνυν Ἀριστομένης δόξη γε ἐμῇ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέρου: καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴν ἐς τοῦτο ὁ λόγος ἀφίκηται, τῆνικαῦτα ἐπέξειμι.

[6.5] It was this Theopompus who put an end to the war, and my evidence is the lines of Tyrtaeus, which say:—

To our king beloved of the gods, Theopompus, through whom we took Messene with wide dancing-grounds. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

Aristomenes then in my view belongs to the time of the second war, and I will relate his history when I come to this.

[6] οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τότε, ὡς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφειαν ἤκουον παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποσωθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως, συνελέγοντο ἐς Στενύκληρον ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς παρεκελεύετο μήτε τῆς Ἀμφείας καταπεπληχθαι τὴν

πόρθησιν, ὥς τὸν πάντα ἤδη κεκριμένον δι' αὐτῆς πόλεμον, μήτε ὥς τῆς σφετέρως κρείσσονα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δεδουκέναι τὴν παρασκευήν: μελέτην μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκ χρόνου πλείονος, σφίσι δὲ εἶναι τὴν τε ἀνάγκην ἰσχυροτέραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐμένεστερον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμύνουσι τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀδικίας ἄρχουσιν.

[6.6] The Messenians, when they heard of the events at Ampheia from the actual survivors from the captured town, mustered in Stenyclerus from their cities. When the people had gathered in the assembly, first the leading men and finally the king exhorted them not to be panic-stricken at the sack of Ampheia, or to suppose that the issue of the whole war had already been decided thereby, or to be afraid of the power of the Lacedaemonians as superior to their own. For the Lacedaemonians had longer practice in warfare, but they themselves had a stronger necessity to show themselves brave men, and greater goodwill would be shown by the gods to men defending their country, who were not the authors of injustice.

7. τοιαῦτα ὁ Εὐφαῆς εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πάντας ἔσχεν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐν ὅπλοις, τοὺς τε οὐκ εἰδότας ἐπαναγκάζων διδάσκεσθαι τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἐπιμελεστέραν ἢ πρότερον τὴν ἄσκησιν εἶναι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν οὐκ ἐλυμαίνοντο ἅτε δὴ νομίζοντες οἰκείαν οὐδὲ δένδρα ἔκοπτον οὐδὲ οἰκήματα κατέβαλλον: οἱ δὲ λείαν εἰ περιτύχοιεν ἡλαυνον καὶ σῖτον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν ἀφηροῦντο.

[7.1] VII. With these words Euphaes dismissed the gathering, and henceforward kept all the Messenians under arms, compelling the untrained to learn the art of war and the trained men to undergo a more rigorous discipline than before. The Lacedaemonians carried out raids into Messenia, but did no harm to the country, regarding it as their own, nor did they cut down trees or demolish buildings, but they drove off any cattle that they met with, and carried off the corn and other produce.

[2] πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις ποιούμενοι προσβολὰς εἶλον μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἅτε καὶ τείχεσιν ὠχυρωμένας καὶ δι' ἀκριβείας φρουρουμένας, λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀπεχώρουν ἄπρακτοι καὶ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν πόλεων. ἐλήστευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὰ τε ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ ὅσαι γεωργίαι περὶ τὸ Ταῦγετον ἦσαν.

[7.2] They made assaults on the towns but captured none, as they were fortified with walls and carefully garrisoned. They withdrew with loss and without effecting anything, and finally gave up attempting the towns. The Messenians also ravaged the Laconian coast and all the cultivated land round Taygetos.

[3] τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετὰ τῆς Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν Εὐφαῆς τῷ θυμῷ χρήσασθαι τῷ Μεσσηνίων προθυμούμενος ἀκμαζόντων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἄσκησιν ἤδη σφίσιν αὐτάρκη νομίζων εἶναι, προεῖπεν ἔξοδον: συνακολουθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας προσέτασσε φέροντας ξύλα καὶ

ἄλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς ποίησιν χαρακώματος. ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρῶν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐξιόντας: ἐξεστρατεύοντο οὖν καὶ οὗτοι.

[7.3] Three years after the capture of Ampheia, being eager to put to use the spirit of the Messenians, now at the height of their passion against the Lacedaemonians, and considering too that they had undergone sufficient training, Euphaes ordered an advance. He bade the slaves also accompany him, bringing wood and all else that was required for the making of an entrenched camp. The Lacedaemonians heard from their garrison at Ampheia that the Messenians were marching out, so they also came out to battle.

[4] καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον ἄλλως μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδειον, χαράδρα δὲ προεβέβλητο αὐτοῦ βαθεῖα: ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρέτασεν ὁ Εὐφαῆς, ἀποδείξας στρατηγὸν Κλέοννιν: τῆς δὲ ἵππου καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, οἱ συναμφοτέροι ἐλάσσους πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, τούτων Πυθάρατος καὶ Ἄντανδρος ἡγούντο.

[7.4] There was a place in Messenia which was in other ways suitable for an engagement, but had a deep ravine in front of it. Here Euphaes drew up the Messenians and appointed Cleonnis general; the cavalry and light-armed, together amounting to less than 500, were commanded by Pytharatus and Antander.

[5] ὥς δὲ συνήει τὰ στρατόπεδα, τοῖς μὲν ὀπλίταις καὶ ἀφειδῶς ὅμως καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ μίσους φερομένοις ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους οὐ παρέσχεν ἐλθεῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἢ χαράδρα διείργουσα: τὸ δ' ἵππικόν καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ συμμίσγουσι μὲν κατὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χαράδραν, ἦσαν δὲ οὔτε πλῆθος οὔτε ἐμπειρία διαφέροντες οὐδέτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰσόρροπος ἡ μάχη σφίσιν ἐγένετο.

[7.5] As the two forces were about to engage, the ravine which divided them prevented the heavy-armed from coming to close quarters, though they approached one another eagerly and with a recklessness born of hate. The cavalry and light-armed engaged above the ravine, but as they were equally matched in numbers and skill, for this reason the fight was indecisive.

[6] ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτοι συνεστήκασιν, ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευεν ὁ Εὐφαῆς πρῶτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ νῶτον τοῦ στρατοπέδου φράξασθαι τοῖς σταυροῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ἀμφοτέρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦ τε νύξ ἐπέλαβε καὶ ἡ μάχη διελέλυτο, τότε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἐφράξαντο, ὥστε ἐπισχούσης ἡμέρας τῆς τε προνοίας τοῦ Εὐφαοῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιπίπτει λογισμὸς εἶχόν τε οὔτε ὅπως μάχεσθαι χρή πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μὴ προϊόντας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος προσκαθῆσθαι τε ἀπεγίνωσκον ἀπαράσκειν τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὄντες.

[7.6] While they were involved, Euphaes ordered the slaves to fortify with a palisade first the rear of his force and afterwards both flanks, and when the battle had been broken off at nightfall, they fortified his front also on the

ravine. So at daybreak the Lacedaemonians realized the forethought of Euphaes. They had no means of fighting the Messenians unless they came out from the stockade, and despaired of forming a siege, for which they were unprepared in all things alike.

[7] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀποχωροῦσιν οἴκαδε, ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον κακιζόντων σφᾶς τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ δειλίαν τε ὁμοῦ προφερόντων καὶ τοῦ ὄρκου τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, οὕτω δευτέραν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους στρατεῖαν ἐποιοῦντο. ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφότεροι, Θεόπομπός τε ὁ Νικάνδρου καὶ Πολύδωρος ὁ Ἀλκαμένους· Ἀλκαμένης δὲ οὐκέτι περιῖν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ πειρωμένων μάχης τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄρχειν ἀντεπεξήεσαν.

[7.7] They then returned home; but a year later, when the older men reviled them and taunted them both with cowardice and disregard of their oath, they made a second expedition openly against the Messenians. Both kings were in command, Theopompus the son of Nicander and Polydorus the son of Alcamenes, Alcamenes being no longer alive. The Messenians encamped opposite them, and when the Spartans endeavored to join battle, went out to meet them.

[8] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡγεῖτο Πολύδωρος μὲν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερόν, Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ, τὸ μέσον δὲ εἶχεν Εὐρυλέων, τὰ μὲν παρόντα Λακεδαιμόνιος, τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν, Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος ἀπόγονος πέμπτος. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντετάσσοντο Ἄντανδρός τε καὶ Εὐφαῖς, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Πολύδωρον Πυθάρατος εἶχε, Κλέωννις δὲ τὸ μέσον.

[7.8] The Lacedaemonian commander on the left wing was Polydorus, and Theopompus on the right. The center was held by Euryleon, now a Lacedaemonian, but of Theban origin of the house of Cadmus, fourth in descent from Aegeus the son of Oeolycus, son of Theras, son of Autesion. On the side of the Messenians Antander and Euphaes were posted opposite the Lacedaemonian right; the other wing, opposite Polydorus, was held by Pytharatus, with Cleonnis in the center.

[9] συνιέναι δὲ ἤδη μελλόντων, ἐπεὶ παριόντες οἱ βασιλεῖς προέτρεπον τοὺς αὐτῶν, πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βραχεῖαν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον τὴν παράκλησιν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Θεόπομπος, τοῦ τε ὄρκου τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ ὥς καλὸν σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα, τῶν πατέρων οἱ τοὺς περιοίκους κατεδουλώσαντο φανῆναι λαμπρότερα εἰργασμένους καὶ χώραν εὐδαιμονεστέραν προσκεκτημένους· Εὐφαῖς δὲ μακρότερα μὲν εἶπεν ἢ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, οὐ πλείω δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος ἢ ἐφίεντα ἑώρα τὸν καιρόν.

[7.9] As they were about to engage, the kings came forward to encourage their men. The words of encouragement addressed by Theopompus to the Lacedaemonians were few, according to their native custom. He reminded

them of their oath against the Messenians, and said how noble was their ambition, to prove themselves to have done a deed more glorious than their fathers, who subdued the neighboring peoples, and to have won a more fortunate land. Euphaes spoke at greater length than the Spartan, but no more than he saw the occasion admitted.

[10] οὐ γὰρ περὶ γῆς μόνον οὐδὲ κτημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπέφαινε γενησόμενον, εἰδέναι δὲ ἔφη σαφῶς ἃ νικωμένους ἐπιλήψεται: γυναῖκας μὲν γὰρ ἀχθήσεσθαι καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μέρει, τοῖς δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὸ ἐλαφρότατον ἔσσεσθαι. θάνατον, ἦν μετ' αἰκίας μὴ γένηται, συλήσεσθαι δὲ σφισι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐμπρήσεσθαι: λέγειν δὲ οὐκ εἰκάζων, μάρτυρα δὲ ἑναργῇ πᾶσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ τὰ πάθη.

[7.10] He declared that the contest would be not only for land and possessions, but he knew well what would overtake them if defeated. Their wives and children would be carried off as slaves, and death unaccompanied by outrage would be the mildest fate for their grown men their sanctuaries would be despoiled and their ancestral homes burnt. His words were not supposition, the fate of the men captured at Ampheia was evidence that all could see.

[11] πρό τε δὴ τηλικούτων κακῶν κέρδος εἶναι καλῶς τινα ἀποθανεῖν, πολὺ δὲ εἶναι ῥᾶον ἀηττήτοις οὖσιν ἔτι καὶ τὰς τόλμας καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἴσου προθυμία τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ὑπερβαλεῖν ἢ προαποβαλόντας τὸ φρόνημα ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐπταισμένα.

[7.11] Better a noble death than such evils; it was far easier for them, while still undefeated and equally matched in courage, to outdo their adversaries in zeal than to repair their losses when once they had lost heart.

8. τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Εὐφαῆς εἶπεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκατέροις ἐσήμηναν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, Μεσσηνιοὶ μὲν δρόμῳ τε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἀφειδῶς αὐτῶν εἶχον ἅτε ἄνθρωποι θανατῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος ἔσπευδεν ἄρξαι μάχης: ἀντεπήεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σπουδῇ καὶ οὗτοι, πρόνοιαν δὲ ὁμῶς ἐποιοῦντο μὴ διαλυθῆναι σφισι τὴν τάξιν.

[8.1] VIII. Such were the words of Euphaes. When the leaders on either side gave the signal, the Messenians charged the Lacedaemonians recklessly like men eager for death in their wrath, each one of them eager to be the first to join battle. The Lacedaemonians also advanced to meet them eagerly, but were careful not to break their ranks.

[2] ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγίνοντο, ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρῶντο τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ κινήσει καὶ ἐνορῶντες ἐς ἀλλήλους δεινόν: ἔς τε λοιδορίας προήγοντο οἱ μὲν οἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλευθερωτέρους ἀποκαλοῦντες τῶν εἰλώτων, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνους τῷ τε ἐγγχειρήματι ἀνοσίους, ἐπεὶ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας συγγενεῖς ἐπίαςι, καὶ θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς ὅσοι Δωριεῦσι πατρῷοι, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα Ἡρακλέους. ἤδη τε ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδέσι καὶ ἔργων ἤπτοντο, ἄθροοι τε πρὸς ἀθρόους ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι μάλιστα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ

άνηρ άνδρι έπίόντες.

[8.2] When they were about to come to close quarters, they threatened one another by brandishing their arms and with fierce looks, and fell to recriminations, these calling the Messenians already their slaves, no freer than the Helots; the others answering that they were impious in their undertaking, who for the sake of gain attacked their kinsmen and outraged all the ancestral gods of the Dorians, and Heracles above all. And now with their taunts they come to deeds, mass thrusting against mass, especially on the Lacedaemonian side, and man attacking man.

[3] τέχνη μὲν οὖν ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ μελέτη πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέσχον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει: τοὺς τε γὰρ περιοίκους ὑπηκόους ἤδη καὶ συνακολουθοῦντας εἶχον Ἀσινᾶϊοι τε καὶ οἱ Δρύοπες γενεᾷ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνεστηκότες καὶ ἦκοντες ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἰκέται κατ' ἀνάγκην συνεστρατεύοντο: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοξότας Κρηῖτας ἐπήγοντο μισθωτοὺς.

[8.3] The Lacedaemonians were far superior both in tactics and training, and also in numbers, for they had with them the neighboring peoples already reduced and serving in their ranks, and the Dryopes of Asine, who a generation earlier had been driven out of their own country by the Argives and had come as suppliants to Lacedaemon, were forced to serve in the army. Against the Messenian light-armed they employed Cretan archers as mercenaries.

[4] Μεσσηνίοις δὲ ἥς ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἢ τε ἀπόνοια καὶ τὸ ἐς τὸν θάνατον εὖθυμον: καὶ ὅποσα μὲν πάσχοιεν, ἀναγκαῖα μᾶλλον τοῖς πατρίδα σεμνύνουσιν ἢ δεινὰ ἐνόμιζον, ἃ δὲ ἔδρων, αὐτοὶ τε ἡγοῦντο εἰργάσθαι μειζόνως καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβαίνειν χαλεπώτερα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν προεκπιδῶντες τῆς τάξεως τολμήματα λαμπρὰ ἀπεδείκνυντο, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπικαίρως τετρωμένοις καὶ ἐμπνέουσιν ὀλίγον ὅμως ἡ ἀπόνοια ἤκμαζε.

[8.4] The Messenians were inspired alike by desperation and readiness to face death, regarding all their sufferings as necessary rather than terrible to men who honored their country, and exaggerating their achievements and the consequences to the Lacedaemonians. Some of them leapt forth from the ranks, displaying glorious deeds of valor, in others fatally wounded and scarce breathing the frenzy of despair still reigned.

[5] παρακλήσεις τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ζῶντες καὶ ἔτι ἄτρωτοι τοὺς τραυματίας παρώξυνον, πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἐσχάτην τινὶ ἐφεστηκέναι μοῖραν, ἀντιδράσαντα ὃ τι καὶ δύναιτο σὺν ἡδονῇ δέχεσθαι τὸ πεπρωμένον: οἱ δὲ ὅποτε αἰσθοῖντο οἱ τραυματαῖοι τὴν ἰσχὺν σφᾶς ὑπολείπουσαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ παραμένον, διεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἀτρώσι μὴ χείρονας ἢ αὐτοὶ γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἐς ἀνωφελὲς τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τελευτήν καταστῆσαι.

[8.5] They encouraged one another, the living and unwounded urging the

stricken before their last moment came to sell their lives as dearly as they could and accept their fate with joy. And the wounded, when they felt their strength ebbing and breath failing, urged the unwounded to prove themselves no less valorous than they and not to render their death of no avail to their fatherland.

[6] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προτροπῇ μὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους τῇ δεήσει οὐκ ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν τολμημάτων οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐτοιμῶς τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις εἶχον: ἅτε δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐπιστάμενοι, βαθυτέρᾳ τε τῇ φάλαγγι ἐχρῶντο καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἥλιπζον οὔτε χρόνον τὸν ἴσον καρτερήσιν ἀντιτεταγμένους οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κάματον ἢ τὰ τραύματα ἀνθέξειν.

[8.6] The Lacedaemonians refrained from exhorting one another, and were less inclined than the Messenians to engage in striking deeds of valor. As they were versed in warfare from boyhood, they employed a deeper formation and hoped that the Messenians would not endure the contest for so long as they, or sustain the toil of battle or wounds.

[7] ἴδια μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ἔς τε τὰ ἔργα ἦν καὶ ἐς τὰς γνώμας τῶν μαχομένων, κοινὰ δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων: οὔτε γὰρ ἰκεσίαις οἱ φονευόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐχρῶντο, τάχα μὲν που μὴ πείσειν διὰ τὸ ἐχθος ἀπεγνωκότες, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἀπαξιῶντες ὥς οὐ τὰ πρότερά γε κακιοῦσιν: οἱ τε ἀποκτείνοντες ἀπείχοντο καὶ αὐχήματος ὁμοίως καὶ ὀνειδῶν, οὐκ ἔχοντές πω βεβαίαν οὐδέτεροι τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰ κρατήσουσι. παραδοξότατα δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οἱ τῶν κειμένων σκυλεύειν τινὰ ἐπιχειροῦντες: ἢ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος γυμνόν τι ὑποφύναντες ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ἐτύπτοντο οὐ προορώμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀσχολίαν, ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σκυλευομένων ἔτι ἐμπνεόντων διεφθείροντο.

[8.7] These were the differences in both sets of combatants in action and in feeling; but on both sides alike the conquered made no appeals or promises of ransom, perhaps in their enmity despairing of getting quarter, but mainly because they scorned to disgrace their previous achievements. The victorious refrained alike from boasting and from taunts, neither side having yet sure hopes of victory. The most remarkable was the death of those who tried to strip any of the fallen. For if they exposed any part of their bodies, they were struck with javelins or were struck down while intent on their present occupation, or were killed by those whom they were plundering who still lived.

[8] ἐμάχοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀξίως λόγου, Θεόπομπος δὲ καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὥρμητο ὥς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενῶν Εὐφαῖ. Εὐφαῖς δὲ ὀρῶν ἐπιόντα εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τὸν Ἄντανδρον οὐδὲν εἶναι τὰ Θεοπόμπου διάφορα ἢ ὅσα ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ Πολυνείκης ἐτόλμησε: Πολυνείκην τε γὰρ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀγαγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοχειρὶ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ ἐκείνου, Θεόπομπόν τε ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστῆσαι μιάσματος τοῖς ἀπὸ Λαΐου καὶ

Οιδίποδος τὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος: οὐ μέντοι χαίροντά γε ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διακριθῆσθαι. τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγων ἀντεπῆει καὶ οὗτος.

[8.8] The kings fought in a manner that deserves mention. Theopompus rushed wildly forward to slay Euphaes himself. Euphaes, seeing him advancing, said to Antander that the action of Theopompus was no different from the attempt of his ancestor Polyneices; for Polyneices led an army from Argos against his fatherland, and slaying his brother with his own hand was slain by him. Theopompus was ready to involve the race of the Heracleidae in pollution as great as that of the house of Laius and Oedipus, but he would not leave the field unscathed. With these words he too advanced.

[9] ἐνταῦθα ἥ τε πᾶσα μάχη κεκμηκότων ὁμως ἐς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον αὖθις ἤρθη, καὶ τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνερρώννυντο καὶ τὸ ἀφειδὲς ἐς τὸν θάνατον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ηὔξανετο, ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν τις τοῦ ἔργου τότε σφᾶς πρῶτον ἅπτεσθαι. τέλος δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῖ τῆς τε ἀπονόιας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι μανίας ὄντες ἐγγύτατα καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδραγαθίας — πᾶν γὰρ δὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα οἱ λογάδες τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἦσαν — βιάζονται τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους: καὶ αὐτὸν τε Θεόπομπον ἀπώσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο.

[8.9] Thereupon the battle, though the combatants had wearied, everywhere broke out again in full force. Their strength was renewed and recklessness of death heightened on both sides, so that it might have been thought that they were engaging for the first time. Finally Euphaes and his men in a frenzy of despair that was near to madness (for picked Messenian troops formed the whole of the king's bodyguard), overpowering the enemy by their valor, drove back Theopompus himself and routed the Lacedaemonian troops opposed to them.

[10] τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρας τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐταλαιπώρει. Πυθάρατός τε γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐτεθνήκει καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἀτακτότερον καὶ θορυβωδέστερον ἐμάχοντο, οὐ μέντοι ἀθύμως εἶχον οὐδ' οὔτοι. φεύγουσι δὲ οὔτε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ὁ Πολύδωρος οὔτε οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῖ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἠκολούθησαν: Εὐφαεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰρετώτερα ἐφαίνετο ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἡττωμένοις — οὐ μέντοι Πολυδώρῳ γέ οὐδὲ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν συμμίσγουσιν, ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ γινόμενα ἦν —

[8.10] But the other Messenian wing was in difficulties, for the general Pytharatus had been killed, and the men, without a commander, were fighting in a disorganized and confused manner, though not without heart. Polydorus did not pursue the Messenians when they gave way, nor Euphaes' men the Lacedaemonians. It seemed better to him and his men to support the defeated wing; they did not, however, engage with Polydorus' force, for darkness had already descended on the field;

[11] καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἅμα εἶργε μὴ πρόσω τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία τῶν τόπων. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλως

πάτριον σχολαιοτέρας τὰς διώξεις ποιεῖσθαι, μὴ διαλυῖσαι τὴν τάξιν πλείονα ἔχοντας πρόνοιαν ἢ τινα ἀποκτεῖναι φεύγοντα. τὰ δὲ μέσα ἀμφοτέροις, ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Εὐρυλέων, Μεσσηνίοις δὲ Κλέωννις ἡγεῖτο, ἰσοπαλῶς μὲν ἡγωνίζοντο, διέλυσε δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τούτους ἐπελθοῦσα ἡ νύξ.

[8.11] moreover, the Lacedaemonians were prevented from following the retiring force further not least by their ignorance of the country. Also it was an ancient practice with them not to carry out a pursuit too quickly, as they were more careful about maintaining their formation than about slaying the flying. In the center, where Euryleon was commanding the Lacedaemonians, and Cleonnis on the Messenian side, the contest was undecided; the coming of night separated them here also.

[12] ταύτην τὴν μάχην παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἢ μόνα ἢ μάλιστα ἐμαχέσαντο τὰ ὀπλιτικά. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ μνημονευθῆναι διεπράξαντο: οὐ γάρ τοι ἀγαθοὶ τότε ἵππεύειν ἦσαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους Κρήτες οὐδὲ συνέμιζαν ἀρχὴν: τῷ γὰρ πεζῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ κατὰ τρόπον ἔτι ἐκάτεροι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐπετάχθησαν.

[8.12] This battle was fought principally or entirely by the heavy-armed troops on both sides. The mounted men were few and achieved nothing worth mention; for the Peloponnesians were not good horsemen then. The Messenian light-armed and the Cretans on the Lacedaemonian side did not engage at all; for on both sides according to the ancient practice they were posted in reserve to their own infantry.

[13] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν μάχης μὲν οὐδέτεροι διεννοοῦντο ἄρχειν οὐδὲ ιστάναι πρότεροι τρόπαιον, προΐουσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ ἀναιρέσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων συνεχωρήθη, θάψειν ἔμελλον ἦδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν.

[8.13] The following day neither side was minded to begin battle or to be the first to set up a trophy, but as the day advanced they made proposals for taking up the dead; when this was agreed on both sides, they proceeded to bury them.

9. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις μετὰ τὴν μάχην πονηρὰ γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἤρχετο: δαπάνη τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀπειρήκεσαν, ἃ τῶν πόλεων ἀνήλiskon ἐς τὰς φρουράς, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠτομόλουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ νόσος ἐνέπεσε καὶ ταραχὰς μὲν παρέσχεν ὥς εἴη λοιμώδης, οὐ μὴν ἐς ἅπαντάς γε ἐχώρησεν. βουλευομένοις δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκει τὰ μὲν πολλὰ πολίσματα τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν πάντα ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν Ἰθώμην.

[9.1] IX. But after the battle the affairs of the Messenians began to get serious. They were exhausted by the expenditure of money devoted to the garrisoning of the towns, and their slaves were deserting to the Lacedaemonians. They were visited also by disease, which caused alarm, as resembling plague,

although it did not attack all. In these circumstances they resolved to desert all their numerous towns inland and to settle on Mount Ithome.

[2] ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλισμα αὐτόθι οὐ μέγα, ὃ καὶ Ὅμηρόν φασι εἶναι ἐν καταλόγῳ: “καὶ Ἰθώμην κλιμακόεσσαν.

“Hom. Il 2.729 ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πόλισμα ἀνωκίζοντο, ἐπεκτείνοντες τὸν ἀρχαῖον περίβολον ἔρυμα εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐταρκες. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως ἐχυρόν: ἡ γὰρ Ἰθώμη μεγέθει τε οὐδενὸς ἀποδεῖ τῶν ὄρων ὅποσα ἐντὸς ἐστὶν ἰσθμοῦ καὶ δύσβατος κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἦν.

[9.2] A small town existed here, which they say Homer mentions in the Catalogue:

Stepped Ithome. Hom. Il. 2.729

To this town they withdrew, extending the old circuit to form a sufficient protection for them all. The place was strong in other respects, for Ithome falls short of none of the mountains within the Isthmus in height and at this point was most difficult to climb.

[3] ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ θεωρὸν πέμψαι σφίσιν ἐς Δελφούς. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν Τίσιν τὸν Ἀλκιδος, καὶ ἀξιώματι οὐδενὸς ὕστερον καὶ ὅτι προσκεῖσθαι μαντικῇ μάλιστα ἐνομίζετο. τοῦτον τὸν Τίσιν ἐπανιόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν λοχῶσιν ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρᾶς: λοχήσαντες δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ὑπεῖκεν αἰχμάλωτος γενέσθαι — περιμένοντα οὖν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα ἐτίτρωσκον, ἐς ὃ γίνεται βοή σφίσιν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ‘τὸν χρησιμοφόρον μέθες.’

[9.3] They also resolved to send an envoy to Delphi, and despatched Tisis the son of Alcis, a man of the highest reputation, considered to be fully versed in divination. While he was returning from Delphi men from the Lacedaemonian garrison at Ampheia laid an ambush for him. Though trapped, he did not submit to be made a prisoner, but stood his ground to resist in spite of the wounds he received, until a voice was heard from an unseen quarter, “Let the bearer of the oracle go free.”

[4] καὶ Τίσις μὲν ὡς ἀπεσώθη τάχιστα ἐς Ἰθώμην καὶ τὴν μαντείαν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἀνήνεγκε, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων τελευτᾷ: τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους συναθροίσας ὁ Εὐφαῆς ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν χρησμόν:”κόρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δαίμοσι,

κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν Αἰπυτιδῶν ἀφ’ αἵματος,

θυηπολεῖτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγαῖς.

ἦν δὲ σφαλῆτε, καὶ παρ’ ἄλλοιου τότε

θύειν, διδόντος ἐς σφαγὴν ἐκουσίως.

“

[9.4] Tisis, reaching Ithome with all speed, delivered the oracle to the king, and soon afterwards died of his wounds. Euphaes assembled the Messenians and made known the oracle:

Ye shall sacrifice a pure maiden to the gods below, appointed by lot of the blood of the sons of Aepytus, and slay her by night. But if that ye cannot do, offer a maiden from another house, if the father gives her freely for the slaughter.

[5] ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος αὐτίκα ἐκληροῦντο ὅσαι παρθένοι τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν: καὶ ἐπελάμβανε γὰρ Λυκίσκου θυγατέρα ὁ κληρὸς, ταύτην Ἐπήβολος ὁ μάντις ἀπηγόρευεν ὥς οὐ δέοι θύειν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Λυκίσκου: τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἡ Λυκίσκῳ συνώκησεν, ὥς τεκεῖν οὐκ οὖν οἶα τε ἦν, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν παῖδα ὑποβαλέσθαι. ἐν ὧν δὲ οὗτος ἀνεδίδασκε τὰ ἐς αὐτήν, ἐν τῷδε ὁ Λυκίσκος ἀπαγόμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἠτομόλησεν ἐς Σπάρτην.

[9.5] When the god declared this, all the maidens of the house of the Aepytidae forthwith cast lots, and the lot fell on the daughter of Lyciscus. But Epebolus the seer forbade them to offer her, for she was not the daughter of Lyciscus, but the woman who was married to Lyciscus being unable to bear a child had palmed off the girl as hers. While Epebolus was making this declaration, Lyciscus took the girl away and deserted to Sparta.

[6] ἐχόντων δὲ ἀθύμως τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥς Λυκίσκον ἀποδράντα ἦσθοντο, ἐνταῦθ' ἄριστος Ἀριστόδημος ἀνὴρ καὶ γένους τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν καὶ Λυκίσκου τῇ τε ἄλλῃ δόξῃ καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπιφανέστερος ἐδίδου τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκὼν θῦσαι. τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ πρόθυμον ἢ πεπρωμένη κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπικρύπτει καὶ εἰ ψηφίδα ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἰλὺς ποταμοῦ, ὅπου καὶ τότε Ἀριστοδήμῳ διασώσασθαι Μεσσήνην ἀγώνισμα ποιουμένῳ τὸ ἐμπόδιον ἐπήγαγε τοιόνδε.

[9.6] The Messenians were in despair when they saw that Lyciscus had fled; thereupon Aristodemus, a son of the house of the Aepytidae, of higher standing than Lyciscus both in reputation and in war, freely offered his daughter for the sacrifice. But human affairs and human purpose above all are obscured by fate, just as the mud of a river hides a pebble; for when Aristodemus was striving his utmost to save Messene, fate set this obstacle in his path.

[7] ἀνὴρ τῶν Μεσσηνίων — τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐ λέγουσιν — ἐρῶν ἔτυχε τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τῆς

θυγατρὸς, τότε δὲ ἤδη ἔμελλε καὶ γυναῖκα ἄξεσθαι. οὗτος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστοδήμῳ προήλθεν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐγγυήσαντά οἱ μηκέτι εἶναι κύριον τῆς παιδός, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγγυησάμενος κυριώτερος ἐκείνου γίνεσθαι. δεύτερα δὲ ὥς τοῦτο οὐχ ἑώρα οἱ κατορθούμενον, ἐπ' ἀνάσχοντον τρέπεται λόγον:

[9.7] A Messenian, whose name is not recorded, was in love with the daughter of Aristodemus, and was already about to make her his wife. He at first disputed the rights of Aristodemus over the girl for Aristodemus, since he had betrothed her to himself had no further rights over the girl, but he to whom she was betrothed had greater rights than the father. Next, when he saw that this was of no avail, he had recourse to a shameless plea, that the girl was with child by him.

[8] ξυγγενέσθαι τε τῇ παιδί καὶ κύειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον Ἀριστόδημον προήγαγεν ὥς ἐκμανέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποκτείνειν: μετὰ δὲ ἀνέτεμνε καὶ ἐπεδείκνυνεν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐν γαστρὶ. παρὼν δὲ Ἐπήβολος ἐκέλευεν ἄλλον τινὰ τὸν θυγατέρα ἐπιδώσοντα γενέσθαι: τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου πλέον εἶναι σφισιν ἀποθανούσης οὐδέν: φονεῦσαι γὰρ τὸν πατέρα αὐτὴν, θεοῖς δὲ οἷς ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν οὐ θῦσαι.

[9.8] At last he drove Aristodemus to such a fury of passion that he killed his daughter; then cutting her open he showed that she was not pregnant. Epebolus, who was present, ordered another man to come forward and offer his daughter, for the daughter of Aristodemus was of no avail to them dead; for the father had murdered her, not offered her to the gods whom the Pythia ordained.

[9] τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ μάντεως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥρμησεν ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν μνηστῆρα τῆς παιδός, ὥς Ἀριστοδήμῳ τε μῖασμα εἰκαῖον προσάψαντα καὶ σφίσι τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἀμφίβολον πεποιηκότα. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τῷ Εὐφαιῖ φίλος: πείθει οὖν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους Εὐφαιῆς τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἔχειν τέλος ἀποθανούσης τῆς παιδός καὶ σφίσιν ἀποχρᾶν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου πεποιημένα.

[9.9] When the seer said this, the multitude of the Messenians rushed on the girl's lover to kill him, since he had fixed the guilt of bloodshed on Aristodemus to no purpose, and had made their hopes of safety doubtful. But as he was a close friend of Euphaes, Euphaes persuaded the Messenians that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of the girl and that the deed done by Aristodemus sufficed for them.

[10] λέγοντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔφασαν τὰ ὄντα λέγειν ὅσοι τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν: ἀπεῖναι γὰρ σφισι τὸ δέος τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἕκαστος ἔσπευδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ παραινέσει πειθόμενοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύουσι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τε θυσίας θεῶν καὶ ἐορτὴν τρέπονται:

[9.10] When he said this, all the members of the house of the Aepytidae said that he spoke truth, for each was eager to be rid of the terror threatening his daughter. The people took the advice of the king and broke up the assembly and thereupon turned to sacrifices to the gods and feasting.

10. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες τὸν γενόμενον Μεσσηνίοις χρησμὸν ἀθύμως δέκειντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔς τε τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ἄρχειν ὀκνοῦντες μάχης.

ἔτει δὲ ἕκτῳ μετὰ τὸν ἐξ Ἰθώμης Λυκίσκου δρασμὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι — τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς αἴσια — στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰθώμην: οἱ δὲ Κρήτες οὐκέτι παρόντες σφίσιν ἔτυχον. ὑστέρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι — δι' ὑποψίας γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀρκάσιν ἦσαν καὶ Ἀργείοις μάλιστα — καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι κρύφα ἔμελλον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ ἰδίᾳ δὴ μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ δόγματος κοινού, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ἡ στρατεία μὲν ἀνείρητο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, παρέτυχον δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι. τοὺς γὰρ Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἄνευ συμμάχων κινδυνεῦσαι προήγαγεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ χρησμοῦ.

[10.1] X. But the Lacedaemonians, when they heard the oracle given to the Messenians, were in despair, both they and their kings, and for the future shrank from offering battle.

But five years after the escape of Lyciscus from Ithome, the victims being auspicious, the Lacedaemonians marched against Ithome. The Cretans were no longer with them. The allies of the Messenians also were late, for the Spartans had now incurred the suspicion of others of the Peloponnesians, especially of the Arcadians and Argives. The Argives intended to come without the knowledge of the Lacedaemonians, and by private enterprise rather than by public declaration. The expedition was openly proclaimed among the Arcadians, but they did not arrive either. For the Messenians were induced by the credit placed in the oracle to face the risk without allies.

[2] τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὐδέν τι ἐγένετο διάφορα ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης, ἢ τε ἡμέρα καὶ τότε μαχομένους προαπέλιπεν: οὐ μέντοι βιασθῆναί γε οὐδέτερον κέρας ἢ καὶ λόχον μνημονεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τὴν τάξιν, ὥς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐτάχθησαν, συμμεῖναι φασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τοὺς ἀρίστους συνελθόντας ἔς τὸ μεσαίτατον ἐνταῦθα τὸν πάντα ἔχειν πόνον.

[10.2] This engagement did not differ in most points from the first, as on this occasion too daylight failed the combatants, but they record that on neither side was a wing or division broken, as they did not maintain the formation in which they were originally posted, champions on either side meeting in the middle, and there supporting the whole combat.

[3] ὁ γὰρ Εὐφαιῆς πλέον τι ἢ βασιλέα εἰκὸς ἦν προθυμούμενος καὶ ἀφειδῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον ἐγκείμενος τραύματα τε πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἰάσιμα λαμβάνει: λιποψυχήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πεσόντα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὀλίγον ὅμως ἐμπνέοντα ἐποιοῦντο παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐλκύσαι σπουδῇ. ἐπήγειρε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἢ τε ἐς τὸν Εὐφαιῆ προϋπάρχουσα εὐνοια καὶ τὰ ὀνειδῆ τὰ μέλλοντα: φονευομένοις τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄμεινόν σφισιν ἐφαίνετο προῖεσθαι τὰς

ψυχὰς ἢ ἐκεῖνον προεμμένων ἀποσωθῆναι τινα.

[10.3] Euphaes, who showed more eagerness than a king should and recklessly attacked Theopompus' bodyguard, received a number of mortal wounds.

When he swooned and fell, the Lacedaemonians did their utmost to drag him into their own ranks, as he still breathed. But the Messenians were roused by the affection which they felt for their king and by the reproach which would be theirs. It seemed better to die for their kings and sacrifice their lives than that he should be abandoned while one of them escaped.

[4] τότε μὲν δὴ πεσὼν ὁ Εὐφαῖς τὴν τε μάχην ἐπεμήκυνε καὶ προήγαγεν ἐς πλεόν παρὰ ἐκατέρων τὰ τολμήματα: ὕστερον δὲ ἀνῆνεγκε μὲν καὶ ἥσθετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐσχίσκασιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ἀποθνήσκει, βασιλεύσας Μεσσηνίων τρία ἔτη καὶ δέκα καὶ πολεμήσας Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν πάντα τῆς βασιλείας χρόνον.

[10.4] So the fall of Euphaes prolonged the battle and called forth further deeds of daring on both sides. He came to himself later and saw that his men had not had the worst of the fight, but he died in a few days, having reigned thirteen years over the Messenians, and having been at war with the Lacedaemonians for the whole of his reign.

[5] Εὐφαεῖ δὲ οὐκ ὄντων παίδων τὸν αἰρεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατελείπετο ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, Κλέωννις τε καὶ Δᾶμις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστοδήμῳ προῆλθον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον διαφέρειν νομιζόμενοι: τὸν δὲ ἄντανδρον οἱ πολέμοι κατειργάσαντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ προκινδυνεύοντα Εὐφαοῦς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν μάντεων αἱ γινῶμαι κατὰ ταυτὰ ἀμφοτέρων, Ἐπηβόλου καὶ Ὀφιονέως, μὴ σφᾶς ἀνδρὶ ἐναγεῖ καὶ θυγατρὸς μίasma ἐπικειμένῳ δοῦναι τὴν Αἰπύτου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τιμὴν:

[10.6] Euphaes, having no children, left his kingdom to the man chosen by the people. Cleonnis and Damis came forward to dispute it with Aristodemus, as they were considered superior to him in war and all else. Antander had been killed by the enemy, risking his life for Euphaes in the battle. The views of both the seers, Epebolus and Ophioneus, were identical, that they should not give the honors of Aepytyus and his descendants to a man who was accursed and polluted by the murder of his daughter. Nevertheless Aristodemus was chosen and became king.

[6] ἤρεθῃ δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀριστόδημος. ὁ δὲ Ὀφιονεὺς οὗτος ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων μάντις τυφλὸς ὢν εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς μαντικὴν τινα εἶχε τοιαύτην: πυνθανόμενος τὰ γινόμενα ἐκάστοις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ προέλεγεν οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα. οὗτος μὲν τρόπον ἐμαντεύετο τὸν εἰρημένον, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βασιλεύσας τῷ τε δήμῳ διέμεινε τὰ εἰκότα χαρίζεσθαι προθυμούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ μάλιστα Κλέωννιν καὶ Δᾶμιν ἥγεν ἐν τιμῇ: διὰ θεραπείας δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρκάδων τε τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ Σικυῶνα ἀποστέλλων δῶρα.

[10.6] This Ophioneus, the Messenian seer, was blind from birth and practised the following method of divination. By learning the facts relevant to each case, both private and public, he thus foretold the future. This then was the way he practised his art. Aristodemus, becoming king, constantly was ready to

show all reasonable favour to the people, and held all the nobles in honor, especially Cleonnis and Damis. He maintained good relations with the allies, sending gifts to the Arcadian leaders and to Argos and Sicyon.

[7] τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου βασιλείας ἐπολέμουν

ληστείας τε κατ' ὀλίγους αἰεὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὥραϊαν καταδρομαῖς ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων χρώμενοι, συνεσέβαλλον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν: Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαναφῆναι μὲν τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος οὐκ ἤξιουν, γινομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μεθέζοντες.

[10.7] They carried on the war during his reign by means of constant forays with small parties, and made incursions into one another's country at harvest time, the Messenians being supported by the Arcadians in their raids into Laconia. The Argives did not think fit to declare their hatred for the Lacedaemonians beforehand, but prepared to take part in the contest when it came.

11. πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου βασιλείας μελλόντων ἐκ προρρήσεως συμβολὴν ποιήσεσθαι — τῷ τε γὰρ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῖς δαπανήμασιν ἀπειρήκεσαν — οὕτω παρεγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν Κορίνθιοι Πελοποννησίων μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οἱ τε Ἀρκάδες πανστρατιᾷ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων λογάδες. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν Κορινθίοις καὶ τοῖς εἰλωσι καὶ ὅσοι περίοικοι συνεστρατεύοντο τὸ μέσον ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐτάσσοντο βαθεῖα τε ὡς οὐπω πρότερον καὶ πυκνῇ τῇ φάλαγγι.

[11.1] XI. In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, being exhausted by the length of the war and by their expenditure, after due notice that a battle would be fought, both sides were joined by their allies, the Lacedaemonians by the Corinthians alone of the Peloponnesians, the Messenians by the full muster of the Arcadians and by picked troops from Argos and Sicyon. The Lacedaemonians entrusted their center to the Corinthians, Helots and all the neighboring peoples who were serving with them; they themselves and the kings were posted on the wings in a deeper and closer formation than ever before.

[2] τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν διετάχθη τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην οὕτως. ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦσαν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς ψυχάς, ὅπλα δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἰσχυρά, τούτοις τῶν ὅπλων τὰ χρησιμώτατα ἐπέλεξε, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἤπειγεν, ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ Σικυωνίοις καὶ τούτους ἔτασσε: τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα ἐπὶ πλέον ἤπλωσεν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. προεῖδετο δὲ καὶ ὅπως τεταγμένοις σφίσι τὸ ὄρος ἢ Ἰθώμη κατὰ νότου γίνοιτο. καὶ τούτοις μὲν Κλέοννιν ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα:

[11.2] The dispositions of Aristodemus and his men were as follows: he selected the most serviceable of the arms for all the Arcadians and Messenians who

were physically strong and stout hearted but did not possess powerful weapons, and as the matter was urgent, posted them with the Argives and Sicyonians, extending the line that they might not be surrounded by the enemy. He also took care that they should be drawn up with Mount Ithome in their rear. Placing Cleonnis in command of these troops,

[3] αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμις ὑπέμενον ἔχοντες τοὺς ψιλοὺς, σφενδονήτας μὲν ἢ τοξότας ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἦσαν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ τῇ ὀπλίσει κοῦφοι: θώρακα γὰρ ἢ ἀσπίδα εἶχεν οὐχ ἕκαστος, ὅσοι δὲ ἠπόρουν τούτων, περιεβέβληντο αἰγῶν νάκας καὶ προβάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ θηρίων δέρματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ὀρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων.

[11.3] he himself and Damis remained in reserve with the light troops consisting of a few slingers or archers, the bulk of the force being physically suited to rapid assaults and retirements and lightly armed. Not all of them possessed a breastplate or shield, but those who lacked them were protected with the skins of goats and sheep, some of them, particularly the Arcadian mountaineers, having the hides of wild beasts, wolves and bears.

[4] ἀκόντια δὲ ἕκαστος πολλά, οἱ δὲ καὶ λόγχας αὐτῶν ἔφερον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλόχων τῆς Ἰθώμης ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἥκιστα ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτοι: οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων τὴν τε ἔφοδον τὴν πρώτην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέμειναν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδρεῖοι. ἀριθμῷ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπελείποντο, λογάδες δὲ ὄντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς δῆμον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς κρείττους, ἧ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ τε ἄλλῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντεῖχον.

[11.4] Each carried several javelins, and some of them spears. While these were in ambush in a part of Ithome where they were least likely to be visible, the heavy-armed troops of the Messenians and their allies withstood the first assault of the Lacedaemonians, and continued after this to show courage in every way. They were inferior in numbers to the enemy, but were picked men fighting against levies, not selected troops like themselves, and so, by their bravery and training were more able to maintain a lengthy resistance.

[5] ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὁ εὖζωνος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τούτοις ἦρθη τὰ σημεῖα, ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους δρόμῳ καὶ περιστάντες ἠκόντιζον ἐς τὰ πλάγια: ὅσοις δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν μετῇν τόλμης, προσέθεόν τε καὶ ἔτυπτον ἐκ χειρός. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κίνδυνόν σφισι δεύτερον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ οὕτως ἀνέλπιστον ὁρῶντες παρόντα, ὅμως οὕτε ἐταράχθησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενοί τε ἐς τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι μὲν ἐπειρῶντο, διὰ δὲ τὴν κουφότητα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποφευγόντων ἀπορία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἤδη καὶ ὀργὴ γίνεται.

[11.5] Then the mobile Messenian force, when the signal was given to them, charged the Lacedaemonians and enveloping them threw javelins on their flanks. All who were of higher courage ran in and struck at close quarters. The

Lacedaemonians, faced simultaneously with a second and unforeseen danger, were not demoralized, but turning on the light troops, tried to defend themselves. But, as the enemy with their light equipment drew off without difficulty, the Lacedaemonians were filled with perplexity and, as a consequence, with anger.

[6] πεφύκασι δέ πως οἱ ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα ἔχειν ἀκρατῶς πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἄξιαν: καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε οἱ τε ἤδη τραύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰληφότες καὶ ὅσοι κειμένων τῶν παραστατῶν ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν ψιλῶν πρῶτοι προεξέθεόν τε, ὅποτε ἴδοιεν ἐπιφερομένους τοὺς ψιλοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ μακροτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἀποχωροῦντων. οἱ δὲ ψилоὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο, κατὰ χώραν τε μένοντας ἐτυπτον καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον καὶ διωκόντων ἔφθανον ἀποφεύγοντες καὶ πειρωμένοις ἀναστρέφειν αὐθις ἐπῆσαν.

[11.6] Men are apt to be most annoyed by what they regard as beneath them. So then the Spartans who had already been wounded and all who after the fall of their comrades were the first to meet the attack of the light troops, ran out to meet them when they saw the light troops advancing and hotly extended the pursuit as they retired. The Messenian light troops maintained their original tactics, striking and shooting at them when they stood still, and outstripping them in flight when they pursued, attacking again as they tried to retire.

[7] ταῦτα δὲ ἔδρων σποράδην καὶ ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλο τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τάξεως: οἱ τε ὀπλῖται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων θρασύτερον ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τοῖς κατὰ στόμα αὐτῶν ἐπέκειντο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ἀπαγορεύοντες καὶ ἅμα παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ταρασσόμενοι διαλύουσι τὴν τάξιν: τραπέντων δέ, ἐνταῦθά σφισι πλείω παρεῖχον κακὰ οἱ ψилоί.

[11.7] They did this in separate parties and at different points of the enemy's line. The Messenian heavy-armed and their allies meantime pressed more boldly on the troops facing them. Finally the Lacedaemonians, worn out by the length of the battle and their wounds, and demoralized contrary to their custom by the light troops, broke their ranks. When they had been routed, the light troops inflicted greater damage on them.

[8] τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διαφθαρέντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συλλαβεῖν μὲν οὐχ οἶά τε ἦν ἀριθμῶ, πείθομαι δὲ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλούς. ἡ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀναχώρησις τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν, Κορινθίοις δὲ ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι χαλεπή: διὰ πολεμίας γὰρ ἐγίνετο ὁμοίως διὰ τε τῆς Ἀργείας πειρωμένοις καὶ παρὰ Σικυῶνα ἀνασωθῆναι.

[11.8] It was impossible to reckon the Lacedaemonian losses in the battle, but I for my part am convinced that they were heavy. The rest made their retreat homewards without molestation, but for the Corinthians it was likely to be difficult, for whether they tried to retire through the Argolid or by Sicyon, in either case it was through enemy country.

12. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς πταῖσμα, τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀξίων λόγου, παρίστατο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν ἀθύμως ἔχειν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεωροῦς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφούς. τούτοις ἐλθοῦσιν ἡ Πυθία χρᾶ τάδε: “οὐ σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ’ ἐφέπειν χερὶ Φοῖβος ἄνωγεν,

ἀλλ’ ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός,

ταῖς δ’ αὐταῖς τέχναισιν ἀλώσεται αἷσπερ ὑπῆρξεν.

“

[12.1] XII. The Lacedaemonians were distressed by the reverse that had befallen them. Their losses in the battle were great and included important men, and they were inclined to despair of all hope in the war. For this reason they sent envoys to Delphi, who received the following reply from the Pythia:

Phoebus bids thee pursue not only the task of war with the hand, but by guile a people holds the Messenian land, and by the same arts as they first employed shall the people fall.

[2] ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις τέχνας μὲν οὖν προθυμουμένοις οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀνευρεῖν: οἱ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως τῶν ἔργων ἀπομιμούμενοι τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ πέμπουσιν ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐς Ἰθώμην συνήσοντας ἃ μηχανῶνται, λόγῳ δὲ αὐτομόλους: ἦν δὲ καὶ φυγὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κατεγνωσμένη. τούτους ἤκοντας ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτίκα Ἀριστόδημος, Λακεδαιμονίων φήσας τὰ ἀδικήματα καινὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ σοφίσματα ἀρχαῖα.

[12.2] At this the kings and ephors were eager to invent stratagems, but failed. They imitated that deed of Odysseus at Troy, and sent a hundred men to Ithome to observe what the enemy were planning, but pretending to be deserters. A sentence of banishment had been openly pronounced on them. On their arrival Aristodemus at once sent them away, saying that the crimes of the Lacedaemonians were new, but their tricks old.

[3] ἁμαρτόντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος δεύτερα ἐπειρῶντο τῶν Μεσσηνίων διαλῦσαι τὸ συμμαχικόν: ἀντειπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων — παρὰ γὰρ τούτους πρότερον ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις — οὕτω τὴν ἐπ’ Ἄργος ἐπέσχον πορείαν. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ πυνθανόμενος τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρησομένους τὸν θεόν, ἡ δὲ Πυθία σφίσιν ἔχρησε:

[12.3] Failing in their attempt, the Lacedaemonians next attempted to break up the Messenian alliance. But when repulsed by the Arcadians, to whom their ambassadors came first, they put off going to Argos. Aristodemus, hearing of the Lacedaemonian intrigues, also sent men to enquire of the god. And the Pythia replied to them:

[4] “κῦδός σοι πολέμοιο διδοῖ θεός: ἀλλ’ ἀπάταισι

φράζεο μὴ Σπάρτης δόλιος λόχος ἐχθρὸς ἀνέλθῃ

κρείσσω· ἥ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων εὐήρεα τεύχει
καὶ τὸ χορῶν στεφάνωμα πικροὺς οἰκήτορας ἔξει,
τῶν δύο συντυχίαις κρυπτόν λόχον ἐξαναδύντων.
οὐ πρόσθεν δὲ τέλος τὸδ' ἐπόψεται ἱερὸν ἡμαρ,
πρὶν τὰ παραλλάξαντα φύσιν τῶσαν χρεῶν ἀφίκηται.

“τότε μὲν δὴ Ἀριστόδημος καὶ οἱ μάντιες ἀπείρως εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ εἰρημένον· ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἀναφαίνειν τε καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄξειν ἔμελλεν ὁ θεός.

[12.4]

The god gives thee glory in war, but beware lest by guile the hated company of Sparta scale the well-built walls, for mightier is their god of war. And harsh shall be the dwellers in the circle of the dancing ground, when the two have started forth by one chance from the hidden ambush. Yet the holy day shall not behold this ending until their doom o’ertake those which have changed their nature.

At the time Aristodemus and the seers were at a loss to interpret the saying, but in a few years the god was like to reveal it and bring it to fulfillment.

[5] ἕτερα δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις συνέβαινε τοιαῦτα. Λυκίσκου μετοικοῦντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν, ἣν ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης. πολλάκις δὲ αὐτὸν φοιτῶντα ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα τῆς παιδὸς λοχῆσαντες ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἀρκάδων αἰροῦσιν· ἀναχθεῖς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν καταστὰς ἀπελογεῖτο ὥς οὐ προδιδούς τὴν πατρίδα ἀποχωρήσαι, πειθόμενος δὲ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάντεως ἐς τὴν παῖδα ὥς οὖσαν οὐ γνησίαν.

[12.5] Other things befell the Messenians at that time: while Lyciscus was living abroad in Sparta, death overtook the daughter whom he carried with him on his flight from Messene. As he often visited her tomb, Arcadian horsemen lay in wait and captured him. When carried to Ithome and brought into the assembly he urged that he had not departed a traitor to his country, but because he believed the words of the seer that the girl was not his own.

[6] ταῦτα ἀπολογούμενος οὐ πρότερον ἔδοξεν ἀληθῆ λέγειν πρὶν ἢ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἢ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τότε τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσα. αὕτη δὲ τεκεῖν τε τὴν παῖδα ὠμολόγει καὶ τῇ Λυκίσκου γυναικὶ ὑποβαλέσθαι δοῦναι· ‘νῦν δὲ’ ἔφη ‘τό τε ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνουσα ἦκω καὶ παύσουσα ἐμαυτὴν ἱερωμένην.’ ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καθεστηκός, ἦν γυναικὸς ἱερωμένης ἢ καὶ ἀνδρὸς προαποθάνῃ τις τῶν παίδων, ἐς ἄλλον τὴν ἱερωσύνην μεταχωρεῖν. νομίζοντες οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα ἀληθῆ λέγειν, τῇ θεῷ τε εἴλοντο ἱερατευσομένην ἀντ’ ἐκείνης καὶ Λυκίσκον συγγνωστὰ ἔφασαν εἰργάσθαι.

[12.6] His defence did not win credence until the woman who was then holding the priesthood of Hera came into the theater. She confessed that she was the

mother of the girl and had given her to Lyciscus' wife to pass off as her own. "And now," she said, "revealing the secret, I have come to lay down my office." She said this because it was an established custom in Messene that, if a child of a man or woman holding a priesthood died before its parent, the office should pass to another. Accepting the truth of her statement, they chose another woman to take her place as priestess of the goddess, and said that Lyciscus' deed was pardonable.

[7] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἑδόκει σφίσι — καὶ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐπῆει τῷ πολέμῳ — πέμπειν αὖθις ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησομένους ὑπὲρ νίκης. ἐρομένοις δὲ ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία: "τοῖς τρίποδας περὶ βωμὸν Ἰθωμάτα Διὶ πρώτοις

στήσασιν δεκάδων ἀριθμὸν δις πέντε δίδωσι

σὺν κύδει πολέμου γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα δαίμων.

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔνευσ' οὕτως. ἀπάτη δέ σε πρόσθε τίθησιν

ἢ τ' ὀπίσω τίσις ἐστί, καὶ ἔνθεον ἐξαπατήρης.

ἔρδ' ὅππῃ τὸ χρεών: ἅτη δ' ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων.

“

[12.7] After this, as the twentieth year of the war was approaching, they resolved to send again to Delphi to ask concerning victory. The Pythia made answer to their question:

To those who first around the altar set up tripods ten times ten to Zeus of Ithome, heaven grants glory in war and the Messenian land. For thus hath Zeus ordained. Deceit raised thee up and punishment follows after, nor would'st thou deceive the god. Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this man before that.

[8] ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες γεγονέναι τε ἡγοῦντο ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὴν μαντείαν καὶ σφίσι δίδοναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος: οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν γε ἐχόντων ἐντὸς τείχους τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερὸν Λακεδαιμονίους προτέρους ἀναθέντας φθίσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ξυλίνους κατασκευάσσεσθαι τρίποδας ἔμελλον, οὐ γὰρ σφισι περιῆν χρήματα ὥς χαλκοῦς ποιήσασθαι: τῶν δέ τις Δελφῶν τὸν χρησμὸν ἐξήγγειλεν ἐς Σπάρτην. πυθομένοις δὲ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν οὐδὲν σφισιν ἐξεγένετο ἀνευρεῖν σοφόν, Οἶβαλος δὲ

[12.8] Hearing this they thought that the oracle was in their favour and granted them victory; for as they themselves possessed the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome within the walls, the Lacedaemonians could not forestall them in making the dedication. They set about making tripods of wood, as they had not money enough to make them of bronze. But one of the Delphians reported the oracle to Sparta. When they heard it, no plan occurred to them in public,

[9] τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, γνώμην δὲ ὥς ἐδήλωσεν ἀγαθός, ποιησάμενος ὥς ἔτυχε πηλοῦ τρίποδας ἑκατόν, τούτους τε ἀποκεκρυμμένους

ἐν πῆρᾳ καὶ δίκτυα ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἔφερον ὡς ἀνὴρ θηρευτής. ἅτε δὲ ὢν ἀγνώσκειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς πολλοῖς, ῥᾶον Μεσσηνίους ἐλάνθανεν: ἀναμίξας δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἀγροίοις ἐσῆλθέ τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ὡς νύξ τάχιστα ἐπελάμβανεν ἀναθεὶς τοὺς τρίποδας τῷ θεῷ τούτους δὴ τοὺς πηλίνους αὖθις ἐς Σπάρτην ἀπαγγελὼν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥχετο.

[12.9] but Oebalus, a man of no repute in general, but evidently shrewd, made a hundred tripods, as best he might, of clay, and hiding them in a bag, carried nets with them like a hunter. As he was unknown even to most of the Lacedaemonians, he would more easily escape detection by the Messenians. Joining some countrymen, he entered Ithome with them, and as soon as night fell, dedicated these tripods of clay to the god, and returned to Sparta to tell the Lacedaemonians.

[10] Μεσσηνίους δέ, ὡς εἶδον, ἐτάραξε μὲν μεγάλως, καὶ εἵκαζον — ὥσπερ ἦν — παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι: παρεμυθεῖτο δὲ ὁμῶς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστόδημος λέγων ἄλλα τε ἢ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ξυλίνους τρίποδας — ἐπεποίητο γὰρ ἤδη — περὶ τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν βωμὸν ἔστησε. συνέβη δὲ καὶ Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν τοῦτον, τὸν ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλόν, ἀναβλέψαι παραλόγως δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων: ἐπέλαβε γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλγημα αὐτὸν ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

[12.10] The Messenians, when they saw them, were greatly disturbed, thinking, rightly enough, that they were from the Lacedaemonians. Nevertheless Aristodemus encouraged them, saying what the occasion demanded, and setting up the wooden tripods, which had already been made, round the altar of the god of Ithome. It happened also that Ophioneus, the seer who had been blind from birth, received his sight in the most remarkable way. He was seized with a violent pain in the head, and thereupon received his sight.

13. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν — ἔρρεπε γὰρ ἤδη τὸ χρεὼν ἐς ἄλωσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων — προεσήμαινεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλλοντα ὁ θεός. τό τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα, ὃν χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, παρήκε τὴν ἀσπίδα: καὶ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἰθωμάτῃ θύειν μέλλοντος τὰ ἱερεῖα, οἱ κριοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν αὐτόματοι καὶ βία τὰ κέρατα ἐνράξαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. τρίτον δὲ ἄλλο συνέβη σφίσιν: οἱ κύνες συνιόντες ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ὠρύοντο, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν ἄθροοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στρατόπεδον.

[13.1] XIII. Next, as fate was already inclining towards the conquest of the Messenians, the god revealed to them the future. For the armed statue of Artemis, which was all of bronze, let its shield fall. And as Aristodemus was about to sacrifice the victims to Zeus of Ithome, the rams of their own accord leapt towards the altar, and dashing their horns violently against it were killed by the force of the blow. A third portent befell them. The dogs assembled together and howled every night, and at last fled together to the camp of the Lacedaemonians.

[2] ταῦτά τε δὴ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἐτάρασσε καὶ ὄνειρατος ὄψις ἐπιγενομένη

τοιάδε. ἔδοξεν ἐξιέναι οἱ μέλλοντι ἐς μάχην καὶ ὥπλισμένῳ τῶν ἱερείων τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ προκεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ οἱ θυγατέρα ἐπιφανῆναι μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα ἔχουσαν καὶ φαίνουσαν τό τε στέρνον καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀνατετμημένα, ἀναφανεῖσαν δὲ ἀπορριῖσαι μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ στέφανον ἐπιθεῖναι χρυσοῦν καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐπιβαλεῖν λευκόν.

[13.2] Aristodemus was alarmed by this and by the following dream which came to him. He thought that he was about to go forth armed to battle and the victims' entrails were lying before him on a table, when his daughter appeared, wearing a black robe and showing her breast and belly cut open; when she appeared she flung down what was on the table, stripped him of his arms, and instead set a golden crown on his head and put a white robe about him.

[3] ἔχοντος δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου τά τε ἄλλα ἀθύμως καὶ τὸν ὄνειρον ἡγουμένου προλέγειν οἱ τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, ὅτι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τὰς ἐκφορὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ ἱμάτια ἐπιβεβλημένων λευκά, ἀπαγγέλλει τις Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν οὐχ ὄραν ἔτι ἀλλ'.

ἐξαίφνης γενέσθαι τυφλόν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. συνιᾶσι δὴ καὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τότε, ὡς τοὺς ἀναδύντας δύο ἐκ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐς τὸ χρεῶν αὔθις ἐλθόντας τοῦ Ὀφιονέως τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία.

[13.3] Aristodemus, who was already in despair, thought the dream foretold the end of life for him, because the Messenians used to carry out their chiefs for burial wearing a crown and dressed in white garments. Then he received news that Ophioneus the seer could no longer see but had suddenly become blind, as he was at first. Then they understood the oracle, that by the two starting forth from the ambush and again meeting their doom the Pythia meant the eyes of Ophioneus.

[4] ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστόδημος τά τε οἰκεῖα ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲν ὀφέλιμον γένοιτο φονεὺς θυγατρός, καὶ τῇ πατρίδι οὐχ ὄρων ἔτι ὑποῦσαν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς παιδὸς τῷ τάφῳ, τὰ μὲν ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν ἦκοντα Μεσσηνίους σώσας, τῆς τύχης δὲ ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ἀγαγούσης τά τε ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βουλευμάτα. ἀπέθανε δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔτη τε ἐξ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐβδόμου μῆνας ἐπιλαβὼν οὐ πολλούς.

[13.4] Then Aristodemus, reckoning up his private sorrows, that to no purpose he had become the slayer of his daughter, and seeing that no hope of safety remained for his country, slew himself upon the tomb of his child. He had done all that human calculation could do to save the Messenians, but fortune brought to naught both his achievements and his plans. He had reigned six years and a few months when he died.

[5] τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τὰ πράγματα παρίστατο, ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν ἰκεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποστέλλειν: οὕτω σφόδρα

κατέπληξεν αὐτοὺς ἢ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῇ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θυμὸς ἐπέσχεεν αὐτοὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι: συλλεγόντες δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν βασιλέα μὲν οὐδένα, Δᾶμιν δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἵλοντο. ὁ δὲ Κλέοννιν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Φυλέα ἐλόμενος συνάρχοντας παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων συνάψων ἐς μάχην: ἐπηνάγκαζε γάρ ἢ τε πολιορκία καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ λιμὸς καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος, μὴ καὶ προδιαφθαρῶσιν ὑπὸ ἐνδείας.

[13.5] The Messenians were plunged into despair, and were even ready to send to the Lacedaemonians to ask mercy, so demoralized were they by the death of Aristodemus. Their pride, however, prevented them from doing this. But they met in the assembly and chose not a king, but Damis as general with absolute power. He selected Cleonnis and Phyleus as colleagues, and even with their present resources made ready to join battle. For he was forced to this by the blockade, and above all by famine and by the consequent terror that they would be destroyed by want.

[6] ἀρετῇ μὲν δὴ καὶ τολμήμασιν οὐδὲ τότε ἀπεδέησε τὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων: ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ σφισιν ἅπαντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῆνας μὲν πέντε μάλιστα ἀντέσχον, περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λήγοντα ἐξέλιπον τὴν Ἰθώμην,

πολεμήσαντες ἔτη τὰ πάντα εἴκοσι, καθὰ καὶ Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν:”εἴκοστῳ δ’ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες

φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[13.6] Even then the Messenians were not inferior in courage and brave deeds, but all their generals were killed and their most notable men. After this they held out for some five months, but as the year was coming to an end deserted Ithome, the war having lasted twenty years in all, as is stated in the poems of Tyrtaeus:

But in the twentieth year they left their rich tilled lands, and fled from out the lofty mountains of Ithome. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[7] ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν οὗτος τέλος ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Δάσμων Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα στάδιον, Ἀθήνησι Μεδοντιδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν δεκέτιν καὶ ἔτους Ἰππομένει τετάρτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡνυσμένου.

[13.7] This war came to an end in the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad, when Dasmon of Corinth won the short footrace. At Athens the Medontidae were still holding the archonship as a ten years’ office, Hippomenes having completed his fourth year.

14. Μεσσηνίων δὲ ὅσοις μὲν ἔτυχον ἐν Σικυῶνι οὔσαι καὶ ἐν Ἄργει προξενίαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τισίν, οὗτοι μὲν ἐς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἐς Ἐλευσίνα δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις τελοῦντες τὰ

ὄργια: ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν.

[14.1] XIV. All the Messenians who had ties with Sicyon and Argos and among any of the Arcadians retired to these states, but those who belonged to the family of the Priests and performed the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, to Eleusis. The majority of the common people were scattered in their native towns, as before.

[2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Ἰθώμην καθεῖλον ἐς ἔδαφος, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες ἤρουν. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ τρίποδας χαλκοῦς: Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐστηκὸς ὑπὸ τῷ τρίποδι τῷ πρώτῳ, Ἀρτέμιδος δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Κόρης δὲ ἡ Δήμητρος ὑπὸ τῷ τρίτῳ.

[14.2] The Lacedaemonians first razed Ithome to the ground, then attacked and captured the remaining towns. Of the spoils they dedicated bronze tripods to the god of Amyclae. A statue of Aphrodite stands under the first tripod, of Artemis under the second, of Kore or Demeter under the third.

[3] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνέθεσαν ἐνταῦθα, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Μεσσηνίας Ἀσιναίοις μὲν ἀνεστηκόσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων διδόασιν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ταύτην ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι νέμονται: τοῖς δὲ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπογόνους — ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ παῖδες τῆς θυγατρὸς, φεύγοντες δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους ὥχοντο ἐς Σπάρτην — τούτοις τὴν Ὑαμίαν καλουμένην ἀπονέμουςι.

[14.3] Dedicating these offerings at Amyclae, they gave to the people of Asine, who had been driven out by the Argives, that part of Messenia on the coast which they still occupy; to the descendants of Androcles (he had a daughter, who with her children had fled at his death and come to Sparta) they assigned the part called Hyamia.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔσχεν οὕτως. πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγουσιν ὄρκον μήτε ἀποστήναί ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν μήτε ἄλλο ἐργάσασθαι νεώτερον μηδέν: δεύτερα δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπέταζαν εἰρημένον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γεωργομένων τροφῶν σφισιν ἀπέφερον ἐς Σπάρτην πάντων τὰ ἡμίσεια. προεῖρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῇ τι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ: καὶ τοῖς παραβᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο ποινή.

[14.4] The Messenians themselves were treated in this way: First they exacted an oath that they would never rebel or attempt any kind of revolution. Secondly, though no fixed tribute was imposed on them, they used to bring the half of all the produce of their fields to Sparta. It was also ordained that for the funerals of the kings and other magistrates men should come from Messene with their wives in black garments, and a penalty was laid on those who disobeyed.

[5] ἐς τιμωρίας δὲ ἅς ὕβριζον ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν”ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,

δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς

ἥμισυ πᾶν ὅσων καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location.ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπενεθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη, δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε:”δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,

εὐτέ τιν’ οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[14.5] As to the wanton punishments which they inflicted on the Messenians, this is what is said in Tyrtaeus’ poems:—

Like asses worn by their great burdens, bringing of dire necessity to their masters the half of all the fruits the corn-land bears. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

That they were compelled to share their mourning, he shows by the following:—

Wailing for their masters, they and their wives alike, whensoever the baneful doom of death came upon any. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[6] τοιούτων οὖν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατελιφότες καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα οὐδὲν ἐνορῶντες παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φιλάνθρωπον, πρό τε δὴ τῶν παρόντων τεθνάναι μαχομένους ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας οἷχεσθαι νομίζοντες αἰρετώτερα, ἀφίστασθαι πάντως ἐγίνωσκον. ἐνῆγον δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοῦτο καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι, πολέμου μὲν ἔτι ἀπείρως ἔχοντες, λαμπροὶ δὲ ὄντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν προτιμῶντες ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πατρίδι, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαιμόνως δουλεύειν παρείη.

[14.6] In these straits the Messenians, foreseeing no kindness from the Lacedaemonians, and thinking death in battle or a complete migration from Peloponnese preferable to their present lot, resolved at all costs to revolt. They were incited to this mainly by the younger men, who were still without experience of war but were of high spirit and preferred death in a free country, even though slavery might bring happiness in all else.

SECOND MESSENIAN WAR, HISTORY

[7] ἐπετράφη δὲ νεότης καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλεῖστοι περὶ τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀριστομένης, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις τιμὰς. καὶ οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπάρξαι νομίζουσι: Νικοτελεία γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ δαίμονα ἢ θεὸν δράκοντι εἰκασμένον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμᾳ Σικωνίους οἶδα εἰρηκότας, διάφορα δὲ τοσόνδε ἦν:

[14.7] Of the young men who had grown up in Messenia the best and most

numerous were round Andania, and among them was Aristomenes, who to this day is worshipped as a hero among the Messenians. They think that even the circumstances of his birth were notable, for they assert that a spirit or a god united with his mother, Nicoteleia, in the form of a serpent. I know that the Macedonians tell a similar story about Olympias, and the Sicyonians about Aristodama, but there is this difference:

[8] Μεσσήνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐσποιοῦσιν Ἀριστομένην Ἡρακλεῖ παῖδα ἢ Δί, ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀμμωνι οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀρατον Ἀσκληπιῷ Σικυώνιοι: Ἀριστομένει δὲ πατέρα Ἑλλήνων μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἶναι, Μεσσηνίους δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἀριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζων ἡλικία καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν: ἐπράσσετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, κρύφα δὲ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀπέστελλον, εἴ σφισιν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεεστερώς ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προτέρου ἀμῦναι θελήσουσιν.

[14.8] The Messenians do not make Aristomenes the son of Heracles or of Zeus, as the Macedonians do with Alexander and Ammon, and the Sicyonians with Aratus and Asclepius. Most of the Greeks say that Pyrrhus was the father of Aristomenes, but I myself know that in their libations the Messenians call him Aristomenes son of Nicomedes. He then, being in the full vigor of youth and courage, with others of the nobles incited them to revolt. This was not done openly at first, but they sent secretly to Argos and to the Arcadians, to ask if they were ready to help unhesitatingly and no less energetically than in the former war.

15. ὥς δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἔτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προθυμότερα ἢ προσεδόκων — καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοις ἤδη καὶ Ἀρκάσι λαμπρῶς τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος ἐξήπτο — οὕτως ἀπέστησαν ἔτει τριακοστῷ μὲν καὶ ἐνάτῳ μετὰ Ἰθώμης ἄλωσιν, τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ εικοστῆς, ἦν Ἰκαρος Ὑπερησιεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον: Ἀθήνησι δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν ἤδη τότε ἄρχοντες, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοις Τλησίας ἦρχεν.

[15.1] XV. When all their preparations were made for the war, the readiness of their allies exceeding expectation (for now the hatred which the Argives and Arcadians felt for the Lacedaemonians had blazed up openly), they revolted in the thirty-ninth year after the capture of Ithome, and in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad, when Icarus of Hyreresia won the short footrace. At Athens the archonship was now of annual tenure, and Tlesias held office.

[2] ἐν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνι οἳ τινες τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον βασιλεύοντες, Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔγραψε, Ῥιανὸς δ' ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Λεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου. Ῥιανῷ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδαμῶς κατὰ γε τοῦτο συνθήσομαι: Τυρταῖον δὲ καὶ οὐ λέγοντα ὅμως εἰρηκέναι τις ἂν ἐν τῷδε ἡγοῖτο. ἐλεγεία γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρότερόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πόλεμον: "ἄμφ' αὐτῇ δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη

βολεμέως, αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,

αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες.

“Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[15.2] Tyrtaeus has not recorded the names of the kings then reigning in Lacedaemon, but Rhianos stated in his epic that Leotychides was king at the time of this war. I cannot agree with him at all on this point. Though Tyrtaeus makes no statement, he may be regarded as having done so by the following; there are lines of his which refer to the first war:—

Around it they fought unceasingly for nineteen years, ever maintaining a stout heart, the warrior fathers of our fathers. Tyrtaeus, unknown location.

[3] δῆλα οὖν ἐστὶν ὥς ὕστερον τρίτῃ γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τόνδε ἐπολέμησαν, ἀποδείκνυσί τε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ συνεχὲς βασιλεύοντας τηνικαῦτα ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἀνάξανδρον Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Ἀναξίδαμον Ζευξιδάμου τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. κατέβην δὲ ἐς ἀπόγονον Θεοπόμπου τέταρτον, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Θεοπόμπου προαπέθανε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς Ζευξίδαμον υἱοῦν ὄντα ἡ Θεοπόμπου περιῆλθεν ἀρχή. Λεωτυχίδης δὲ μετὰ Δημάρατον βασιλεύσας φαίνεται τὸν Ἀρίστωνος: Θεοπόμπου δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀπόγονος ἑβδομος.

[15.3] It is obvious then that the Messenians went to war now in the second generation after the first war, and the sequence of time shows that the kings of Sparta at that time were Anaxander the son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, and of the other house Anaxidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, son of Archidamus, son of Theopompus. I go as far as the third in descent from Theopompus, because Archidamus the son of Theopompus died before his father, and the kingdom of Theopompus passed to his grandson, Zeuxidamus. But Leotychides clearly succeeded Demaratus the son of Ariston, Ariston being sixth in descent from Theopompus.

[4] τότε δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάλλουσιν ἐν Δέραις καλουμέναις τῆς σφετέρας, ἔτει πρώτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν: ἀπῆσαν δὲ ἀμφοτέροις οἱ σύμμαχοι. καὶ νίκη μὲν ἐγένετο οὐδετέρων σαφής, Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἔργα φασὶν ἀποδείξασθαι πλέον τι ἢ ἄνδρα ἓνα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἡροῦντο αὐτόν, ἦν γὰρ καὶ γένους τῶν Αἰπυτιδῶν:

[15.4] In the first year after the revolt the Messenians engaged the Lacedaemonians at a place called Derae in Messenia, both sides being without their allies. Neither side won a clear victory, but Aristomenes is said to have achieved more than it seemed that one man could, so that, as he was of the race of the Aepytidae, they were for making him king after the battle. As he declined, they appointed him general with absolute power.

[5] παραιτουμένου τε, οὕτω στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἵλοντο. Ἀριστομένει δὲ

παρίστατο μηδ' ἂν ἄλλον ἀπαξιῶσαι παθεῖν τι ἐν πολέμῳ δράσαντα ἄξια μνήμης: αὐτῷ μέντοι καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμονίους καταπλήξαντα φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά σφισι φοβερώτερον. ἄτε δὲ οὕτως ἔχων, ἀφικόμενος νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀνατίθηναι ἀσπίδα πρὸς τὸν τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου ναόν: ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ Ἀριστομένην ἀπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν διδόναι τῇ θεῷ.

[15.5] It was the view of Aristomenes that any man would be ready to die in battle if he had first done deeds worthy of record, but that it was his own especial task at the very beginning of the war to prove that he had struck terror into the Lacedaemonians and that he would be more terrible to them for the future. With this purpose he came by night to Lacedaemon and fixed on the temple of Athena of the Brazen House a shield inscribed "The Gift of Aristomenes to the Goddess, taken from Spartans."

[6] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραινέσοντα ἃ χρή σφισιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην οὔτε αὐτοὶ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσι: καὶ ἦν γὰρ Τυρταῖος διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων νοῦν τε ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν χωλός, τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὁπόσους τύχοι καὶ τὰ

ἐλεγεῖα καὶ τὰ ἔπη σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα ἤδεν.

[15.6] The Spartans received an oracle from Delphi that they should procure the Athenian as counsellor. So they sent messengers to Athens to announce the oracle, asking for a man to advise what they must do. The Athenians, who were not anxious either that the Lacedaemonians should add to their possessions the best part of Peloponnese without great dangers, or that they themselves should disobey the god, made their plans accordingly. There was a man Tyrtaeus, a teacher of letters, who was considered of poor intellect and was lame in one foot. Him they sent to Sparta. On his arrival he recited his poems in elegiacs and anapaests to the nobles in private and to all whom he could collect.

[7] ἐνιαντῷ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ περὶ τὰς Δέρας ἀγῶνος, ἡκόντων ἀμφοτέροις καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μάχην συνάγοντες ἐπὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Κάπρου σήματι. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν Ἥλειοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικυῶνος βοήθεια. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἔφευγον ἐκουσίως, ἐξ Ἐλευσινός τε, οἷς πάτριον ὄρᾱν τὰ ὄργια τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν, καὶ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι: καὶ γὰρ οἱ συσπεύσαντες μάλιστα σφισιν ἦσαν οὗτοι.

[15.7] A year after the fight at Derae, both sides being joined by their allies, they prepared to join battle at the Boar's Tomb, as it is called. The Messenians had

the Eleians and Arcadians and also succors from Argos and from Sicyon. They were joined by all the Messenians who had previously been in voluntary exile, together with those from Eleusis, whose hereditary task it was to perform the rites of the Great Goddesses, and the descendants of Androcles. These indeed were their most zealous supporters.

[8] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἦλθον Κορίνθιοι συμμαχήσοντες καὶ Λεπρεατῶν τινες κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Ἥλείων· Ἀσιναίοις δὲ ὅρκοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, Κάπρου σῆμα, ἔστι μὲν ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Ἡρακλέα δὲ αὐτόθι ὅρκον ἐπὶ τομίῳν κάπρου τοῖς Νηλέως παισὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν παρὰ ἐκείνων λέγουσιν.

[15.8] The Corinthians came to fight on the side of the Lacedaemonians, and some of the Lepreans owing to their hatred of the Eleians. But the people of Asine were bound by oaths to both sides. This spot, the Boar's Tomb, lies in Stenyclerus of Messenia, and there, as is said, Heracles exchanged oaths with the sons of Neleus over the pieces of a boar.

16. ὥς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις προεθύσαντο οἱ μάντις, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν Ἴεκα ἀπόγονός τε καὶ ὁμώνυμος Ἴεκα τοῦ σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶν ἐλθόντος ἐς Σπάρτην, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις Θεόκλος — ἐγγόνει δὲ ὁ Θεόκλος οὗτος ἀπὸ Εὐμάντιδος, Εὐμαντίν δὲ ὄντα Ἥλείων τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Μεσσήνην — τότε δὲ παρόντων καὶ τῶν μάντεων σὺν φρονήματι ἀμφοτέροι μᾶλλον ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν μάχην.

[16.1] XVI. Sacrifice was offered by the seers on both sides before the battle; on the Lacedaemonian side by Hecae, descendant and namesake of the Hecae who had come with the sons of Aristodemus to Sparta, on the Messenian side by Theoclus, who was descended from Eumantis, an Eleian of the house of the Iamidae, whom Cresphontes had brought to Messene. Then in the presence of the seers both sides were spurred by greater ardor for the fight.

[2] καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρόθυμα, ὥς ἡλικίας ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἢ ῥώμης, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀνάξανδρός τε ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν· παρὰ Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι Φίντας καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι σφίσιν ἐπειρῶντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι. Τυρταῖος δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱεροφάνται τῶν Μεγάλων ἔργου μὲν ἤπτοντο οὐδενός, τοὺς τελευταίους δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐκάτεροι στρατιᾶς ἐπήγειρον.

[16.2] All showed the zeal that befitted their age and strength, but Anaxander, the Lacedaemonian king, and his Spartan guard above all. On the Messenian side the descendants of Androcles, Phintas and Androcles, and their company tried to acquit themselves like brave men. Tyrtaeus and the chief priests of the Great Goddesses took no part in the action, but urged on the hindmost on their own sides.

[3] κατὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένην εἶχεν οὕτω. λογάδες περὶ αὐτὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἦσαν Μεσσηνίων, ἡλικίαν τε γεγονότες ἐκείνῳ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἕκαστος προτετιμῆσθαι μεγάλως νομίζων ὅτι ἡξίωτο Ἀριστομένει συντετάχθαι: ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αἰσθέσθαι δι' ὀλίγου δεινοὶ τὰ τε παρ' ἁλλήλων καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνου καὶ ἀρχομένου τι δρᾶν καὶ ἔτι μέλλοντος. οὗτοι μὲν πρῶτον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀριστομένης πόνον εἶχον πολὺν κατ' Ἀνάξανδρον καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἀρίστους: λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀφειδῶς καὶ ἐς πᾶν προΐόντες ἀπονοίας τῷ τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀνάξανδρον.

[16.3] As to Aristomenes himself he had with him eighty picked men of the Messenians of the same age as himself, each one of them thinking it the highest honor that he had been thought worthy of a place in the troop with Aristomenes. They were quick to understand each other's movements, especially those of their leader, when he began or contemplated any manoeuvre. They themselves with Aristomenes were at first hard pressed in face of Anaxander and the Lacedaemonian champions, but receiving wounds unflinchingly and showing every form of desperate courage they repulsed Anaxander and his men by their long endurance and valor.

[4] τούτοις μὲν δὴ φεύγουσι διώκειν ἐπέταξεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἕτερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων λόχον: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρμήσας πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα ἀνθεστικὸς, ὥς ἐβιάσατο καὶ τούτους, ἐπ' ἄλλους ἐτράπετο αὐθις. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους ὡσάμενος ἐτοιμότερον ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ἐπεφέρετο, ἐς ὃ πᾶσαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν τάξιν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συνέχεε: καὶ οὐχὶ σὺν αἰδοῖ φευγόντων οὐδὲ ἀναμένειν θελόντων ἔτι ἀλλήλους, ἐπέκειτό σφισι φοβερώτερος ἢ κατὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς εἶναι μανίαν.

[16.4] As they fled, Aristomenes ordered another Messenian troop to undertake the pursuit. He himself attacked the enemies' line where it was firmest, and after breaking it at this point sought a new point of assault. Soon successful here, he was the more ready to assail those who stood their ground, until he threw into confusion the whole line of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies. They were now running without shame and without waiting for one another, while he assailed them with a terror that seemed more than one man's fury could inspire.

[5] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παρ' ἀχράδα πεφυκυῖαν πού τοῦ πεδίου, παρὰ ταύτην Ἀριστομένην οὐκ εἶα παραθεῖν ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος: καθέζεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἔφασκεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀχράδι. Ἀριστομένης δὲ εἶκον τῷ θυμῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀκροώμενος τὰ πάντα τοῦ μάντεως ὥς κατὰ τὴν ἀχράδα ἐγίνετο, ἀπόλλυσι τὴν ἀσπίδα, Λακεδαιμονίοις τε τὸ ἀμάρτημα τοῦ Ἀριστομένου παρέσχεν αὐτῶν ἀποσσωθῆναι τινὰς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς: διέτριψε γὰρ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνευρεῖν περὶόμενος.

[16.5] There was a wild pear-tree growing in the plain, beyond which Theoclus the seer forbade him to pass, for he said that the Dioscuri were seated on the

tree. Aristomenes, in the heat of passion, did not hear all that the seer said, and when he reached the tree, lost his shield, and his disobedience gave to the Lacedaemonians an opportunity for some to escape from the rout. For he lost time trying to recover his shield.

[6] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἔχόντων ἀθύμως μετὰ τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ὥρμημένων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, Τυρταῖος τε ἐλεγεία ἄδων μετέπειθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόχους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων κατέλεγεν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν εἰλώτων. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὡς ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ταινίας αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ ὠραῖα ἐπιβάλλουσαι τῶν ἀνθῶν ἐπέλεγον ᾄσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ᾄδόμενον” ἔς τε μέσον πεδῖον Στενυκλήριον ἔς τ’ ὄρος ἄκρον

εἶπετ’ Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

“Unknown. ἀνεσώσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐκείνην, ἔς τε Δελφοὺς

[16.6] The Lacedaemonians were thrown into despair after this blow and purposed to put an end to the war. But Tyrtaeus by reciting his poems contrived to dissuade them, and filled their ranks from the Helots to replace the slain. When Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women threw ribbons and flower blossoms over him, singing also a song which is sung to this day:—

To the middle of Stenyclerus’ plain and to the hilltop Aristomenes followed after the Lacedaemonians. Unknown.

[7] ἀφικόμενος καὶ ὥς οἱ προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία καταβάς ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἱερὸν τοῦ Τροφωνίου τὸ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ. ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Λεβάδειαν φέρων, ἧ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνακειμένην: ἐπίθημα δέ ἐστιν αὐτῆς αἰτὸς τὰ πτερὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκτετακὼς ἐς ἄκραν τὴν ἴτυν. τότε δὲ Ἀριστομένης ὡς ἐπανῆκεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας εὐρών τε παρὰ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ καὶ κοιμισάμενος τὴν ἀσπίδα, αὐτίκα ἔργων μεῖζόνων ἥπτετο.

[16.7] He recovered his shield also, going to Delphi and descending into the holy shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia, as the Pythia bade. Afterwards he took the shield to Lebadeia and dedicated it, and I myself have seen it there among the offerings. The device on it is an eagle with both wings outspread to the rim. Now on his return from Boeotia having learnt of the shield at the shrine of Trophonius and recovered it, he at once engaged in greater deeds.

[8] συλλέξας δὲ ἄλλους τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἅμα ἔχων λογάδας, φυλάξας τὰ μετὰ ἐσπέραν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ πόλιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα καὶ ἐν Ὀμήρῳ καταλόγῳ Φᾶριν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ προσοίκων καλουμένην Φαράς: ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε πειρωμένους ἀμύνεσθαι διέφθειρε καὶ λείαν περιβαλλόμενος ἀπῆλυνεν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιθεμένων καθ’ ὁδόν, ἐτρέψατό τε καὶ τούτους καὶ διώκειν τὸν Ἀναξάνδρον ὥρμητο: βληθεὶς δὲ ἀκοντίῳ τὸν γλουτὸν τὴν δίωξιν ἐπέσχευεν, οὐ μέντοι τὴν λείαν γε ἦν ἥλυνεν ἀφηρέθη.

[16.8] Collecting a force of Messenians, together with his own picked troop, he waited for night and went to a city of Laconia whose ancient name in Homer's Catalogue is Pharis, but is called Pharae by the Spartans and neighboring people. Arriving here he killed those who offered resistance and surrounding the cattle started to drive them off to Messene. On the way he was attacked by Lacedaemonian troops under king Anaxander, but put them to flight and began to pursue Anaxander; but he stopped the pursuit when wounded in the buttocks with a javelin; he did not, however, lose the booty which he was driving away.

[9] διαλιπὼν δὲ ὅσον ἀκεσθῆναι τὸ τραῦμα, ἐς μὲν αὐτὴν Σπάρτην ἔξοδον ποιούμενος νύκτωρ ἀπετράπετο ὑπὸ φασμάτων Ἑλένης καὶ Διοσκούρων, τὰς δ' ἐν Καρύαις παρθένους χορευούσας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ἐλόχησε μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ συνέλαβεν ὅσαι χρήμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀξιώματι πατέρων προεῖχον: ἀγαγὼν δὲ ἐς κόμην τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύετο, ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπιτρέψας τῶν παρθένων.

[16.9] After waiting only for the wound to heal, he was making an attack by night on Sparta itself, but was deterred by the appearance of Helen and of the Dioscuri. But he lay in wait by day for the maidens who were performing the dances in honor of Artemis at Caryae, and capturing those who were wealthiest and of noblest birth, carried them off to a village in Messenia, entrusting them to men of his troop to guard, while he rested for the night.

[10] ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ μέθης οἱ νεανίσκοι δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκρατῶς ἔχοντες λογισμοῦ πρὸς βίαν ἐτρέποντο τῶν παρθένων, Ἀριστομένους δὲ ἀπείργοντος οὐ νομιζόμενα Ἑλλήσι δρῶντας οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο λόγον, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς παροινούντας μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων πολλῶν, παρθένους ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἶλεν.

[16.10] There the young men, intoxicated, I suppose, and without any self-control, attempted to violate the girls. When Aristomenes attempted to deter them from an action contrary to Greek usage, they paid no attention, so that he was compelled to kill the most disorderly. He released the captives for a large ransom, maidens, as when he captured them.

17. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγίλα τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἐνθα ἱερὸν ἱδρύται ἅγιον Δῆμητρος. ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγούσας ἑορτὴν * * ἀμύνεσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς θεοῦ προαχθεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τραύματα μαχαίραις τε, αἷς τὰ ἱερεῖα αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθνον, καὶ ὀβελοῖς, οἷς τὰ κρέα ἐπειρον ὀπτῶσαι: τὸν δὲ Ἀριστομένην τύπτουσαι ταῖς δασὶ ζῶντα αἰροῦσιν. ἀπεσώθη δὲ ὅμως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. ἀφεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἱερεῖα τῆς Δῆμητρος αἰτίαν ἔσχεν Ἀρχιδάμεια: ἀφῆκε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐρῶσα ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἔτι, προϋφασίζετο δὲ ὡς Ἀριστομένης διακούσας τὰ δεσμὰ ἀποδρὰς οἴχοιτο.

[17.1] XVII. There is a place Aegila in Laconia, where is a sanctuary sacred to

Demeter. Aristomenes and his men knowing that the women were keeping festival there . . . the women were inspired by the goddess to defend themselves, and most of the Messenians were wounded with the knives with which the women sacrificed the victims and the spits on which they pierced and roasted the meat. Aristomenes was struck with the torches and taken alive. Nevertheless he escaped to Messenia during the same night. Archidameia, the priestess of Demeter, was charged with having released him, not for a bribe but because she had been in love with him before; but she maintained that Aristomenes had escaped by burning through his bonds.

[2] τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου μελλούσης γίνεσθαι συμβολῆς ἐπὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ καὶ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδων βεβοηθηκότων ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων, Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ἰκέτα Τραπεζούντιον, βασιλέα τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἐν τῷ τότε, διαφθείρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρήμασι. πρῶτοι γὰρ ὧν ἴσμεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμῖφ ἀνδρὶ δῶρα ἔδοσαν, καὶ ὧνιον πρῶτοι κατεστήσαντο εἶναι τὸ κράτος τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις:

[17.2] In the third year of the war, when an engagement was about to take place at what is called The Great Trench, and the Messenians had been joined by Arcadians from all the cities, the Lacedaemonians bribed Aristocrates the son of Hicetas of Trapezus, who was then king and general of the Arcadians. The Lacedaemonians were the first of whom we know to give bribes to an enemy, and the first to make victory in war a matter of purchase.

[3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ παρανομῆσαι Λακεδαιμόνιους ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Ἀρκάδος τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀρετῇ τε οἱ μαχόμενοι καὶ τύχαις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διεκρίνοντο. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὕστερον, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ταῖς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἀνθώρμουν, ἄλλους τε τῶν στρατηγούντων Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀδείμαντον ἐξωνησάμενοι.

[17.3] Before the Lacedaemonians committed this crime in the Messenian war in the matter of the treachery of Aristocrates the Arcadian, the decision in battle was reached by valor and the fortune of heaven. Again it is clear that at a later date, when they were lying opposite the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians bought Adeimantus and other Athenian generals.

[4] περιήλθε μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἡ Νεοπτολέμειος καλουμένη τίσις. Νεοπτολέμῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως, ἀποκτείναντι Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου, συνέπεσε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποσφαγῆναι: καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ παθεῖν ὁποῖόν τις καὶ ἔδρασε Νεοπτολέμειον τίσιν ὀνομάζουσι.

[17.4] However in course of time the punishment of Neoptolemus, as it is called, came upon the Lacedaemonians themselves in their turn. Now it was the fate of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, after killing Priam on the altar of Zeus Herkeios (Of the Courtyard), himself to be slain by the altar of Apollo in Delphi. Thenceforward to suffer what a man has himself done to another is called the Punishment of Neoptolemus.

[5] τοῖς οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα ἦνθησαν καὶ Ἀθηναίων τε τὸ ναυτικὸν καθηρήκεσαν καὶ Ἀγισίλαος κεχείρωτο τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη τῆς Ἀσίας, τότε σφίσι τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς ὁ βάρβαρος περιῆλθε τῷ ἐκείνων εὐρήματι, ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θήβας χρήματα ἀποστεύας· ὁ τε ὀνομαζόμενος Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξήφθη τῶν χρημάτων, ὥς ἀπολείπειν Ἀγισίλαον ἀναγκασθῆναι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.

[17.5] So in the case of the Lacedaemonians, when they were at the height of their power after the destruction of the Athenian fleet, and Agesilaus had already reduced the greater part of Asia, they were unable to capture the whole empire of the Persians but the barbarian overreached them with their own invention, sending money to Corinth, Argos, Athens and Thebes as the result of this bribery the so-called Corinthian war broke out, compelling Agesilaus to abandon his conquests in Asia.

[6] Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν τὸ ἐς Μεσσηνίους σόφισμα ὁ δαίμων ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς ἀποφανεῖν συμφορὰν· Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὥς τὰ χρήματα ἐδέξατο ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἔκρυπτεν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας οἷα ἐπεβούλευε, μελλόντων δὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἤδη συνέρχεσθαι, τηνικαῦτα ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ τέ εἰσιν ἀπειλημμένοι καὶ ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἔσται αὐτοῖς, ἣν κρατηθῶσιν, τὰ τε ἱερά σφισιν οὐκ ἔφη γεγονέναι κατὰ γνώμην. ἐκέλευεν οὖν πάντα τινά, ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς σημῆνῃ, φυγῇ χρῆσθαι.

[17.6] Thus it was the purpose of heaven to turn the trick employed by the Lacedaemonians against the Messenians to their own destruction. After receiving the money from Lacedaemon, Aristocrates concealed his plot from the Arcadians for the present, but when they were about to come into action, he alarmed them by saying that they were caught in a difficult place and there would be no means of retreat for them, if defeated, also that the offerings had not been satisfactory. He ordered everyone therefore to take to flight when he gave the signal.

[7] ὥς δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνέμισγον καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τετραμμένοι, ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστοκράτης ἀρχομένης τῆς μάχης ἀπῆγε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, καὶ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τὸ τε ἀριστερὸν καὶ μέσον ἡρήμωτο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀρκάδες σφίσι εἶχον ἀμφοτέρω ἅτε ἀπόντων μὲν Ἠλείων τῆς μάχης, ἀπόντων δὲ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων. προσεξεργάσθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τῷ Ἀριστοκράτει· διὰ γὰρ Μεσσηνίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν φυγὴν.

[17.7] When the Lacedaemonians were about to close and the Messenians were occupied on their own front, then Aristocrates withdrew the Arcadians as the battle began, leaving the Messenian left and center without troops. For the Arcadians occupied both positions in the absence of the Eleians from the battle and of the Argives and Sicyonians. To complete his work Aristocrates caused his men to fly through the Messenians.

[8] οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τῶν παρόντων ἐγένοντο ἔκφρονες καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ

τῆς διεξόδου τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐταράσσοντο, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐδέησαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν ἐν χερσίν: ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιφερομένων ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀφεώρων φεύγοντας, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραμεῖναι σφισιν ἰκέτευον, οἱ δὲ καὶ λοιδορίαις ἐς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐς ἄνδρας προδότας καὶ οὐ δικαίους ἐχρῶντο.

[17.8] They were amazed at the unexpected state of affairs, and moreover were thrown into confusion by the passage of the Arcadians through their ranks, so that they almost forgot what lay before them; for instead of the advance of the Lacedaemonians they watched the Arcadian retirement, some begging them to stand by them, others cursing them for traitors and scoundrels.

[9] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἥ τε κύκλωσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων μονωθέντων ἐγένετο οὐ χαλεπὴ καὶ νίκην ἐτοιμοτάτην πασῶν καὶ ἀπονώτατα ἀνείλοντο. Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ συνέμειναν μὲν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς μάλιστα ἐγκειμένους ἀνείργειν ἐπειρῶντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ ὄντες οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέλουν. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων τοῦ μὲν δήμου τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνηλώθησαν, ὥς τὰ πρῶτα Λακεδαιμονίων δεσπότης ἀντὶ δούλων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντας τότε μηδὲ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτὴν ἔτι ἔχειν ἐλπίδα: ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ Φίντας καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως ἀγωνισάμενος Φάνας, ὃς πρότερον τούτων ἔτι δολίχου νίκην Ὀλυμπίαισιν ἦν ἀνηρημένος.

[17.9] It was not difficult for the Lacedaemonians to surround the Messenians thus isolated, and they won without trouble the easiest of victories. Aristomenes and his men held together and tried to check the fiercest of the Lacedaemonian assaults but, being few in number, were unable to render much assistance. So great were the numbers of the people of the Messenians slain that in lieu of their former thoughts of becoming the masters instead of the slaves of the Lacedaemonians they now despaired of safety itself. Among the chieftains killed were Androcles and Phintas, and Phanas after the most glorious resistance. He had previously been victorious in the long foot race at Olympia.

[10] Ἀριστομένης δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς διαπεφευγότες τῶν Μεσσηνίων συνήθροιζε, καὶ Ἀνδανίαν μὲν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλισμα ἔπεισε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Εἴραν τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι. συνεληλαμένοις δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον προσεκάθηντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιορκίᾳ σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἐξαίρῃσιν νομίζοντες: ἀντήρκεσαν δὲ ὅμως οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ συμφορὰν ἐνὶ τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι.

[17.10] Aristomenes collected the Messenian survivors after the battle and persuaded them to desert Andania and most of the other towns that lay in the interior and to settle on Mount Eira. When they had been driven to this spot, the Lacedaemonians sat down to besiege them, thinking that they would soon reduce them. Nevertheless the Messenians maintained their resistance for eleven years after the disaster at the Trench.

[11] τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἔπη

Ῥιανοῦ πεποημένα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους:”οὐρεος ἀργεννοῖο περὶ πτύχας ἐστρατόωντο

χειμάτα τε ποίας τε δύο καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας:

“Rhianus, unknown location.χειμῶνας γὰρ καὶ θέρη κατέλεξε, πόας εἰπὼν τὸν χλωρὸν σῖτον ἢ ὀλίγον πρὸ ἀμητοῦ.

[17.11] The length of the siege is proved by these lines of the poet Rhianus, regarding the Lacedaemonians:—

In the folds of the white mountain were they encamped, for two and twenty winters and green herbs. Rhianus, unknown location.

He reckons winters and summers, by “green herbs” meaning the green corn or the time just before harvest.

18. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν Εἴραν ἀνωκίσθησαν, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ἐξείργοντο πλὴν ὅσον σφίσιν οἱ Πύλιοι τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ οἱ Μοθωναῖοι διέσωζον, ἢ ἐλήστευον τὴν τε Λακωνικὴν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν, πολεμίαν ἤδη καὶ ταύτην νομίζοντες: ἄλλοι τε δὴ συνίσταντο ἐς τὰς καταδρομάς, ὡς ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν, καὶ Ἀριστομένης δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν λογάδας ἐς τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν προήγαγεν.

[18.1] XVIII. Settling on Eira and cut off from the rest of Messenia, except in so far as the people of Pylos and Mothone maintained the coastal districts for them, the Messenians plundered both Laconia and their own territory, regarding it now as enemy country. The men taking part in the raids were drawn from all sources, and Aristomenes raised the number of his chosen troop to three hundred.

[2] ἦγον μὲν δὴ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἔφερον ὅ τι καὶ δύναίτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ἐλόντες δὲ σῖτον καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ οἶνον ἀνήλiskon, ἐπιπλα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπεδίδοσαν χρημάτων: ὥστε καὶ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δόγμα, ἅτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Εἴρᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦντες, τὴν Μεσσηνίαν καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὴν προσεχῆ, ἕως ἂν πολεμῶσιν, εἶναι ἄσπορον.

[18.2] They harried and plundered whatever Lacedaemonian property they could; when corn, cattle and wine were captured, they were consumed, but movable property and men were sold. The Lacedaemonians, as their labours were more profitable to the men at Eira than to themselves, accordingly resolved that Messenia and the neighboring part of Laconia should be left uncultivated during the war.

[3] καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου σιτοδεία ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ σιτοδείᾳ στάσις: οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο οἱ ταύτῃ τὰ κτήματα ἔχοντες τὰ σφέτερα ἀργὰ εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τὰ διάφορα διέλυε Τυρταῖος: Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχων τοὺς λογάδας τὴν μὲν ἐξοδὸν περὶ βαθείαν ἐποιήσατο ἐσπέραν, ἔφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τάχους τὴν ἐς Ἀμύκλας ἀνύσας πρὸ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου, καὶ Ἀμύκλας τὸ πόλισμα εἶλε τε καὶ

διήρπασε καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιήσατο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης προσβοηθῆσαι.

[18.3] As a result scarcity arose in Sparta, and with it revolution. For those who had property here could not endure its lying idle. Their differences were being composed by Tyrtaeus, when Aristomenes and his troop, starting in the late evening and by rapid movement reaching Amyclae before sunrise, captured and plundered the town, retiring before a force from Sparta could come to its relief.

[4] κατέτρεχε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Λακεδαιμονίων λόχοις πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις συμβαλὼν ἄλλα τε ἔσχεν ἀμυνόμενος τραῦματα καὶ πληγέντι ὑπὸ λίθου τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ σκοτοδινώσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. καὶ πεσόντα ἀθρόοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιδραμόντες ζῶντα αἰροῦσιν· ἤλωσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐς πεντήκοντα. τούτους ἔγνωσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ῥῖψαι πάντας ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν· ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὓς ἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τιμωρῶνται.

[18.4] He continued to overrun the country afterwards, until in an engagement with more than half the Lacedaemonian infantry and both the kings he received various wounds while defending himself and was struck on the head by a stone, so that his eyes became dizzy. When he fell a number of the Lacedaemonians closed upon him and took him alive with some fifty of his followers. The Lacedaemonians resolved to fling them all into the Ceadas, into which they throw men punished for the greatest crimes.

[5] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Μεσσηνίων ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπώλλυντο αὐτίκα, Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα θεῶν τις καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφύλασσε· οἱ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένει φασὶν ἐμβληθέντι ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν ὄρνιθα τὸν ἀετὸν ὑποπέτεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχειν ταῖς πτέρυξιν, ἐς ὃ κατήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πέρασ οὔτε πηρωθέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τραῦμά τι λαβόντα. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτόθεν ὁ δαίμων ἔξοδον ἀποφαίνειν αὐτῷ.

[18.5] The rest of the Messenians were killed at once as they fell, but Aristomenes now as on other occasions was preserved by one of the gods. His panegyrists say that, when Aristomenes was thrown into the Ceadas, an eagle flew below him and supported him with its wings, bringing him to the bottom without any damage to his body and without wound. Even from here, as it seems, it was the will of heaven to show him a means of escape.

[6] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὸ τέρμα ἦλθε τοῦ βαράθρου, κατεκλίθη τε καὶ

ἐφελκυσάμενος τὴν χλαμύδα ἀνέμενεν ὥς πάντως οἱ ἀποθανεῖν πεπρωμένον· τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ ψόφου τε αἰσθάνεται καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος — ἐδύνατο δὲ ἤδη διὰ τοῦ σκοτούς διορᾶν — ἁλώπεκα εἶδεν ἀπτομένην τῶν νεκρῶν. ὑπονοήσας δὲ ἔσοδον εἶναι τῷ θηρίῳ ποθέν, ἀνέμενεν ἐγγὺς οἱ τὴν ἁλώπεκα γενέσθαι, γενομένης δὲ λαμβάνεται· τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ, ὅποτε ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφοιτο, τὴν χλαμύδα προῦβαλλέν οἱ καὶ δάκνειν παρείχε. τὰ μὲν δὴ

πλείω θεούση συνέθει, τὰ δὲ ἄγαν δυσέξοδα καὶ ἐφείλκετο ὑπ' αὐτῆς· ὃν ἐ δὲ ποτε ὅπῃν τε εἶδεν ἀλώπεκι ἐς διάδυσιν ἱκανὴν καὶ φέγγος δι' αὐτῆς.

[18.6] For when he came to the bottom of the chasm he lay down, and covering himself with his cloak awaited the death that fate had surely decreed. But after two days he heard a noise and uncovered, and being by this time able to see through the gloom, saw a fox devouring the dead bodies. Realizing that the beast must have some entrance, he waited for the fox to come near him, and then seized it. Whenever it turned on him he used one hand to hold out his cloak for it to bite. For the most part he kept pace with it as it ran, but over the more difficult ground he was dragged along by it. At last he saw a hole big enough for a fox to get through and daylight showing through it.

[7] καὶ τὴν μὲν, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους ἠλευθερώθη, τὸ φωλὶον ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι· Ἀριστομένης δὲ — οὐ γάρ τι ἢ ὅπῃ καὶ τούτῳ παρέχειν ἐδύνατο ἔξοδον — εὐρυτέραν τε ταῖς χερσὶν ἐποίησε καὶ οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Εἴραν ἀποσώζεται, παραδόξῳ μὲν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλῳσιν χρησάμενος, τὸ γάρ οἱ φρόνημα ἦν καὶ τὰ τολμήματα μεῖζονα ἢ ὥς ἐλπίσαι τινὰ Ἀριστομένην αἰχμάλωτον ἂν γενέσθαι, παραδοξότερα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ πάντων προδηλότατα οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Κεάδα σωτηρία.

[18.7] The fox, when released by Aristomenes, made of presumably, to its earth. But Aristomenes enlarged the hole, which was not large enough to let him through, with his hands and reached his home at Eira in safety, having undergone a remarkable chance in the matter of his capture, for his courage and prowess were so high that no one would have expected Aristomenes to be made a prisoner. Still more remarkable, and a convincing example of divine assistance, was his escape from the Ceadas.

19. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτομόλων, ὥς Ἀριστομένης ἐπανήκοι σῶς· νομιζομένου δὲ ἀπίστου κατὰ ταῦτα ἢ εἴ τινα τεθνεῶτα ἐλέγετο ἀναβιδῶναι, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρξεν ἐς πίστιν. Κορίνθιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις δύναμιν ὥς συνεξαίρησοντας τὴν Εἴραν ἀποστέλλουσι.

[19.1] XIX. The Lacedaemonians at once received information from deserters that Aristomenes had returned in safety. Though they thought it as incredible as the news that anyone had risen from the dead, their belief was ensured by the following action on the part of Aristomenes himself. The Corinthians were sending a force to assist the Lacedaemonians in the reduction of Eira.

[2] τούτους παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης τῇ πορείᾳ τε ἀτακτότερον χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις ἀφυλάκτως, ἐπιτίθεται νύκτωρ σφίσι· καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων καθευδόντων ἔτι ἐφόνευσε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας Ὑπερμενίδην καὶ Ἀγλαδαῖον καὶ Λυσίστρατον καὶ Σίδεκτον ἀποκτίννυσι. διαρπάσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν στρατηγίδα παρέστησεν εἰδεῖναι Σπαρτιάταις ὥς Ἀριστομένης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα εἰργασμένος.

[19.2] Learning from his scouts that their march discipline was lax and that their encampments were made without precaution, Aristomenes attacked them by night. He slew most of them while the rest were still sleeping, and killed the leaders Hypermenides, Achladaeus, Lysistratus and Sidectus. And having plundered the generals' tent, he made it clear to the Spartans that it was Aristomenes and no other Messenian who had done this.

[3] ἔθυσσε δὲ καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἰθωμάτῃ τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ἑκατομόνια ὀνομάζουσιν. αὕτη δὲ καθεστήκει μὲν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, θύειν δὲ αὐτὴν Μεσσηνίων ἐνομιζέτο ὅπόσοι πολεμίους ἄνδρας κατεργάσαιντο ἑκατόν. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὅτε ἐπὶ Κάπρου σήματι ἐμαχέσατο, θύσαντι ἑκατομόνια πρῶτον, δεύτερα ἤδη θῦσαι καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῶν Κορινθίων παρέσχε φόνοσ. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὕστερον θῦσαι καταδρομαῖς θυσίαν τρίτην, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ — ἐπήει γὰρ

[19.3] He also made the sacrifice called the Offering for the hundred slain to Zeus of Ithome. This was an old-established custom, all Messenians making it who had slain their hundred enemies. Aristomenes first offered it after the battle at the Boar's Tomb, his second offering was occasioned by the slaughter of the Corinthians in the night. It is said that he made a third offering as the result of his later raids.

[4] Ὑακίνθια — πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εἵρᾳ τεσσαράκοντα ἐποιήσαντο ἡμερῶν σπονδάς· καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀναχωρήσαντες οἴκαδε ἐώρταζον, Κρήτες δὲ τοξόται — μετεπέμψαντο γὰρ ἔκ τε Λύκτου καὶ ἐτέρων πόλεων μισθωτοὺς — οὗτοί σφισιν ἀνὰ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐπλανῶντο. Ἀριστομένην οὖν, ἅτε ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀπωτέρω τῆς Εἵρας γενόμενον καὶ προϊόντα ἀδεέστερον, ἑπτὰ ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν τούτων ἐλόγησαν,

συλλαβόντες δὲ τοῖς ἱμάσιν οἷς εἶχον ἐπὶ ταῖς φαρέτραις δέουσιν:

[19.4] Now the Lacedaemonians, as the festival of Hyacinthus was approaching, made a truce of forty days with the men of Eira. They themselves returned home to keep the feast, but some Cretan archers, whom they had summoned as mercenaries from Lyctus and other cities, were patrolling Messenia for them. Aristomenes then, in view of the truce, was at a distance from Eira and was advancing somewhat carelessly, when seven of these archers laid an ambush for him. They captured him and bound him with the thongs which they had on their quivers, as evening was coming on.

[5] ἐσπέρα γὰρ ἐπήει. δύο μὲν οὖν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἀριστομένην εὐηγγελίζοντο ἠλωκέναι: οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς ἀγρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ. ἐνταῦθα ὤκει κόρη σὺν μητρὶ παρθένος, πατρὸς ὀρφανή. τῇ δὲ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ εἶδεν ὄψιν ἢ παις: λέοντα ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν λύκοι σφίσιν ἡγαγον δεδεμένον καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄνυχας, αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἀπέλυσε καὶ ἀνευροῦσα ἔδωκε τοὺς ὄνυχας, οὕτω τε διασπασθῆναι τοὺς λύκους ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ λέοντος.

[19.5] So two of them went to Sparta, bringing the glad news that Aristomenes had been captured. The rest went to one of the farms in Messenia, where there dwelt a fatherless girl with her mother. On the previous night the girl had seen a dream. Wolves brought a lion to their farm bound and without talons; but she herself loosed the lion from his bonds and found and gave to him his talons, and thus it seemed that the wolves were torn in pieces by the lion.

[6] τότε δὲ ὡς τὸν Ἀριστομένην ἐσάγουσιν οἱ Κρηῖτες, συνεφρόνησεν ἡ παρθένος ὕπαρ ἥκειν τὸ ἐν τῇ νυκτί οἱ πεφηνὸς καὶ ἀνηρώτα τὴν μητέρα ὅστις εἶη: μαθοῦσα δὲ ἐπερρώσθη τε καὶ ἀπιδούσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ προσταχθὲν συνῆκεν. οἶνον οὖν τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγγέουσα ἀνέδην, ὡς σφᾶς ἡ μέθη κατελάμβανεν, ὑφαιρεῖται τοῦ μάλιστα ὑπνωμένου τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον: τὰ μὲν δὴ δεσμὰ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους ἔτεμεν ἡ παρθένος, ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸ ξίφος ἐκείνους διειργάσατο. ταύτην τὴν παρθένον λαμβάνει γυναῖκα Γόργος Ἀριστομένους: ἐδίδου δὲ Ἀριστομένης τῇ παιδί ἐκτίνων σῶστρον, ἐπεὶ Γόργῳ οὐκ ἦν πω δέκατον καὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος, ὅτε ἐγγυμεν.

[19.6] And now when the Cretans brought in Aristomenes, the girl realized that the dream of the night had come true, and asked her mother who he was. On learning she was encouraged, and looking intently at him understood what she had been bidden to do. Accordingly she plied the Cretans with wine, and when they were overcome with drunkenness she stole away the dagger of the man who was sleeping most heavily. Then the girl cut the bonds of Aristomenes, and he took the sword and despatched the men. This maiden was taken to wife by Gorgus the son of Aristomenes. Aristomenes gave him to the girl as a recompense for saving his life, for Gorgus had not yet completed his eighteenth year when he wedded her.

SECOND MESSENIAN WAR, HISTORY CONT.

20. ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας τὴν τε Εἴραν ἐπέπρωτο ἀλῶναι καὶ ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι Μεσσηνίους, καὶ δὴ σφισιν ἐπετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς Ἀριστομένει καὶ Θεόκλῳ χρησθέν τι. τούτοις γὰρ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς

Δελφοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ πληγὴν καὶ ἐπερομένοις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοσόνδε εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία: "εὗτε τράγος πίνῃσι Νέδης ἐλικόρροον ὕδωρ,

οὐκέτι Μεσσήνην ρύομαι: σχεδόθεν γὰρ ὄλεθρος.

“

[20.1] XX. But in the eleventh year of the siege it was fated that Eira should be taken and the Messenians dispersed, and the god fulfilled for them an oracle given to Aristomenes and Theoclus. They had come to Delphi after the disaster at the Trench and asked concerning safety, receiving this reply from the Pythia:

Whensoever a he-goat drinks of Neda's winding stream, no more do I protect Messene, for destruction is at hand.

[2] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς Νέδας ἐν ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ· προελθὼν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἐπιστρέψας αὐθις ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὀρίζει τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ἠλείοις τὴν γῆν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν τοὺς αἶγας τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ πίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Νέδας· τοῖς δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων προεσήμαινε τοιόνδε. τὸ δένδρον τὸν ἐρινεὸν εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ καλοῦσιν ὀλύνθην, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τράγον. τότε οὖν πρὸς τῇ Νέδῃ πεφυκῶς ἐρινεὸς οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἠῴζετο, ἀλλὰ ἐξ τε τὸ ρεῦμα ἐπέστρεφε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄκροις τοῖς φύλλοις ἐπέψαυε.

[20.2] The springs of the Neda are in Mount Lycaeus. The river flows through the land of the Arcadians and turning again towards Messenia forms the boundary on the coast between Messenia and Elis. Then they were afraid of the he-goats drinking from the Neda, but it appeared that what the god foretold to them was this. Some of the Greeks call the wild fig-tree olynthe, but the Messenians themselves tragos (he-goat). Now at that time a wild fig-tree growing on the bank of the Neda had not grown straight up, but was bending towards the stream and touching the water with the tips of its leaves.

[3] θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος συνεβάλετο ὡς τὸν τράγον τὸν πίνοντα ἐκ τῆς Νέδας προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἐρινεὸν τοῦτον καὶ ὡς ἤδη Μεσσηνίοις ἤκει τὸ χρεών· καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, Ἀριστομένην δὲ πρὸς τε τὸν ἐρινεὸν ἤγαγε καὶ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐξήκοι σφίσιν ὁ χρόνος. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχειν οὕτω πείθεται καὶ ἀναβολὴν οὐκέτι εἶναί σφισι, προενοήσατο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων.

[20.3] When the seer Theoclus saw it, he guessed that the goat who drinks of the Neda foretold by the Pythia was this wild fig-tree, and that their fate had already come upon the Messenians. He kept it secret from the rest, but led Aristomenes to the fig-tree and showed him that their time of safety had gone by. Aristomenes believed that it was so and that there was no delaying their fate, and made provision such as circumstances demanded.

[4] καὶ ἦν γάρ τι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἔμελλε δὲ ἀφανισθὲν ὑποβρύχιον τὴν Μεσσήνην κρύψειν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, φυλαχθὲν δὲ οἱ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος χρησμοὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔλεγον χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἀνασώσεσθαι τὴν χώραν· τοῦτο δὴ ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἄτε ἐπιστάμενος τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐγίνετο, ἐκόμιζε. παραγενόμενος δὲ ἐνθα τῆς Ἰθώμης ἦν τὸ ἐρημότατον, κατώρυξεν ἐς Ἰθώμην τὸ ὄρος, καὶ Δία Ἰθώμην ἔχοντα καὶ θεοὺς οἱ Μεσσηνίους ἐς ἐκεῖνο ἔσωζον φύλακας μείναι τῆς παρακαταθήκης αἰτούμενος, μηδὲ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι τὴν μόνην καθόδου Μεσσηνίοις ἐλπίδα.

[20.4] For the Messenians possessed a secret thing. If it were destroyed, Messene would be overwhelmed and lost for ever, but if it were kept, the oracles of Lycus the son of Pandion said that after lapse of time the Messenians would recover their country. Aristomenes, knowing the oracles, took it towards nightfall, and coming to the most deserted part of Ithome,

buried it on the mountain, calling on Zeus who keeps Ithome and the gods who had hitherto protected the Messenians to remain guardians of the pledge, and not to put their only hope of return into the power of the Lacedaemonians.

[5] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἤρχετο, καθὸ καὶ Τρωσὶν ἔτι πρότερον, γίνεσθαι κακὰ ἀπὸ μοιχείας. ἐπεκράτουν μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐπεὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Εἴραν ἄχρι τῆς Νέδας, ἥσαν δὲ οἰκίσεις καὶ ἕξω πυλῶν ἐνίοις. αὐτόμολος δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἄλλος μὲν ἀφίκετο οὐδείς, οἰκέτης δὲ Ἐμπεράμου βουκόλος ἐλαύνων τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς βοῦς· ὁ δὲ Ἐμπεράμος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος.

[20.5] After this, as formerly for the Trojans, the beginning of the Messenian misfortunes was in adultery. The Messenians commanded the mountain of Eira and its slopes as far as the Neda, some of them having their dwellings outside the gates. The only deserter that came to them from Laconia was a herdsman, slave of Emperamus, bringing his master's cattle. Emperamus was a man of repute in Sparta.

[6] οὗτος ὁ βουκόλος ἔνεμεν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Νέδας. ἀνδρὸς οὖν τῶν Μεσσηνίων τῶν οὐκ ἐντὸς τείχους ἐχόντων οἴκησιν γυναῖκα εἶδεν ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἐλθοῦσαν· ἐρασθεὶς δὲ διαλεχθῆναί τε ἐτόλμησε καὶ δοὺς δῶρα συγγίνεται. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα παρεφύλασσε αὐτῆς, ὅποτε ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐς τὴν φρουράν. ἀνὰ μέρος δὲ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπήγετο ἡ φυλακή· ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ ὑπερβῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὅποτε οὖν οὗτος ἀποχωρήσειε, τηνικαῦτα ὁ βουκόλος ἐφοῖτα παρὰ τὴν γυναῖκα.

[20.6] This herdsman, who kept his cattle not far from the Neda, saw the wife of one of the Messenians, who had their dwellings outside the wall, as she came to draw water. Falling in love with her, he dared to speak with her and seduced her with gifts. Thenceforward he marked the time when her husband went away to mount guard, garrison duty on the acropolis being undertaken by the Messenians in turn. For it was at this point that they were most afraid of the enemy making their way into the town. Whenever he went away, then the herdsman used to visit the lady.

[7] καὶ ποτε ἔτυχε σὺν ἄλλοις ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιήκουσα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἡ φυλακή, ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὕειν πολλῶ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐκλείπουσιν οἱ

Μεσσήνιοι τὴν φρουράν· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐβιάζετο σφᾶς ἀθρόον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταχεόμενον, οὔτε ἐπάλλεον ἐνφοδομημένων οὔτε πύργων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῦ τειχισμοῦ, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ κινήσεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠλπίζον ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ καὶ οὕτω χειμερίῳ.

[20.7] Now once when it happened that the turn for duty fell to him and others in the night, it chanced that there was heavy rain, and the Messenians deserted their post. For they were overcome by the density of the rain that streamed from heaven, as there were no battlements or towers erected on the wall

owing to the hurried nature of its building; moreover they did not expect the Lacedaemonians even to stir on a moonless night that was so stormy.

[8] Ἀριστομένης δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις Κεφαλλῆνα ἔμπορον, ἐαυτῷ ξένον καὶ ἐσάγοντα ἐς τὴν Εἵραν ὁπόσων ἐδέοντο, ἐαλωκότα ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοξοτῶν Ἀπτεραίων ὧν ἦρχεν Εὐρύαλος Σπαρτιάτης, τοῦτον τὸν Κεφαλλῆνα ἀφαιρούμενος ἐκείνον μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅποσα ἦγεν ἀπέσωσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτέτρωτο καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς φυλάσσουσι καθάπερ εἰώθει. τοῦτο μάλιστα αἴτιον ἐγένετο ἐκλειφθῆναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν:

[20.8] A few days earlier a merchant from Cephallenia, who was a friend of Aristomenes and was bringing to Eira all that they needed, had been captured by the Lacedaemonians and archers from Aptera, commanded by Euryalus the Spartan; Aristomenes rescued him and recovered all the goods that he was bringing, but had himself been wounded and was unable to visit rounds, as was his custom. This was the main reason that the acropolis was deserted.

[9] τῶν τε δὴ ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουκόλου μοιχευομένης ὁ ἀνὴρ. ἡ δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἔνδον εἶχε τὸν βουκόλον, αἰσθάνεται τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιόντος καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἀποκρύπτει τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐσελθόντα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο ὡς οὐπω πρότερον καὶ ἡρώτα καθ' ἣν τινα αἰτίαν ἦκοι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε μεμοιχευμένην εἰδὼς οὔτε ἔνδον ὄντα τὸν βουκόλον ἐχρήτο τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς τε διὰ τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ἔφασκεν ἀπολελοιπέναι τὴν φρουράν.

[20.9] All of them left their posts and with them the husband of the woman seduced by the herdsman. She was entertaining the herdsman at the time but heard her husband coming and at once hid the man away as quickly as possible. When the husband entered, she treated him with greater affection than ever before and asked him what was the reason of his return. But knowing that she was unfaithful or that the herdsman was in the house, he told her the truth, that owing to the violence of the rain he and all the rest had deserted their post.

[10] ἐπηκροᾷτο δὲ λέγοντος ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐπύθετο ἕκαστα, αὐθις ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίκετο αὐτόμολος. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τηνικαῦτα ἀπῆσαν, πολεμαρχῶν δὲ τότε Ἐμπεράμος ὁ τοῦ βουκόλου δεσπότης προσεκάθητο τῇ Εἵρᾳ. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ἐς τοῦτον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δρασμῷ παρητεῖτο ἀμάρτημα, δεύτερα δὲ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τὴν Εἵραν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα αἰρήσουσιν, αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ὁπόσα ἦσθετο τοῦ Μεσσηνίου διηγούμενος.

[20.10] The herdsman listened to him speaking, and learning the exact position, again deserted from the Messenians to the Lacedaemonians. The Kings were absent at the time from the Lacedaemonian camp, but Emperamus, his master, who was commandant, was conducting the siege of Eira. Coming to him he first begged forgiveness for his crime of deserting and then showed him that

now was the time for them to take Eira, recounting everything that he had learnt from the Messenian.

21. ἔδοξε τε δὴ λέγειν πιστὰ καὶ ἡγεῖτο Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ἦν δὲ ἡ πορεία χαλεπὴ σφισιν ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντος τοῦ ὕετοῦ: ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἦνυσαν, καὶ ὥς κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς Εἵρας ἐγένοντο, ὑπερέβαινον κλίμακάς τε προστιθέντες καὶ ὅτῳ τις ἐδύνατο ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρεῖχeto μὲν τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ καὶ ἄλλα αἰσθησιν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ κύνες οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑλακτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ συνεχεστέρα καὶ βιασιότερα τῇ κραυγῇ χρώμενοι. γνόντες οὖν τὸν ὕστατον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτον σφᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐπιληφότα, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντα ἀνελάμβανον, ἀλλ' ὅτῳ προχείρῳ μάλιστα ἐντύχοι τις, ἀρπάζοντες ἡμυνον τῇ πατρίδι, ἣ μὲν σφίσιν ἐλείπετο ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας πάσης.

[21.1] XXI. His story seemed to be reliable, and he led the way for Emperamus and the Spartans. Their march was difficult, as it was dark and the rain never ceased. Nevertheless they accomplished it in their eagerness, and arriving before the acropolis of Eira, mounted by raising ladders and in any other way that was possible. Various indications of the trouble that was upon them were given to the Messenians, especially by the dogs barking, not in their usual fashion, but uttering more loud and continuous howls. realizing that the supreme and most desperate crisis had come upon them, they did not wait to collect all their arms but snatched whatever lay ready to the hand of each, to defend the fatherland that alone was left to them of all Messenia.

[2] πρῶτοι δὲ ἦσθοντο ἔνδον τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ ἐβοήθουν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρῶτοι Γόργος τε ὁ Ἀριστομένους καὶ Ἀριστομένης αὐτὸς Θεόκλος τε ὁ μάντις καὶ Μάντικλος ὁ Θεόκλου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐεργετίδας ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πλεόν ἄξιώματος ἦκων: ἀδελφὴν γὰρ εἶχεν Ἀριστομένους Ἀγναγόραν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, συνιέντες ὥς ἐν δικτύοις εἰσιν ἐσχημένοι, ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἶχόν τινα ἐλπίδα:

[21.2] The first to realize that the enemy were within and to go against them were Gorgus the son of Aristomenes, Aristomenes himself, Theoclus the seer and Mantichus his son, and with them Euergetidas a man of high repute in Messenia who had attained to greater honor through his wife for he was wedded to Hagnagora, the sister of Aristomenes. Then the rest, though understanding that they were caught as in a net, nevertheless derived some hope even from their present plight.

[3] Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ ὁ μάντις ἠπίσταντο μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἀναβολὴν ὀλέθρου

Μεσσηνίοις οὖσαν, ἅτε εἰδότες καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ὃν ἠνίξατο ἐς τὸν τράγον: ἡ Πυθία, ἐπέκρυπτον δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν, καὶ ἦν σφισιν ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπόρρητον. ἐπιόντες δὲ τὴν πόλιν σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐρχόμενοι τοῖς τε ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὁπότε αἰσθάνοιντο ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, παρεκελεύοντο ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεκάλουν τοὺς ἔτι ὑπολειπομένους.

[21.3] But Aristomenes and the seer knew that there was no putting off destruction for the Messenians, for they knew the riddle of the oracle which the Pythia had uttered concerning the goat. Nevertheless they would not declare it, and kept it secret from the rest. As they hastened through the city, visiting all, they exhorted those whom they encountered, when they saw that they were Messenians, to be brave men, and summoned from the houses those who still remained.

[4] ἐν μὲν δὴ νυκτὶ οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπράχθη λόγου παρ' οὐδετέρων: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀπειρία τῶν τόπων καὶ ἡ τόλμα τοῦ Ἀριστομένους παρεῖχε μελλησμόν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οὔτε παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν σύνθημα ἐγγέγονει φθάνοντας εἰληφέναι τὰς τε δᾶδας, ἧ εἴ τινα λαμπτήρα ἀλλοῖον ἄψαιτό τις, ὥων ἂν ἐσβέννυνεν ὁ θεός.

[21.4] During the night nothing worthy of mention was done on either side; for their ignorance of the ground and the daring of Aristomenes gave pause to the Lacedaemonians, while the Messenians had not previously received a watchword from their generals, and the rain would put out torches or any other light that they kindled.

[5] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν καὶ ἀλλήλους καθορᾶν ἐδύναντο, ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστομένης καὶ Θεόκλος ἐπειρῶντο ἐς πᾶσαν ἀπόνοιαν προάγειν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἄλλα τε ὅποσα εἰκὸς ἦν διδάσκοντες καὶ Σμυρναίων τὰ τολμήματα ἀναμινέσκοντες, ὥς Ἴωνων μοῖρα ὄντες Γύγην τὸν Δασκύλου καὶ Λυδοὺς ἔχοντας σφῶν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκβάλοιεν.

[21.5] When it was day and they could see one another Aristomenes and Theoclus tried to rouse the fury of despair in the Messenians, setting forth all that suited the occasion and reminding them of the valor of the men of Smyrna, how, though an Ionian people, by their valor and courage they had driven out Cyges the son of Dascylus and the Lydians, when they were in occupation of their town.

[6] οἱ Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἀκούοντες ἀπονοίας τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ συνιστάμενοι καθ' ὅποσους ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: ὥρμησαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ ὄτῳ δύναιτο ἐκάστη τοὺς πολεμίους βάλλειν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μὴ δρᾶσαι σφᾶς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῶν τεγῶν τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον ἐπεκώλυε: λαβεῖν δὲ ὅπλα ἐτόλμησαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ πλεον αὐταὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐξῆψαν, ὅποτε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐώρων

προτιμώσας συναπολέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι ἢ ἀχθῆναι δούλας ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ὥστε κἂν παρελθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τὸ πεπωμένον:

[21.6] The Messenians, when they heard, were filled with desperate courage, and mustering as they happened to be gathered rushed on the Lacedaemonians. Women too were eager to fling tiles and what they could upon the enemy, yet the violence of the rain prevented them from doing this and from mounting to the house-tops. But they dared to take arms, and they

too further inflamed the ardor of the men, when they saw their women preferring to perish with their fatherland rather than be taken as slaves to Lacedaemon, so that they might yet have been able to escape their fate.

[7] ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγεν ἄθρόον μᾶλλον μετὰ ἰσχυροῦ τῶν βροντῶν τοῦ φόφου καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐναντίας ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐξέπλησσε. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ταῦτα πάντα παρίσθη φρόνημα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύνειν σφίσιν ἔφασαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ — ἥστραπτε γὰρ τούτοις κατὰ δεξιὰ — ἀπέφαινεν Ἑκας ὁ μάντις ὡς αἴσιον εἶη τὸ σημεῖον.

[21.7] But the god caused the rain to descend more densely, with loud claps of thunder, and dazzled their eyes with lightning flashing in their faces. All this put courage in the Lacedaemonians, who said that heaven itself was helping them and as the lightning was on their right, Hecas the seer declared the sign of good omen.

[8] οὗτος δὲ καὶ στρατήγημα ἐξεῦρε τοιόνδε. ἀριθμῶ καὶ πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιῆσαν· ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ σφίσιν οὐδὲ κατὰ σύνταγμα ἐγγινομένης τῆς μάχης, ἄλλων δὲ ἐν ἄλλῃ τῆς πόλεως ποιουμένων τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀχρεῖους ἀπὸ ἐκάστης τάξεως συνέβαινε εἶναι τοὺς τελευταίους. τούτους ἐκέλευεν ἀποχωρήσαντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον σιτίων μεταλαβεῖν καὶ ὕπνου καὶ αὐθις πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἦκειν τοῖς ὑπομενοῦσιν αὐτῶν διαδεξομένους τὸν πόνον.

[21.8] It was he who devised the following plan. The Lacedaemonians far outnumbered the Messenians, but as the battle was not being fought on open ground with troops in line, but they were fighting over different quarters of the town, the rearmost of each detachment were rendered useless. Hecas ordered these to retire to the camp, take food and sleep, and return before evening to relieve their own men who were to remain on duty.

[9] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀναπαυόμενοί τε καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος μαχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀντήρουν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις πανταχόθεν παρίστατο ἀπορία· μεθ' ἡμέραν γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ τρίτην ἡμύνοντο. ἤδη τε ἡμέρα ἦν καὶ ἡ τε ἀνπνία καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τε καὶ ῥίγος ἐπέιξε σφᾶς, ὃ τε λιμὸς καὶ ἡ δίψα ἐπέκειτο· μάλιστα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀηθείᾳ τε πολέμου καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἀπειρήκεσαν.

[21.9] The Lacedaemonians, by resting and fighting by turns, held out the longer, but the Messenians were faced with difficulties on all sides. They fought continuously day and night until the third day with none to relieve them. When the next day dawned, worn out by lack of sleep and by the rain and cold from heaven, they were assailed by hunger and thirst. The women especially, unaccustomed to war, were exhausted by the continuous suffering.

[10] παραστὰς οὖν ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος πρὸς Ἀριστομένην εἶπε· ‘τί μάτην τόνδε ἔχεις τὸν πόνον; ἀλῶναι Μεσσήνην πάντως ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον, συμφορὰν δὲ τῇν ἐν

ὀφθαλμοῖς πάλαι τε ἡμῖν προσήμεινεν ἡ Πυθία καὶ ἔναγχος ὁ ἔρινεός ἔδειξεν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ κοινὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπάγει τὴν τελευτήν· σὺ δὲ σώζεις μὲν ὡς δυνάμεως ἦκεις Μεσσηνίους, σώζεις δὲ καὶ σαυτόν.’ ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔθει· καὶ οἱ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔπεισιν ἐκβοῆσαι τοσόνδε· ‘ἀλλ’ οὐ τοι τὸν πάντα γε χρόνον χαίροντες καρπώσεσθε τὰ Μεσσηνίων.’

[21.10] So the seer Theoclus came to Aristomenes’ side and said: “Why vainly maintain this toil? The decree of fate stands fast that Messene should fall; long since the Pythia declared to us the disaster now before our eyes, and lately the fig-tree revealed it. On me the gods have laid one doom with my country, but do thou save the Messenians with what power thou hast and save thyself.” When he had spoken to Aristomenes he rushed upon the enemy, and these were the words that he was constrained to fling at the Lacedaemonians. “Yet not for all time shall you enjoy the fruits of Messenia with impunity.”

[11] μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθεστηκόσιν ἐμπεσὼν ἐκείνους τε ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, προεμπλήσας δὲ τὸν θυμὸν τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφίησι τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ὀπίσω τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀνεκάλει, πλὴν ὅσοι κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν αὐτῶν προεμάχοντο· τούτους δὲ εἶα κατὰ χώραν μένειν· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς προσέταξε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐντὸς τῆς τάξεως ἔχοντας ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἥπερ ἂν αὐτὸς παρέχεται διέξοδον.

[21.11] Then falling upon the men who faced him he killed them and himself was wounded, and having sated his passion with the slaughter of his foes, he breathed his last. But Aristomenes called the Messenians back from the fight, except those who by virtue of their courage were fighting to cover them. These he allowed to remain at their post. The rest he ordered to receive the women and children within their ranks and follow him wherever he should show a passage.

[12] καὶ τούτων μὲν τοῖς τελευταίοις Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἐπέστησεν ἄρχοντας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τοὺς προτεταγμένους τῆς τε κεφαλῆς τῷ νεύματι καὶ τοῦ δόρατος τῇ κινήσει δηλὸς ἦν διέξοδόν τε αἰτούμενος καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν ἤδη βεβουλευμένος. τῷ τε οὖν Ἑμπεράμῳ καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῖς παροῦσι διεῖναι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἥρεσκε μὴδὲ λυσσῶντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀπονοίας ἦκοντας ἐξαγριᾶναι πέρα· καὶ ἅμα οὕτω σφᾶς ποιεῖν Ἔκας ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευεν.

[21.12] He appointed Gorgus and Mantichus to command the rear, he himself ran to the head of the company and by the gestures of his head and movement of his spear signified that he asked a passage and had resolved to depart. Emperamus and the Spartans present were pleased to let the Messenians pass, without further inflaming men who had reached the bounds of frenzy and despair. Moreover Hecas the seer ordered them to act thus.

22. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες παραυτίκα τε τὴν κατάληψιν ἐπυνθάνοντο τῆς Εἵρας καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀριστοκράτην

ἐκέλευον σφᾶς ἄγειν ὡς ἡ σώσοντας Μεσσηνίους ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπολουμένους. ὁ δὲ ἅτε ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος δεδεγμένος δῶρα, οὕτε ἄγειν ἤθελεν εἰδέναι τε ἔφασκεν οὐδένα ἔτι Μεσσηνίων ὅτῳ καὶ ἀμυνοῦσιν ὄντα ὑπόλοιπον.

[22.1] XXII. As soon as the Arcadians heard of the Capture of Eira, they at once ordered Aristocrates to lead them to the rescue of the Messenians or to death with them. But he, being in receipt of bribes from Lacedaemon, refused to lead them, and said that he knew that no Messenian survived for them to help.

[2] τότε δὲ ὡς σαφέστερον ἡσθάνοντο περιόντας καὶ ἐκλείπειν τὴν Εἵραν βεβιασμένους, αὐτοὶ μὲν περὶ τὸ ὄρος σφᾶς τὸ Λύκαιον ἔμελλον ὑποδέξασθαι, προετοιμασάμενοι καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σιτία, ἄνδρας δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει πέμπουσι παραμυθεῖσθαι τε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἅμα τῆς πορείας γενέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν, ὡς ἐς τὸ Λύκαιον ἀνεσώθησαν, ἐξένιζον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐνοϊκῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, κατανέμειν τε ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἤθελον καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι δι' ἐκείνους τὴν γῆν:

[22.2] When they obtained more certain news, that they survived and had been forced to desert Eira, they themselves proposed to receive them at Mount Lycaeus after preparing clothing and food, and sent some of their leading men to comfort the Messenians and also to be their guides on the way. After their safe arrival at Mount Lycaeus, the Arcadians entertained them and treated them kindly in every way, offering to distribute them among their towns and to make a new distribution of their land on their account.

[3] Ἀριστομένει δὲ ὃ τε οἶκτος διαρπαζομένης τῆς Εἵρας καὶ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βούλευμα παρίστησι τοιόνδε. πεντακοσίους τῶν Μεσσηνίων, οὓς μάλιστα ἥπιστάτο αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς ἔχοντας, ἀποκρίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἤρετο σφᾶς ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους, ἅτε ὄντα προδότην οὐκ εἰδῶς — ἀνανδρία γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας φυγεῖν τότε ἦδη Ἀριστοκράτην τῆς μάχης καὶ οὐ διὰ κακίαν οὐδεμίαν ἐδόξαζεν αὐτόν, ὥστε ἐναντίον καὶ τούτου τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἤρετο — , εἰ τιμωροῦντες τῇ πατρίδι ἀποθνήσκειν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐθελήσουσι.

[22.3] But Aristomenes' grief for the sack of Eira and his hatred of the Lacedaemonians suggested to him the following plan. He chose from the body of the Messenians five hundred men whom he knew to be the most unsparing of themselves, and asked them in the hearing of Aristocrates and the rest of the Arcadians if they were ready to die with him, avenging their country. He did not know that Aristocrates was a traitor, for he thought that he had fled from the battle formerly from lack of courage and through cowardice, not for any knavery; so he asked the five hundred in his presence.

[4] φαμένων δὲ ἐθέλειν ἀπεγύμνου τὸ πᾶν, ὡς πάντως τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἄγειν μέλλοι: Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ τότε δὴ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν Εἵραν ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπεφοίτων φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες τὰ Μεσσηνίων. 'καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐλεῖν τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶμεν',

ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης, ‘ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποδόντας Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ἐκείνων κομίσασθαι τὰ οἰκεῖα: ἀμαρτάνοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ ἀποθανούμεθ’ γε μνήμης καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἄξια ἐργασάμενοι.’

[22.4] When they said that they were ready, he revealed the whole plan, that he proposed at all costs to lead them against Sparta during the following evening. For now was the time when the majority of the Lacedaemonians was away at Eira, and others were scouring Messenia for booty and plunder. “If we can capture and occupy Sparta,” said Aristomenes, “we can give back to the Lacedaemonians what is theirs and receive our own. If we fail, we shall die together, having done a deed for posterity to remember.”

[5] ταῦτα εἰπόντος τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅσον τριακόσιοι μετέχειν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ τολμήματος ἤθελον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπεῖχον τῆς ἐξόδου, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τό τε ἀπόρρητον ἔγνωσαν σφῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προπεπυσμένους καὶ αὐτοὶ δεύτερον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοκράτους προδομένοι: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστομένου βουλευμάτων αὐτίκα ὁ Ἀριστοκράτης ἐγγράψας βιβλίῳ, καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιθείς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὃν ἡπίστατο ὄντα εὐνούστατον, παρὰ Ἀνάξανδρον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς Σπάρτην.

[22.5] When he said this, as many as three hundred of the Arcadians were ready to share his enterprise. For the time they delayed their departure, as the victims were unfavorable, but on the following day they learnt that the Lacedaemonians had been forewarned of their secret, and that they themselves had been a second time betrayed by Aristocrates. For Aristocrates had at once written the designs of Aristomenes in a letter, and having entrusted it to the slave whom he knew to be most loyal, sent him to Anaxander in Sparta.

[6] ἐπανιόντα δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην λοχῶσιν ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀρκάδων διάφοροι καὶ πρότερον τῷ Ἀριστοκράτῃ, σχόντες δέ τι καὶ ὑποπτον τότε ἐς αὐτόν. λοχήσαντες δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐπανάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἐπεδείκνυν ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὰ ἀντεπεσταλμένα ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος: ἐπέστελλε δὲ ὁ Ἀνάξανδρος, φυγὴν τε αὐτῷ τὴν πρότερον ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης τάφρου φάμενος οὐκ ἀνόνητον ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι, προσέσεσθαι δέ οἱ χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνυμάτων.

[22.6] As the slave was returning, he was intercepted by some of the Arcadians, who had formerly been at variance with Aristocrates and regarded him then with some suspicion. Having intercepted the slave they brought him before the Arcadians and made known to the people the answer from Lacedaemon. Anaxander was writing that his retreat from the Great Trench formerly had not gone unrewarded on the part of the Lacedaemonians and that he would receive an additional recompense for his information on the present occasion.

[7] ὥς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα ἐς ἅπαντας, αὐτοὶ τε τὸν Ἀριστοκράτην ἔβαλλον οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις διεκελεύοντο: οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀριστομένην ἀπέβλεπον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν

ἀφορῶν ἔκλαιεν: τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοκράτην οἱ Ἀρκάδες καταλιθώσαντες τὸν μὲν τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἐκβάλλουσιν ἄταφον, στήλην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Λυκαίου λέγουσαν

πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδίκῳ βασιλῇ, “εὔρε δὲ Μεσσήνης σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην

ῥηιδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ’ ἐπίορκον.

χαῖρε Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀркаδίαν.

“

[22.7] When this was declared to all, the Arcadians themselves stoned Aristocrates and urged the Messenians to join them. They looked to Aristomenes. But he was weeping, with his eyes fixed on the ground. So the Arcadians stoned Aristocrates to death and flung him beyond their borders without burial, and set up a tablet in the precinct of Zeus Lycaeus with the words:—

Truly time hath declared justice upon an unjust king and with the help of Zeus hath easily declared the betrayer of Messene. Hard it is for a man forsworn to hide from God. Hail, king Zeus, and keep Arcadia safe.

23. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων ὅποσοι περὶ τὴν Εἶραν ἢ καὶ ἐτέρωθί που τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐγκατελήφθησαν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσένειμαν ἐς τὸ εἰλωτικόν: Πύλιοι δὲ καὶ Μοθωναῖοι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ παραθαλάσσια ᾤκουν, καὶ ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Εἶρας ἀπαίρουνσιν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ ἐπίνειον τῷ Ἡλείων. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀркаδίᾳ Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλον, ἐθέλοντες κοινῷ στόλῳ χώραν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν ἀναζητεῖν, καὶ Ἀριστομένην ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι σφισιν ἐς ἀποικίαν.

[23.1] XXIII. All the Messenians, who were captured about Eira or anywhere else in Messenia, were reduced by the Lacedaemonians to serfdom. The people of Pylos and Mothone and all who occupied the maritime district retired in ships on the capture of Eira to Cyllene, the port of the Eleians. Thence they sent to the Messenians in Arcadia, proposing to unite their forces and seek a new country to dwell in, enjoining Aristomenes to lead them to a colony.

[2] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἕως ἂν περιῇ, πολεμήσειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασκεν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὥς αἰεὶ τι ἀναφύσεται τῇ Σπάρτῃ δι’ αὐτοῦ κακόν: ἐκείνοις δὲ Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἔδωκεν ἡγεμόνας. ὁ δὲ Εὐεργετίδας ἐς μὲν τὸ Λύκαιον σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μεσσηνίοις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν: ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ὥς ἑώρα τὸ βούλευμα διαπεπτωκὸς τῷ Ἀριστομένει τὸ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀναπείσας τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὥς πεντήκοντα ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὴν Εἶραν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν διαρπάζουσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐπινίκια

[23.2] But he said that while he lived, he would make war on the Lacedaemonians, as he knew well that trouble would always be brewing for

Sparta through him, but he gave them Gorgus and Mantichus as leaders. Euergetidas too had retired to Mount Lycæus with the rest of the Messenians. From there, when he saw that Aristomenes' plan to seize Sparta had failed, he persuaded some fifty of the Messenians to go back with him to Eira and attack the Lacedaemonians,

[3] πένθος σφίσιν ἐποίησε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα

ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν, Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπέταξεν ἰέναι ἐς Κυλλήνην, ὅστις ἐθέλοι μετέχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. καὶ μετέσχον ἅπαντες, πλὴν εἰ γῆράς τινα ἀπεῖργεν ἢ μηδὲ εὐπορῶν ἔτυχεν ἐς τὴν ἀποδημίαν: οὗτοι δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμειναν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι.

[23.3] and coming upon them while they were still plundering, he turned their celebrations of victory to grief. He then met his doom there, but Aristomenes ordered all the Messenians who wished to take part in the colony to join the leaders at Cyllene. And all took part except those debarred by age or lack of funds for journeying abroad. These remained here with the Arcadians.

[4] ἐάλω δὲ ἡ Εἶρα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ δεύτερος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Αὐτοσθένους, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ὀγδῆς τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα Χίονις Λακων.

[23.4] Eira was taken, and the second war between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians completed in the archonship of Autosthenes at Athens, and in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, when Chionis the Laconian was victorious.

[5] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην οἱ Μεσσήνιοι συνελέχθησαν, τὸν μὲν παρόντα χειμῶνα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ χειμάζειν, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισι καὶ χρήματα οἱ Ἡλεῖοι παρῆχον: ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἥρῳ ἐβουλεύοντο ποῖ χρὴ σταλῆναι. γινῶμαι δὲ ἦσαν Γόργου μὲν Ζάκυνθον τὴν ὑπὲρ Κεφαλληνίας καταλαβόντας καὶ νησιώτας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτῶν γενομένους ναυσὶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιπλέοντας κακοῦν τὴν γῆν: Μάντικλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Μεσσήνης μὲν καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχθους λαβεῖν λήθην, πλεύσαντας δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶ κτήσασθαι μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ εὐδαιμονία πρώτην.

[23.5] When the Messenians assembled at Cyllene, they resolved to winter there for that season, the Eleians providing a market and funds. With the spring they began to debate where they should go. It was the view of Gorgus that they should occupy Zacynthos off Cephallenia, becoming islanders instead of mainlanders, and raid the coasts of Laconia with their ships and ravage the land. But Mantichus bade them forget Messene and their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, and sail to Sardinia and win an island which was of the largest extent and greatest fertility.

[6] ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ Ἀναξίλας παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλεν ἐς Ἰταλίαν καλῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν Ῥηγίου, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου: μετώκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν

Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο: ἐλθοῦσί τε ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ, χώραν δὲ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσιν, ἃ δὴ σφίσιν ἐθέλειν ἔφη συγκατεργασάμενος δοῦναι. προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως Ἀναξίλας διεβίβασεν ἐς Σικελίαν αὐτούς.

[23.6] Meantime Anaxilas sent to the Messenians and summoned them to Italy. He was tyrant of Rhegium, third in descent from Alcidas, who had left Messene for Rhegium after the death of king Aristodemus and the capture of Ithome. So now this Anaxilas summoned the Messenians. When they came, he said that the people of Zancle were at war with him, and that they possessed a prosperous land and city well placed in Sicily; and these he said he was ready to give them and help them to conquer. When they accepted the proposal, Anaxilas then transported them to Sicily.

[7] Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λησταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῇ τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὀρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἔχρωντο: ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξεν οἰκήτορας.

[23.7] Zancle was originally occupied by pirates, who, as the land was uninhabited, walled off the harbor and used it as a base for their raids and cruises. Their leaders were Crataemenes a Samian and Perieres of Chalcis. Later Perieres and Crataemenes resolved to introduce other Greek settlers.

[8] τότε δὲ τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ὃ τε Ἀναξίλας ναυσὶν ἀνταναγομένους ἐνίκησε καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ μάχῃ πεζῇ: Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ κατὰ γῆν τε ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ ἀλίσκομένου σφίσιν ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ τε βωμοὺς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγουσιν. Ἀναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις παρεκελεύετο τοὺς τε ἰκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ παισὶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι:

[23.8] Anaxilas defeated the Zancleaeans, when they put to sea to oppose him, and the Messenians did the like by land, and the Zancleaeans, blockaded on land by the Messenians and from the sea by the fleet of the Rhegines, when their wall was carried, fled for refuge to the altars of the gods and to the temples. Anaxilas, however, advised the Messenians to put to death the suppliant Zancleaeans and to enslave the rest together with the women and children.

[9] Γόργος δὲ καὶ Μάντικλος παρητοῦντο Ἀναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς, ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθότας ἀνόσια, ὅμοια αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἑλλήνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν καὶ ὄρκους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ὥκησαν ἀμφοτέρω κοινῇ: ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι.

[23.9] But Gorgus and Mantichus besought Anaxilas not to compel them, the victims of unholy treatment at the hands of kinsmen, to do the like to men of Greek race. After this they made the Zanclaeans rise from the altars, and exchanging pledges with them, dwelt together in common. They changed the name of the city from Zancle to Messene.

[10] ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Χίονις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἄρχοντος. Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἰδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλούμενος Μάντικλος, καθάπερ γε καὶ Ἄμμων ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ὁ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Βῆλος ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Βήλου τοῦ Λιβύης ὄνομα ἔσχεν, Ἄμμων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου ποιμένος.

Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐγεγόνει πέρας τῆς ἄλης:

[23.10] This event took place in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, when Chionis the Laconian was victorious for the second time. Miltiades was archon at Athens. Mantichus founded the temple of Heracles for the Messenians; the temple of the god is outside the walls and he is called Heracles Mantichus, just as Ammon in Libya and Belus in Babylon are named, the latter from an Egyptian, Belus the son of Libya, Ammon from the shepherd-founder. Thus the exiled Messenians reached the end of their wanderings.

24. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέπατο τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν στελλομένων, τὰς θυγατέρας τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ Ἀγναγόραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν μὲν Θάρυκι ἐς Φιγαλίαν, Δαμοθοῖδα δὲ Λεπρεάτῃ καὶ Ἡραιεῖ Θεοπόμπῳ τὰς θυγατέρας συνώκισεν: αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρήτο τῷ θεῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Ἀριστομένει γεγόμενον μάντευμα οὐ λέγεται:

[24.1] XXIV. After declining the leadership of the men setting forth to found a colony, Aristomenes gave his sister Hagnagora in marriage to Tharyx at Phigalia, and his daughters, both the eldest and the next in age, to Damothoidas of Lepreum and Theopompus of Heraea. He himself went to Delphi to enquire of the god. The reply that was given to Aristomenes is not recorded,

[2] Δαμαγῆτω δὲ Ῥοδίῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Ἰαλυσῷ, τότε δὲ ἤκοντι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἐρωτῶντι ὁπόθεν ἀγαγέσθαι χρὴ γυναῖκα, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία θυγατέρα ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ ἀρίστου λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ — ἦν γὰρ καὶ τρίτη τῷ Ἀριστομένει θυγάτηρ — γαμεῖ ταύτην, Ἑλλήνων τῶν τότε ἐκείνον μακρῷ δὴ τινι ἄριστον νομίζων. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἔς τε Σάρδεις ἐνενόει παρὰ Ἄρδυν τὸν Γύγου καὶ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ἀναβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βασιλεῖα Φραόρτην:

[24.2] but when Damagetus the Rhodian, who reigned at Ialysos, came to Apollo and asked whence he should take a wife, the Pythia bade him take a daughter of the bravest of the Greeks. As Aristomenes had a third daughter, he

married her, considering that Aristomenes was by far the bravest of the Greeks of that age. Aristomenes, coming to Rhodes with his daughter, purposed to go up from there to Sardis to Ardys the son of Gyges, and to Ecbatana of the Medes to king Phraortes.

[3] ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρότερον τούτων συνέπεσεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ νοσήσαντι, οὐ γὰρ ἔδει συμφορὰν οὐδεμίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι ἐξ Ἀριστομένους γενέσθαι. τελευτήσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ Δαμαγῆτος καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι μνημὰ τε ἐπιφανὲς ἐποίησαν καὶ ἔνεμον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου τιμᾶς. τὰ μὲν δὴ λεγόμενα ἐς τοὺς Διαγορίδας καλουμένους ἐν Ῥόδῳ, γεγονότας δὲ ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγῆτου τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Δαμαγῆτου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένους θυγατρὸς, παρήκα, μὴ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν δοκοῖν γράφειν:

[24.3] But ere that he was overtaken by illness and death, for no further misfortune was to befall the Lacedaemonians at the hands of Aristomenes. On his death Damagetus and the Rhodians built him a splendid tomb and paid honor to him thenceforward. I omit what is recorded of the Diagoridae in Rhodes, as they are called, a line sprung from Diagoras the son of Damagetus, son of Dorieus, who was the son of Damagetus and of the daughter of Aristomenes, lest it should seem to be irrelevant.

[4] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τότε, ὥς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναιῶν αὐτοῖς διελάγχανον, Μοθώνην δὲ Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐδίδοσαν ἐκπεπωκόσιν ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἔναγχος ὑπὸ Ἀργείων.

[24.4] Now the Lacedaemonians, gaining possession of Messenia, divided it all among themselves, except the land belonging to the people of Asine; but they gave Mothone to the men of Nauplia, who had recently been driven from their town by the Argives.

[5] Μεσσηνίων δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν τῇ γῇ, συντελοῦντας κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐς τοὺς εἰλωτας, ἐπέλαβεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὕστερον ἀποστῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἐβδομηκοστήν, ἣν Κορίνθιος ἐνίκᾳ Ξενοφῶν, Ἀρχιμήδους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος: ἀπέστησαν δὲ καιρὸν τοιόνδε εὐρόντες. Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι ὧτ' ἂν δὴ καταγνωσθέντες ἰκέται καταφεύγουσιν ἐς Ταίναρον: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ σφᾶς ἀποσπάσασα ἀπέκτεινε.

[24.5] The Messenians who were captured in the country, reduced by force to the position of serfs, were later moved to revolt from the Lacedaemonians in the seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Xenophon the Corinthian was victorious. Archimedes was archon at Athens. The occasion which they found for the revolt was this. Certain Lacedaemonians who had been condemned to death on some charge fled as suppliants to Taenarum but the board of ephors dragged them from the altar there and put them to death.

[6] Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θεμένοις τοὺς ἰκέτας ἀπήντησεν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος μήνιμα, καὶ σφισιν ἐς ἑδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν κατέβαλεν ὁ θεός.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων ὅσοι Μεσσηνιοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦσαν, ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄλλα τε μετεπέμποντο συμμαχικὰ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου πρόξενόν σφισιν ὄντα καὶ Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν· ἀφικομένους δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑποπτεῦσαι δοκοῦσιν ὡς τάχα νεωτερίσοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποψίας ἀποπέμψασθαι μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξ Ἰθώμης.

[24.6] As the Spartans paid no heed to their being suppliants, the wrath of Poseidon came upon them, and the god razed all their city to the ground. At this disaster all the serfs who were of Messenian origin seceded to Mount Ithome. Against them the Lacedaemonians, amongst other allies, called to their assistance Cimon the son of Miltiades, their patron in Athens, and an Athenian force. But when the Athenians arrived, they seem to have regarded them with suspicion that they were likely to promote revolution, and as a result of this suspicion to have soon dismissed them from Ithome.

MESSENIANS AT NAUPACTUS, HISTORY

[7] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπόνοιαν συνέντες Ἀργείοις τε φίλοι δι' αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοῖς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πολιορκουμένοις ἐκτεσοῦσιν ὑποσπόνδοις ἔδοσαν Ναύπακτον, ἀφελόμενοι Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς Αἰτωλίᾳ καλουμένους Ὀζόλας. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρέσχεν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Ἰθώμης τοῦ τε χωρίου τὸ ἐχυρὸν καὶ ἅμα Λακεδαιμονίοις προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία ἥ μὴν εἶναι σφισι δίκην ἀμαρτοῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν ἱκέτην.

ὑπόσπονδοι μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τούτων ἔνεκα ἀφείθησαν:

[24.7] The Athenians, realizing the feelings of the Lacedaemonians towards them, made friends therefore with the Argives, and gave Naupactus to the Messenians besieged in Ithome, when they were allowed to depart under a truce. They had taken Naupactus from the Locrians adjoining Aetolia, called the Ozolian. The retirement of the Messenians from Ithome was secured by the strength of the place; also the Pythia announced to the Lacedaemonians that assuredly they would be punished if they committed a crime against the suppliant of Zeus of Ithome. For this reason then they were allowed to go from Peloponnese under a truce.

25. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔσχον τὴν Ναύπακτον, οὐκ ἀπέχρη πόλιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χώραν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς πόθος εἶχεν ἰσχυρὸς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν φανῆναι λόγου τι κεκτημένους ἄξιον. καὶ ἠπίσταντο γὰρ Οἰνιάδας Ἀκαρνάνων γῆν τε ἔχοντας ἀγαθὴν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις διαφόρους τὸν πάντα ὄντας χρόνον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ὄντες δὲ ἀριθμῶ μὲν οὐ πλείους, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ἀμείνονες ὄντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ νικῶσι, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν κατακεκλειμένους ἐς τὸ τεῖχος.

[25.1] XXV. When they occupied Naupactus it was not enough for them to have received a city and country at the hands of the Athenians, but they were filled

with a strong desire to show that they had won something notable with their own hands. Knowing that the Acarnanians of Oeniadae possessed a good land and were continually at war with the Athenians, they marched against them. They had no numerical advantage, but defeating them by their superior courage, they shut them up in the fortress and besieged them.

[2] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν, οὐ γάρ τι τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐρημένων ἐς πολιορκίαν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρέισαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλίμακας προστιθέντες ἐπειρῶντο ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑπώρυσσον κάτωθεν τὸ τεῖχος, μηχανήματά τε, ὅποια ἐνὴν δι' ὀλίγου παρασκευάσασθαι, προσαγαγόντες αἰεὶ τι ἤρειπον· δέισαντες δὲ οἱ ἔνδον μὴ ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖ τε ἀπόλωνται καὶ αἱ γυναῖκές σφισι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐξανδραποδισθῶσιν, εἴλοντο ἀπελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι.

[25.2] They neglected no human invention in the matter of siege-craft, tried to carry the town by raising scaling-ladders, mined the walls, and by bringing up such engines as could be made ready at short notice proceeded with the destruction of the fortifications. The inhabitants, fearing that if the city were taken they would be put to death and their wives and children enslaved, elected to withdraw on terms.

[3] καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν μάλιστα οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν· τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ὑστέρῳ δύναιμι οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπὸ πασῶν συλλέξαντες τῶν πόλεων ἐβουλεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον στρατεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπέδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πορείαν ὁρῶσιν, ὅτι ἔσεσθαι δι' Αἰτωλῶν ἔμελλε πολεμίων αἰεὶ ποτε ὄντων, καὶ ἅμα τοὺς Ναυπακτίους κεκτῆσθαι τι ναυτικὸν ὑπόπτευν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἶχον, ἐπικρατούντων δὲ ἐκείνων τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδὲν εἶναι κατεργάσασθαι μέγα οὐδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ:

[25.3] The Messenians held the town and occupied the country for about a year. In the following year the Acarnanians collected a force from all their towns and discussed an attack on Naupactus. They rejected this, as they saw that their line of march would be through the Aetolians, who were always their enemies; moreover they suspected that the men of Naupactus possessed a fleet, which was the fact; and while they commanded the sea, it was impossible to achieve anything of importance with a land force.

[4] μετεβουλεύετό τε δὴ σφισι καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους τρέπονται τοὺς ἐν Οἰνιάδαις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥς πολιορκήσοντες παρεσκευάζοντο· οὐ γάρ ποτε ὑπελάμβανον ἄνδρας οὕτως ὀλίγους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἤξειν ὥς μαχέσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπάντων στρατιάν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι προητοιμασμένοι μὲν καὶ σῖτον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἦσαν ὅποσα εἰκὸς ἦν, πολιορκίας πειράσεσθαι μακροτέρας ἐλπίζοντες:

[25.4] So they changed their plans and at once turned on the Messenians in Oeniadae and prepared to besiege them, for they never supposed that men so few in number would show such desperate courage as to fight against the full levy of the Acarnanians. The Messenians had previously prepared food and all else that was requisite, expecting to stand a long siege.

[5] παρίστατο δέ σφισι πρὸ τῆς μελλούσης πολιορκίας ἀγῶνα ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, οἱ μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρία, τύχη δὲ ἡλαττώθησαν, καταπεπληῆχθαι τὸν ἥκοντα ὄχλον ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας: τὸ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργον ἀνεμνησκοντο, ὥς μυριάδες τριάκοντα ἐφθάρησαν τῶν Μήδων ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ ἐς μυρίου ἀριθμόν.

[25.5] But they were determined before the siege was formed to fight a battle in the open, and being Messenians, who had not been surpassed in valor even by Lacedaemonians, but in fortune only, were determined not to be dismayed at the horde which had come from Acarnania. They recalled the achievement of the Athenians at Marathon, how thirty myriad Persians had been destroyed by men not numbering ten thousand.

[6] καθίσταντό τε δὴ τοῖς Ἀκαρναῖσιν ἐς ἀγῶνα καὶ ὁ τρόπος λέγεται τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι τοιόσδε. οἱ μὲν, ἅτε πλήθει προέχοντες πολὺ, οὐ χαλεπῶς περιέβαλον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, πλὴν ὅσον αἱ πύλαι τε ἀπεῖργον κατὰ νότου τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις γινόμεναι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς σφετέροις προθύμως ἀμύνοντες: ταύτη μὲν δὴ μὴ περισχεθῆναι σφᾶς ἐκώλυε, τὰ δὲ πλευρὰ ἀμφοτέρα ἐκυκλώσαντο αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀκαρναῖνες καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον πανταχόθεν.

[25.6] So they joined battle with the Acarnanians, and the course of the battle is said to have been thus. The enemy, being far superior in numbers, had no difficulty in surrounding the Messenians, except where prevented by the gates in the Messenian rear and by the zealous help of their men posted on the wall. Here they could not be surrounded, hut the Acarnanians enveloped both their flanks and shot volleys at them from all sides.

[7] οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ συνεστραμμένοι μετ' ἀλλήλων, ὁπότε ἀθρόοι τοῖς Ἀκαρναῖσιν ἐμπέσειεν, ἐτάρασσον μὲν τοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὸ ἐστηκότας καὶ ἐφόνευόν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον πολλοὺς, τελέαν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐργάσασθαι φυγὴν: ὅπου γὰρ τῆς τάξεως αἰσθoinτό τι οἱ Ἀκαρναῖνες τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Μεσσηνίων διασπώμενον, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀμύνοντες τοῖς βιαζομένοις αὐτῶν ἀνεῖργον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐπικρατοῦντες τῇ πλήθει.

[25.7] The Messenians, in close formation, whenever they charged the Acarnanians in a body, threw the enemy at that point into confusion, killing and wounding many of them, but they could not effect a complete rout. For wherever the Acarnanians saw a part of their own line being broken by the Messenians they went to the support of their harassed troops at this point and checked the Messenians, overwhelming them by numbers.

[8] οἱ δὲ ὁπότε ἀνακοπεῖεν, κατ' ἄλλο αὖθις πειρώμενοι διακόψαι τὴν Ἀκαρνανῶν φάλαγγα τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν ἔπασχον: ὅτ' μὲν προσβάλλοιεν, διέσειόν τε καὶ τροπὴν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐποίουν, ἐπιπρεόντων δὲ αὖθις κατὰ τοῦτο σπουδῇ τῶν Ἀκαρνανῶν ἀπετρέποντο ἄκοντες. γενομένου δὲ ἰσορρόπου τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἄχρι ἐσπέρας καὶ Ἀκαρναῖσιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐπελθούσης δυνάμεως ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων, οὕτω τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις περιειστῆκει πολιορκία.

[25.8] The Messenians, beaten back and again attempting to pierce the massed troops of the Acarnanians at another point, would meet with the same result. Wherever they attacked, they threw the enemy into confusion and drove them a short distance, but as the Acarnanians again streamed eagerly to this point, they were driven back against their will. The battle was evenly contested until evening, but when at nightfall the Acarnanians received reinforcements from their cities, the blockade of the Messenians was formed.

[9] καὶ ἀλῶναι μὲν κατὰ κράτος τὸ τεῖχος ἢ ὑπερβάντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἢ καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν βιασθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν φρουρὰν δέος ἦν οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια σφισι πάντα ὁμοίως ὀγδῶ μηνὶ ἐξανήλωτο. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἐχρῶντο ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους χλευασία, μὴ σφᾶς τὰ σιτία προδοῦναι ποτε ἂν μηδὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον πολιορκουμένους·

[25.9] They had no fear of the wall being taken by assault, either by the Acarnanians scaling it or by themselves being forced to abandon their posts. But in the eighth month all their provisions alike had been consumed.

[10] αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ὕπνον πρῶτον ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνιαδῶν, καὶ γενομένης τοῦ δρασμοῦ σφῶν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν αἰσθήσεως καὶ ἐς μάχην ἀναγκασθέντες ἀφικέσθαι, περὶ τριακοσίους μὲν ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ πλείονας ἔτι αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κατεργάζονται, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῶν διεκρίπτουσι διὰ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς Αἰτωλῶν ἐχόντων σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἀνασώζονται.

[25.10] They shouted to the Acarnanians from the wall in mockery that their supplies would not fail them until the tenth year of the siege, but they themselves sallied out of Oeniadae at the time of the first sleep. Their escape became known to the Acarnanians and they were compelled to fight, losing some three hundred and killing still more of the enemy. But the greater part of them got through the Acarnanians, and reaching the territory of the Aetollans, who were their friends, arrived safely at Naupactus.

26. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἐνέκειτό σφισι τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος καὶ τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἐς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου Πελοποννησίου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος· τὴν τε γὰρ Ναύπακτον ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρείχοντο καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποληφθέντας Μεσσηνίων σφενδονῆται τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου συνεξέειλον.

[26.1] XXVI. Afterwards, as at all times, they were stirred by their hatred against the Lacedaemonians, and provided the most striking example of their hostility towards them in the war which took place between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. For they offered Naupactus as a base against Peloponnese, and Messenian slingers from Naupactus helped to capture the Spartans cut off in Sphacteria.

[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ

Ναυπάκτου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκβάλλουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατοῦντες, οἱ ἐς Σικελίαν τε παρὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἐς Ῥήγιον ἐστάλησαν, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἕς τε Λιβύην ἀφίκετο καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Εὐεσπερίτας· οἱ γὰρ Εὐεσπερίται πολέμῳ κακωθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προσοίκων πάντα τινὰ Ἑλλήνα ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύνοικον. ἐς τούτους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ πολὺ ἀπεχώρησεν· ἡγεμῶν δὲ σφισιν ἦν Κόμων, ὃς καὶ περὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν ἐστρατήγησεν αὐτοῖς.

[26.2] When the Athenian reverse at Aegospotami took place, the Lacedaemonians, having command of the sea, then drove the Messenians from Naupactus; they went to their kinsmen in Sicily and to Rhegium, but the majority came to Libya and to the Euesperitae there, who had suffered severely in war with barbarian neighbors and were inviting any Greek to join them. So the majority of the Messenians went to them, their leader being Comon, who had commanded them in Sphacteria.

THIRD MESSENIA WAR, HISTORY

[3] ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον ἢ κατορθῶσαι Θηβαίους τὰ ἐν Λεύκτροις, προεσήμαινεν ὁ δαίμων Μεσσηνίοις τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἀθήοδον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ πορθμῷ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν ὄνειρατος ἰδεῖν ὄψιν — τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔδοξε κληθῆναι τὸν Μάντικλον ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ ἐς Ἰθώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς — , τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Εὐεσπερίταις Κόμων συγγενέσθαι νεκρᾷ τῇ μητρὶ ἐδόκει, συγγενομένου δὲ αὐθὶς οἱ τὴν μητέρα ἀναβιῶναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπήλπιζεν Ἀθηναίων δυνηθέντων ναυτικῷ ἀθήοδον ἔσεσθαι σφισιν ἐς Ναύπακτον· τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐδήλου τὸ ὄνειρον ἀνασώσεσθαι Μεσσήνην.

[26.3] A year before the victory of the Thebans at Leuctra, heaven foretold their return to Peloponnese to the Messenians. It is said that in Messene on the Straits the priest of Heracles saw a vision in a dream: it seemed that Heracles Mantichus was bidden by Zeus as a guest to Ithome. Also among the Euesperitae Comon dreamt that he lay with his dead mother, but that afterwards she came to life again. He hoped that as the Athenians had recovered their seapower, they would be restored to Naupactus. But the dream really indicated the recovery of Messene.

[4] ἐγένετό τε οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν Λεύκτροις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἀτύχημα ὀφειλόμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ· Ἀριστοδήμῳ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Μεσσηνίων ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος ἐστὶν ἔρδ' ὅπηι τὸ χρεῶν· ἄτη δ' ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων:

“ὥς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐκεῖνον δέον καὶ Μεσσηνίους κακῶς πρᾶξαι, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἐπιληψομένης τῆς ἄτης.

[26.4] Not long afterwards the Lacedaemonians suffered at Leuctra the disaster that had long been due. For at the end of the oracle given to Aristodemus, who reigned over the Messenians, are the words:

Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this man before that,

signifying that he and the Messenians must suffer evil at the present, but that hereafter destruction would overtake Lacedaemon.

[5] τότε δὲ ἐν Λεύκτροις οἱ Θηβαῖοι νενικηκότες ἀγγέλους ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Εὐεσπερίτας ἀπέστελλον, ἕκ τε τῆς ἄλλης, εἴ ποῦ τις Μεσσηνίων εἴη, πανταχόθεν ἀνεκάλουν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ δὲ θᾶσσον ἢ ὥς ἂν τις ἥλπισε συνελέχθησαν γῆς τε τῆς πατρίδος πόθῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος παραμείναν ἀεὶ σφισιν.

[26.5] Then after their victory at Leuctra the Thebans sent messengers to Italy, Sicily and to the Euesperitae, and summoned the Messenians to Peloponnese from every other quarter where they might be, and they, with longing for their country and through the hatred which had ever remained with them for the Lacedaemonians, assembled quicker than could have been expected.

[6] Ἐπαμινώνδῃ δὲ οὔτε ἄλλως ἐφαίνετο ῥάδια ἀξιόμαχον πόλιν ἐποικίσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔτε ὅπου χρὴ κτίσαι τῆς χώρας ἐξευρίσκει: τὴν γὰρ Ἀνδανίαν οἱ

Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Οἰχαλίαν οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνοικεῖν, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ σφισιν ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν. ἀποροῦντι οὖν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα, ἱεροφάντη μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, νύκτωρ φασὶν ἐπιστάντα εἰπεῖν: ‘σοὶ μὲν δῶρά ἐστι παρ’ ἐμοῦ κρατεῖν ὅτῳ ἂν μεθ’ ὅπλων ἐπέρχηι: καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένῃ, ἔγωγε ὃ Θηβαῖε ποιήσω μὴ ποτε ἀνώνυμον μηδὲ ἄδοξόν σε γενέσθαι. σὺ δὲ Μεσσηνίοις γῆν τε πατρίδα καὶ πόλεις ἀπόδος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μήνιμα ἤδη σφίσι πέπανται τὸ Διοσκούρων’.

[26.6] To Epaminondas it seemed in no way easy to found a city that could resist the Lacedaemonians, nor could he discover where in the land to build it. For the Messenians refused to settle again in Andania and Oechalia, because their disasters had befallen them when they dwelt there. To Epaminondas in his difficulty it is said that an ancient man, closely resembling a priest of Demeter, appeared in the night and said: “My gift to thee is that thou shalt conquer whomsoever thou dost assail; and when thou dost pass from men, Theban, I will cause thy name to be unforgotten and give thee glory. But do thou restore to the Messenians their fatherland and cities, for now the wrath of the Dioscuri against them hath ceased.”

[7] Ἐπαμινώνδῃ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Ἐπιτέλει δὲ τῷ Αἰσχίνου τάδε ἐμήνυε — στρατηγεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὸν Ἐπιτέλην καὶ Μεσσήνην ἀνοικίζειν ἤρηντο — τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὁ ὄνειρος, ἔνθα ἂν τῆς Ἰθώμης εὖρη πεφυκυῖαν σμίλακα καὶ μυρσίνην, τὸ μέσον ὀρύξαντα αὐτῶν ἀνασῶσαι τὴν γραῦν: κάμνειν γὰρ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ καθειργμένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἥδη λιποψυχεῖν αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ Ἐπιτέλης, ὥς ἐπελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, παραγενόμενος ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον ἐπέτυχεν ὀρύσσω ὑδρία χαλκῇ, καὶ αὐτίκα παρὰ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν

[26.7] This he said to Epaminondas, and revealed this to Epiteles the son of Aeschines, who had been chosen by the Argives to be their general and to refund Messene. He was bidden by the dream, wherever he found yew and myrtle growing on Ithome, to dig between them and recover the old woman, for, shut in her brazen chamber, she was overcome and well-nigh fainting. When day dawned, Epiteles went to the appointed place, and as he dug, came upon a brazen urn.

[8] κομίσας τό τε ἐνύπνιον ἐξηγεῖτο καί αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸ πῶμα ἀφελόντα ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι ἐνείη σκοπεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ πεφηνότι ὀνειράτι ἤνοιγε τὴν ὑδρίαν, ἀνοίξας δὲ εὔρε κασσίτερον ἐληλασμένον ἐς τὸ λεπτότατον· ἐπείλικτο δὲ ὥσπερ τὰ βιβλία. ἐνταῦθα τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἐγγράπτο ἡ τελετή, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν παρακαταθήκη τοῦ Ἀριστομένου. τοῦτον τὸν ἐπελθόντα τῷ Ἐπιτέλει καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδα καθεύδουσι

Καύκωνα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὃς ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Ἀνδανίαν παρὰ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα.

[26.8] He took it at once to Epaminondas, told him the dream and bade him remove the lid and see what was within. Epaminondas, after sacrifice and prayer to the vision that had appeared, opened the urn and having opened it found some tin foil, very thin, rolled like a book. On it were inscribed the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, and this was the pledge deposited by Aristomenes. They say that the man who appeared to Epiteles and Epaminondas in their sleep was Caucon, who came from Athens to Messene the daughter of Triopas at Andania.

27. τὸ δὲ τῶν Τυνδάρεω παίδων μήνιμα ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρξατο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ μάχης, γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ δι' αἰτίαν τοιάνδε εἰκάζω. μενιάκια ὥραϊα ἐξ Ἀνδανίας, Πάνορμος καὶ Γώνιππος, τά τε ἄλλα οἰκεῖως εἶχον ἀλλήλοις καὶ κοινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας ἐξόδους καὶ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Λακωνικήν.

[27.1] XXVII. The wrath of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians began before the battle in Stenyclerus, and arose, I think, for the following reason. Panormus and Gonippus of Andania, young men in the bloom of youth, were close friends in all things, and marched together into battle and on raids into Laconia.

[2] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Διοσκούροις ἐορτὴν ἀγόντων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς πότον καὶ παιδιὰς τετραμμένων μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον, ὁ Γώνιππος καὶ ὁ Πάνορμος χιτῶνας λευκοὺς καὶ χλαμύδας πορφυρᾶς ἐνδύντες ἐπὶ τε ἵππων τῶν καλλίστων ὀχούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πύλους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ δόρατα ἔχοντες ἐπιφαίνονται Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ ὥς εἶδον, προσεκύνουν τε καὶ εὔχοντο, ἀφίχθαι δοκοῦντές σφισιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν θυσίαν τοὺς Διοσκούρους.

[27.2] The Lacedaemonians were keeping a feast of the Dioscuri in camp and

had turned to drinking and sports after the midday meal, when Gonippus and Panormus appeared to them, riding on the finest horses and dressed in white tunics and scarlet cloaks, with caps on their heads and spears in their hands. When the Lacedaemonians saw them they bowed down and prayed, thinking that the Dioscuri themselves had come to their sacrifice.

[3] οἱ νεανίσκοι δὲ ὥς ἅπαξ ἀνεμίχθησαν, διεξήλυνον διὰ πάντων παίοντες τοῖς δόρασι, καὶ ἤδη κειμένων πολλῶν ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς Ἀνδανίαν, καθυβρίσαντες τῶν Διοσκούρων τῇ θυσίᾳ. τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προήγαγε τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐς τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Μεσσηνίων· τότε δέ, ὥς ἐδήλου τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδῃ τὸ ὄνειρον, οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀκούσιος τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἡ κάθοδος.

[27.3] When once they had come among them, the youths rode right through them, striking with their spears, and when many had been killed, returned to Andania, having outraged the sacrifice to the Dioscuri. It was this, in my view, that roused the Dioscuri to their hatred of the Messenians. But now, as the dream declared to Epaminondas, the Dioscuri no longer opposed the return of the Messenians.

[4] μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν οἱ Βάκιδος ἐνήγον χρησμοί. Βάκιδι γὰρ μανέντι ἐκ Νυμφῶν ἐς ἄλλους τέ ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων κάθοδον προειρημένα “καὶ τότε δὴ Σπάρτης μὲν ἀπ’ ἀγλαδὸν ἄνθος ὀλεῖται,

Μεσσήνη δ’ αὖτις οἰκίσεται ἥματα πάντα.

“ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Εἴρας, ὄντινα ἀλώσοιτο τρόπον, Βάκιν ἐφώρασα εἰρηκότα· καὶ οἱ καὶ τόδε ἐστὶ τῶν χρησμῶν,” οἳ τ’ ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης πατάγω κρουνοῖς τε δαμείσης.

“

[27.4] Epaminondas was most strongly drawn to the foundation by the oracles of Bacis, who was inspired by the Nymphs and left prophecies regarding others of the Greeks as well as the return of the Messenians:

Then indeed shall the bright bloom of Sparta perish and Messene again shall be inhabited for all time.

I have discovered that Bacis also told in what manner Eira would be captured, and this too is one of his oracles:

The men of Messene o’ercome by the thunder’s roll and spouting rain.

[5] ὥς δὲ ἡ τελετὴ σφισιν ἀνεύρητο, ταύτην μὲν, ὅσοι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων ἦσαν, κατετίθεντο ἐς βίβλους· Ἐπαμινώνας δέ, ὥς οἱ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα νῦν ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τὴν πόλιν, μάλιστα ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειον, ἐκέλευεν ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς μάντεσιν, εἴ οἱ βουλήσεται ταύτη καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιχωρῆσαι. φαμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ αἴσια, οὕτω παρεσκευάζετο ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν, λίθους τε ἄγεσθαι κελεύων καὶ ἄνδρας μεταπεμπόμενος, οἷς τέχνη στενωποὺς κατατέμενεσθαι καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ

οικοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τείχη περιβάλλεσθαι.

[27.5] When the mysteries were recovered, all who were of the priestly family set them down in books. As Epaminondas considered the spot where the city of the Messenians now stands most convenient for the foundation, he ordered enquiry to be made by the seers if the favour of the gods would follow him here. When they announced that the offerings were auspicious, he began preparations for the foundation, ordering stone to be brought, and summoning men skilled in laying out streets and in building houses, temples, and ring-walls.

[6] ὥς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πάντα ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν — ἱερεῖα γὰρ παρεῖχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες — αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐπαμινώνδας καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔθυσον Ἰσμηνίῳ τὸν νομιζόμενον τρόπον, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τῇ τε Ἥρᾳ τῇ Ἀργεΐᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ Δίῃ, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ Δίῃ τε Ἰθωμάτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροις, οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἱερεῖς θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις καὶ Καύκωνι. ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ ἐν κοινῷ καὶ ἡρώας σφισιν ἐπανάγκειν συνοίκους, Μεσσήνην μὲν τὴν Τριόπα μάλιστα, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ Εὐρυτον καὶ Ἀφαρέα τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν Κρεσφόντην τε καὶ Αἵπυτον· πλείστη δὲ καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀνάκλησις ἐγένετο Ἀριστομένους.

[27.6] When all was in readiness, victims being provided by the Arcadians, Epaminondas himself and the Thebans then sacrificed to Dionysus and Apollo Ismenius in the accustomed manner, the Argives to Argive Hera and Nemean Zeus, the Messenians to Zeus of Ithome and the Dioscuri, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. And together they summoned heroes to return and dwell with them, first Messene the daughter of Triopas, after her Eurytus, Aphareus and his children, and of the sons of Heracles Cresphontes and Aepytus. But the loudest summons from all alike was to Aristomenes.

[7] καὶ τὴν μὲν τότε ἡμέραν πρὸς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἦσαν, ταῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ τείχους τὸν περίβολον ἤγειρον καὶ ἐντὸς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐποιοῦντο. εἰργάζοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ μουσικῆς ἄλλης μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, αὐλῶν δὲ Βοιωτίων καὶ Ἀργείων· τὰ τε Σακάδα καὶ Προνόμου μέλη τότε δὴ προήχθη μάλιστα ἐς ἄμιλλαν. αὐτῇ μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνην ἔθεντο ὄνομα, ἀνώκιζον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα.

[27.7] For that day they were engaged in sacrifice and prayer, but on the following days they raised the circuit of the walls, and within built houses and the temples. They worked to the sound of music, but only from Boeotian and Argive flutes, and the tunes of Sacadas and Pronomus were brought into keen competition. The city itself was given the name Messene, but they founded other towns. The men of Nauplia were not disturbed at Mothone,

[8] Ναυπλιεῖς δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης οὐκ ἀνέστησαν· κατὰ χώραν δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναιῖους μένειν εἶων, τούτοις μὲν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἀπομνημονεύοντες πολεμῆσαι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς σφᾶς οὐ θελήσασιν, Ναυπλιεῖς δὲ κατιοῦσιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Μεσσηνίους τε δῶρα ἡγαγον ὅποια εἶχον καὶ ἅμα μὲν ὑπὲρ

καθόδου τῆς ἐκείνων συνεχέσιν ἐς τὸ θεῖον ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σφετέρας δεήσεσιν ἐς ἐκείνους ἐχρῶντο.

[27.8] and they allowed the people of Asine to remain in their home, remembering their kindness when they refused to join the Lacedaemonians in the war against them. The men of Nauplia on the return of the Messenians to Peloponnese brought them such gifts as they had, and while praying continually to the gods for their return begged the Messenians to grant protection to themselves.

[9] κατήλθον δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ ἀνέσώσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἔτεσιν ὕστερον μετὰ Εἴρας ἅλωσιν, Δυσκινήτου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Δάμων Θούριος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. οὐκ ὀλίγος μὲν οὖν ὁ χρόνος καὶ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἐγένετο, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἔφευγον, καὶ Δηλίοις, ἠνίκα ὤκησαν Ἀδραμύτιον ἐκβληθέντες ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ὀρχομενίων:

[27.9] The Messenians returned to Peloponnese and recovered their own land two hundred and eighty-seven years after the capture of Eira, in the archonship of Dyscinetus at Athens and in the third year of the hundred and second Olympiad, when Damon of Thurii was victorious for the second time. It was no short time for the Plataeans that they were in exile from their country, and for the Delians when they settled in Adramyttium after being expelled from their island by the Athenians.

[10] οἱ δὲ Μινύαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, κατήχθησαν ἐς Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς. Θηβαίων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐρημώσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν πόλιν, αὐθις ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος Ἀντιπάτρου τὰς Θήβας ἔκτισεν. φαίνεται μὲν δὴ τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἢ Πλαταικὴ φυγὴ συμβᾶσα, οὐ μέντοι περαιτέρω γε ἢ ἐπὶ δύο ἐγένετο οὐδ' αὐτὴ γενεάς.

[27.10] The Minyae, driven by the Thebans from Orchomenos after the battle of Leuctra, were restored to Boeotia by Philip the son of Amyntas, as were also the Plataeans. When Alexander had destroyed the city of the Thebans themselves, Cassander the son of Antipater rebuilt it after a few years. The exile of the Plataeans seems to have lasted the longest of those mentioned, but even this was not for more than two generations.

[11] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου τριακόσια ἔτη μάλιστα ἡλῶντο, ἐν οἷς οὔτε ἐθῶν εἰσι δῆλοι παραλύσαντές τι τῶν οἰκοθεν οὔτε τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Δωρίδα μετεδιδάχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτῆς Πελοποννησίων μάλιστα ἐφύλασσαν.

[27.11] But the wanderings of the Messenians outside the Peloponnese lasted almost three hundred years, during which it is clear that they did not depart in any way from their local customs, and did not lose their Doric dialect, but

even to our day they have retained the purest Doric in Peloponnese.

MESSENIA, HISTORY

28. κατελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεινὸν ἦν οὐδέν· κατεχόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φόβῳ τῶ Θηβαίων Μεσσήνης τε ἠνείχοντο ἐποικιζομένης καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς μίαν ἡθροισμένων πόλιν. ὥς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ Φωκικός, καλούμενος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ ἱερός, ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου Θηβαίους, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀπέχεσθαι.

[28.1] XXVIII. After their return they had nothing to fear at first from the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, restrained by fear of the Thebans, submitted to the foundation of Messene and to the gathering of the Arcadians into one city. But when the Phocian or, as it is called, the Sacred War caused the Thebans to withdraw from Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians regained courage and could no longer refrain from attacking the Messenians.

[2] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τε μετὰ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀντείχον τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀμῦναί σφισιν ἐδεήθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὐποτε μετὰ ἐκείνων ἐσβαλεῖν ἔφασαν, ἀρχόντων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πολέμου καὶ ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐπηγγέλλοντο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Φιλίππῳ σύμμαχοι τῷ Ἀμύντου καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοῦτο σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀποκωλύσαι τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀγῶνος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μὴ μετασχεῖν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐναντία θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἠθέλησαν.

[28.2] The Messenians maintained the war with the help of the Argives and Arcadians, and asked the Athenians for help. They refused to join in an attack on Laconia, but promised to render assistance in person if the Lacedaemonians began war and invaded Messenia. Finally the Messenians formed an alliance with Philip the son of Amyntas and the Macedonians; it was this, they say, that prevented them from taking part in the battle which the Greeks fought at Chaeroneia. They refused, however, to bear arms against the Greeks.

[3] Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεμον δεύτερον τότε ἀννηρημένων πρὸς Μακεδόνας, μετέσχον καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοῦ πολέμου, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Γαλάταις δὲ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο, Κλεωνύμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων σπείσασθαι σπονδὰς σφισιν οὐ θελησάντων.

[28.3] After the death of Alexander, when the Greeks had raised a second war against the Macedonians, the Messenians took part, as I have shown earlier in my account of Attica. They did not join the Greeks against the Gauls, as Cleonymus and the Lacedaemonians refused to grant them a truce.

[4] οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἔσχον Ἥλιον Μεσσήνιοι, σοφία τε ὁμοῦ χρησάμενοι καὶ τολμήματι. Ἡλεῖοι γὰρ τὰ μὲν παλαιότατα εὐνομώτατοι Πελοποννησίῳν

ἦσαν: Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅποσα εἴρηται κακουργήσαντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἡλείων τοὺς δυνατοὺς διαφθείραντος χρήμασι, στασιάζουσι πρῶτον τότε Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ἐς ὅπλα, ὡς λέγουσι, χωροῦσι.

[28.4] Not long afterwards the Messenians occupied Elis, employing strategy and daring alike. The Eleians in the earliest times were the most law-abiding of the Peloponnesians, but when Philip the son of Amyntas did all the harm to Greece that has been related, he also bribed the leading men in Elis; the Eleians were divided by factions for the first time and came to blows, it is said.

[5] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ῥᾶον ἔτι ἔμελλον ἀπεχθήσεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἕνεκα διέστη τὰ βουλευματα, καὶ ἐς ἔμφυλον προῆλθον πόλεμον. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς Ἡλείων τοῖς φρονοῦσι τὰ σφέτερα ἀμυνοῦντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τέλη τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ διενέμοντο ἐς τοὺς λόχους: τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων λογάδες χίλιοι φθάνουσιν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ἥλιν, σημεῖα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι Λακωνικὰ ἔχοντες.

[28.5] Henceforward it was likely to be more easy for quarrels to arise among men whose counsels were divided on account of the Lacedaemonians, and they arrived at civil war. Learning this, the Lacedaemonians were preparing to assist their partisans in Elis. While they were being organized in squadrons and distributed in companies, a thousand picked Messenian troops arrived hurriedly at Elis with Laconian blazons on their shields.

[6] ὡς δὲ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐθεάσαντο ὅσοι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις εὖνοι τῶν Ἡλείων ἦσαν, συμμαχίαν τε ἀφίχθαι σφισιν ἤλπισαν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐδέχοντο ἐς τὸ τεῖχος: ἐσελθόντες δὲ τρόπον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸν εἰρημένον τοὺς τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονοῦντας ἐδίωξαν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπουσι τοῖς στασιώταις τοῖς αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν.

[28.6] Seeing their shields, all the Laconising party in Elis thought their supporters had arrived and received them into the fortress. But having obtained admission in this way, the Messenians drove out the supporters of the Lacedaemonians and made over the city to their own partisans.

[7] ἔστι μὲν δὴ τὸ σόφισμα Ὀμήρου, φαίνονται δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν δέοντι μιμησάμενοι καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, ἐπεὶ Πάτροκλόν γε ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὀμηρος Ἀχιλλέως τὰ ὅπλα ἐνδύντα, καὶ ἐγγενέσθαι τε ἔφη τοῖς βαρβάροις δόξαν ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπίοι καὶ τοὺς προτεταγμένους αὐτῶν ταραχθῆναι. εὕρηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Ὀμήρῳ στρατηγήματα, δύο τε παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατασκόπους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἐς τοὺς Τρῶας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἄνδρα ὕστερον λόγῳ μὲν αὐτόμολον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἀπόρρητα πολυπραγμονήσοντα ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἐσελθεῖν.

[28.7] The trick is Homer's, but the Messenians plainly imitated it opportunely, for Homer represents Patroclus in the Iliad clad in the arms of Achilles, and says that the barbarians were filled with the belief that it was Achilles

attacking them, and that their front ranks were thrown into confusion. Other stratagems are the invention of Homer, the coming of the two Greek spies by night among the Trojans, instead of one and later a man coming to Troy, who pretends to be a deserter but actually is to find out their secrets.

[8] ἔτι δὲ τοὺς διὰ νεότητα ἐν τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἢ γῆρας οὐχ ὠραίους μάχεσθαι, τούτους μὲν τὸ τεῖχος φρουρεῖν ἔταξε, τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπηυλισμένων· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες ὀπλίζουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μάχιμον, ἵνα μηδὲ αὐτοὶ παντάπασιν ἀργοῖεν.

τὰ Ὀμήρου μὲν οὖν ὠφέλιμα ἐγένετο ἐς ἅπαντα ἀνθρώποις:

[28.8] Again, the Trojans who, through youth or years were not of fighting age, he posted as garrison of the walls, while the men of military age were encamped against the Greeks. The wounded Greeks in Homer arm the fighting men, so that even they may not be altogether idle. Indeed Homer's ideas have proved useful to men in every matter.

29. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἥλιδι Μακεδόνες καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μεσσήνην καταλαμβάνουσι. τὰ μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐς τε αὐτὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὰ ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου τολμηθέντα ἐκ Περσέως ἐν τοῖς Σικυωνίοις ἔγραψα ἤδη λόγοις: τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τὴν Μεσσήνης ἔσχεν οὕτω.

[29.1] XXIX. Not long after the affair at Elis, the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, son of Demetrius, captured Messene. I have already, in my account of Sicyon, narrated most of the crimes of Perseus against Philip himself and against Demetrius the son of Philip. These are the facts relating to the capture of Messene.

[2] χρημάτων ἐσπανίζετο Φίλιππος, καὶ — ἔδει γὰρ πάντως οἱ γενέσθαι χρήματα — ἀποστέλλει Δημήτριον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Δημήτριος δὲ κατήγετό που τῆς Ἀργείας ἐς λιμένα τῶν ἐρημοτέρων: αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς εἶχε διὰ τῶν ἐπιτομωτάτων τῆς χώρας τὴν στρατιὰν ἤγεν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης. προτάξας δὲ ὅσον ἦν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ σκευῇ κοῦφον καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην εἶχεν ὁδοῦ οὐκ ἀπείρως, λανθάνει περὶ ὄρθρον μάλιστα ὑπερβὰς τὸ τεῖχος, καθὼς τῆς τε πόλεως μεταξὺ ἦν καὶ ἄκρας τῆς Ἰθώμης.

[29.2] Philip was in need of money, and as it was necessary to raise it at all costs, he sent Demetrius with a fleet to Peloponnese. He put in to one of the less frequented harbors of the Argolid, and at once marched his army by the shortest route to Messene. With an advance guard consisting of all the light-armed troops who knew the road to Ithome, he succeeded just before dawn in scaling the wall unnoticed at a point where it lay between the city and the peak of Ithome.

[3] ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐπέσχε καὶ ἤδη τοῖς ἔνδον αἰσθησις ἐγεγόνει τοῦ κατειληφότος κινδύνου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐσήλθεν ὑπόνοια ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ὅπλοις παρέλθοιεν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν

ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον διὰ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς Μακεδόνας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου γνωρίζουσιν ὄντας, δεῖμα ἰσχυρὸν παρέστη σφίσι λογιζομένοις τὴν τε ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων μελέτην καὶ τύχην ἢ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐώρων χρωμένους αὐτούς.

[29.3] When day dawned and the inhabitants had realized the danger that beset them, they were at first under the impression that the Lacedaemonians had forced an entry into the town, and attacked them more recklessly owing to their ancient hatred. But when they discovered from their equipment and speech that it was the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, they were filled with great fear, when they considered the Macedonian training in warfare and the good fortune which they saw that they enjoyed in all their ventures.

[4] ὅμως δὲ τοῦ τε παρόντος κακοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἐδίδασκεν ἀνδρίαν τινὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ δυνατοῦ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἅμα τὰ ἀμείνω παρίστατο αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζειν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ θεοῦ διὰ τοσούτου σφίσιν ὑπάρξει τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. οἱ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσήνιοι θυμῷ παντὶ ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐχώρουν καὶ οἱ φρουροῦντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπέκειντο ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων.

[29.4] Nevertheless the magnitude of the present evil caused them to display a courage beyond their strength, also they were inspired with hope for the best, since it seemed not without divine help that they had accomplished their return to Peloponnese after so long an absence. So the Messenians in the town went against the Macedonians full of courage, and the garrison on the acropolis attacked from the high ground above.

[5] ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ὑπὸ τε ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίας τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἡμύνοντο ἐρρωμένως: ἅτε δὲ ὁδοιπορία προαπειρηκότες καὶ ὁμοῦ τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν σφισιν ἐγκεκλιμένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν κεράμῳ καὶ λίθοις βαλλόμενοι, σὺν οὐδενὶ ἔφευγον κόσμῳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο ὠθοόμενοι κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν, ἀπότομος γὰρ δὴ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰθώμη: ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ ῥίγαντες τὰ ὅπλα ἀπεσώθησαν.

[29.5] In like manner the Macedonians, brave and experienced troops, at first offered a firm resistance. But worn out by their march, attacked by the men and bombarded with tiles and stones by the women, they took to flight in disorder. The majority were pushed over the precipices and killed, for Ithome is very steep at this point. A few escaped by throwing away their arms.

[6] ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τῷδε οὗ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐσελθεῖν κατ’ ἀρχάς. Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτεπάγγελτοι βοηθήσαντες ἀφίκοντο ὑπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Αἰακίδου πολεμουμένοις, καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἤδη τὰ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης εἰρηνικώτερα ὑπῆρχεν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀνακινῆσαι τὸ ἔχθος ἐβούλοντο ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συγχωρήσαντες, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καθεστήκεσαν.

[29.6] The Messenians refrained at first from joining the Achaean league for the

following reason, I think. When Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides made war on the Lacedaemonians, they came unasked to their assistance, and as a result of this service a more peaceful disposition towards them came to be established at Sparta. Therefore they were unwilling to revive the feud by joining the league, which was openly declared the bitterest enemy of the Lacedaemonians.

[7] ὁ δὲ οὐ λέληθεν ἐμέ, οὐδὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐλελήθει δήπου, καὶ μὴ συντελοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὥς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ Ἀχαιῶν ὑπάρχοι: ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα ἦσαν. ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι προσεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικόν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου Μεγάλην πόλιν εἵλεν Ἀρκάδων ἐν σπονδαῖς:

[29.7] I realize, as of course did the Messenians, that even without their joining the league the policy of the Achaeans was hostile to the Lacedaemonians. For the Argives and the Arcadian group formed not the smallest element in the league. However, in the course of time they joined the league. And not long afterwards Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, captured the Arcadian Megalopolis in peace-time.

[8] τῶν δὲ οἱ καταληφθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν, Φιλοποίμενα δὲ τὸν Κραυγίδος καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Φιλοποίμενος ἀπεχώρησαν — γενέσθαι δὲ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τὸ διαφυγὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δύο μοῖρας λέγουσι — τούτους ὑπεδέξαντο οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τῶν τε ἀρχαίων ἔργων ἔνεκα ὅποσα ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρκετο Ἀρκάσι καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσηνίας, ἀποδιδόντες σφίσι τὴν ὁμοίαν.

[29.8] Of the people of Megalopolis who were caught in the city, some were killed at the time of its capture, but Philopoemen the son of Craugis and all who withdrew with him (the number of the citizens who escaped is said to have been more than two-thirds) were received by the Messenians, who for the sake of the former services rendered by the Arcadians in the time of Aristomenes and again at the founding of Messene now repaid the like.

[9] πέφυκε δὲ ἄρα ὥς ἐπίπαν μεταπίπτειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, εἰ δὴ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδας τε ἀντισῶσαι καὶ τὸ ἄδοκητότερον ἔτι ἐλεῖν Σπάρτην ὁ δαίμων ἔδωκεν: Κλεομένει γὰρ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀράτῳ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς συγκαθεῖλον.

[29.9] Such, it would seem, are the vicissitudes of human affairs, that it was the will of heaven that the Messenians should in their turn preserve the Arcadians, and what is still more surprising, that they should capture Sparta. For they fought against Cleomenes at Sellasia and joined with Aratus and the Achaeans to capture Sparta.

[10] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένοις Κλεομένους ἐπανίσταται τύραννος Μαχανίδας, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Νάβις ἀνέφυσεν σφίσι τὸν αὐτὸν τύραννον: ἅτε δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρπάζοντι αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ συλῶντι, ἐν οὐ

πολλῷ χρόνῳ χρήματά τε ἄφθονα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιὰ συνείλετο. τούτου τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσήνην καταλαβόντος Φιλοποίμην καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο τῆς αὐτῆς:

[29.10] When the Lacedaemonians were rid of Cleomenes there rose to power a tyrant Machanidas, and after his death a second tyrant arose in Nabis. As he plundered human property and robbed temples alike, he amassed vast wealth in a short time and with it raised an army. This Nabis seized Messene, but when Philopoemen and the people of Megalopolis arrived during the same night,

[11] καὶ ὁ μὲν Σπαρτιάτης τύραννος ἀπῆλθεν ὑπόσπονδος, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων μεμφόμενοι τι Μεσσηνίοις στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔτεμον τῆς χώρας. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὖθις περὶ ἀκμὴν σίτου συνελέγοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες: Δεινοκράτης δὲ δήμου τε προεστηκῶς καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡρημένος Λυκόρταν μὲν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν ἀναχωρῆσαι παρεσκεύασεν ἄπρακτον, τὰς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας παρόδους προλαβὼν τοῖς τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσηνίοις καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιούκων σφίσιν ἤμυναν:

[29.11] the Spartan tyrant retired on terms. But the Achaeans after this, having some quarrel with the Messenians, invaded them with all their forces and ravaged most of the country. On a second occasion they mustered when the corn was ripe to invade Messenia. But Deinocrates, the head of the government, who had been chosen to command the Messenians on that occasion, compelled Lycortas and his force to retire without effecting anything, by occupying beforehand the passes from Arcadia into Messenia with the Messenians from the city and troops from the surrounding districts that came to their assistance.

[12] Φιλοποίμενος δὲ σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις ἀφικομένου πολὺ ὕστερον ἢ ὁ μετὰ Λυκόρτα στρατός, πυθέσθαι δὲ οὐδέν πω τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δεδυνημένου, νικῶσιν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι γινομένης σφίσιν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τῆς μάχης καὶ ζῶντα αἰροῦσι Φιλοποίμενα. τρόπον δὲ ὄντινα ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐάλω καὶ ὡς ἐτελεύτησε, τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀρκαδικὸς λόγος ἐπέξεισι: Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ τε Φιλοποίμενι αἴτιοι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔδοσαν δίκας καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη συνετέλεσεν αὖθις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν.

[29.12] Philopoemen arrived with a few cavalry some time later than the force with Lycortas and had been unable to obtain any news of it; the Messenians, having the advantage of the high ground, defeated him and took him alive. I will narrate the manner of Philopoemen's capture and death in my account of Arcadia later. The Messenians, who were responsible for his death, were punished and Messene was again brought into the Achaean league.

[13] ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦδε ὁ λόγος ἐπῆλθέ μοι Μεσσηνίων τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα, καὶ ὡς ὁ δαίμων σφᾶς ἐπὶ τε γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρώτατα Πελοποννήσου σκεδάσας ὕστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνέσωσε: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς

χώρας καὶ πόλεων τραπώμεθα ἐς ἀφήγησιν.

[29.13] Hitherto my account has dealt with the many sufferings of the Messenians, how fate scattered them to the ends of the earth, far from Peloponnese, and afterwards brought them safely home to their own country. Let us now turn to a description of the country and cities.

ABIA

30. ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τῆς νάπης τῆς Χοιρίου στάδια εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἀπέχουσα Ἀβία ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλις. ταύτην Ἴρην καλεῖσθαι πάλαι καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ φασιν εἶναι πόλεων, ὥς Ἀχιλλεῖ πεποίηκεν Ὅμηρος Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπισχνούμενον. Ὑλλου δὲ καὶ Δωριέων μάχῃ κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀβίαν Γλήνου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἴρην καὶ οἰκῆσαι τε αὐτόθι καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ οἱ διὰ ταῦτα ὕστερον Κρεσφόντην ἄλλα τε γέρα νεῖμαι καὶ τῇ πόλει μεταθέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβίας. Ἡρακλεῖον δὲ ἦν αὐτόθι ἐπιφανὲς καὶ Ἀσκληπιεῖον.

[30.1] XXX. There is in our time a city Abia in Messenia on the coast, some twenty stades distant from the Choerius valley. They say that this was formerly called Ire and was one of the seven cities which Homer says that Agamemnon promised to Achilles. When Hyllus and the Dorians were defeated by the Achaeans, it is said that Abia, nurse of Glenus the son of Heracles, withdrew to Ire, and settling there built a temple to Heracles, and that afterwards for this reason Cresphontes, amongst other honors assigned to her, renamed the city after Abia. There was a notable temple of Heracles here, and also of Asclepius.

PHARAE

[2] Φαραὶ δὲ ἀφεστήκασιν Ἀβίας σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔστιν ἄλμυρόν· βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὐγούστος τοὺς ἐν Φαραῖς Μεσσηνίους συντελεῖν ἀπέταξεν ἐς τὸ Λακωνικόν. τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν Φᾶριν Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Φυλοδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι τῆς Δαναοῦ· Φάρει δὲ ἄρρενας μὲν οὐ φασὶ γενέσθαι, θυγατέρα δὲ Τηλεγόνην. τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐγενεαλόγησεν Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι διδύμους Κρήθωνα καὶ Ὀρτίλοχον εἶναι Διοκλεῖ, Διοκλέα δὲ αὐτὸν Ὀρτίλοχου τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἐς Τηλεγόνην παρεῖδεν, αὕτη γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων ἔστιν ἡ τεκοῦσα Ἀλφειῷ τὸν Ὀρτίλοχον.

[30.2] Pharae is seventy stades distant from Abia. On the road is a salt spring. The Emperor Augustus caused the Messenians of Pharae to be incorporated in Laconia. The founder Pharis is said to have been the son of Hermes and Phylodameia the daughter of Danaus. He had no male children, but a daughter Telegone. Homer, tracing her descendants in the Iliad, says that twins, Crethon and Ortilochus, were born to Diocles, Diocles himself being the son of Ortilochus son of Alpheius. He makes no reference to Telegone, who in the Messenian account bore Ortilochus to Alpheius.

[3] καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἤκουσα ἐν Φαραῖς, Διοκλεῖ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ τοῖς διδύμοις

παῖσιν Ἀντίκλειαν γενέσθαι, τῆς δὲ Νικόμαχόν τε εἶναι καὶ Γόργασον, πατὴρ δὲ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ: τούτους καταμεῖναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὁ Διοκλῆς ἐτελεύτησε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι. διαμεμένηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐς τὸδε ἔτι νοσήματά τε καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰᾶσθαι: καὶ σφισιν ἀντὶ τούτων θυσίας ἐς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναὸς Φαραϊάταις καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον.

[30.3] I heard also at Pharae that besides the twins a daughter Anticleia was born to Diocles, and that her children were Nicomachus and Gorgasus, by Machaon the son of Asclepius. They remained at Pharae and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Diocles. The power of healing diseases and curing the maimed has remained with them to this day, and in return for this, sacrifices and votive offerings are brought to their sanctuary. The people of Pharae possess also a temple of Fortune (Tyche) and an ancient image.

[4] πρῶτος δὲ ὧν οἶδα ἐποίησατο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος Τύχης μνήμην: ἐποίησατο δὲ ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς τὴν Δήμητρα ἄλλας τε τῶν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρας καταριθμούμενος, ὡς ὁμοῦ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παίζοιεν, καὶ Τύχην ὡς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ταύτην παῖδα οὖσαν: καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη: “ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν’ ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα,

Λευκίππῃ Φαινῶ τε καὶ Ἠλέκτρῃ καὶ Ἰάνθῃ

Μηλόβοσιν τε Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὠκυρόῃ καλυκῶπις.

“HH Dem 5.420

[30.4] Homer is the first whom I know to have mentioned Fortune in his poems. He did so in the Hymn to Demeter, where he enumerates the daughters of Ocean, telling how they played with Kore the daughter of Demeter, and making Fortune one of them. The lines are:—

We all in a lovely meadow, Leucippe, Phaeno, Electre and Ianthe, Melobosis and Tyche and Ocyrhoe with face like a flower. HH Dem. 5.420

[5] πέρα δὲ ἐδήλωσεν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη μεγίστη θεῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι καὶ ἰσχὺν παρέχεται πλείστην, ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν καὶ Ἐνυὼ πολεμούντων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν, Ἄρτεμιν δὲ γυναικῶν ὠδίσιν εἶναι φοβερὰν, Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ τὰ ἔργα μέλειν τῶν γάμων. ἀλλ’ οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐποίησεν ἐς τὴν Τύχην:

[30.5] He said nothing further about this goddess being the mightiest of gods in human affairs and displaying greatest strength, as in the Iliad he represented Athena and Enyo as supreme in war, and Artemis feared in childbirth, and Aphrodite heeding the affairs of marriage. But he makes no other mention of Fortune.

[6] Βούπαλος δέ, ναοὺς τε οἰκοδομήσασθαι καὶ ζῶα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς πλάσαι, Σμυρναίοις ἄγαλμα ἐργαζόμενος Τύχης πρῶτος ἐποίησεν ὧν ἴσμεν πόλον τε ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας κέρας

ὕπὸ Ἑλλήνων. οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσε τῆς θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα: ἦσε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε ἐς τὴν Τύχην καὶ δὴ καὶ Φερέπολιν ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν.

[30.6] Bupalos a skilful temple-architect and carver of images, who made the statue of Fortune at Smyrna, was the first whom we know to have represented her with the heavenly sphere upon her head and carrying in one hand the horn of Amaltheia, as the Greeks call it, representing her functions to this extent. The poems of Pindar later contained references to Fortune, and it is he who called her Supporter of the City.

31. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Φαρῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσος ἐστὶ Καρνείου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ πηγῇ: θαλάσσης δὲ ἕξ που στάδια ἀπέχουσιν αἱ Φαραί. ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας σταδίους προελθόντι ὀγδοήκοντα, ἔστιν ἡ Θουριατῶν πόλις, Ἀνθειαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὠνομάσθαι τοῖς Ὀμήρου λέγουσι: Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἔδωκεν Αὐγούστος. Αὐγούστῳ γὰρ βασιλεύοντι Ῥωμαίων ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντώνιος, γένει καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαῖος: καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ προσέθεντο, ὅτι ἐφρόνουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Αὐγούστου.

[31.1] XXXI. Not far from Pharae is a grove of Apollo Carneius and a spring of water in it. Pharae is about six stades from the sea.

THURIATAE

Eighty stades on the road which leads thence into the interior of Messenia is the city of the Thuriatae, which they say had the name Antheia in Homer's poems. Augustus gave Thuria into the possession of the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. For when Augustus was emperor of the Romans, Antony, himself a Roman, made war upon him and was joined by the Messenians and the rest of the Greeks, because the Lacedaemonians were on the side of Augustus.

[2] καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτων ἔνεκα Μεσσηνίοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλαττον, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐπεξηλθε: Θουριᾶται δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐν μετεώρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκουμένης ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατελθόντες οἰκοῦσιν. οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γε οὐδὲ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τείχους ἐρείπια καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν αὐτόθι ὀνομαζόμενον θεοῦ Συρίας: τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν ποταμὸς καλούμενος Ἄρις παρέξεισιν.

[31.2] For this reason Augustus punished the Messenians and the rest of his adversaries, some more, some less. The people of Thuria left their town, which lay originally on high ground, and came down to live in the plain. Nevertheless the upper town is not entirely deserted, but there are remains of the wall and a temple there, called the temple of the Syrian Goddess. A river called Aris flows past the town in the plain.

CALAMAE & LIMNAE

[3] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίῳ κώμη Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμναι χωρίον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ

Λιμνάτιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔνθα Τηλέκλῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν.

[31.3] In the interior is a village Calamae and a place Limnae, where is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (Of the lake). They say that Teleclus king of Sparta met his end here.

PAMISUS SPRINGS & MT EVA

[4] ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Θουρίας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀρκαδίας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Παμίσου· καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς παισὶ μικροῖς ἀκέσματα γίνεται.

ιοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ προελθόντι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα στάδια, ἔστι Μεσσηνίους ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ πόλις· περιέχεται δὲ οὐ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πάμισον τὰ τετραμμένα ὑπὸ τῆς Εὐας· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τῷ ὄρει φασὶ Βακχικόν τι ἐπίφθεγμα εὐοῖ Διονύσου πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῦ τε εἰπόντος καὶ τῶν ὁμοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυναικῶν.

[31.4] On the road from Thuria towards Arcadia are the springs of the Pamisus, at which little children find cures. A road turns to the left from the springs, and after some forty stades is the city of the Messenians under Ithome. It is enclosed not only by Mount Ithome, but on the side towards the Pamisos by Mount Eva. The mountain is said to have obtained its name from the fact that the Bacchic cry of “Evoe” was first uttered here by Dionysus and his attendant women.

MESSENE

[5] περὶ δὲ τὴν Μεσσήνην τεῖχος, κύκλος μὲν πᾶς λίθου πεποιήται, πύργοι δὲ καὶ ἐπάλξεις εἰσὶν ἐνφοδομημένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν Βαβυλωνίων ἢ τὰ Μεμόνεια τὰ ἐν Σούσοις τεῖχη τοῖς Περσικοῖς οὔτε εἶδον οὔτε ἄλλων περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα αὐτοπτούντων· τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμβρόσσῳ τῇ Φωκιῇ ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ῥόδῳ — ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ τετείχισται τὰ χωρία ἄριστα — τούτων Μεσσηνίους ἐστὶν ἐχυρώτερον.

[31.5] Round Messene is a wall, the whole circuit of which is built of stone, with towers and battlements upon it. I have not seen the walls at Babylon or the walls of Memnon at Susa in Persia, nor have I heard the account of any eye-witness; but the walls at Ambrossos in Phocis, at Byzantium and at Rhodes, all of them the most strongly fortified places, are not so strong as the Messenian wall.

[6] Μεσσηνίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ κρήνη· τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκίππου θυγατρὸς εἴληφεν, ὑπορρεῖ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς καλουμένης Κλεψύδρας. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστί· καὶ οὗ μάλιστα ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς θεῶν λίθου Παρίου, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἔργον, ὃς καὶ τὸν Δία ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διεστηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἐλέφαντος συνήρμωσεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον· καὶ οἱ δεδομένοι τιμαὶ παρὰ Ἑλλείων εἰσὶ.

[31.6] The Messenians possess a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place and a fountain Arsinoe. It received its name from the daughter of Leucippus and is fed from a source called Clepsydra. There are sanctuaries of the gods Poseidon and Aphrodite, and, what is most deserving of mention, a statue of the Mother of the Gods, of Parian marble, the work of Damophon, the artist who repaired the Zeus at Olympia with extreme accuracy when the ivory parted. Honors have been granted to him by the people of Elis.

[7] Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἐστὶ τούτου καὶ ἡ Λαφρία καλουμένη παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις· σέβεσθαι δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ τοιοῦδε αὐτὴν καθέστηκε. Καλυδωνίοις ἡ Ἄρτεμις —

ταύτην γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα ἔσεβον —

ἐπίκλησιν εἶχε Λαφρία: Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ λαβόντες Ναύπακτον παρὰ Ἀθηναίων — τηνικαῦτα γὰρ Αἰτωλίας ἐγγύτατα ὄκουν — παρὰ Καλυδωνίων ἔλαβον. τὸ σχῆμα ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Λαφρίας ἀφίκετο ὄνομα ἐς τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἐς Πατρεῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνους, Ἐφεσίαν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν πόλεις τε νομίζουσιν αἱ

[31.7] By Damophon too is the so-called Laphria at Messene. The cult came to be established among them in the following way: Among the people of Calydon, Artemis, who was worshipped by them above all the gods, had the title Laphria, and the Messenians who received Naupactus from the Athenians, being at that time close neighbors of the Aetolians, adopted her from the people of Calydon. I will describe her appearance in another place. The name Laphria spread only to the Messenians and to the Achaeans of Patrae.

[8] πᾶσαι καὶ ἄνδρες ἰδία θεῶν μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ: τὰ δὲ αἷτια ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀμαζόνων τε κλέος, αἱ φήμην τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχουσιν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐποιήθη. τρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις συνετέλεσεν ἐς δόξαν, μέγεθός τε τοῦ ναοῦ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατασκευάσματα ὑπερηρκότος καὶ Ἐφεσίων τῆς πόλεως ἡ ἀκμὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπιφανὲς τῆς θεοῦ.

[31.8] But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honor above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of the Ephesians and the renown of the goddess who dwells there.

[9] πεποιῆται δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Μεσσηνίοις ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, πλησίον δὲ Κουρήτων μέγαρον, ἔνθα ζῶα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν: ἀρξάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ βοῶν τε καὶ αἰγῶν καταβαίνουσιν ἐς τοὺς ὄρνιθας ἀφιέντες ἐς τὴν φλόγα. καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἅγιον καὶ Διοσκούρων ἀγάλματα φέροντες τὰς Λευκίππου: καὶ μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐστὶν ἤδη δεδηλωμένα, ὥς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίοις προσήκειν.

[31.9] The Messenians have a temple erected to Eileithyia with a stone statue, and near by a hall of the Curetes, where they make burnt offerings of every kind of living creature, thrusting into the flames not only cattle and goats, but finally birds as well. There is a holy shrine of Demeter at Messene and statues of the Dioscuri, carrying the daughters of Leucippus. I have already explained in an earlier passage that the Messenians argue that the sons of Tyndareus belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians.

[10] πλεῖστα δὲ σφισι καὶ θεάς μάλιστα ἀγάλματα ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ

παρέχεται τὸ ἱερόν: χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, χωρὶς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἡρακλέους: πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμμιδος Τύχη τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις Φωσφόρος, τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λίθου Δαμοφῶν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο — Μεσσήνιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ τοῦτον ἄλλον γε οὐδένα λόγου ποιήσαντα ἀξίως οἶδα ἀγάλματα — , ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐκ σιδήρου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἔργον ἄλλου, οὐ τούτου.

[31.10] The most numerous statues and the most worth seeing are to be found in the sanctuary of Asclepius. For besides statues of the god and his sons, and besides statues of Apollo, the Muses and Heracles, the city of Thebes is represented and Epaminondas the son of Cleommis, Fortune, and Artemis Bringer of Light. The stone statues are the work of Damophon (I know of no other Messenian sculptor of merit apart from him); the statue of Epaminondas is of iron and the work of some other artist.

[11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνης τῆς Τριόπα ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου Παρίου: γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὀπισθεν αἱ βασιλεύσαντές εἰσι Μεσσήνης, πρὶν μὲν ἢ στόλον ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀφαρέως καὶ οἱ παῖδες, κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐστίν, ἡγεμὼν καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, τῶν δὲ οἰκησάντων ἐν Πύλῳ Νέστωρ καὶ Θρασυμήδης καὶ Ἀντίλοχος, προτετιμημένοι παίδων τῶν Νέστορος ἡλικία καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν μετεσχηκότες τῆς στρατείας.

[31.11] There is also a temple of Messene the daughter of Triopas with a statue of gold and Parian marble. At the back of the temple are paintings of the kings of Messene: before the coming of the Dorian host to Peloponnese, Aphareus and his sons, after the return of the Heracleidae, Cresphontes the Dorian leader, of the inhabitants of Pylos, Nestor, Thrasymedes and Antilochus, singled out from among the sons of Nestor on the score of age and because they took part in the expedition to Troy.

[12] Λεύκιππός τε Ἀφαρέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἰλάειρά ἐστι καὶ Φοίβη, σὺν δέ σφισιν Ἀρσινόη. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιός, Ἀρσινόης ὢν λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ Μαχάων καὶ Ποδαλείριος, ὅτι ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ καὶ τούτοις μέτεστι. ταῦτας τὰς γραφὰς ἔγραψεν Ὀμφαλίων, Νικίου τοῦ Νικομήδους μαθητῆς: οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δουλεῦσαι παρὰ τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φασὶν αὐτοῦ.

[31.12] There is Leucippus brother of Aphareus, Hilaeira and Phoebe, and with them Arsinoe. Asclepius too is represented, being according to the Messenian account a son of Arsinoe, also Machaon and Podaleirius, as they also took part in the affair at Troy. These pictures were painted by Omphalion, pupil of Nicias the son of Nicomedes. Some say that he was also a slave in the house of Nicias and his favorite.

32. τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱεροθέσιον ἔχει μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ὁπόσους νομίζουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἔχει δὲ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα Ἐπαμινώνδου. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἀρχαῖοι τρίποδες: ἀπύρους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ Ὅμηρος. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ

ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ποιήματά ἐστιν

ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων, Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Θησεύς. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι καὶ ἤδη τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοῖς περὶ τε γυμνάσια καὶ ἐν παλαιστραῖς καθέστηκεν ἔχειν ἐν τιμῇ:

[32.1] XXXII. The place called Hierothesion by the Messenians contains statues of all the gods whom the Greeks worship, and also a bronze image of Epaminondas. Ancient tripods are dedicated there, which “have felt not the fire,” as Homer says. The statues in the gymnasium are the work of Egyptian artists. They represent Hermes, Heracles and Theseus, who are honored in the gymnasium and wrestling-ground according to a practice universal among Greeks, and now common among barbarians...

[2] Αἰθίδαν δὲ ἐμαντοῦ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα εὗρισκον, γενομένῳ δὲ οἱ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἀδυνάτῳ τιμαὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ὑπάρχουσιν ἅτε ἥρωι. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οἱ τῷ Αἰθίδᾳ χρήματα μὲν γενέσθαι πολλὰ ἔλεγον, οὐ μέντοι τοῦτόν γε εἶναι τὸν ἐπειργασμένον τῇ στήλῃ, πρόγονον δὲ καὶ ὁμώνυμον ἄνδρα τῷ Αἰθίδᾳ. Αἰθίδαν δὲ τὸν πρότερον ἠγήσασθαι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις φασίν, ἥνικα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ Δημήτριός σφισιν ὁ Φιλίππου μηδαμῶς ἐλπίσασιν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ λανθάνουσιν ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

[32.2] I learnt by enquiry that Aethidas was a man older than myself, who gained influence through his wealth and is honored by the Messenians as a hero. There are certain Messenians, who, while admitting that Aethidas was a man of great wealth, maintain that it is not he who is represented on the relief but an ancestor and namesake. The elder Aethidas was their leader, when Demetrius the son of Philip and his force surprised them in the night and succeeded in penetrating into the town unnoticed.

[3] καὶ Ἀριστομένους δὲ μνημῆα ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα: οὐ κενὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ μνημα λέγουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐρομένου μου τρόπον τε ὄντινα καὶ ὁπόθεν Ἀριστομένους κομίσαιντο τὰ ὀστέα, μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν ἐκ Ῥόδου φασί, τὸν δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν τὸν κελεύσαντα εἶναι. πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις ἐδίδασκόν με ὅποια ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δρῶσι. ταῦρον ὄντινα ἐναγίζειν μέλλουσιν, ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα ἔδησαν πρὸς τὸν ἐσθηκότα ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ κίονα: ὁ δὲ ἅτε ἄγριος καὶ ἀήθης δεσμῶν οὐκ ἐθέλει μένειν: θορυβουμένῳ δὲ οἱ καὶ σκιρτῶντι ἦν ὁ κίων κινηθῆ, Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν αἴσιον, οὐ κινηθέντος δὲ ἀσύμφορα ἐπαγγέλλει τὸ σημεῖον.

[32.3] There is also the tomb of Aristomenes here. They say that it is not a cenotaph, but when I asked whence and in what manner they recovered the bones of Aristomenes, they said that they sent to Rhodes for them, and that it was the god of Delphi who ordered it. They also instructed me in the nature of the rites carried out at the tomb. The bull which is to be offered to the dead man is brought to the tomb and bound to the pillar which stands upon the grave. Being fierce and unused to bonds he will not stand; and if the pillar is moved by his struggles and bounds, it is a good omen to the Messenians, but

if the pillar is not moved the sign portends misfortune.

[4] παραγενέσθαι δὲ Ἀριστομένην καὶ τῷ περὶ Λεῦκτρα ἀγῶνι ἐθέλουσιν οὐ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ὄντα, καὶ ἀμῦναι τε αὐτόν φασι Θηβαίοις καὶ μάλιστα γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀτυχήματος Λακεδαιμονίοις αἴτιον. ἐγὼ δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ἰνδῶν τοὺς μάγους πρώτους οἶδα εἰπόντας ὡς ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου ψυχή, καὶ σφισι καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄλλοι τε ἐπέισθησαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος· εἰ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ οἱ πάντες ἐθελήσουσιν, ἐκεῖνό γε ἀντειπεῖν οὐκ ἔνεστι μὴ οὐ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ἀριστομένει τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνεστάχθαι.

[32.4] They have it that Aristomenes was present at the battle of Leuctra, though no longer among men, and say that he helped the Thebans and was the chief cause of the Lacedaemonian disaster. I know that the Chaldaeans and Indian sages were the first to say that the soul of man is immortal, and have been followed by some of the Greeks, particularly by Plato the son of Ariston. If all are willing to accept this, this too cannot be denied, that his hatred for the Lacedaemonians was imparted to Aristomenes for all time.

[5] ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ἤκουσα ἐν Θήβαις, εἰκὸς μὲν τι παρείχετο ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων λόγον, οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γε ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὠμολογηκότα. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι μελλούσης τῆς μάχης ἔσσεσθαι σφισιν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς ἄλλα τε ἀποστεῖλαι χρηστήρια καὶ ἐρησομένους τὸν ἐν Λεβαδεῖα θεόν. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ τοῦ Πτώου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἄβαις τε χρησθέντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς· Τροφώνιον δὲ φασιν εἰπεῖν ἑξαμέτρῳ·”πρὶν δορὶ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, στήσασθε τρόπαιον,

ἀσπίδα κοσμήσαντες ἐμήν, τὴν εἴσατο νηῶ

θοῦρος Ἀριστομένης Μεσσήνιος. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι

ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων φθίσω στρατὸν ἀσπιστάων.

“

[32.5] What I myself heard in Thebes gives probability to the Messenian account, although it does not coincide in all respects. The Thebans say that when the battle of Leuctra was imminent, they sent to other oracles and to enquire of the god of Lebadeia. The replies of the Ismenian and Ptoan Apollo are recorded, also the responses given at Abae and at Delphi. Trophonius, they say, answered in hexameters:—

Or ever ye join battle with the foe, set up a trophy and deck it with my shield, which impetuous Aristomenes the Messenian placed in my temple. And I will destroy the host of foemen bearing shield.

[6] ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ δεηθῆναι Ξενοκράτους λέγουσιν Ἐπαμινώνδαν· ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἀσπίδα μεταπέμπεται τοῦ Ἀριστομένους καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἂπ’ αὐτῆς τρόπαιον, ὅθεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔσσεσθαι σύνοπτον ἔμελλεν. ἦδесαν δὲ ἄρα τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Λεβαδεῖα καθ’ ἡσυχίαν

ἑωρακότες, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ πάντες· ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἡ νίκη Θηβαίοις, ἀποδιδόασιν αὐθις τῷ Τροφωνίῳ τὸ ἀνάθημα. Ἀριστομένους δὲ καὶ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνίων σταδίῳ· τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρῳ Σαράπιδός ἐστι καὶ Ἰσιδος ἱερὸν.

[32.6] When the oracle was brought, they say that Epaminondas urged Xenocrates, who sent for the shield of Aristomenes and used it to adorn a trophy in a spot where it could be seen by the Lacedaemonians. Those of them who had seen the shield at Lebadeia in peace-time knew it, and all knew it by repute. After their victory the Thebans restored the offering to Trophonius. There is also a bronze statue of Aristomenes in the Messenian running-ground. Not far from the theater is a sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis.

MT ITHOME

33. ἐς δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν ἐρχομένῳ τῆς Ἰθώμης, ἥ δὴ Μεσσηνίους ἐστὶν ἀκρόπολις, πηγὴ Κλεψύδρα γίνεται. πάντας μὲν οὖν καταριθμῆσθαι καὶ προθυμηθέντι ἄπορον, ὅποσοι θέλουσι γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι Δία· μέτεστι δ' οὖν καὶ Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ λόγου· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι τὸν θεόν, Ἰθώμην δὲ εἶναι καὶ Νέδαν τὰς θρεψαμένας, κεκληῆσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Νέδας τὸν ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν τῷ ὄρει τὴν Ἰθώμην δεδωκέναι τὸ ὄνομα. ταύτας δὲ τὰς νύμφας τὸν Δία, κλαπέντα ὑπὸ Κουρήτων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δεῖμα, ἐνταῦθα λουῖσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τῷ ὕδατι ἀπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων τῆς κλοπῆς· φέρουσί τε ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερὸν.

[33.1] XXXIII. On the ascent to the summit of Ithome, which is the Messenian acropolis, is a spring Clepsydra. It is a hopeless task, however zealously undertaken, to enumerate all the peoples who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them. The Messenians have their share in the story for they too say that the god was brought up among them and that his nurses were Ithome and Neda, the river having received its name from the latter, while the former, Ithome, gave her name to the mountain. These nymphs are said to have bathed Zeus here, after he was stolen by the Curetes owing to the danger that threatened from his father, and it is said that it has its name from the Curetes' theft. Water is carried every day from the spring to the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome.

[2] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκῆσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων· ἱερεὺς δὲ αἰρετὸς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεισαν μουσικῆς· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον· “τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μοῖσα

ἀ καθαρὰν κιθάραν καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

“Eumelus, unknown location. οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαί μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς

ἄγωνά ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας.

[33.2] The statue of Zeus is the work of Ageladas and was made originally for the Messenian settlers in Naupactus. The priest is chosen annually and keeps the image in his house. They keep an annual festival, the Ithomaea, and originally a musical contest was held. This can be gathered from the epic lines of Eumelus and other sources. Eumelus, in his processional hymn to Delos, says:—

For dear to the God of Ithome was the Muse, whose <lute> is pure and free her sandals. Eumelus, unknown location.

I think that he wrote the lines because he knew that they held a musical contest.

RIVER BALYRA

[3] ἰόντι δὲ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Ἑρμῆς τέχνης τῆς Ἀττικῆς: Ἀθηναίων γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετράγωνόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, καὶ παρὰ τούτων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ ἄλλοι. σταδίους δὲ καταβάντι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τριάκοντα τὸ ῥεῦμά ἐστι τῆς Βαλύρας. γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι Θαμύριδος τὴν λύραν ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντος ἐπὶ τῇ πηρώσει: παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἀργιόπης τῆς νύμφης εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀργιόπην τέως μὲν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶχεν ἐν γαστρὶ, ἐς Ὀδρύσας λέγουσι μετοικῆσαι: Φιλάμμωνα γὰρ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐτὴν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ Θάμυριν μὲν Ὀδρύσῃν τε καὶ Θρᾶκα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καλοῦσιν: ἡ δὲ Λευκασία καὶ Ἀμφιτος συμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ῥεύματα.

[33.3] At the Arcadian gate leading to Megalopolis is a Herm of Attic style; for the square form of Herm is Athenian, and the rest adopted it thence. After a descent of thirty stades from the gate is the watercourse of Balyra. The river is said to have got its name from Thamyras throwing (ballein) his lyre away here after his blinding. He was the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope, who once dwelt on Parnassus, but settled among the Odrysae when pregnant, for Philammon refused to take her into his house. Thamyras is called an Odrysian and Thracian on these grounds. The watercourses Leucasia and Amphitos unite to form one stream.

THE CARNASIAN GROVE

[4] διαβάντι δὲ τούτους πεδίον ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Στενυκληρικόν: εἶναι δὲ ἥρωα Στενύκληρον λέγουσι. τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καλουμένη τὸ ἀρχαῖον Οἰχαλία, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Καρνάσιον ἄλσος, κυπαρίσσων μάλιστα πλήρες. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Καρνείου καὶ Ἀγνῆς καὶ Ἑρμῆς φέρων κριόν. ἡ δὲ Ἀγνή Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησις: ὕδωρ δὲ ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα.

[33.4] When these are crossed, there is a plain called the plain of Stenyclerus. Stenyclerus was a hero, it is said. Facing the plain is a site anciently called

Oechalia, in our time the Carnasian grove, thickly grown with cypresses. There are statues of the gods Apollo Carneius <and Hagne>, also Hermes carrying a ram. Hagne (the holy one) is a title of Kore the daughter of Demeter. Water rises from a spring close to the statue.

[5] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς θεὰς τὰς Μεγάλας — δρῶσι γὰρ καὶ ταύταις ἐν Καρνασίῳ τὴν τελετήν — ἀπόρρητα ἔστω μοι: δεύτερα γὰρ σφισι νέμω σεμνότητος μετὰ γε Ἐλευσίνια. ὅτι δ' ὕδρία τε ἡ χαλκῇ, τὸ εὖρημα τοῦ Ἀργείου στρατηγοῦ, καὶ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Μελανέως τὰ ὅσῃ ἐφυλάσσετο

ἐνταῦθα, δηλωσαί με καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας οὐκ ἀπεῖργε τὸ ὄνειρον. ῥεῖ δὲ ποταμὸς παρὰ τὸ Καρνάσιον Χάραδρος, καὶ προελθόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίους ὀκτὼ

[33.5] I may not reveal the rites of the Great Goddesses, for it is their mysteries which they celebrate in the Carnasian grove, and I regard them as second only to the Eleusinian in sanctity. But my dream did not prevent me from making known to all that the brazen urn, discovered by the Argive general, and the bones of Eurytus the son of Melaneus were kept here. A river Charadrus flows past the grove;

ANDANIA & DORIUM

[6] μάλιστα ἐρείπια ἔστιν Ἀνδανίας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς γέγονεν Ἀνδανίας, ὁμολογεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν: οὐ μὴν τά γε ἐς τοὺς γονεάς αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τῷ συνώκησεν ἔχω λέγειν. ἰόντων δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Κυπαρισσίας ἀπὸ Ἀνδανίας Πολίχνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἥλέκτρα καὶ Κοῖος ῥέουσι: τάχα δ' ἂν τινα καὶ λόγον ἐς Ἥλέκτραν τὴν Ἄτλαντος λέγοιεν καὶ ἐς Κοῖον τὸν Λητοῦς πατέρα, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡρώων εἶεν Ἥλέκτρα τε καὶ Κοῖος.

[33.6] about eight stades along the road to the left are the ruins of Andania. The guides agree that the city got its name from a woman Andania, but I can say nothing as to her parents or her husband. On the road from Andania towards Cyparissiae is Polichne, as it is called, and the streams of Electra and Coeus. The names perhaps are to be connected with Electra the daughter of Atlas and Coeus the father of Leto, or Electra and Coeus may be two local heroes.

[7] διαβάντων δὲ Ἥλέκτραν Ἀχαῖα τε ὀνομαζομένη πηγὴ καὶ πόλεώς ἐστιν ἐρείπια Δωρίου. πεποίηκε δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν Θαμύριδι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Δωρίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰς Μούσας νικήσιν ἔφασκεν ἄδουσας: Πρόδικος δὲ Φωκαεὺς — εἰ δὴ τούτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη — προσκεισθαι φησι Θαμύριδι ἐν Αἰδου δίκην τοῦ ἐς τὰς Μούσας αὐχήματος. διεφθάρη δὲ ὁ Θάμυρις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ὅμηρος συνέπεσεν ὕστερον: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐς ἅπαν διετέλει ποιῶν, οὐ γάρ τι εἶκε τῇ συμφορᾷ, Θάμυρις δὲ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν ὑπὸ κακοῦ τοῦ παρόντος ἐξέλιπε.

[33.7] When the Electra is crossed, there is a spring called Achaia, and the ruins of a city Dorium. Homer states that the misfortune of Thamyris took place here in Dorium, because he said that he would overcome the Muses

themselves in song. But Prodicus of Phocaea, if the epic called the Minyad is indeed his, says that Thamyras paid the penalty in Hades for his boast against the Muses. My view is that Thamyras lost his eyesight through disease, as happened later to Homer. Homer, however, continued making poetry all his life without giving way to his misfortune, while Thamyras forsook his art through stress of the trouble that afflicted him.

RIVER PAMISUS

34. ἐκ δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ τοῦ Παμίσου τὸ στόμα ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἐστὶν ὀγδοήκοντα, ρεῖ δὲ ὁ Πάμισος διὰ τε ἄρουμένης καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ ἀναπλεῖται ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ δέκα πού σταδίους· ἀναθέουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ θαλάσσιοι τῶν ἰχθύων περὶ ὥραν μάλιστα τοῦ ἥρος. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς Ῥήνόν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἰχθῦς· μάλιστα δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ ρεῦμα τὸ Ἀχελώου νήχονται τοῦ ἐκδιδόντος κατὰ νήσους τὰς Ἐχινάδας.

[34.1] XXXIV. From Messene to the mouth of the Pamisus is a journey of eighty stades. The Pamisus is a pure stream flowing through cultivated lands, and is navigable some ten stades from the sea. Sea-fish run up it, especially in spring, as they do up the Rhine and Maeander. The chief run of fish is up the stream of the Achelous, which discharges opposite the Echinades islands.

[2] διάφοροι δὲ τὸ εἶδος μάλιστα ἰχθῦς ἀναθέουσιν ἐς τὸν Πάμισον ἅτε ἐς ὕδωρ καθαρὸν καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς κατελειγμένοις ποταμοῖς ἰλυῶδες· οἱ κέφαλοι δέ, ἅτε ἰχθύων ὄντες τῶν πηλαίων, ποταμῶν φίλοι τῶν θολερωτέρων εἰσί. θηρία δὲ ἐς ὀλεθρον ἀνθρώπων οὐ πεφύκασιν οἱ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ φέρειν, καθάπερ γε Ἰνδὸς καὶ Νεῖλος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἔτι δὲ Ῥῆνος καὶ Ἰστρος Εὐφράτης τε καὶ Φᾶσις· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ θηρία ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα ἀνδροφάγα αὔξουσιν, ταῖς ἐν Ἑρμῷ καὶ Μαίανδρῳ γλάνισιν εὐκίτα ἰδέας πλὴν χροᾶς τε μελαντέρας καὶ ἀλκῆς· ταῦτα δὲ αἱ γλάνεις ἀποδέουσιν.

[34.2] But the fish that enter the Pamisus are of quite a different kind, as the water is pure and not muddy like the rivers which I have mentioned. The grey mullet, a fish that loves mud, frequents the more turbid streams. The rivers of Greece contain no creatures dangerous to men as do the Indus and the Egyptian Nile, or again the Rhine and Danube, the Euphrates and Phasis. These indeed produce man-eating creatures of the worst, in shape resembling the cat-fish of the Hermus and Maeander, but of darker color and stronger. In these respects the cat-fish is inferior.

[3] ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος κροκοδείλους μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, Νεῖλος δὲ παρέχεται καὶ ἵππους, οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ ὁ κροκόδειλος κακὸν ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ δείματα ὡς ἀπὸ θηρίων εἰσὶν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀῶν τῷ διὰ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ρέοντι ἡπείρου θηρία οὐ ποτάμια οἱ κύνες, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ λυδῆς εἰσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης.

[34.3] The Indus and Nile both contain crocodiles, and the Nile river-horses as well, as dangerous to man as the crocodile. But the rivers of Greece contain

no terrors from wild beasts, for the sharks of the Aous, which flows through Thesprotia, are not river beasts but migrants from the sea.

NEAR CORONE

[4] Κορώνη δέ ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Παμίσου πρὸς θαλάσση τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Μαθίᾳ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση χωρίον, ὃ Ἴνους ἱερὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν: ἐπαναβῆναι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ θαλάσσης φασὶν αὐτὴν θεὸν τε ἤδη νομιζομένην καὶ Λευκοθέαν καλουμένην ἀντὶ Ἰνους. προελθόντων δὲ οὐ πολὺ Βίας ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός: γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ λέγουσι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Βιάντος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος. καὶ Πλατανιστῶνος δὲ ἡ πηγὴ στάδια μὲν εἰκοσὶν ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ, ῥεῖ δὲ ἐκ πλατάνου τὸ ὕδωρ πλατείας καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς κοίλης: κατὰ σπήλαιον μάλιστα που μικρὸν τὸ εὖρος ἐστὶ τοῦ δένδρου, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐς Κορώνην τὸ πότιμον κάτεισι.

[34.4] Corone is a city to the right of the Pamisus, on the sea-coast under Mount Mathia. On this road is a place on the coast regarded as sacred to Ino. For they say that she came up from the sea at this point, after her divinity had been accepted and her name changed from Ino to Leucothea. A short distance further the river Bias reaches the sea. The name is said to be derived from Bias the son of Amythaon. Twenty stades off the road is the fountain of Plataniston, the water of which flows out of a broad plane tree, which is hollow inside. The breadth of the tree gives the impression of a small cave; from it the drinking water flows to Corone.

CORONE

[5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶχεν Αἴπεια: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων κατήχθησαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, Ἐπιμηλίδην φασὶν ἀποσταλέντα οἰκιστὴν καλέσαι Κορώνειαν, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Κορωνείας τῆς Βοιωτῶν, τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε οὐ κατορθοῦν περὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκνικῆσαι τὸ ἐκείνων ἀμάρτημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος λόγος, ὥς τοῦ τείχους τὰ θεμέλια ὀρύσσοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν κορώνη χαλκῇ.

[34.5] The old name of Corone was Aepeia, but when the Messenians were restored to Peloponnese by the Thebans, it is said that Epimelides, who was sent as founder, named it Coroneia after his native town in Boeotia. The Messenians got the name wrong from the start, and the mistake which they made gradually prevailed in course of time. Another story is told to the effect that, when digging the foundations of the city wall, they came upon a bronze crow, in Greek corone.

[6] θεῶν δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος τε καλουμένης Παιδοτρόφου καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός: τῷ μὲν δὴ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Διονύσῳ λίθου, Διὸς δὲ Σωτῆρος χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πεποιήται. χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, κορώνην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἐπιμηλίδου μνημα: ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ τὸν λιμένα Ἀχαιῶν καλοῦσιν, οὐκ οἶδα.

[34.6] The gods who have temples here are Artemis, called the “Nurse of Children,” Dionysus and Asclepius. The statues of Asclepius and Dionysus are of stone, but there is a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place made of bronze. The statue of Athena also on the acropolis is of bronze, and stands in the open air, holding a crow in her hand. I also saw the tomb of Epimelides. I do not know why they call the harbor “the harbor of the Achaeans.”

THE CORYNTHIUM

[7] ἐκ Κορώνης δὲ ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους προελθόντι Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν πρὸς θαλάσση τιμὰς ἔχον· ἀρχαιότατόν τε γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶ καὶ νοσήματα ὁ θεὸς ἰάται, Κόρυνθον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα

ὀνομάζουσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ξόανον, τοῦ Ἀργεῶτα δὲ χαλκοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοὶ πλεύσαντας.

[34.7] Some eighty stades beyond Corone is a sanctuary of Apollo on the coast, venerated because it is very ancient according to Messenian tradition, and the god cures illnesses. They call him Apollo Corynthus. His image is of wood, but the statue of Apollo Argeotas, said to have been dedicated by the Argonauts, is of bronze.

COLONIDES

[8] τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει ἐστὶν ὄμορος Κολωνίδες· οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὐ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς Κόλαινον λέγουσι, Κολαίνῳ δὲ κόρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐκ μαντεύματος ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγήσασθαι. ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα διάλεκτόν τε ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ ἔθνη μεταμαθήσεσθαι τὰ Δωριέων. κεῖται δὲ τὸ πόλισμα αἱ Κολωνίδες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ, μικρὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

[34.8] The city of Corone is adjoined by Colonides. The inhabitants say that they are not Messenians but settlers from Attica brought by Colaenus, who followed a bird known as the crested lark to found the settlement in accordance with an oracle. They were, however, in the course of time to adopt the dialect and customs of the Dorians. The town of Colonides lies on high ground, a short distance from the sea.

ASINE

[9] Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λυκωρίταις ὄμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ὄκουν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύοπες. γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον τρίτῃ βασιλεύοντος Φύλαντος μάχῃ τε οἱ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελφούς· ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμιόνη Ἀσίνην ἔσχον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνὰ χρόνον οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κατήχθησαν οὐ γενομένης σφίσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως.

[34.9] The people of Asine originally adjoined the Lycoritae on Parnassus. Their name, which they maintained after their arrival in Peloponnese, was Dryopes, from their founder. Two generations after Dryops, in the reign of Phylas, the Dryopes were conquered in battle by Heracles and brought as an offering to Apollo at Delphi. When brought to Peloponnese according to the god's instructions to Heracles, they first occupied Asine by Hermion. They were driven thence by the Argives and lived in Messenia. This was the gift of the Lacedaemonians, and when in the course of time the Messenians were restored, they were not driven from their city by the Messenians.

[10] Ἀσινᾶιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν οὕτω λέγουσι: κρατηθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους μάχῃ συγχωροῦσιν ἁλῶναι τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ πόλιν, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὐ φασιν· ἀλλ' ὥς ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, διαβάντες δὲ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον γενέσθαι φασὶν

Εὐρυσθέως ἰκέται, καὶ σφίσιν Εὐρυσθέα ἅτε ἀπεχθανόμενον τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δοῦναι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνην.

[34.10] But the people of Asine give this account of themselves. They admit that they were conquered by Heracles and their city in Parnassus captured, but they deny that they were made prisoners and brought to Apollo. But when the walls were carried by Heracles, they deserted the town and fled to the heights of Parnassus, and afterwards crossed the sea to Peloponnese and appealed to Eurystheus. Being at feud with Heracles, he gave them Asine in the Argolid.

[11] μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρυόπων οἱ Ἀσινᾶιοι σεμνύνονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Εὐβοέων οἱ Στύρα ἔχοντες. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Στυρεῖς Δρύοπες τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅσοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μάχης, ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς οἰκίσεις: ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν Στυρεῖς καλεῖσθαι Δρύοπες ὑπερφρονοῦσι, καθάπερ γε καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ πεφεύγασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι Φωκεῖς, Ἀσινᾶιοι δὲ Δρύοπές τε τὰ μάλιστα χαίρουσι καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ἀγιώτατά εἰσι δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτὲ ἐν Παρνασσῷ σφίσιν ἰδρυμένων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαίων: ἄγουσι καὶ παρὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ τελετὴν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες.

[34.11] The men of Asine are the only members of the race of the Dryopes to pride themselves on the name to this day. The case is very different with the Euboeans of Styra. They too are Dryopes in origin, who took no part in the battle with Heracles, as they dwelt at some distance from the city. Yet the people of Styra disdain the name of Dryopes, just as the Delphians have refused to be called Phocians. But the men of Asine take the greatest pleasure in being called Dryopes, and clearly have made the most holy of their sanctuaries in memory of those which they once had, established on Parnassus. For they have both a temple of Apollo and again a temple and

ancient statue of Dryops, whose mysteries they celebrate every year, saying that he is the son of Apollo.

[12] κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ποτὲ ἐν μοῖρᾳ τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνη· σταδίων δὲ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Κολωνίδων εἰς αὐτὴν ὁδός, τοσαύτη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης πρὸς τὸν Ἀκρίταν καλούμενον. ἀνέχει δὲ εἰς θάλασσαν ὁ Ἀκρίτας, καὶ νῆσος Θηγανουῦσσά ἐστιν ἔρημος πρὸ αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀκρίταν λιμὴν τε Φοινικοῦς καὶ νῆσοι κατ' αὐτὸν Οἰνουῦσαι.

[34.12] The town itself lies on the coast just as the old Asine in Argive territory. It is a journey of forty stades from Colonides to Asine, and of an equal number from Asine to the promontory called Acritas. Acritas projects into the sea and has a deserted island, Theganussa, lying off it. After Acritas is the harbor Phoenicus and the Oenussae islands lying opposite.

MOTHONE

35. Μοθῶνῃ δέ, πρὶν ἢ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς Τροίαν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίου πολέμου καλουμένη Πήδασος, μεταβέβληκεν ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ Μοθωναῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνέως θυγατρὸς· Οἰνεῖ γὰρ τῷ Πορθάονος μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου παρὰ Διομήδην ἀναχωρήσαντι εἰς Πελοπόννησον θυγατέρα φασὶν ἐκ παλλακῆς Μοθῶνῃν γενέσθαι· δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ δέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Μόθων λίθος. οὗτος δὲ σφισι καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὸν λιμένα ἐστί· τὸν τε γὰρ ἔσπλουν στενώτερον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐργάζεται παρήκων ὕφαλος καὶ ἅμα μὴ ἐκ βυθοῦ ταρασσεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα ἔρυμα ἔστηκεν.

[35.1] XXXV. Before the mustering of the army for the Trojan war, and during the war, Mothone was called Pegasus. Later, as the people themselves say, it received a new name from the daughter of Oeneus. They say that Mothone was born of a concubine to Oeneus the son of Porthaon, when he had taken refuge with Diomedes in Peloponnese after the fall of Troy. But in my view it was the rock Mothon that gave the place its name. It is this which forms their harbor. For projecting under water, it makes the entrance for ships more narrow and also serves as a breakwater against a heavy swell.

MOTHONE, HISTORY

[2] ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ὅτι Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ διωχθεῖσι Δαμοκρατίδα βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἀργεὶ Μοθῶνῃν Λακεδαιμόνιοι διδῶσιν καὶ ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων κατελθόντων ἐγένετο οὐδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς νεώτερον· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ναυπλιεῖς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ παλαιότερα, παραγενόμενοι δὲ ὁμοῦ Δαναῷ ναυσὶν εἰς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὕστερον γενεαῖς τρισὶν ὑπὸ Ναυπλίου τοῦ Ἀμυμώνης κατὰκίσθησαν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ.

[35.2] I have shown in earlier passages that, when the Nauplians in the reign of Damocratidas in Argos were expelled for their Laconian sympathies, the Lacedaemonians gave them Mothone, and that no change was made regarding them on the part of the Messenians when they returned. The Nauplians in my view were Egyptians originally, who came by sea with Danaus to the Argolid,

and two generations later were settled in Nauplia by Nauplius the son of Amymone.

[3] Μοθωναίοις δὲ βασιλεὺς μὲν Τραϊανὸς ἔδωκεν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι: τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνοις σφίσι Μεσσηνίων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοιόνδε ἀτύχημα ἰδίᾳ συνέβη γενέσθαι. τὰ ἐν Ἠπειρῷ τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐφθάρη: Δηιδამεῖα γὰρ τῇ Πύρρου παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὥς τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν, ἐπιτρέπει τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα. θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Πύρρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πύρρου:

[35.3] The Emperor Trajan granted civic freedom and autonomy to the people of Mothone. In earlier days they were the only people of Messenia on the coast to suffer a disaster like the following: Thesprotian Epirus was ruined by anarchy. For Deidameia the daughter of Pyrrhus, being without children, handed over the government to the people when she was on the point of death. She was the daughter of Pyrrhus, son of Ptolemy, son of Alexander, son of Pyrrhus.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐδήλωσα, Προκλῆς δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τύχης μὲν χρηστῆς ἔνεκα καὶ διὰ λαμπρότητα ἔργων ἔνεμεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου πλέον, τάξαι δὲ ὀπλίτας τε καὶ ἱππικὸν καὶ στρατηγήματα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας πολεμίους εὐρεῖν Πύρρον ἔφασκεν ἀμείνονα γενέσθαι.

[35.4] I have told the facts relating to Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides in my account of the Athenians. Procles the Carthaginian indeed rated Alexander the son of Philip higher on account of his good fortune and for the brilliance of his achievements, but said that Pyrrhus was the better man in infantry and cavalry tactics and in the invention of stratagems of war.

[5] Ἠπειρῶται δὲ ὥς ἐπαύσαντο βασιλεύεσθαι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὁ δῆμος ὕβριζε καὶ ἀκροᾷσθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπερέωρων: καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰονίου τὴν Ἠπειρον ὑπεροικοῦντες παρεστήσαντο ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς. οὐ γάρ πω δημοκρατίαν ἴσμεν ἄλλους γε ἢ Ἀθηναίους αὐξήσαντας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ προήχθησαν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῆς: συνέσει γὰρ οἰκεία τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπερεβάλλοντο καὶ νόμοις τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν ἐλάχιστα ἠπείθουν.

[35.5] When the Epirots were rid of their kings, the people threw off all control and disdained to listen to their magistrates, and the Illyrians who live on the Ionian sea above Epirus reduced them by a raid. We have yet to hear of a democracy bringing prosperity to a nation other than the Athenians; the Athenians attained to greatness by its means, for they surpassed the Greek world in native wit, and least disregarded the established laws.

[6] οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοί, ἀρχῆς τε γεγευμένοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ πλείονος, ναῦς τε ἐπήξαντο καὶ ἐληίζοντο ἄλλους τε ὥς ἐκάστους τύχοιεν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μοθωναίαν σχόντες ὠρμίσαντο οἷα ἐς φιλίαν: στείλαντες δὲ ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄγειν σφίσιν οἶνον ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐδεήθησαν. ὥς δὲ ἄγοντες ἀφίκοντο

ἄνδρες οὐ πολλοί, τόν τε οἶνον ὠνοῦντο ἐπιτιμώντων τῶν Μοθωναίων καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐπίπρασκον ὧν ἐπήγοντο.

[35.6] Now the Illyrians, having tasted empire and being always desirous of more, built ships, and plundering others whom they fell in with, put in to the coast of Mothone and anchored as in a friendly port. Sending a messenger to the city they asked for wine to be brought to their ships. A few men came with it and they bought the wine at the price which the inhabitants asked, and themselves sold a part of their cargo.

[7] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφικομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλειόνων παρέχουσι καὶ τοῖσδε κερδᾶναι: τέλος δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες κατίασιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα οἶνόν τε ἀποδόσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντιληψόμενοι. ἐνθα νῦν ἀποτολήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ ἔτι πλείονας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρπάζουσιν: ἐσθέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίῳ, Μοθωναίῳ ἐρημώσαντες τὸ ἄστυ.

[35.7] When on the following day a larger number arrived from the town, they allowed them also to make their profit. Finally women and men came down to the ships to sell wine and trade with the barbarians. Thereupon by a bold stroke the Illyrians carried off a number of men and still more of the women. Carrying them on board ship, they set sail for the Ionian sea, having desolated the city of the Mothonaeans.

[8] ἐν Μοθῶνῃ δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμώτιδος: Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ θεῷ φασὶ θέσθαι. βιαίότεροι γὰρ καὶ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν πνέοντες ἐλυμαίνοντο οἱ ἄνεμοι τὴν χώραν: Διομήδους δὲ εὐχασμένου τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου συμφορὰ σφισιν οὐδεμία ἀνέμων γε ἔνεκα ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος δ' ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν φρέατι κεκραμένον πίσσῃ, Κυζικηνῷ μύρῳ μάλιστα ἰδεῖν ἐμφερές: παράσχοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶσαν καὶ χροάν ὕδωρ καὶ ὁσμὴν.

[35.8] In Mothone is a temple of Athena Of the Winds, with a statue dedicated, it is said, by Diomede, who gave the goddess her name. The country being damaged by violent and unseasonable blasts, Diomede prayed to the goddess, and henceforward no disaster caused by the winds has visited their country. There is also a shrine of Artemis here and water in a well mixed with pitch, in appearance very like the iris-oil of Cyzicos. Water can assume every color and scent.

[9] γλαυκότατον μὲν οἶδα ὕδωρ θεασάμενος τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, οὔτι που πᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Χύτρους γυναικείους: ξανθὸν δὲ ὕδωρ, οὐδέν τι ἀποδέον τὴν χροάν αἵματος, Ἑβραίων ἢ γῆ παρέχεται πρὸς Ἰόππῃ πόλει: θαλάσσης μὲν ἐγγυτάτῳ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστί, λόγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν λέγουσιν οἱ ταῦτη, Περσέα ἀνελόντα τὸ κῆτος, ὃ τὴν παῖδα προκεῖσθαι τοῦ Κηφέως, ἐνταῦθα τὸ αἶμα ἀπονίψασθαι.

[35.9] The bluest that I know from personal experience is that at Thermopylae,

not all of it, but that which flows into the swimming-baths, called locally the Women's Pots. Red water, in color like blood, is found in the land of the Hebrews near the city of Joppa. The water is close to the sea, and the account which the natives give of the spring is that Perseus, after destroying the sea-monster, to which the daughter of Cepheus was exposed, washed off the blood in the spring.

[10] ὕδωρ δὲ ἀπὸ πηγῶν ἀνερχόμενον μέλαν ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Ἀστύροις: τὰ δὲ Ἄστουρα ἀπαντικρὺ Λέσβου λουτρά ἐστι θερμὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀταρνεῖ καλουμένῳ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀταρνεὺς ὁ Χίων μισθός, ὃν παρὰ τοῦ Μήδου λαμβάνουσιν ἄνδρα ἐκδόντες ἱκέτην, Πακτύην τὸν Λυδόν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μελαίνεται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν, διαβάντων τὸν Ἄνιον ὀνομαζόμενον ποταμόν, ὕδωρ λευκόν ἐστίν: ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐσβάντι ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ψυχρόν τε πρόσεισι καὶ ἐμποιεῖ φρίκην, ἐπισχόντι δὲ ὀλίγον ἄτε φάρμακον θερμαίνει τὸ πυρωδέστατον.

[35.10] I have myself seen water coming up black from springs at Astyra. Astyra opposite Lesbos is the name of the hot baths in the district called Atarneus. It was this Atarneus, which the Chians received as a reward from the Persians as a reward for surrendering the suppliant, Pactyas the Lydian. This water then has a black color; but the Romans have a white water, above the city across the river called Anio. When a man enters it, he is at first attacked with cold and shivering, but after a little time it warms him like the hottest drug.

[11] καὶ ὅσαις μὲν πηγαῖς θαῦμά τι ἦν καὶ ἰδόντι, τοσαύτας θεασάμενος οἶδα, τὰς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάσσοнос θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος παρήμι: ἄλμυρόν δὲ ὕδωρ καὶ στρυφνὸν οὐ μέγα θαῦμα ἐξευρεῖν. δύο δὲ ἄλλοιαι: τὸ μὲν τῆς Καρίας ἐν πεδίῳ καλουμένῳ Λευκῷ θερμόν ἐστιν ὕδωρ παρὰ κόμην ὀνομαζομένην Δασκύλου, πιεῖν καὶ γάλακτος ἥδιον: τὸν δὲ Ἡρόδοτον οἶδα εἰπόντα ὡς ἐς τὸν ποταμόν τὸν Ὑπανιν ἐκδίδωσιν ὕδατος πικροῦ πηγῇ. πῶς δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀποδεξαίμεθα ἀληθεύειν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον, ὅπου γε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ τῇ Τυρρηνῶν ἐξεύρηται ὕδωρ σφίσι θερμόν οὔτω δὴ τι ὀξὺ ὥστε τὸν μόλυβδον — διεξῆι γὰρ διὰ μόλυβδου ρέον — ἔτεσι κατέτηξεν οὐ πολλοῖς;

[35.11] All these springs that had something wonderful to show I have seen myself. For I pass over the less wonderful that I know, and it is no great marvel to find water that is salt and harsh. But there are two other kinds. The water in the White Plain, as it is called, in Caria, by the village with the name Dascylou Come, is warm and sweeter than milk to drink. I know that Herodotus says that a spring of bitter water flows into the river Hypanis. We can assuredly admit the truth of his statement, when in our days at Dicaearchia (Puteoli), in the land of the Tyrrhenians, a hot spring has been found, so acid that in a few years it dissolved the lead through which its water passed.

PYLOS

36. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης ὁδὸς σταδίων μάλιστα ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὸ

Κορυφάσιον: ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ Πύλος κεῖται. ταύτην ὥκισε Πύλος ὁ Κλήσωνος ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τοὺς ἔχοντας τότε αὐτὴν Λέλεγας· καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐκ ὄνατο ὑπὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθεῖς, ἀποχωρήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁμορον ἔσχεν ἐνταῦθα Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἥλειᾳ. Νηλεὺς δὲ βασιλεύσας ἐς τοσοῦτο προήγαγεν ἀξιώματος τὴν Πύλον ὥς καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἄστν ἐπονομάσαι Νηλήιον.

[36.1] XXXVI. It is a journey of about a hundred stades from Mothone to the promontory of Coryphasium, on which Pylos lies. This was founded by Pylos the son of Cleson, bringing from the Megarid the Leleges who then occupied the country. But he did not enjoy it, as he was driven out by Neleus and the Pelasgians of Iolcos, on which he departed to the adjoining country and there occupied the Pylos in Elis. When Neleus became king, he raised Pylos to such renown that Homer in his epics calls it the city of Neleus.

[2] ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κορυφασίας καὶ οἶκος καλούμενος Νέστορος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ γέγραπται· καὶ μνημα ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐστιν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τῆς Πύλου Θρασυμήδους φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως· βοῦς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰς Νέστορος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Νηλέως φασὶν αὐλίζεσθαι.

[36.2] It contains a sanctuary of Athena with the title Coryphasia, and a house called the house of Nestor, in which there is a painting of him. His tomb is inside the city; the tomb at a little distance from Pylos is said to be the tomb of Thrasymedes. There is a cave inside the town, in which it is said that the cattle belonging to Nestor and to Neleus before him were kept.

[3] εἶη δ' ἂν Θεσσαλικὸν τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τούτων, Ἰφίκλου ποτὲ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλαου πατρός· ταύτας γὰρ δὴ τὰς βοῦς Νηλεὺς ἔδνα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἦται τοὺς μνωμένους, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα ὁ Μελάμπους χαριζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἐδέθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων τοῦ Ἰφίκλου, λαμβάνει δὲ μισθὸν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτῷ δεηθέντι ἐμαντεύσατο. ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ ἄρα οἱ τότε πλοῦτόν τινα συλλέγεσθαι τοιοῦτον, ἵππων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας, εἰ δὴ Νηλεὺς τε γενέσθαι οἱ βοῦς ἐπεθύμησε τὰς Ἰφίκλου καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ βοῶν προσέταξεν Εὐρύσθεὺς ἐλάσαι τῶν Γηρυόνου βοῶν τὴν ἀγέλην.

[36.3] These cattle must have been of Thessalian stock, having once belonged to Iphiclus the father of Protesilaus. Neleus demanded these cattle as bride gifts for his daughter from her suitors, and it was on their account that Melampus went to Thessaly to gratify his brother Bias. He was put in bonds by the herdsmen of Iphiclus, but received them as his reward for the prophecies which he gave to Iphiclus at his request. So it seems the men of those days made it their business to amass wealth of this kind, herds of horses and cattle, if it is the case that Nestor desired to get possession of the cattle of Iphiclus and that Eurystheus, in view of the reputation of the Iberian cattle, ordered Heracles to drive off the herd of Geryones.

[4] φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἔρυξ τότε ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύων δριμὺν οὕτως ἔχων ἐς τὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἔρωτα, ὥστε καὶ ἐπάλαισε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ καταθέμενος τὰς τε βοῦς ταύτας καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι, ὡς Ἰφιδάμας ὁ Ἀντήνορος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἔδνων ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῷ πενθερῷ δοίη. ταῦτα μὲν τὸν λόγον μοι βεβαιοῖ, βουσί τοὺς τότε χαίρειν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπους:

[36.4] Eryx too, who was reigning then in Sicily, plainly had so violent a desire for the cattle from Erytheia that he wrestled with Heracles, staking his kingdom on the match against these cattle. As Homer says in the Iliad, a hundred kine were the first of the bride gifts paid by Iphidamas the son of Antenor to his bride's father. This confirms my argument that the men of those days took the greatest pleasure in cattle.

[5] ἐνέμοντο δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν αἱ τοῦ Νηλέως βοῦς ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ: ὑπόψαμμός τε γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ τῶν Πυλίων χώρα καὶ πόαν βουσὶν οὐχ ἱκανὴ τοσαύτην παρασχέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν μνήμῃ Νέστορος ἐπιλέγων αἰεὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἡμαθόεντος εἶναι Πύλου.

[36.5] But the cattle of Neleus were pastured for the most part across the border, I think. For the country of the Pylians in general is sandy and unable to provide so much grazing. Homer testifies to this, when he mentions Nestor, always adding that he was king of sandy Pylos.

SPHACTERIA ISLE

[6] τοῦ λιμένος δὲ ἡ Σφακτηρία νῆσος προβέβληται, καθάπερ τοῦ ὄρμου τοῦ Δηλίων ἡ Ῥήνεια: εἰκόασι δὲ αἱ ἀνθρώπειαι τύχαι καὶ χωρία τέως ἄγνωστα ἐς δόξαν προῆχθαι. Καφηρέως τε γάρ ἐστιν ὄνομα τοῦ ἐν

Εὐβοίᾳ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιγενομένου χειμῶνος ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου: Ψυττάλειαν τε τὴν ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνι ἴσμεν ἀπολομένων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν Μήδων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων γνῶριμον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Νίκης ἀνέθηκαν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦν ἐς μνήμην τῶν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ.

[36.6] The island of Sphacteria lies in front of the harbor just as Rheneia off the anchorage at Delos. It seems that places hitherto unknown have been raised to fame by the fortunes of men. For Caphereus in Euboea is famous since the storm that here befell the Greeks with Agamemnon on their voyage from Troy. Psyttaleia by Salamis we know from the destruction of the Persians there. In like manner the Lacedaemonian reverse made Sphacteria known to all mankind. The Athenians dedicated a bronze statue of Victory also on the acropolis as a memorial of the events at Sphacteria.

CYPARISSIAE & AULON

[7] ἀφικομένων δὲ ἐς Κυπαρισσιᾶς ἐκ Πύλου σφίσι πηγὴ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει πλησίον θαλάσσης ἐστί: ρυῆναι δὲ Διόνυσῳ τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι θύρῳ πλήξαντι ἐς τὴν

γῆν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Διονυσιάδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κυπαρισσιᾷ ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κυπαρισσίας. ἐν δὲ Αὐλῶνι καλουμένῳ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Αὐλωνίου: κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς ἢ Νέδα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μεσσηνίας ἤδη καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας διέξεισιν.

[36.7] When Cyparissiae is reached from Pylos, there is a spring below the city near the sea, the water of which they say gushed forth for Dionysus when he struck the ground with a thyrsus. For this reason they call the spring Dionysias. There is a shrine of Apollo in Cyparissiae and of Athena with the title Cyparissia. In the depression called Aulon there is a temple and statue of Asclepius Aulonius. Here flows the river Neda, forming the boundary between Messenia and Elis.

BOOK V.

Ἡλιακῶν Α

BOOK V.

ELIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων Πελοποννήσου πέντε εἶναι μοίρας καὶ οὐ πλείονάς φασιν, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς ὁμολογεῖν ὥς ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων οἰκοῦσιν Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, δευτέρα δὲ Ἀχαιῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις αἱ Δωριέων. γένη δὲ οἰκεῖ Πελοπόννησον Ἀρκάδες μὲν αὐτόχθονες καὶ Ἀχαιοί: καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνέστησαν, οὐ μέντοι Πελοποννήσου γε ἐξεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκβαλόντες Ἴωνας νέμονται τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τούτων καλούμενον:

[1.1] I. The Greeks who say that the Peloponnesus has five, and only five, divisions must agree that Arcadia contains both Arcadians and Eleans, that the second division belongs to the Achaeans, and the remaining three to the Dorians. Of the races dwelling in Peloponnesus the Arcadians and Achaeans are aborigines. When the Achaeans were driven from their land by the Dorians, they did not retire from Peloponnesus, but they cast out the Ionians and occupied the land called of old Aegialus, but now called Achaea from these Achaeans. The Arcadians, on the other hand, have from the beginning to the present time continued in possession of their own country.

[2] οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διατελοῦσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς τόδε τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἔχοντες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπηλύδων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ νῦν νεώτατοι Πελοποννησίων εἰσὶ, καὶ σφισιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἦν ἐς ἐμέ: Δρύοιπες δὲ καὶ Δωριεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Παρνασσοῦ, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐς Πελοπόννησόν εἰσιν ἀφιγμένοι.

[1.2] The rest of Peloponnesus belongs to immigrants. The modern Corinthians are the latest inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and from my time to the time when they received their land from the Roman Emperor is two hundred and seventeen years. The Dryopians reached the Peloponnesus from Parnassus, the Dorians from Oeta.

[3] τοὺς Ἠλείους ἴσμεν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος διαβιβηκότας καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης: τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιαύδε εὑρίσκον. βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν Ἀέθλιον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Διὸς τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Ἀεθλίου δὲ Ἐνδυμῖωνα γενέσθαι:

[1.3] The Eleans we know crossed over from Calydon and Aetolia generally. Their earlier history I found to be as follows. The first to rule in this land, they say, was Aethlius, who was the son of Zeus and of Protogeneia, the daughter of Deucalion, and the father of Endymion.

[4] τούτου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος Σελήνην φασὶν ἐρασθῆναι, καὶ ὥς θυγατέρες αὐτῷ γένοιτο ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον τι εἰκότα λέγοντες Ἐνδυμίῳ λαβόντι Ἀστεροδίαν γυναῖκα — οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰτώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος Χρομίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑπερίπτην τὴν Ἀρκάδος — , γενέσθαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειὸν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· καὶ Ἐπειοὶ πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν.

[1.4] The Moon, they say, fell in love with this Endymion and bore him fifty daughters. Others with greater probability say that Endymion took a wife Asterodia – others say she was Cromia, the daughter of Itonus, the son of Amphictyon; others again, Hyperippe, the daughter of Arcas – but all agree that Endymion begat Paeon, Epeius, Aetolus, and also a daughter Eurycyda. Endymion set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the throne; Epeius won, and obtained the kingdom, and his subjects were then named Epeans for the first time.

[5] τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμεῖναι φασιν αὐτοῦ, Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἥσση φυγεῖν ὥς πορρωτάτῳ, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐνδυμίωνος τελευτὴν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλεῶται τε οἱ πρὸς Μιλήτῳ καὶ Ἡλεῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἡλεῖοι μὲν ἀποφαίνουσιν Ἐνδυμίωνος μνήμα, Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ ἐς Λάτμον τὸ ὄρος ἀποχωρῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῷ νέμουσι, καὶ ἄδυτον Ἐνδυμίωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λάτμῳ.

[1.5] Of his brothers they say that Aetolus remained at home, while Paeon, vexed at his defeat, went into the farthest exile possible, and that the region beyond the river Axius was named after him Paeonia. As to the death of Endymion, the people of Heracleia near Miletus do not agree with the Eleans for while the Eleans show a tomb of Endymion, the folk of Heracleia say that he retired to Mount Latmus and give him honor, there being a shrine of Endymion on Latmus.

[6] Ἐπειῷ δὲ γήμαντι Ἀναξιρόην τὴν Κορώνου θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑρμίνα, ἄρσεν δὲ οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ γένος· καὶ τάδε ἄλλα συνέβη κατ' Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύοντα. Οἰνόμαος ὁ Ἀλξίωνος, Ἄρεως δὲ καθὰ ποιηταί τε ἐπεφήμεσαν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, οὗτος δυναστεύων περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν καλουμένην ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς διαβάντος Πέλοπος τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας.

[1.6] Epeius married Anaxiroe, the daughter of Coronus, and begat a daughter Hyrmina, but no male issue. In the reign of Epeius the following events also occurred. Oenomaus was the son of Alxion (though poets proclaimed his father to be Ares, and the common report agrees with them), but while lord of the land of Pisa he was put down by Pelops the Lydian, who crossed over from Asia.

[7] Πέλοψ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Οἰνομάου τὴν τε Πισαίαν ἔσχε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀποτεμώμενος τῆς Ἐπειοῦ χώρας ὅμορον οὖσαν τῇ Πισαίᾳ: Ἑρμοῦ τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναὸν ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ Πέλοπα ἔλεγον οἱ Ἥλαιοι πρῶτον, ἀποτρεπόμενον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Μυρτίλου θανάτῳ μῆνιμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

[1.7] On the death of Oenomaus, Pelops took possession of the land of Pisa and its bordering country Olympia, separating it from the land of Epeius. The Eleans said that Pelops was the first to found a temple of Hermes in Peloponnesus and to sacrifice to the god, his purpose being to avert the wrath of the god for the death of Myrtilus.

[8] Αἰτωλῷ δὲ μετὰ Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύσαντι συνέπεσεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φυγεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀπιδος παῖδες ἐφ' αἵματι ἀκουσίῳ δίκην εἶλον: Ἄπιν γάρ τὸν Ἰάσονος ἐκ Παλλαντίου τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἀπέκτεινεν Αἰτωλὸς ἐπελάσας τὸ ἄρμα τεθέντων ἐπὶ Ἀζᾶνι ἄθλων. ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον οἰκοῦντες ἐκλήθησαν φυγόντος ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἡπειρον, τὴν δὲ Ἐπειὼν ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν Ἥλειος, Εὐρυκύδας τε τῆς Ἐνδυμίωνος καὶ — ὅτῳ πιστὰ — πατρὸς ὦν Ποσειδῶνος: καὶ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ νῦν ἀντὶ Ἐπειῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλειου μεταβεβλήκασιν.

[1.8] Aetolus, who came to the throne after Epeius, was made to flee from Peloponnesus, because the children of Apis tried and convicted him of unintentional homicide. For Apis, the son of Jason, from Pallantium in Arcadia, was run over and killed by the chariot of Aetolus at the games held in honor of Azan. Aetolus, son of Endymion, gave to the dwellers around the Achelous their name, when he fled to this part of the mainland. But the kingdom of the Epeans fell to Eleius, the son of Eurycyda, daughter of Endymion and, believe the tale who will, of Poseidon. It was Eleius who gave the inhabitants their present name of Eleans in place of Epeans.

[9] Ἥλειου δὲ ἦν Αὐγέας: οἱ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, παρατρέψαντες τοῦ Ἥλειου τὸ ὄνομα, Ἥλιου φασὶν Αὐγέαν παῖδα εἶναι. τούτῳ βοῦς τῷ Αὐγέᾳ καὶ αἰπόλια τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῷ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη διατελεῖν ἀργὰ ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς κόπρου: Ἡρακλέα οὖν εἴτε ἐπὶ μοίρᾳ τῆς Ἥλειας εἴτε ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ πείθει οἱ καθῆραι τῆς κόπρου τὴν γῆν.

[1.9] Eleius had a son Augeas. Those who exaggerate his glory give a turn to the name Eleius and make Helius to be the father of Augeas. This Augeas had so many cattle and flocks of goats that actually most of his land remained untilled because of the dung of the animals. Now he persuaded Heracles to cleanse for him the land from dung, either in return for a part of Elis or possibly for some other reward.

[10] καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξεργάσατο ἐκτρέψας τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ ρεῦμα ἐς τὴν κόπρον: Αὐγέας δέ, ὅτι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σοφία πλέον καὶ οὐ σὺν πόνῳ τὸ ἔργον ἦνυστο, αὐτὸς τε ἀποδοῦναι οἱ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπηξίου καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἀρσένων τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φυλέα ἐξέβαλεν ἀντειπόντα ὥς οὐ δίκαια ποιοῖτο

πρὸς ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀμυνόμενος, ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιν στρατεύηται, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἄκτορος καὶ Ἀμαρυγκέα ἐπηγάγετο ἐς φιλίαν:

[1.10] Heracles accomplished this feat too, turning aside the stream of the Menius into the dung. But, because Heracles had accomplished his task by cunning, without toil, Augeas refused to give him his reward, and banished Phyleus, the elder of his two sons, for objecting that he was wronging a man who had been his benefactor. He made preparations himself to resist Heracles, should he attack Elis; more particularly he made friends with the sons of Actor and with Amarynceus. Amarynceus, besides being a good soldier,

[11] ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀμαρυγκεὺς ἄλλως μὲν ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ οἱ πατήρ Πυττίος Θεσσαλὸς τὰ ἄνωθεν ἦν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλειαν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας. Ἀμαρυκεῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐν Ἥλειᾳ μετέδωκεν ὁ Αὐγέας, Ἄκτορι δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ γένος τε ἦν ἐπιχώριον βασιλείας τε μετὴν σφισιν: Ἄκτωρ γὰρ πατὴρ μὲν Φόρβαντος ἦν τοῦ Λαπίθου, μητὴρ δὲ Ὑρμίνης τῆς Ἐπειοῦ, καὶ ὥκισεν ἅπ' αὐτῆς Ἄκτωρ πόλιν Ὑρμίναν ἐν τῇ Ἥλειᾳ.

[1.11] had a father, Pyttius, of Thessalian descent, who came from Thessaly to Elis. To Amarynceus, therefore, Augeas also gave a share in the government of Elis; Actor and his sons had a share in the kingdom and were natives of the country. For the father of Actor was Phorbas, son of Lapithus, and his mother was Hyrmina, daughter of Epeius. Actor named after her the city of Hyrmina, which he founded in Elis.

2. τῷ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγέα πολемоῦντι οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀποδείκνυσθαι λαμπρόν: ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τόλμη καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις τοῦ Ἄκτορος τῶν παίδων ἀκμαζόντων, ἐτρέπετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰεὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐς ὃ Ἰσθμικὰς σπονδὰς Κορινθίων ἐπαγγειλάντων καὶ θεωρῶν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐρχομένων τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ἄκτορος ἀπέκτεινε σφᾶς λοχήσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Κλεωναῖς. ἀφανοὺς δὲ ὄντος τοῦ εἰργασμένου τὸν φόνον μάλιστα ἐποίητο ἡ Μολίνη σπουδὴν τῶν παίδων τὸν αὐτόχειρα ἐξευρεῖν.

[2.1] II. Heracles accomplished no brilliant feat in the war with Augeas. For the sons of Actor were in the prime of courageous manhood, and always put to flight the allies under Heracles, until the Corinthians proclaimed the Isthmian truce, and the sons of Actor came as envoys to the meeting. Heracles set an ambush for them, at Cleonae and murdered them. As the murderer was unknown, Moline, more than any of the other children, devoted herself to detecting him.

[2] ὥς δὲ ἔμαθεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἥλαιοι δίκας τοῦ φόνου παρὰ Ἀργείων ἀπῆτουν: τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἔτυχεν Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκῶν. μὴ διδόντων δὲ σφισι δίκας τῶν Ἀργείων, οἱ δὲ δεῦτερα ἐνέκειντο Κορινθίοις ἐκσπονδὸν τὸ Ἀργολικὸν πᾶν τοῦ ἀγῶνος γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἡμάρτανον καὶ τούτου, Μολίνην θέσθαι φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολίταις κατάρας, ἦν Ἰσθμίων μὴ θέλωσιν εἶργεσθαι. φυλάσσουσι δὲ τῆς Μολίνης καὶ ἐς τὸδε ἔτι τὰς κατάρας, καὶ ὅσοι

τὰ σώματα ἀσκοῦσιν Ἡλείων, οὗ σφισιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν καθέστηκε τὸν Ἰσθμικόν.

[2.2] When she discovered him, the Eleans demanded satisfaction for the crime from the Argives, for at the time Heracles had his home at Tiryns. When the Argives refused them satisfaction, the Eleans as an alternative pressed the Corinthians entirely to exclude the Argive people from the Isthmian games. When they failed in this also, Moline is said to have laid curses on her countrymen, should they refuse to boycott the Isthmian festival. The curses of Moline are respected right down to the present day, and no athlete of Elis is wont to compete in the Isthmian games.

[3] διάφοροι δὲ τῷ εἰρημένῳ δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόγοι. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Κύψελον τὸν τυραννήσαντα Κορινθίων φησὶν ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διὶ χρυσοῦν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, προαποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιγράψαι τὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς Κορινθίους παρὰ Ἡλείων αἰτεῖν δοῦναι σφισιν ἐπιγράψαι δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι, οὐ τυχόντας δὲ ὀργῇ τε ἐς τοὺς Ἡλείους χρῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν σφισιν Ἰσθμίων εἵργεσθαι. πῶς ἂν οὖν Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀγῶνος μετὴν τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, εἰ δὴ ἄκοντάς γε Ἡλείους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσθμίων εἵργον;

[2.3] There are two other accounts, differing from the one that I have given. According to one of them Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, dedicated to Zeus a golden image at Olympia. As Cypselus died before inscribing his own name on the offering, the Corinthians asked of the Eleans leave to inscribe the name of Corinth on it, but were refused. Wroth with the Eleans, they proclaimed that they must keep away from the Isthmian games. But how could the Corinthians themselves take part in the Olympic games if the Eleans against their will were shut out by the Corinthians from the Isthmian games?

[4] ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει τῶν λόγων Προλάῳ παῖδας ἀνδρὶ παρὰ Ἡλείοις δοκίμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσίππῃ Φίλανθον καὶ Λάμπον γενέσθαι: τούτους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων παγκρατιάσοντας ἐν παισί, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν παλαίσοντα, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν, ἀποπνιγῆναι σφᾶς ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διαχρησθῆναι: καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡλείοις, ἣν Ἰσθμίων μὴ ἐκόντες εἵργονται, Λυσίππης ἀρὰς εἶναι. δέικνυται δὲ καὶ ὅδε εὐήθης ὢν ὁ λόγος.

[2.4] The other account is this. Prolaus, a distinguished Elean, had two sons, Philanthus and Lampus, by his wife Lysippe. These two came to the Isthmian games¹ to compete in the boys' pancratium, and one of them intended to wrestle. Before they entered the ring they were strangled or done to death in some other way by their fellow competitors. Hence the curses of Lysippe on the Eleans, should they not voluntarily keep away from the Isthmian games. But this story too proves on examination to be silly.

[5] Τίμωνι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Ἡλείῳ γεγόνασι πεντάθλου νῖκαι τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισιν ἀγώνων, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκὼν ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἐλεγεῖον, στεφάνους τε

ὁπόσους ἀνείλετο ὁ Τίμων λέγον καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰτίαν δι' ἣντινα Ἰσθμικῆς οὐ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ νίκης· καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἐλεγείον·”Σισυφίαν δὲ μολεῖν χθόν’ ἐκώλυνεν ἀνέρα νείκη

ἀμφὶ Μολιονιδᾶν οὐλομένῳ θανάτῳ.

“

τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐξητάσθω:

[2.5] For Timon, a man of Elis, won victories in the pentathlon at the Greek games, and at Olympia there is even a statue of him, with an elegiac inscription giving the crowns he won and also the reason why he secured no Isthmian victory. The inscription sets forth the reason thus:—

But from going to the land of Sisyphus he was hindered by a quarrel
About the baleful death of the Molionids.

If the proposed emendation be adopted the meaning will be: “one to compete in the boys’ pancratium, the other in wrestling.”

3. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶλιν ὕστερον καὶ ἐπόρθησεν Ἥλιν, στρατιὰν παρά τε Ἀργείων καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ Ἀρκάδας· ἤμυναν δὲ καὶ Ἠλείοις οἱ ἐκ Πύλου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ καὶ οἱ Πισαῖοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πισαίους στρατείας αὐτὸν χρησιμὸς ἐπέσχεεν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἔχων οὕτω·”πατρὶ μέλει Πίσσης, Πυθοῦς δέ μοι ἐν γυάλοισι.

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ σωτηρία Πισαίοις τὸ μάντευμα ἐγένετο: Φυλεῖ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τήν τε χώραν ἀνέδωκε τὴν Ἠλείαν καὶ τᾶλλα, αἰδοῖ τοῦ Φυλέως μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως: τὰ τε γὰρ αἰχμάλωτα ἐφίησιν ἔχειν αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐγέα μὴ ὑποσχεῖν δίκην.

[3.1] III. Enough of my discussion of this question. Heracles afterwards took Elis and sacked it, with an army he had raised of Argives, Thebans and Arcadians. The Eleans were aided by the men of Pisa and of Pylus in Elis. The men of Pylus were punished by Heracles, but his expedition against Pisa was stopped by an oracle from Delphi to this effect

My father cares for Pisa, but to me in the hollows of Pytho.

This oracle proved the salvation of Pisa. To Phyleus Heracles gave up the land of Elis and all the rest, more out of respect for Phyleus than because he wanted to do so: he allowed him to keep the prisoners, and Augeas to escape punishment.

[2] τῶν δὲ Ἠλείων αἱ γυναῖκες, ἅτε τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ σφίσιν ἡρημωμένης τῆς χώρας, εὖξασθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ λέγονται κυῆσαι παραυτίκα, ἐπειδὴν μιχθῶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι: καὶ ἥ τε εὐχὴ σφίσιν ἐτελέσθη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπικλησιν Μητρὸς ἰδρύσαντο. ὑπερησθέντες δὲ ἀμφοτέροι τῇ μίζει καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἔνθα συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις πρῶτον, αὐτό τε τὸ χωρίον Βαδὺ ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν ῥέοντα ἐνταῦθα ὕδωρ Βαδὺ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ.

[3.2] The women of Elis, it is said, seeing that their land had been deprived of its vigorous manhood, prayed to Athena that they might conceive at their first union with their husbands. Their prayer was answered, and they set up a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Mother. Both wives and husbands were so delighted at their union that they named the place itself, where they first met, Bady (sweet), and the river that runs thereby Bady Water, this being a word of their native dialect.

[3] Φυλέως δέ, ὥς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι κατεστήσατο, αὐθις ἐς Δουλίχιον ἀποχωρήσαντος, Αὐγέα μὲν τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβε προήκοντα ἐς γῆρας, βασιλείαν δὲ τὴν Ἥλείων Ἀγασθένης ἔσχεν ὁ Αὐγέου καὶ Ἀμφίμαχος τε καὶ Θάλπιος· Ἄκτορος γὰρ τοῖς παισὶν ἀδελφὰς ἐσαγαγομένοις διδύμας ἐς τὸν οἶκον, Δεξαμενοῦ θυγατέρας ἐν Ἰλénéw βασιλεύοντος, τῷ μὲν ἐκ Θηρονίκης Ἀμφίμαχος, Εὐρύτῳ δὲ ἐκ Θηραιφόνης ἐγγεγόνει Θάλπιος.

[3.3] When Phyleus had returned to Dulichium after organizing the affairs of Elis, Augeas died at an advanced age, and the kingdom of Elis devolved on Agasthenes, the son of Augeas, and on Amphimachus and Thalpius. For the sons of Actor married twin sisters, the daughters of Dexamenus who was king at Olenus; Amphimachus was born to one son and Theronice, Thalpius to her sister Theraephone and Eurytus.

[4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀμαρυγκεὺς οὔτε αὐτὸς διέμεινεν ἰδιωτεύων οὔτε Διώρης ὁ Ἀμαρυγκέως. ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος παρεδήλωσεν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἥλείων, τὸν μὲν σύμπαντα αὐτῶν στόλον ποιήσας τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι νεῶν, τούτων δὲ τὰς ἡμισείας ὑπὸ Ἀμφιμάχῳ τετάχθαι καὶ Θαλπίῳ, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ εἴκοσι δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ Διώρην τὸν Ἀμαρυγκέως ἡγεῖσθαι, τσαύταις δὲ ἐτέραις Πολύξενον τὸν Ἀγασθένους. Πολύξένῳ δὲ ἀνασωθέντι ἐκ Τροίας ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀμφίμαχος — τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ παιδί ἔθετο ὁ Πολύξενος κατὰ φιλίαν ἔμοι δοκεῖν πρὸς Ἀμφίμαχον τὸν Κτεάτου τελευτήσαντα ἐν Ἰλίῳ — , Ἀμφιμάχου δὲ Ἥλειος:

[3.4] However, neither Amarynceus himself nor his son Diores remained common people. Incidentally this is shown by Homer in his list of the Eleans; he makes their whole fleet to consist of forty ships, half of them under the command of Amphimachus and Thalpius, and of the remaining twenty he puts ten under Diores, the son of Amarynceus, and ten under Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes. Polyxenus came back safe from Troy and begat a son, Amphimachus. This name I think Polyxenus gave his son because of his friendship with Amphimachus, the son of Cteatus, who died at Troy.

[5] καὶ ἐπὶ Ἥλείῳ βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἥλιδι, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Δωριέων στόλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστομάχου παισὶν ἡθροίζετο ἐπὶ καθόδῳ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον. γίνεται δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν λόγιον τόδε, ἡγεμόνα τῆς καθόδου ποιεῖσθαι τὸν τριόφθαλμον. ἀποροῦσι δὲ σφισιν ὅ τι ὁ χρησμὸς ἐθέλοι συνέντευχεν ἐλαύνων ἀνὴρ ἡμίονον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος διέφθαρτο τῷ ἡμίονῳ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν:

[3.5] Amphimachus begat Eleius, and it was while Eleius was king in Elis that

the assembly of the Dorian army under the sons of Aristomachus took place, with a view to returning to the Peloponnesus. To their kings was delivered this oracle, that they were to choose the “one with three eyes” to lead them on their return. When they were at a loss as to the meaning of the oracle, they were met by a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye.

[6] Κρεσφόντου δὲ συμφρονήσαντος ὥς ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔχοι τὸ μάντευμα, οὕτως ᾤκειώσαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Δωριεῖς. ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιέναι μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πειρᾶσθαι. ταῦτά τε δὴ παρήγγεσε καὶ ἅμα τὸν ἐς Μολύκριον ἐκ Ναυπάκτου πλοῦν καθηγήσατο αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου δεηθέντι τὴν Ἥλειαν γῆν συνέθεντο αὐτῷ δῶσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἦν Ὀξύλος Αἰμόνος τοῦ Θόαντος· Θόας δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὃς καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρέως παισὶν ἀρχὴν συγκαθεῖλε τὴν Πριάμου, γενεαὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Θόαντος ἀνήκουσιν ἕξ ἐς Αἰτωλὸν τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνος.

[3.6] Cresphontes inferred that this was the man indicated by the oracle, and so the Dorians made him one of themselves. He urged them to descend upon the Peloponnesus in ships, and not to attempt to go across the Isthmus with a land army. Such was his advice, and at the same time he led them on the voyage from Naupactus to Molycrium. In return they agreed to give him at his request the land of Elis. The man was Oxylus, son of Haemon, the son of Thoas. This was the Thoas who helped the sons of Atreus to destroy the empire of Priam, and from Thoas to Aetolus the son of Endymion are six generations.

[7] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι συγγενεῖς καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ἀδελφαὶ Θόαντι τῷ Ἀνδραίμονος καὶ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἦσαν αἱ μητέρες. συνεπεπτῶκει δὲ τῷ Ὀξύλῳ φυγαδί ἐξ Αἰτωλίας εἶναι· δισκεύοντα γάρ φασιν ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι φόνον ἀκούσιον, τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δίσκου τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ὀξύλου Θέρμιον, οἱ δὲ Ἀλκιδόκον τὸν Σκοπίου.

[3.7] There were ties of kindred between the Heracleidae and the kings of Aetolia; in particular the mothers of Thoas, the son of Andraemon, and of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, were sisters.

It fell to the lot of Oxylus to be an outlaw from Aetolia. The story goes that as he was throwing the quoit he missed the mark and committed unintentional homicide. The man killed by the quoit, according to one account, was Thermius, the brother of Oxylus; according to another it was Alcidocus, the son of Scopius.

4. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀξύλῳ τοιόνδε, ὥς τοὺς παῖδας ὑποπτεύσειε τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, μὴ τὴν Ἥλειαν τε ἰδόντες ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν καὶ ἐξεργασμένην διὰ πάσης οὐκ ἐθελήσωσιν ἔτι αὐτῷ διδόναι τὴν γῆν, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα διὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς Ἥλειας τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἡγήσατο. Ὀξύλῳ δὲ σπεύσαντι ἁμαχεῖ λαβεῖν τὴν Ἥλειαν ἀρχὴν Δῖος οὐκ εἶκε, πρόκλησιν δὲ ἐποιεῖτο μὴ σφᾶς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ διακινδυνεῦσαι, προκριθῆναι δὲ ἀφ' ἐκατέρων στρατιώτην ἓνα ἐς τὴν μάχην:

[4.1] IV. The following story is also told of Oxylus. He suspected that, when the sons of Aristomachus saw that the land of Elis was a goodly one, and cultivated throughout, they would be no longer willing to give it to him. He accordingly led the Dorians through Arcadia and not through Elis. Oxylus was anxious to get the kingdom of Elis without a battle, but Dius would not give way; he proposed that, instead of their fighting a pitched battle with all their forces, a single soldier should be chosen from each army to fight as its champion.

[2] καὶ πῶς συνήρесе ταῦτα ἀμφοτέροις, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔργον προταχθέντες Δέγμενός τε Ἥλειος ἦν τοξότης καὶ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Πυραίχμης σφενδόνην δεδιδαγμένος. κρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυραίχμου τὴν τε βασιλείαν ἔσχεν Ὁξύλος καὶ Ἐπειοὺς τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶασεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν μένειν, συνοίκους δὲ σφισι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῶ τῆς χώρας ἐπεισήγαγε. καὶ Δίῳ τε ἀπένειμε γέρα καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐφύλαξε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ Αὐγέα τὰ ἐς τὸν ἐναγισμὸν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ καθεστηκότα.

[4.2] This proposal chanced to find favour with both sides, and the champions chosen were the Elean Degmenus, an archer, and Pyraechmes, a slinger, to represent the Aetolians. Pyraechmes won and Oxylus got the kingdom. He allowed the old inhabitants, the Epeans, to keep their possessions, except that he introduced among them Aetolian colonists, giving them a share in the land. He assigned privileges to Dius, and kept up after the ancient manner the honors paid to heroes, especially the worship of Augeas, to whom even at the present day hero-sacrifice is offered.

[3] λέγεται δὲ ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ὅσοι τοῦ τείχους οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστήκεσαν, κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων καὶ μείζονα καὶ εὐδαιμονεστέραν ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἥλιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμός, τὸν Πελοπίδην ἐπάγεσθαι συνοικιστήν: Ὁξύλος δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῇ καὶ ἀναζητῶν εὗρεν Ἀγώριον τὸν Δαμασίου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐξ Ἑλικῆς τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀγωρίῳ μοῖραν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάγετο οὐ πολλήν.

[4.3] He is also said to have induced to come into the city the dwellers in the villages near the wall, and by increasing the number of the inhabitants to have made Elis larger and generally more prosperous. There also came to him an oracle from Delphi, that he should bring in as co-founder "the descendant of Pelops." Oxylus made diligent search, and in his search he discovered Agorius, son of Damasius, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes. He brought Agorius himself from Helice in Achaia, and with him a small body of Achaeans.

[4] τῷ δὲ Ὁξύλῳ Πιερίαν μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ ὄνομα εἶναι λέγουσι, πέρα δὲ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μνημονεύουσιν. Ὁξύλου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδάς φασιν Αἰτωλὸν καὶ Λαῖαν: προαποθανόντος δὲ Αἰτωλοῦ θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ γονεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ

ποιησάμενοι τῇ πύλῃ τὸ μνημα, ἥτις ἐπ' Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄγει τοῦ Διός: ἔθασαν δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτω κατὰ μαντεῖαν, ὥς μήτε ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως μήτε ἐντὸς γένοιτο ὁ νεκρός. ἐναγίζει δὲ ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τῷ Αἰτωλῷ.

[4.4] The wife of Oxylus they say was called Pieria, but beyond this nothing more about her is recorded. Oxylus is said to have had two sons, Aetolus and Laias. Aetolus died before his parents, who buried him in a tomb which they caused to be made right in the gate leading to Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus. That they buried him thus was due to an oracle forbidding the corpse to be laid either without the city or within it. Right down to our own day the gymnasiarch sacrifices to Aetolus as to a hero every year.

ELIS, HISTORY

[5] μετὰ δὲ Ὀξυλον Λαΐας ἔσχεν ὁ Ὀξύλου τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντας εὔρισκον, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιστάμενος ὁμῶς παρήμι: οὐ γάρ τί μοι καταβῆναι τὸν λόγον ἠθέλησα ἐς ἄνδρας ιδιώτας. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἴφιτος, γένος μὲν ὦν ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου, ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν γράψαντα Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους, τὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πανηγυρίν τε Ὀλυμπικὴν αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν κατεστήσατο, ἐκλιπόντα ἐπὶ χρόνον ὁπόσος δὴ οὗτος ἦν: αἰτίαν δὲ δι' ἣντινα ἐξέλιπε τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω.

[4.5] After Oxylus the kingdom devolved on Laias, son of Oxylus. His descendants, however, I find did not reign, and so I pass them by, though I know who they were; my narrative must not descend to men of common rank. Later on Iphitus, of the line of Oxylus and contemporary with Lycurgus, who drew up the code of laws for the Lacedaemonians, arranged the games at Olympia and reestablished afresh the Olympic festival and truce, after an interruption of uncertain length. The reason for this interruption I will set forth when my narrative deals with Olympia.

[6] τῷ δὲ Ἰφίτῳ, φθειρομένης τότε δὴ μάλιστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίων στάσεων καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους, ἐπῆλθεν αἰτῆσαι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν λύσιν τῶν κακῶν: καὶ οἱ προσταχθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὥς αὐτόν τε Ἴφιτον δέοι καὶ Ἥλειους τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεώσασθαι. ἔπεισε δὲ Ἥλειους Ἴφιτος καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν, τὸ πρὸ τούτου πολέμιόν σφισιν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι νομίζοντας. τὸν δὲ Ἴφιτον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησὶν Αἴμονος παῖδα εἶναι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ Πραξωνίδου καὶ οὐχ Αἴμονος εἶναί φασι: τὰ δὲ Ἥλειων γράμματα ἀρχαῖα ἐς πατέρα ὁμώνυμον ἀνῆγε τὸν Ἴφιτον.

[4.6] At this time Greece was grievously worn by internal strife and plague, and it occurred to Iphitus to ask the god at Delphi for deliverance from these evils. The story goes that the Pythian priestess ordained that Iphitus himself and the Eleans must renew the Olympic games. Iphitus also induced the Eleans to sacrifice to Heracles as to a god, whom hitherto they had looked upon as their enemy. The inscription at Olympia calls Iphitus the son of Haemon, but most

of the Greeks say that his father was Praxonides and not Haemon, while the ancient records of Elis traced him to a father of the same name.

[7] Ἡλείοις δὲ μέτεστι μὲν πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιῳ, μέτεστι δὲ καὶ ἔργων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μήδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔφοδον. ὑπερβάντων δὲ ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο κίνδυνοι πρὸς Πισαίους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, συνεσέβαλον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκουσίως ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων, συνέστησαν δὲ μετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους Μαντινεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργείοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν.

[4.7] The Eleans played their part in the Trojan war, and also in the battles of the Persian invasion of Greece. I pass over their struggles with the Pisans and Arcadians for the management of the Olympian games. Against their will they joined the Lacedaemonians in their invasion of Athenian territory, and shortly afterwards they rose up with the Mantineans and Argives against the Lacedaemonians, inducing Athens too to join the alliance.

[8] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄγιδος ἐπιστρατείαν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν τὴν Ξενίου μάχῃ μὲν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν νικῶσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ τροπὴν ἐργασάμενοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου σφᾶς ἐξήλασαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπαύθη σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἃς ἐγὼ πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδήλωσα.

[4.8] When Agis invaded the land, and Xenias turned traitor, the Eleans won a battle near Olympia, routed the Lacedaemonians and drove them out of the sacred enclosure; but shortly afterwards the war was concluded by the treaty I have already spoken of in my account of the Lacedaemonians.

[9] Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου οὐκ ἐθέλοντος ἀποσχεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἡλεῖοι στάσει κακωθέντες ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, μαχεσθῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐναντία ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ: τῆς δὲ ἐφόδου Φιλίππῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετέσχον κατὰ ἔχθος ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόσι καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπολέμησαν.

[4.9] When Philip the son of Amyntas would not let Greece alone, the Eleans, weakened by civil strife, joined the Macedonian alliance, but they could not bring themselves to fight against the Greeks at Chaeroneia. They joined Philip's attack on the Lacedaemonians because of their old hatred of that people, but on the death of Alexander they fought on the side of the Greeks against Antipater and the Macedonians.

5. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀριστότιμος ὁ Δαμαρέτου τοῦ Ἐτύμονος τυραννίδα ἔσχεν ἐν Ἡλείᾳ, συμπαρασκευάσαντος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ: τὸν δὲ Ἀριστότιμον μῆνας τυραννήσαντα ἔξ καταλύουσιν ἐπαναστάντες Χίλων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Λάμπις τε καὶ Κύλων, οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτοχειρία τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ

Κύλων ἐπὶ Διὸς Σωτῆρος βωμὸν καταφυγόντα ἰκέτην.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς πόλεμον τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχεν Ἥλαιοις, ὥς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπαριθμῆσαι μετρίως:

[5.1] V. Later on Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, the son of Etymon, became despot of Elis, being aided in his attempt by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, who was king in Macedonia. After a despotism of six months Aristotimus was deposed, a rising against him having been organized by Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis and Cylon; Cylon it was who with his own hand killed the despot when he had sought sanctuary at the altar of Zeus the Saviour. Such were the wars of the Eleans, of which my present enumeration must serve as a summary.

[2] θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἥλειᾳ τὴν τε βύσσον, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐντὸς τῆς χώρας αἱ ἵπποι σφίσιν ἐκύσκον ἐκ τῶν ὄνων. καὶ τούτου μὲν κατάραν τινὰ ἐλέγετο γενέσθαι τὸ αἷτιον: ἡ δὲ βύσσος ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἥλειᾳ λεπτότητος μὲν ἕνεκα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ τῆς Ἑβραίων, ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ξανθή.

[5.2] The land of Elis contains two marvels. Here, and here only in Greece, does fine flax grow; and secondly, only over the border, and not within it, can the mares be impregnated by asses. The cause of this is said to have been a curse. The fine flax of Elis is as fine as that of the Hebrews, but it is not so yellow.

LEPREUS

[3] ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥλειας χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθῆκον, ὃ ὀνομάζεται μὲν Σαμικόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἢ τε Τριφυλία καλουμένη καὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ Λέπρεος. ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἥλειων κατήκοοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες: καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκησαν, Ἥλειους ἐκ Λεπρέου σφᾶς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐποίησεν ὡς Λέπρεος εἴη πόλισμα Ἥλειων. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Λέπρεον ἀπὸ μὲν Σαμικοῦ τὸν Ἀνιγρον ποταμὸν ἀφέντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἐτέρα δὲ ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας, τρίτη δὲ ἐξ Ἥλιδος: ἡμερήσιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ μακροτάτη.

[5.3] As you go from Elis there is a district stretching down to the sea. It is called Samicum, and above it on the right is what is called Triphylia, in which is the city Lepreus. The citizens of this city wish to belong to the Arcadians, but it is plain that from the beginning they have been subject to the Eleans. Such of them as have won Olympic victories have been announced by the herald as Eleans from Lepreus, and Aristophanes in a comedy calls Lepreus a town of the Eleans. Leaving the river Anigrus on the left there is a road leading to Lepreus; from Samicum another leads to it from Olympia and a third from Elis. The longest of them is a day's journey.

[4] τεθῆναι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Λεπρέου τοῦ Πυργέως. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὡς πρὸς Ἡρακλέα ἐρίσειεν ὁ Λεπρέος μὴ ἀποδεῖν

τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐσθίων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκάτερος βοῦν αὐτῶν ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ καιρῷ κατέσφαξε καὶ εὐτρέπισεν ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ καὶ ὑφίστατο ὁ Λεπρέος φαγεῖν οὐκ ἀδυνατώτερος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐτόλμησε τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο προσκαλέσασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅπλων αὐτόν. καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε Λεπρέον κρατηθέντα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φιγαλέων ταφῇναι λέγουσιν· οὐ μὴν εἶχόν γε οἱ Φιγαλεῖς ἀποφῆναι Λεπρέου μνῆμα.

[5.4] The city got its name, they say, from its founder Lepreus the son of Pyrgeus. There was also a story that Lepreus contended with Heracles: that he was as good a trencherman. Each killed an ox at the same time and prepared it for the table. It turned out, even as Lepreus maintained, that he was as powerful a trencherman as Heracles. Afterwards he made bold to challenge him to a duel. Lepreus, they say, lost, was killed, and was buried in the land of Phigaleia. The Phigalians, however, could not show a tomb of Lepreus.

[5] ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα θυγατρὶ τοῦ Πυργέως Λεπρέα προσποιούντων τὸν οἰκισμόν· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πρῶτον οἰκήσασιν ἐν τῇ γῇ νόσον φασὶν ἐπιγενέσθαι λέπραν καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὄνομα λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῇ συμφορᾷ. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεῖται σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ναὸν καὶ Λυκούργου τάφον τοῦ Ἀλέου καὶ ἄλλον Καύκωνος· τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἄνδρα ἐπεῖναι λύραν ἔχοντα.

[5.5] I have heard some who maintained that Lepreus was founded by Leprea, the daughter of Pyrgeus. Others say that the first dwellers in the land were afflicted with the disease leprosy, and that the city received its name from the misfortune of the inhabitants. The Lepreans told me that in their city once was a temple of Zeus Leucaeus (Of the White Poplar), the grave of Lycurgus, son of Aleus, and the grave of Caucon, over which was the figure of a man holding a lyre.

[6] κατὰ δὲ ἐμὲ οὔτε μνῆμα ἐπίσημον οὔτε ἱερὸν ἦν θεῶν σφισιν οὐδενὸς πλήν γε Δήμητρος· πλίνθου δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεποίητο ὠμῆς καὶ οὐδὲν παρείχετο ἄγαλμα. Λεπρεατῶν δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως Ἀρήνη καλουμένη πηγή, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφαρέως γυναικὸς τεθῆναι λέγουσι τῇ πηγῇ.

[5.6] But as far as I could see they had no tomb of distinction, and no sanctuary of any deity save one of Demeter. Even this was built of unburnt brick, and contained no image. Not far from the city of the Lepreans is a spring called Arene, and they say that it derives its name from the wife of Aphareus.

THE RIVERS ANIGRUS & ACIDAS

[7] ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμικὸν καὶ διοδεύοντι τὸ χωρίον, Ἀνίγρος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν. τούτου τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις ἀνείργουσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι βίαιοι πνέοντες· φοροῦντες γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν τὴν θίνα ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπέχουσι τοῦ πρόσω τὸ ὕδωρ. ὁπότε οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡ ψάμμος ὑπὸ τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβροχος γένοιτο, ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζυγίσι καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐζώνῳ καταδύναι

κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐς αὐτήν.

[5.7] Returning again to Samicum, and passing through the district, we reach the mouth of the Anigrus. The current of this river is often held back by violent gales, which carry the sand from the open sea against it and stop the onward flow of the water. So whenever the sand has become soaked on both sides, by the sea without and by the river within, beasts and still more travellers on foot are in danger of sinking into it.

[8] ὁ δὲ Ἄνιγρος οὗτος ἐξ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μὲν κάτεισιν ὄρους Λαπίθου, παρέχεται δὲ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ὕδωρ οὐκ εὐώδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσοσμον δεινῶς. πρὶν δὲ ἢ καταδέξασθαι τὸν Ἀκίδα, καλούμενον δηλὸς ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τρέφων ἰχθύς· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐσβαλόντα ὅσοι τῶν ἰχθύων ὁμοῦ τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ κατίασιν ἐς τὸν Ἄνιγρον, οὐ σφᾶς ἔτι ἐδωδίμους ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὰ πρότερα, ἢν ἐντὸς ἀλῶσι τοῦ Ἀκίδατος, ἐδωδίμους ὄντας.

[5.8] The Anigrus descends from the mountain Lapithus in Arcadia, and right from its source its water does not smell sweet but actually stinks horribly. Before it receives the tributary Acidas it plainly cannot support fish-life at all. After the rivers unite, the fish that come down into the Anigrus with the water are uneatable, though before, if they are caught in the Acidas, they are eatable.

[9] ὅτι δὲ τῷ Ἀκίδατι ὄνομα Ἰάρδανος ἦν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδαμῶθεν συνεβαλόμην, ἀκούσας δὲ ἀνδρὸς Ἐφεσίου λέγω τὸν λόγον. τῷ δὲ Ἀνίγρῳ τὸ ἄτοπον εἶναι τῆς ὁσμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πείθομαι δι' ἧς ἄνεισι τὸ ὕδωρ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίας ἐστὶν ὕδασι τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτιον, ὁπόσων ἢ ἀτμὶς ὀλέθριος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ.

[5.9] I heard from an Ephesian that the Acidas was called Iardanus in ancient times. I repeat his statement, though I have nowhere found evidence in support of it. I am convinced that the peculiar odor of the Anigrus is due to the earth through which the water springs up, just as those rivers beyond Ionia, the exhalation from which is deadly to man, owe their peculiarity to the same cause. Some Greeks say that Chiron,

[10] Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ μὲν Χίρωνα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλον Κένταυρον Πυλῆνορα τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ φυγόντα τραυματίαν φασὶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἀπολοῦσαι τούτῳ τὸ ἔλκος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕδρας τοῦ ἰοῦ γενέσθαι δυσχερῇ τῷ Ἀνίγρῳ τὴν ὁσμὴν· οἱ δὲ ἐς Μελάμποδα τὸν Ἀμυθάου καὶ ἐς τῶν Προΐτου θυγατέρων τὰ καθάρσια ἐμβληθέντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνάγουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ παθήματος.

[5.10] others that Pylenor, another Centaur, when shot by Heracles fled wounded to this river and washed his hurt in it, and that it was the hydra's poison which gave the Anigrus its nasty smell. Others again attribute the quality of the river to Melampus the son of Amythaon, who threw into it the means he used to purify the daughters of Proetus.

[11] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Σαμικῷ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καλούμενον

Ἀνιγρίδων νυμφῶν. ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ἀλφὸν ἢ λεύκην ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσέλθῃ, πρῶτα μὲν ταῖς νύμφαις εὖξασθαι καθέστηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι θυσίαν ὅποιαν δὴ τινα, μετὰ δὲ ἀποσμήχει τὰ νοσοῦντα τοῦ σώματος· διανηξάμενος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ὄνειδος μὲν ἐκεῖνο κατέλειπεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ, ὃ δὲ ὑγίης τε ἄνεισι καὶ ὁμόχρως.

[5.11] There is in Samicum a cave not far from the river, and called the Cave of the Anigris Nymphs. Whoever enters it suffering from alphas or leuka first has to pray to the nymphs and to promise some sacrifice or other, after which he wipes the unhealthy parts of his body. Then, swimming through the river, he leaves his old uncleanness in its water, coming up sound and of one color.

SAMIA & ARENE

6. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθείαν διαβάντι τὸν Ἄνιγρον καὶ ἰόντι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἔστιν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον τε ὑψηλὸν καὶ πόλις Σαμία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Σαμικοῦ. ταύτῃ τῇ Σαμικῷ

Πολυσπέρχοντά φασιν ἄνδρα Αἰτωλὸν ἐπιτειχίσματι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας χρήσασθαι.

[6.1] VI. Crossing the Anigrus and going to Olympia by the straight road, not far away on the right of the road you reach a high district with a city called Samia on it. This they say Polysperchon the Aetolian used as a fortified post against the Arcadians.

[2] τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια τὰ Ἀρήνης σαφῶς μὲν οὔτε Μεσσηνίων εἶχεν οὐδείς οὔτε Ἠλείων ἀποφῆναί μοι· διάφορα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα πάρεστι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάζειν, πιθανώτατα δὲ ἐφαίνοντό μοι λέγειν οἱ τὸ Σαμικὸν τὰ παλαιότερα ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων Ἀρήνην καλεῖσθαι νομίζοντες. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἔπη τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔλεγον· “ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήιος εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης.

“Hom. II 11.722-3

[6.2] As to the ruins of Arene, no Messenian and no Elean could point them out to me with certainty. Those who care to do so may make all sorts of different guesses about it, but the most plausible account seemed to me that of those who held that in the heroic age and even earlier Samicum was called Arene. These quoted too the words of the Iliad:—

There is a river Minyeius flowing into the sea near Arene. Hom. II. 11.722-3

[3] τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια ταῦτα πλησιαιτάτα ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀνίγρου. καὶ Ἀρήνην μὲν ἀμφισβητοῖς ἂν μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ Σαμικόν, τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ Ἀνίγρῳ Μινυήιον τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὡμολογήκασιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ὅρον δὲ Ἠλείους πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν τῆς Νέδας τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ γενέσθαι τις πείθοιτο ἂν ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδῳ.

[6.3] These ruins are very near to the Anigrus; and, although it might be

questioned whether Samicum was called Arene, yet the Arcadians are agreed that of old the Anigrus was called the Minyeius. One might well hold that the Neda near the sea was made the boundary between Elis and Messenia at the time of the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus.

SCILLUS & THE RIVER SELINUS

[4] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀνιγρον ὁδεύσαντι ἐπὶ μακρότερον διὰ χωρίου τὰ πλείονα ὑποψάμμου καὶ ἔχοντος δένδρα πίτυς ἀγρίας, ὀπίσω ἐς ἀριστερὰ Σκιλλοῦντος ὄψει ἐρείπια. τῶν μὲν δὴ πόλεων ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ καὶ Σκιλλοῦς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἑλείους ἐπίκουροί τε Πισαίων οἱ Σκιλλοῦνται καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Ἑλείοις ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἑλεῖοι τούτων ἕνεκα ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους.

[6.4] After the Anigrus, if you travel for a considerable distance through a district that is generally sandy and grows wild pines, you will see behind you on the left the ruins of Scillus. It was one of the cities of Triphylia but in the war between Pisa and Elis the citizens of Scillus openly helped Pisa against her enemy, and for this reason the Eleans utterly destroyed it.

[5] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὕστερον Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποτερόμενοι τῆς Ἑλείας Ξενοφῶντι ἔδοσαν τῷ Γρύλῳ, φυγάδι ἤδη γεγονότι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. ἐδιώχθη δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὥς ἐπὶ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν σφίσιν εὖνουν ὄντα στρατείας μετασχὼν Κύρῳ πολεμιωτάτῳ τοῦ δήμου· καθήμενος γὰρ ἐν Σάρδεσιν ὁ Κύρος Λυσάνδρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκρίτῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρήματα ἀνήλπισκεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Ξενοφῶντι ἐγένετο φυγή, κατοικήσας δὲ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τέμενός τε καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὠκοδομήσατο Ἐφεσία.

[6.5] The Lacedaemonians afterwards separated Scillus from Elis and gave it to Xenophon, the son of Grylus, when he had been exiled from Athens. The reason for his banishment was that he had taken part in an expedition which Cyrus, the greatest enemy of the Athenian people, had organized against their friend, the Persian king. Cyrus, in fact, with his seat at Sardis, had been providing Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and the Lacedaemonians with money for their fleet. Xenophon, accordingly, was banished and having made Scillus his home he built in honor of Ephesian Artemis a temple with a sanctuary and a sacred enclosure.

[6] παρέχεται δὲ ὁ Σκιλλοῦς καὶ ἄγρας θηρίων, ὧν τε ἀγρίων καὶ ἐλάφων· καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκιλλοῦντιαν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς διέξεισιν. οἱ δὲ Ἑλείων ἐξηγηταὶ κομίσασθαι τε αἴθις Σκιλλοῦντα Ἑλείους ἔλεγον, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ὅτι ἔλαβε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν γῆν, κριθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ βουλῇ, τυχόντα δὲ παρὰ Ἑλείων συγγνώμης ἀδεῶς ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι οἰκῆσαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ μνημῆα τε ἐδείκνυτο καὶ τῆς Πεντελῆσιν ἐστὶ λιθοτομίας εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ξενοφῶντος λέγουσιν οἱ προσοικούντες.

[6.6] Scillus is also a hunting-ground for wild boars and deer, and the land is

crossed by a river called the Selinus. The guides of Elis said that the Eleans recovered Scillus again, and that Xenophon was tried by the Olympic Council for accepting the land from the Lacedaemonians, and, obtaining pardon from the Eleans, dwelt securely in Scillus. Moreover, at a little distance from the sanctuary was shown a tomb, and upon the grave is a statue of marble from the Pentelic quarry. The neighbors say that it is the tomb of Xenophon.

MT TYPAEUM

[7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδόν, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἔστιν ὄρος ἐκ Σκιλλοῦντος ἐρχομένῳ πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς ἀπότομον: ὀνομάζεται δὲ Τυπαῖον τὸ ὄρος. κατὰ τοῦτου τὰς γυναῖκας Ἡλείοις ἐστὶν ὠθεῖν νόμος, ἣν φωραθῶσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθοῦσαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἢ καὶ ὅλως ἐν ταῖς ἀπειρημέναις σφίσιν ἡμέραις διαβᾶσαι τὸν Ἀλφειόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀλῶναι λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν, ὅτι μὴ Καλλιπάτειραν μόνην: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην Φερενίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιπάτειραν καλοῦσιν.

[6.7] As you go from Scillus along the road to Olympia, before you cross the Alpheiuss, there is a mountain with high, precipitous cliffs. It is called Mount Typaeum. It is a law of Elis to cast down it any women who are caught present at the Olympic games, or even on the other side of the Alpheiuss, on the days prohibited to women. However, they say that no woman has been caught, except Callipateira only; some, however, give the lady the name of Pherenice and not Callipateira.

[8] αὕτη προαποθανόντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐξεικάσασα αὐτὴν τὰ πάντα ἀνδρὶ γυμναστῇ, ἥγαγεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν υἱὸν μαχοῦμενον: νικῶντος δὲ τοῦ Πεισιρόδου, τὸ ἔρυμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμναστὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπειλημένους, τοῦτο ὑπερπηδῶσα ἡ Καλλιπάτειρα ἐγυμνώθη. φωραθείσης δὲ ὅτι εἴη γυνή, ταύτην ἀφιᾶσιν ἀζήμιον καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ παιδί αἰδῶ νέμοντες — ὑπῆρχον δὲ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι — , ἐποίησαν δὲ νόμον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνασταῖς γυμνοὺς σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσέρχεσθαι.

[6.8] She, being a widow, disguised herself exactly like a gymnastic trainer, and brought her son to compete at Olympia. Peisirodus, for so her son was called, was victorious, and Callipateira, as she was jumping over the enclosure in which they keep the trainers shut up, bared her person. So her sex was discovered, but they let her go unpunished out of respect for her father, her brothers and her son, all of whom had been victorious at Olympia. But a law was passed that for the future trainers should strip before entering the arena.

THE RIVER ALPHEIUS

7. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνταῦθα ἤδη τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ πλήθει τε πολὺ ἰδόντι καὶ ἥδιστον, ἅτε ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίῳ ἐπτα ἐς αὐτὸν ρέοντων. διὰ Μεγάλης μὲν γε πόλεως Ἑλισσῶν ἐρχόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Βρενθεάτης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν γῆς, παρὰ δὲ Γόρτυναν ἔνθα ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα Γορτύνιος ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ

Μελαινεῶν Βουφάγος τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος μεταξύ καὶ Ἡραϊτίδος χώρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κλειτορίων Λάδων, ἐκ δὲ Ἐρυμάνθου τοῦ ὄρους ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει. οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας κατίασιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Κλάδεος δὲ ἐρχόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας συμμίσγει οἱ τὸ ρεῦμα: αὐτῷ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων τῷ Ἀλφειῷ καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαί.

[7.1] VII. By the time you reach Olympia the Alpheius is a large and very pleasant river to see, being fed by several tributaries, including seven very important ones. The Helisson joins the Alpheius passing through Megalopolis; the Brentheates comes out of the territory of that city; past Gortyna, where is a sanctuary of Asclepius, flows the Gortynius; from Melaeneae, between the territories of Megalopolis and Heraea, comes the Buphagus; from the land of the Clitorians the Ladon; from Mount Erymanthus a stream with the same name as the mountain. These come down into the Alpheius from Arcadia; the Cladeus comes from Elis to join it. The source of the Alpheius itself is in Arcadia, and not in Elis.

[2] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὥς ἀνὴρ εἶη θηρευτής, ἐρασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀρεθούσης, κυνηγετεῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν μὲν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένην γήμασθαι περαιωθῆναί φασιν ἐς νῆσον τὴν κατὰ Συρακούσας, καλουμένην δὲ Ὀρτυγίαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι πηγὴν: συμβῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀλφειῷ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν.

[7.2] There is another legend about the Alpheius. They say that there was a hunter called Alpheius, who fell in love with Arethusa, who was herself a huntress. Arethusa, unwilling to marry, crossed, they say, to the island opposite Syracuse called Ortygia, and there turned from a woman to a spring. Alpheius too was changed by his love into the river.

[3] ταῦτα μὲν λόγου τοῦ ἐς Ἀλφειὸν †ἐς τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν †: τὸ δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰόντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνακοινοῦσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀπιστήσω, τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστάμενος τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁμολογοῦντά σφισιν, ὃς Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐς τὸν Συρακουσῶν ἀποστέλλων οἰκισμὸν καὶ τάδε εἶπε τὰ ἔπη:”Ὀρτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἡεροειδέϊ πόντῳ,

Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἣν Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει.

μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν ἑυρρείτης Ἀρεθούσης.

“κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ὅτι τῇ Ἀρεθούσῃ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ μίσγεται, καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τὴν φήμην τῷ ποταμῷ πείθομαι γενέσθαι.

[7.3] This account of Alpheius . . . to Ortygia. But that the Alpheius passes through the sea and mingles his waters with the spring at this place I cannot disbelieve, as I know that the god at Delphi confirms the story. For when he despatched Archias the Corinthian to found Syracuse he uttered this oracle:

An isle, Ortygia, lies on the misty ocean

Over against Trinacria, where the mouth of Alpheius bubbles

Mingling with the springs of broad Arethusa.

For this reason, therefore, because the water of the Alpheius mingles with the Arethusa, I am convinced that the legend arose of the river's love-affair.

[4] ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Αἰγυπτίων ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Συήνης καὶ ἐς Μερὸν Αἰθιόπων πόλιν ἀναβέβηκασι, λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐσιόντα ἐς λίμνην καὶ δι' αὐτῆς διεξιόντα ὥσπερ ἐκ χέρσου, μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη δι' Αἰθιοπίας τῆς κάτω καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ρέυσαντα ἐπὶ Φάρον καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν κατέρχεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ ποταμὸν τῇ Ἑβραίων Ἰάρδανον καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδα λίμνην Τιβεριάδα ὀνομαζομένην διοδεύοντα, ἐς δὲ λίμνην ἐτέραν καλουμένην θάλασσαν Νεκράν, ἐς ταύτην ἐσιόντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης αὐτὸν ἀναλούμενον.

[7.4] Those Greeks or Egyptians who have gone up into Ethiopia beyond Syene as far as the Ethiopian city of Meroe all say that the Nile enters a lake, and passes through it as though it were dry land, and that after this it flows through lower Aethiopia into Egypt before coming down into the sea at Pharos. And in the land of the Hebrews, as I can myself bear witness, the river Jordan passes through a lake called Tiberias, and then, entering another lake called the Dead Sea, it disappears in it.

[5] ἡ δὲ θάλασσα ἡ Νεκρὰ πάσχει παντὶ ὕδατι ἄλλω τὰ ἐναντία: ἐν ἧ γε τὰ μὲν ζῶντα πέφυκεν οὐ νηρόμενα ἐποχεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ θνήσκοντα ἐς βυθὸν χωρεῖν. ταύτη ἄκαρπος καὶ ἰχθύων ἡ λίμνη: ἅτε ἀπὸ τοῦ φανερωτάτου κινδύνου ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναφεύγουσιν ὀπίσω τὸ οἰκεῖον. τῷ δὲ Ἀλφειῷ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει καὶ ὕδωρ ἄλλο ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ: τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος πηγὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει, διεξελθὼν δὲ θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ ἄνεισιν αὐθις κατὰ Βραγχίδας πρὸς λιμένι ὀνομαζομένῳ Πανόρμῳ.

[7.5] The Dead Sea has the opposite qualities to those of any other water. Living creatures float in it naturally without swimming; dying creatures sink to the bottom. Hence the lake is barren of fish; their danger stares them in the face, and they flee back to the water which is their native element. The peculiarity of the Alpheius is shared by a river of Ionia. The source of it is on Mount Mycale, and having gone through the intervening sea the river rises again opposite Branchidae at the harbor called Panormus.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον: ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν λέγουσιν Ἠλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες Κρόνον τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ σχεῖν βασιλείαν πρῶτον καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ποιηθῆναι Κρόνῳ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ὀνομάζοντο χρυσοῦν γένος: Διὸς δὲ τεχθέντος ἐπιτρέψαι Ῥεᾶν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν φρουρὰν τοῖς Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις, καλουμένοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ Κούρησιν: ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἰδης τῆς Κρητικῆς, πρὸς Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ Ἐπιμήδην καὶ Ἰάσιόν τε καὶ Ἰδαν:

[7.6] These things then are as I have described them. As for the Olympic games,

the most learned antiquaries of Elis say that Cronus was the first king of heaven, and that in his honor a temple was built in Olympia by the men of that age, who were named the Golden Race. When Zeus was born, Rhea entrusted the guardianship of her son to the Dactyls of Ida, who are the same as those called Curetes. They came from Cretan Ida – Heracles, Paeonaeus, Epimedes, Iasius and Idas.

[7] τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα παίζοντα — εἶναι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν πρεσβύτατον ἡλικία — συμβαλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐς ἄμιλλαν δρόμου καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα ἐξ αὐτῶν κλάδῳ στεφανῶσαι κοτίνου· παρεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς πολὺν δὴ τι οὕτω τὸν κότινον ὥς τὰ χλωρὰ ἔτι τῶν φύλλων ὑπεστρωσθαι σφᾶς καθεύδοντας. κομισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ὑπερβορέων γῆς τὸν κότινόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς Ἑλλάδα, εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνεμον οἰκοῦσι τὸν Βορέαν.

[7.7] Heracles, being the eldest, matched his brothers, as a game, in a running-race, and crowned the winner with a branch of wild olive, of which they had such a copious supply that they slept on heaps of its leaves while still green. It is said to have been introduced into Greece by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans, men living beyond the home of the North Wind.

[8] πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιίαν ἐποίησεν Ὡλήν Λύκιος ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαιίαν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων τούτων· ἔπειτα δὲ ὦδῃν Μελάνωπος Κυμαῖος ἐς Ὀπιν καὶ Ἑκαέργην ἦσεν, ὥς ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καὶ αὐτὰι πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Ἀχαιίας ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐς Δῆλον:

[7.8] Olen the Lycian, in his hymn to Achaeia, was the first to say that from these Hyperboreans Achaeia came to Delos. When Melanopus of Cyme composed an ode to Opis and Hecaege declaring that these, even before Achaeia, came to Delos from the Hyperboreans.

[9] Ἀριστεάς δὲ γὰρ ὁ Προκοννήσιος — μνήμην γὰρ ἐποίησατο Ὑπερβορέων καὶ οὗτος — τάχα τι καὶ πλεον περὶ αὐτῶν πεπυσμένος ἂν εἶη παρὰ Ἰσσηδόνων, ἐς οὓς ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. Ἡρακλεῖ οὖν πρόσεστι τῷ Ἰδαίῳ δόξα τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι πρώτῳ καὶ Ὀλύμπια ὄνομα θέσθαι: διὰ πέμπτου οὖν ἔτους αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο ἄγεσθαι, ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἦσαν ἀριθμόν.

[7.9] And Aristaeas of Proconnesus – for he too made mention of the Hyperboreans – may perhaps have learnt even more about them from the Issedones, to whom he says in his poem that he came. Heracles of Ida, therefore, has the reputation of being the first to have held, on the occasion I mentioned, the games, and to have called them Olympic. So he established the custom of holding them every fifth year, because he and his brothers were five in number.

[10] Δία δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα παλαῖσαι καὶ αὐτῷ Κρόνῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ κατειργασμένῳ ἀγωνοθετῆσαι φασιν αὐτόν: νικήσαι δὲ ἄλλοι τε λέγονται καὶ ὅτι Ἀπόλλων παραδράμοι μὲν ἐρίζοντα Ἑρμῇ, κρατῆσαι δὲ Ἄρεως πυγμῇ.

τούτου δὲ ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ αὐλήμα τὸ Πυθικόν φασι τῷ πηδήματι ἐπεισαχθῆναι τῶν πεντάθλων, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ αὐλήμα ὄν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἀνηρημένον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας.

[7.10] Now some say that Zeus wrestled here with Cronus himself for the throne, while others say that he held the games in honor of his victory over Cronus. The record of victors include Apollo, who outran Hermes and beat Ares at boxing. It is for this reason, they say, that the Pythian flute-song is played while the competitors in the pentathlum are jumping; for the flute-song is sacred to Apollo, and Apollo won Olympic victories.

8. τούτων δὲ ὕστερον Κλύμενον τὸν Κάρδους, πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἐπομβρίαν ἐλθόντα ἐκ Κρήτης, γένος ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὄντα τοῦ Ἰδαίου, τὸν τε ἀγῶνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεῖναι καὶ Κούρησι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ προγόνῳ λέγουσιν ιδρύσασθαι βωμόν, Παραστάτην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ θέμενον. Ἐνδυμίων δὲ ὁ Ἀεθλίου Κλύμενόν τε ἔπαυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δρόμου τοῖς υἱοῖς ἄθλα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔθηκε.

[8.1] VIII. Later on there came (they say) from Crete Clymenus, the son of Cardys, about fifty years after the flood came upon the Greeks in the time of Deucalion. He was descended from Heracles of Ida; he held the games at Olympia and set up an altar in honor of Heracles, his ancestor, and the other Curetes, giving to Heracles the surname of Parastates (Assistant). And Endymion, the son of Aethlius, deposed Clymenus, and set his sons a race in Olympia with the kingdom as the prize.

[2] Πέλοψ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ μάλιστα μετὰ Ἐνδυμώνα τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἐποίησεν ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Πέλοπος δὲ τῶν παίδων σκεδασθέντων ἐξ Ἥλιδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, Ἀμυθάων ὁ Κρηθέως Ἐνδυμίονι ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός — εἶναι γάρ φασι καὶ Ἀέθλιον Αἰόλου, Διὸς δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν —, ἔθηκεν ὁ Ἀμυθάων τὰ Ὀλύμπια, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Πελίας τε καὶ Νηλεὺς ἐν κοινῷ.

[8.2] And about a generation later than Endymion, Pelops held the games in honor of Olympian Zeus in a more splendid manner than any of his predecessors. When the sons of Pelops were scattered from Elis over all the rest of Peloponnesus, Amythaon, the son of Cretheus, and cousin of Endymion on his father's side (for they say that Aethlius too was the son of Aeolus, though supposed to be a son of Zeus), held the Olympian games, and after him Pelias and Neleus in common.

[3] ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Αὐγέας καὶ Ἡρακλεῖς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐλὼν Ἥλιν: ὁπόσους δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν οὗτος νικῶντας, ἔστιν Ἰόλαος ταῖς Ἡρακλέους δραμῶν ἵπποις. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστηκὸς ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ἀλλοτρίαις ἵπποις: Ὅμηρος γοῦν ἐν ἄθλοις τεθεῖσιν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ πεποίηκεν ὥς Μενέλαος Αἴθῃ τῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ χρήσαιτο τῶν ἵππων οἰκείῳ.

[8.3] Augeas too held them, and likewise Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, after the conquest of Elis. The victors crowned by Heracles include Iolaus, who won with the mares of Heracles. So of old a competitor was permitted to compete with mares which were not his own. Homer, at any rate, in the games held in honor of Patroclus, has told how Menelaus drove a pair of which one was Aetha, a mare of Agamemnon, while the other was his own horse.

[4] ἡνιόχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Ἴολαος Ἡρακλεῖ τὰς ἵππους· αὐτός τε οὖν ἄρματι καὶ Ἰάσιος ἀνὴρ Ἀρκὰς κέλητος ἐνίκησεν ἵππου δρόμῳ, Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὁ μὲν δρόμῳ, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυκτεύων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς πάλης τε ἀνέλοιτο καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας.

[8.4] Moreover, Iolaus used to be charioteer to Heracles. So Iolaus won the chariot-race, and Iasius, an Arcadian, the horse-race; while of the sons of Tyndareus one won the foot-race and Polydeuces the boxing-match. Of Heracles himself it is said that he won victories at wrestling and the pancratium.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES, HISTORY

[5] μετὰ δὲ Ὅξυλον — διέθηκε γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Ὅξυλος — , μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα ἐξέλιπεν ἄχρι Ἰφίτου τὰ Ὀλύμπια. Ἰφίτου δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεωσαμένου κατὰ τὰ ἤδη μοι λελεγμένα, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔτι ὑπῆρχε τῶν ἀρχαίων λήθη: καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἤρχοντο αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁπότε τι ἀναμνησθεῖεν, ἐποιοῦντο τῷ ἀγῶνι προσθήκην.

[8.5] After the reign of Oxylyus, who also celebrated the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued until the reign of Iphitus. When Iphitus, as I have already related, renewed the games, men had by this time forgotten the ancient tradition, the memory of which revived bit by bit, and as it revived they made additions to the games.

[6] δῆλον δέ: ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμας ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστί, δρόμου μὲν ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον, καὶ Ἥλεις Κόροιβος ἐνίκα: εἰκὼν μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ Κοροίβου, τάφος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασιν τῆς Ἠλείας. Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ὕστερον τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτῃ προσετέθη σφίσι διάυλος: Ὑπηνος δὲ ἀνὴρ Πισαῖος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ τῷ διαύλῳ τὸν κότινον, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δολίχῳ Ἄκανθος Λακεδαιμόνιος.

[8.6] This I can prove; for when the unbroken tradition of the Olympiads began there was first the foot-race, and Coroebus an Elean was victor. There is no statue of Coroebus at Olympia, but his grave is on the borders of Elis. Afterwards, at the fourteenth Festival, the double foot-race was added: Hypenus of Pisa won the prize of wild olive in the double race, and at the next Festival Acanthus of Lacedaemon won in the long course.

[7] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ δεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάθλου καὶ πάλης ἀφίκοντο ἐς μνήμην: καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λάμπιδι ὑπῆρξεν, Εὐρυβάτῳ δὲ ἡ νίκη τῆς πάλης, Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τούτοις. τρίτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῆς ἄθλα

ἀπέδοσαν: Ὀνόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελούσης ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἴωνα. πέμπτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι κατεδέξαντο ἵππων τελείων δρόμον, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη Θηβαῖος Παγώνδας κρατῶν ἄρματι.

[8.7] At the eighteenth Festival they remembered the pentathlum and wrestling. Lampis won the first and Eurybatus the second, these also being Lacedaemonians. At the twenty-third Festival they restored the prizes for boxing, and the victor was Onomastus of Smyrna, which already was a part of Ionia. At the twenty-fifth they recognized the race of full-grown horses, and Pagondas of Thebes was proclaimed “victor in the chariot-race.”

[8] ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐδέξαντο παγκρατιαστὴν τε ἄνδρα καὶ ἵππον κέλῃτα: ἵππος μὲν δὴ Κρανωνίου Κραυξίδα παρέφθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον ὁ Λύγδαμις κατειργάσατο Συρακούσιος. τοῦτω πρὸς ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἐστὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις μνήμα: εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Θηβαίῳ μέγεθος παρισούτο ὁ Λύγδαμις, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἐστί.

[8.8] At the eighth Festival after this they admitted the pancratium for men and the horse-race. The horse-race was won by Crauxidas of Crannon, and Lygdamis of Syracuse overcame all who entered for the pancratium. Lygdamis has his tomb near the quarries at Syracuse, and according to the Syracusans he was as big as Heracles of Thebes, though I cannot vouch for the statement.

[9] τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐς μὲν τῶν παλαιότερων οὐδεμίαν ἤκει μνήμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀρέσαν σφίσι κατεστήσαντο Ἥλειοι. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παισὶν ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς

Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ Ἱπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλιν, Πολυνείκης δὲ τὸν δρόμον ἐνίκησεν Ἥλειος. πρώτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἐσεκάλεσαν παῖδας, καὶ περιῆν τῶν ἐσελθόντων Συβαρίτης Φιλύτας.

[8.9] The contests for boys have no authority in old tradition, but were established by the Eleans themselves because they approved of them. The prizes for running and wrestling open to boys were instituted at the thirty-seventh Festival; Hipposthenes of Lacedaemon won the prize for wrestling, and that for running was won by Polyneices of Elis. At the forty-first Festival they introduced boxing for boys, and the winner out of those who entered for it was Philytas of Sybaris.

[10] τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος ἐδοκιμάσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς, μελέτης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς τὰ πολεμικά: τοὺς δὲ δραμόντας ἀσπίσιν ὁμοῦ πρῶτος Δαμάρετος ἐκράτησεν Ἡραιεύς. δρόμος δὲ δύο ἵππων τελείων συνωρίς κληθεῖσα τρίτῃ μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτέθη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνενήκοντα, Εὐαγόρας δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἥλειος. ἐνάτῃ δὲ ἤρσεεν Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ πῶλων ἄρμασιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι: Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ Συβαριάδης τὸν στέφανον τῶν πῶλων ἔσχε τοῦ ἄρματος.

[8.10] The race for men in armour was approved at the sixty-fifth Festival, to provide, I suppose, military training; the first winner of the race with shields was Damaretus of Heraea. The race for two full-grown horses, called synoris (chariot and pair), was instituted at the ninety-third Festival, and the winner was Evagoras of Elis. At the ninety-ninth Festival they resolved to hold contests for chariots drawn by foals, and Sybaryades of Lacedaemon won the garland with his chariot and foals.

[11] προσέθεσαν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνωρίδα πώλων καὶ πῶλον κέλῃτα: ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῇ συνωρίδι Βελιστίχην ἐκ Μακεδονίας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ γυναικα, Τληπόλεμον δὲ Λύκιον ἀναγορευθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κέλῃτι, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ τριακοστῆς τε καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς δὲ Βελιστίχης τὴν συνωρίδα Ὀλυμπιάδι πρὸ ταύτης τρίτη. πέμπτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄθλα ἐτέθη παγκρατίου παισὶ, καὶ ἐνίκα Φαίδιμος Αἰολεὺς ἐκ πόλεως Τρωάδος.

[8.11] Afterwards they added races for chariots and pairs of foals, and for single foals with rider. It is said that the victors proclaimed were: for the chariot and pair, Belistichē, a woman from the seaboard of Macedonia; for the ridden race, Tlepolemus of Lycia. Tlepolemus, they say, won at the hundred and thirty-first Festival, and Belistichē at the third before this. At the hundred and forty-fifth Festival prizes were offered for boys in the pancratium, the victory falling to Phaëdimus, an Aeolian from the city Troas.

9. κατελύθη δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἀγωνίσματα, μεταδόξαν μηκέτι ἄγειν αὐτὰ Ἥλαιοις. πένταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν κότινον Εὐτελίδα

Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἄρεστὰ Ἥλαιοις ἦν πεντάθλους ἐσέρχεσθαι παῖδας. τῆς δὲ ἀπῆνης καὶ κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, τὸν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδι νομισθέντα ἐβδομηκοστῇ, τὸν δὲ τῆς κάλπης τῇ ἑφεξῆς ταύτῃ, κήρυγμα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐποιήσαντο ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς μήτε κάλπης τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε ἀπῆνης ἔσεσθαι δρόμον. ὅτε δὲ ἐτέθη πρῶτον, Θερσίου μὲν ἀπῆνη Θεσσαλοῦ, Παταίκου δὲ Ἀχαιοῦ τῶν ἐκ Δύμης ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη.

[9.1] IX. Certain contests, too, have been dropped at Olympia, the Eleans resolving to discontinue them. The pentathlum for boys was instituted at the thirty-eighth Festival; but after Eutelidas of Lacedaemon had received the wild olive for it, the Eleans disapproved of boys entering for this competition. The races for mule-carts, and the trotting-race, were instituted respectively at the seventieth Festival and the seventy-first, but were both abolished by proclamation at the eighty-fourth. When they were first instituted, Thersius of Thessaly won the race for mule-carts, while Pataecus, an Achæan from Dyme, won the trotting-race.

[2] ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον οἱ ἀναβάται ταῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλινῶν, καθὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἀναβάται καλούμενοι: διάφορα δὲ τοῖς ἀναβάταις ἐς τῆς κάλπης τὸν

δρόμον τά τε σημειᾷ ἐστί καὶ ἄρσενές σφισιν ὄντες οἱ ἵπποι. ἀπήνη δὲ οὔτε τῷ ἀνευρήματι οὐδὲν ἀρχαῖον οὔτε εὐπρέπεια αὐτῇ προσῆν, ἐπάρατόν τε Ἥλείοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ ζῶον: ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἀπήνη κατὰ τὴν συνωρίδα ἡμιόνους ἀντὶ ἵππων ἔχουσα.

[9.2] The trotting-race was for mares, and in the last part of the course the riders jumped off and ran beside the mares, holding on to the bridle, just as at the present day those do who are called “mounters.” The mounters, however, differ from the riders in the trotting-race by having different badges, and by riding horses instead of mares. The cart-race was neither of venerable antiquity nor yet a graceful performance. Moreover, each cart was drawn by a pair of mules, not horses, and there is an ancient curse on the Eleans if this animal is even born in Elis.

[3] ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, ὥς θύεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα πεντάθλου μὲν καὶ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων ὕστερα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρότερα ἀγωνισμάτων, οὗτος κατέστη σφίσιν ὁ κόσμος Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐβδόμη πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα: τὰ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἦγον τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἵππων ἀγῶνα. τότε δὲ προήχθησαν ἐς νύκτα οἱ παγκρατιάζοντες ἅτε οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐσκληθέντες, αἵτιοι δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ τε ἵπποι καὶ ἐς πλέον ἔτι ἢ τῶν πεντάθλων ἄμιλλα: καὶ ἐκράτει μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας τοὺς παγκρατιάσαντας, ἐμπόδιον δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλε παγκρατίῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ πένταθλον οὐδὲ οἱ ἵπποι γενήσεσθαι.

[9.3] The order of the games in our own day, which places the sacrifices to the god for the pentathlum and chariot-races second, and those for the other competitions first, was fixed at the seventy-seventh Festival. Previously the contests for men and for horses were held on the same day. But at the Festival I mentioned the pancratiasts prolonged their contests till night-fall, because they were not summoned to the arena soon enough. The cause of the delay was partly the chariot-race, but still more the pentathlum. Callias of Athens was champion of the pancratiasts on this occasion, but never afterwards was the pancratium to be interfered with by the pentathlum or the chariots.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἃ καθεστηκότα ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἴφίτος μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς μόνος, καὶ μετὰ Ἴφίτον ἐτίθεσαν ὡσαύτως οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου: πεντηκοστῇ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀνδράσι δύο ἐξ ἀπάντων λαχοῦσιν Ἥλείων ἐπετρέπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου διέμεινε τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν δύο.

[9.4] The rules for the presidents of the games are not the same now as they were at the first institution of the festival. Iphitus acted as sole president, as likewise did the descendants of Oxylus after Iphitus. But at the fiftieth Festival two men, appointed by lot from all the Eleans, were entrusted with the management of the Olympic games, and for a long time after this the number of the presidents continued to be two.

[5] πέμπτη δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ ἐννέα ἑλλανοδίκας κατέστησαν: τρισὶ μὲν δὴ ἐπετέτραπτο ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ δρόμος τῶν ἵππων, τοσοῦτοις δὲ ἐτέροις ἐπόπταις εἶναι τοῦ πεντάθλου, τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοις τὰ λοιπὰ ἔμελε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων. δευτέρα δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Ὀλυμπιάδι προσετέθη καὶ ὁ δέκατος ἀθλοθέτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς φυλαί τε Ἡλείοις δώδεκα καὶ εἷς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἐγένετο Ἑλλανοδίκης.

[9.5] But at the ninety-fifth Festival nine umpires were appointed. To three of them were entrusted the chariot-races, another three were to supervise the pentathlon, the rest superintended the remaining contests. At the second Festival after this the tenth umpire was added. At the hundred and third Festival, the Eleans having twelve tribes, one umpire was chosen from each.

[6] πιεσθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων πολέμῳ μοῖραν τε ἀπέβαλον τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν δήμων ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἀποτμηθείσῃ χώρᾳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐς ὀκτώ τε ἀριθμὸν φυλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνεστάλησαν Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς καὶ Ἑλλανοδίκαι σφίσιν ἴσοι ταῖς φυλαῖς ἡρέθησαν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπανῆλθον αὐθις ἐς ἀνδρῶν δέκα ἀριθμὸν, καὶ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου διαμεμένηκεν ἐς ἡμᾶς.

[9.6] But they were hard pressed in a war with the Arcadians and lost a portion of their territory, along with all the parishes included in the surrendered district, and so the number of tribes was reduced to eight in the hundred and fourth Olympiad. Thereupon were chosen umpires equal in number to the tribes. At the hundred and eighth Festival they returned again to the number of ten umpires, which has continued unchanged down to the present day.

THE TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS

10. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν Ἑλληνισι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι θαύματος ἄξια: μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἑλευσῖνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγωνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος.

τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς παραποιήσαντες τὸ ὄνομα Ἄλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι: καὶ δὴ καὶ Πινδάρῳ ποιήσαντι ἐς ἄνδρα Ὀλυμπιονίκην ἄσμα Ἄλτις ἐπωνόμασται τὸ χωρίον.

[10.1] X. Many are the sights to be seen in Greece, and many are the wonders to be heard; but on nothing does Heaven bestow more care than on the Eleusinian rites and the Olympic games.

The sacred grove of Zeus has been called from of old Altis, a corruption of the word “alsos,” which means a grove. Pindar too calls the place Altis in an ode composed for an Olympic victor.

[2] ἐποιήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἠνίκα Πίσαν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ὅσον τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθεῖλον. Φειδίαν δὲ τὸν ἐργασάμενον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γεγραμμένον τοῖς ποσίν: “Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς

Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε.

“τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ Δώριος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐργασία, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς περιστυλός ἐστι:

[10.2] The temple and the image were made for Zeus from spoils, when Pisa was crushed in war by the Eleans, and with Pisa such of the subject peoples as conspired together with her. The image itself was wrought by Pheidias, as is testified by an inscription written under the feet of Zeus:—

Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian, made me.

The temple is in the Doric style, and the outside has columns all around it. It is built of native stone.

[3] πεποιήται δὲ ἐπιχωρίου πόρου. ὕψος μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἀετὸν ἀνήκον, εἰσὶν οἱ ὀκτὼ πόδες καὶ ἐξήκοντα, εὖρος δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐννέκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐς μῆκος τριάκοντά τε καὶ διακόσιοι: τέκτων δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Λίβων ἐπιχώριος. κέραμος δὲ οὐ γῆς ὀπτῆς ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ κεράμου τρόπον λίθος ὁ Πεντελῆσιν εἰργασμένος: τὸ δὲ εὖρημα ἀνδρὸς Ναξίου λέγουσιν εἶναι Βύζου, οὗ φασιν ἐν Νάξῳ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι “Νάξιος Εὐεργός με γένει Λητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεω

παῖς, ὃς πρόωιστος τεῦξε λίθου κέραμον.

“ἡλικίαν δὲ ὁ Βύζης οὗτος κατὰ Ἀλυάττην ἦν τὸν Λυδὸν καὶ Ἀστυάγην τὸν Κυαζάρου βασιλεύοντα ἐν Μήδοις.

[10.3] Its height up to the pediment is sixty-eight feet, its breadth is ninety-five, its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native. The tiles are not of baked earth, but of Pentelic marble cut into the shape of tiles. The invention is said to be that of Byzes of Naxos, who they say made the images in Naxos on which is the inscription:—

To the offspring of Leto was I dedicated by Euergus,
A Naxian, son of Byzes, who first made tiles of stone.

This Byzes lived about the time of Alyattes the Lydian, when Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, reigned over the Medes.

[4] ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ λέβης ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἐκάστῳ τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι ἐπίκειται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἔστηκε τὸν ἀετὸν, ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὕτη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἀγαλμα ἀσπίς ἀνάκειται χρυσεῇ, Μέδουσαν τὴν Γοργόνα ἔχουσα ἐπειργασμένην. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τοὺς τε ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ καὶ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀνέθεσαν: λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω:”ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσεάν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας

τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν

δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων,

τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ.

“ταύτης τῆς μάχης μνήμην καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐποισάμην συγγραφῇ, τὰ

Ἀθήνησιν ἐπεξίων μνήματα.

[10.4] At Olympia a gilt caldron stands on each end of the roof, and a Victory, also gilt, is set in about the middle of the pediment. Under the image of Victory has been dedicated a golden shield, with Medusa the Gorgon in relief. The inscription on the shield declares who dedicated it and the reason why they did so. It runs thus:—

The temple has a golden shield; from Tanagra
The Lacedaemonians and their allies dedicated it,
A gift taken from the Argives, Athenians and Ionians,
The tithe offered for victory in war.

This battle I also mentioned in my history of Attica, Then I described the tombs that are at Athens.

[5] τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κιόνων περιθεούσης ζώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι μία καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμόν, ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων Μομμίου κρατήσαντος Ἀχαιῶν πολέμῳ καὶ Κόρινθόν τε ἐλόντος καὶ Κορινθίους τοὺς Δωριέας ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους.

[10.5] On the outside of the frieze that runs round the temple at Olympia, above the columns, are gilt shields one and twenty in number, an offering made by the Roman general Mummius when he had conquered the Achaeans in war, captured Corinth, and driven out its Dorian inhabitants.

[6] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰτοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἢ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἄμιλλα ἔτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν αἰτόν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἀτλαντος: Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἄρμα, κάθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων, οἱ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀριθμόν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο: ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου.

[10.6] To come to the pediments: in the front pediment there is, not yet begun, the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaus, and preparation for the actual race is being made by both. An image of Zeus has been carved in about the middle of the pediment; on the right of Zeus is Oenomaus with a helmet on his head, and by him Sterope his wife, who was one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus too, the charioteer of Oenomaus, sits in front of the horses, which are four in number. After him are two men. They have no names, but they too must be under orders from Oenomaus to attend to the horses.

[7] πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατάκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Αλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἴπποδάμεια καὶ ὃ τε ἡνίοχός ἐστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἵπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ αἰτὸς κάτεισιν

ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροϊζηνίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὃ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἔφασκεν ὃ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κίλλαν εἶναι.

[10.7] At the very edge lies Cladeus, the river which, in other ways also, the Eleans honor most after the Alpheius. On the left from Zeus are Pelops, Hippodameia, the charioteer of Pelops, horses, and two men, who are apparently grooms of Pelops. Then the pediment narrows again, and in this part of it is represented the Alpheius. The name of the charioteer of Pelops is, according to the account of the Troezenians, Sphaerus, but the guide at Olympia called him Cillas.

[8] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶ Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θρακίας, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν Ἀλκαμένους, ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Λαπιθῶν ἐν τῷ Πειρίθου γάμῳ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἢ μάχῃ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀετοῦ τὸ μέσον Πειρίθους ἐστίν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν Εὐρυτίῳ ἡρπакὼς τὴν γυναῖκα ἐστὶ τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ ἀμύνων Καينهὺς τῷ Πειρίθῳ, τῇ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους· Κένταυρος δὲ ὁ μὲν παρθένον, ὃ δὲ παῖδα ἡρπакὼς ἐστὶν ὥραϊον. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλκαμένης, Πειρίθου τε εἶναι Διὸς ἐν ἔπεισι τοῖς Ὀμήρου δεδιδαγμένος καὶ Θησεῖα ἐπιστάμενος ὥς εἴη τέταρτος ἀπὸ Πέλοπος.

[10.8] The sculptures in the front pediment are by Paeonius, who came from Mende in Thrace; those in the back pediment are by Alcamenes, a contemporary of Pheidias, ranking next after him for skill as a sculptor. What he carved on the pediment is the fight between the Lapithae and the Centaurs at the marriage of Peirithous. In the center of the pediment is Peirithous. On one side of him is Eurytion, who has seized the wife of Peirithous, with Caeneus bringing help to Peirithous, and on the other side is Theseus defending himself against the Centaurs with an axe. One Centaur has seized a maid, another a boy in the prime of youth. Alcamenes, I think, carved this scene, because he had learned from Homer's poem that Peirithous was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops.

[9] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέους τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων. ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ πεποιήται τῶν θυρῶν ἢ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἄγρα τοῦ υἱὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς Διομήδην τὸν Θρᾷκα καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθείᾳ πρὸς Γηρυνόην, καὶ Ἀτλαντὸς τε τὸ φόρημα ἐκδέχεσθαι μέλλων καὶ τῆς κόπρου καθαίρων τὴν γῆν ἐστὶν Ἥλειος· ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν ὁ τοῦ ζωστήρος τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἐστὶν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον καὶ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ ταῦρον καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφίῳ καὶ ἐς ὕδραν τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀργεῖᾳ λέοντα.

[10.9] Most of the labours of Heracles are represented at Olympia. Above the doors of the temple is carved the hunting of the Arcadian boar, his exploit against Diomedes the Thracian, and that against Geryones at Erytheia; he is also about to receive the burden of Atlas, and he cleanses the land from dung

for the Eleans. Above the doors of the rear chamber he is taking the girdle from the Amazon; and there are the affairs of the deer, of the bull at Cnossus, of the Stympthalian birds, of the hydra, and of the Argive lion.

[10] τὰς θύρας δὲ ἐσιόντι τὰς χαλκᾶς, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρὸ τοῦ κίονος Ἴφιτος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς στεφανούμενος Ἐκεχειρίας, ὡς τὸ ἐλεγείον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φησιν. ἐστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες, καὶ στοαὶ τε ἔνδον ὑπερῶοι καὶ πρόσδοδος δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαλμὰ ἐστὶ. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιά.

[10.10] As you enter the bronze doors you see on the right, before the pillar, Iphitus being crowned by a woman, Ececheiria (Truce), as the elegiac couplet on the statue says. Within the temple stand pillars, and inside also are porticoes above, with an approach through them to the image. There has also been constructed a winding ascent to the roof.

THE STATUE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS

11. καθέζεται μὲν δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐν θρόνῳ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐλέφαντος: στέφανος δὲ ἐπικείται οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεμιμημένος ἐλαίας κλώνας. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρει Νίκην ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ταύτην καὶ χρυσοῦ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον: τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἔνεστι σκῆπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡνθισμένον, ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ καθήμενος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀετός. χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον ὡσαύτως ἐστὶ: τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῳδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιημένα.

[11.1] XI. The god sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. On his head lies a garland which is a copy of olive shoots. In his right hand he carries a Victory, which, like the statue, is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and – on her head – a garland. In the left hand of the god is a scepter, ornamented with every kind of metal, and the bird sitting on the scepter is the eagle. The sandals also of the god are of gold, as is likewise his robe. On the robe are embroidered figures of animals and the flowers of the lily.

[2] ὁ δὲ θρόνος ποικίλος μὲν χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις, ποικίλος δὲ καὶ ἐβένῳ τε καὶ ἐλέφαντι ἐστὶ: καὶ ζῳᾶ τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν εἰργασμένα. Νῖκαι μὲν δὴ τέσσαρες χορευουσῶν παρεχόμεναι σχῆμα κατὰ ἕκαστον τοῦ θρόνου τὸν πόδα, δύο δὲ εἰσὶν ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑκάστου πέξῃ ποδός. τῶν ποδῶν δὲ ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν παῖδες τε ἐπικεῖνται Θηβαίων ὑπὸ σφιγγῶν ἡρπασμένοι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς σφίγγας Νιόβης τοὺς παῖδας Ἀπόλλων κατατοξεύουσι καὶ Ἄρτεμις.

[11.2] The throne is adorned with gold and with jewels, to say nothing of ebony and ivory. Upon it are painted figures and wrought images. There are four Victories, represented as dancing women, one at each foot of the throne, and two others at the base of each foot. On each of the two front feet are set Theban children ravished by sphinxes, while under the sphinxes Apollo and Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe.

[3] τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου μεταξὺ ποδῶν τέσσαρες κανόνες εἰσίν, ἐκ ποδὸς ἐς πόδα ἕτερον διήκων ἕκαστος. τῷ μὲν δὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς ἐσόδου κανόνι, ἐπτά ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὸ γὰρ ὄγδοον ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἴσασι τρόπον ὄντινα ἐγένετο ἀφανές· εἴη δ' ἂν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀρχαίων ταῦτα μιμήματα, οὐ γάρ πω τὰ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἡλικίας ἤδη καθιεσθῆκε τῆς Φειδίου. τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενον εἰκέναι τὸ εἶδος Παντάρκει λέγουσι, μενιάκιον δὲ Ἥλειον τὸν Παντάρκη παιδικὰ εἶναι τοῦ Φειδίου· ἀνείλετο δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν ὁ Παντάρκης πάλης νίκην Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτη πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα.

[11.3] Between the feet of the throne are four rods, each one stretching from foot to foot. The rod straight opposite the entrance has on it seven images; how the eighth of them disappeared nobody knows. These must be intended to be copies of obsolete contests, since in the time of Pheidias contests for boys had not yet been introduced. The figure of one binding his own head with a ribbon is said to resemble in appearance Pantarces, a stripling of Elis said to have been the love of Pheidias. Pantarces too won the wrestling-bout for boys at the eighty-sixth Festival.

[4] ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κανόνων τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁ λόχος ἐστὶν ὁ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας· ἀριθμὸς μὲν δὴ συναμφοτέρων ἐς ἑννέα ἐστὶ καὶ εἴκοσι, τέτακται δὲ καὶ Θησεὺς ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. ἀνέχουσι δὲ οὐχ οἱ πόδες μόνοι τὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κίονες ἴσοι τοῖς ποσὶ μεταξὺ ἐστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν. ὑπελθεῖν δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ θρόνου παρερχόμεθα· ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ δὲ ἀπείργοντά ἐστι.

[11.4] On the other rods is the band that with Heracles fights against the Amazons. The number of figures in the two parties is twenty-nine, and Theseus too is ranged among the allies of Heracles. The throne is supported not only by the feet, but also by an equal number of pillars standing between the feet. It is impossible to go under the throne, in the way we enter the inner part of the throne at Amyclae. At Olympia there are screens constructed like walls which keep people out.

[5] τούτων τῶν

ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστὶν, ἀλήλιπται κυανῷ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίνου γραφάς. ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς ἐστὶ μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἄτλας ἀνέχων, παρέστηκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ ἄχθος ἐθέλων τοῦ Ἄτλαντος, ἔτι δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Σαλαμὶς ἔχουσα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραις ποιούμενον κόσμον, Ἡρακλέους τε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ τὸ ἐς Κασσάνδραν παρανόμημα Αἴαντος,

[11.5] Of these screens the part opposite the doors is only covered with dark-blue paint; the other parts show pictures by Panaenus. Among them is Atlas, supporting heaven and earth, by whose side stands Heracles ready to receive

the load of Atlas, along with Theseus; Perithous, Hellas, and Salamis carrying in her hand the ornament made for the top of a ship's bows; then Heracles' exploit against the Nemean lion, the outrage committed by Ajax on Cassandra,

[6] Ἴπποδάμειά τε ἡ Οἰνομάου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Προμηθεὺς ἔτι ἐχόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἦρται: λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἀποκτείνει μὲν τὸν αἰτὸν ὃς ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ τὸν Προμηθέα ἐλύπει, ἐξέλοιτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθέα ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν. τελευταῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Πενθεσίλειά τε ἀφιείσα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνέχων ἐστὶν αὐτήν: καὶ Ἑσπερίδες δύο φέρουσι τὰ μῆλα ὧν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγονται τὴν φρουράν. Πάναινος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ἀδελφός τε ἦν Φειδίου καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Ποικίλῃ τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον.

[11.6] Hippodameia the daughter of Oenomaus with her mother, and Prometheus still held by his chains, though Heracles has been raised up to him. For among the stories told about Heracles is one that he killed the eagle which tormented Prometheus in the Caucasus, and set free Prometheus himself from his chains. Last in the picture come Penthesileia giving up the ghost and Achilles supporting her; two Hesperides are carrying the apples, the keeping of which, legend says, had been entrusted to them. This Panaenus was a brother of Pheidias; he also painted the picture of the battle of Marathon in the painted portico at Athens.

[7] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θρόνου πεποίηκεν ὁ Φειδίας ὑπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦτο μὲν Χάριτας, τοῦτο δὲ Ὡρας, τρεῖς ἑκατέρας. εἶναι γὰρ θυγατέρας Διὸς καὶ ταύτας ἐν ἔπαισιν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα: Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησε τὰς Ὡρας καὶ ἐπιτετράφθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καθάπερ τινὰς φύλακας βασιλέως αὐλῆς. τὸ ὑπόθημα δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσίν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καλούμενον θρανίων, λέοντάς τε χρυσοῦς καὶ Θησέως ἐπειργασμένην ἔχει μάχην τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας, τὸ Ἀθηναίων πρῶτον ἀνδραγάθημα ἐς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους.

[11.7] On the uppermost parts of the throne Pheidias has made, above the head of the image, three Graces on one side and three Seasons on the other. These in epic poetry are included among the daughters of Zeus. Homer too in the Iliad says that the Seasons have been entrusted with the sky, just like guards of a king's court. The footstool of Zeus, called by the Athenians thranion, has golden lions and, in relief, the fight of Theseus against the Amazons, the first brave deed of the Athenians against foreigners.

[8] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου τοῦ τὸν θρόνον τε ἀνέχοντος καὶ ὅσος ἄλλος κόσμος περὶ τὸν Δία, ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάθρου χρυσᾷ ποιήματα, ἀναβεβηκώς ἐπὶ ἄρμα Ἥλιος καὶ Ζεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἥρα, ἔτι δὲ Ἥφαιστος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Χάρις: ταύτης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἔχεται, τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ Ἑστία: μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν Ἔρως ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀφροδίτην ἀνιοῦσαν ὑποδεχόμενος, τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην στεφανοὶ Πειθώ: ἐπείρασται δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων σὺν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ

Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ ἥδη τοῦ βάθρου πρὸς τῷ πέρατι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν Σελήνη τε ἵππον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐλαύνουσα. τοῖς δέ ἐστιν εἰρημένα ἐφ' ἡμιόνου τὴν θεὸν ὀχεῖσθαι καὶ οὐχ ἵππου, καὶ λόγον γέ τινα ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμιόνῳ λέγουσιν εὐήθη.

[11.8] On the pedestal supporting the throne and Zeus with all his adornments are works in gold: the Sun mounted on a chariot, Zeus and Hera, Hephaestus, and by his side Grace. Close to her comes Hermes, and close to Hermes Hestia. After Hestia is Eros receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea, and Aphrodite is being crowned by Persuasion. There are also reliefs of Apollo with Artemis, of Athena and of Heracles; and near the end of the pedestal Amphitrite and Poseidon, while the Moon is driving what I think is a horse. Some have said that the steed of the goddess is a mule not a horse, and they tell a silly story about the mule.

[9] μέτρα δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἐπιστάμενος γεγραμμένα οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ θήσομαι τοὺς μετρήσαντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα αὐτοῖς μέτρα πολὺ τι ἀποδέοντά ἐστιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδοῦσι παρέστηκεν ἐς τὸ ἄγαλμα δόξα, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα ἐς τοῦ Φειδίου τὴν τέχνην γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐκτετελεσμένον ἦδη τὸ ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἠῤῥατο ὁ Φειδίας ἐπισημῆναι τὸν θεὸν εἰ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ κατὰ γνώμην: αὐτίκα δ' ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ ἐδάφους κατασκήψαι κεραυνὸν φασιν, ἔνθα ὕδρια καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπίθημα ἦν ἡ χαλκῇ.

[11.9] I know that the height and breadth of the Olympic Zeus have been measured and recorded; but I shall not praise those who made the measurements, for even their records fall far short of the impression made by a sight of the image. Nay, the god himself according to legend bore witness to the artistic skill of Pheidias. For when the image was quite finished Pheidias prayed the god to show by a sign whether the work was to his liking. Immediately, runs the legend, a thunderbolt fell on that part of the floor where down to the present day the bronze jar stood to cover the place.

[10] ὅσον δὲ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ

ἀγάλματος, τοῦτο οὐ λευκῷ, μέλανι δὲ κατεσκευάσται τῷ λίθῳ: περιθεῖ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν μέλανα λίθου Παρίου κρητὶς, ἔρυμα εἶναι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἐκχεομένῳ. ἔλαιον γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον, καὶ ἔλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπεῖργον μὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ ἐλέφαντι βλάβος διὰ τὸ ἐλῶδες τῆς Ἄλτεως. ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἀθηναίων τὴν καλουμένην Παρθένον οὐκ ἔλαιον, ὕδωρ δὲ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἐλέφαντα ὠφελοῦν ἐστίν: ἅτε γὰρ ἀνυχμηρᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οὔσης διὰ τὸ ἄγαν ὑψηλόν, τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένον ὕδωρ καὶ δρόσον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ποθεῖ.

[11.10] All the floor in front of the image is paved, not with white, but with black tiles. In a circle round the black stone runs a raised rim of Parian marble, to keep in the olive oil that is poured out. For olive oil is beneficial to the image at Olympia, and it is olive oil that keeps the ivory from being

harmful by the marshiness of the Altis. On the Athenian Acropolis the ivory of the image they call the Maiden is benefited, not by olive oil, but by water. For the Acropolis, owing to its great height, is over-dry, so that the image, being made of ivory, needs water or dampness.

[11] ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ δὲ ἐρομένου μου καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν οὔτε ὕδωρ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ σφισιν οὔτε ἔλαιόν ἐστιν ἐγγεόμενον, ἐδίδασκόν με οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐπὶ φρέατι εἴη πεποιημένα.

[11.11] When I asked at Epidaurus why they pour neither water nor olive oil on the image of Asclepius, the attendants at the sanctuary informed me that both the image of the god and the throne were built over a cistern.

12. ὅσοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὰ διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐλέφασιν ἐξίσχοντα ὀδόντας τῶν θηρίων εἶναι καὶ οὐ κέρατα ἡγνῆται, τούτοις ἔστιν ἀπιδεῖν μὲν ἐς τὰς ἄλκας, τὸ ἐν Κελτικῇ θηρίον, ἀπιδεῖν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπικοὺς ταύρους: ἄλκαι μὲν γὰρ κέρατα ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀφρύσιν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄρρενες, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ οὐ φύει τὸ παράπαν: οἱ δὲ Αἰθιοπικοὶ ταῦροι τὰ κέρατα φύουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥινί. τίς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαιτο ἔτι ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι διὰ στόματος ζῶν κέρατα ἐκφῦναι;

[12.1] XII. Those who think that the projections from the mouth of an elephant are not horns but teeth of the animal should consider both the elk, a beast of the Celtic land, and also the Aethiopian bull. Male elks have horns on their brows, but the female does not grow them at all. Ethiopian bulls grow their horns on their noses. Who therefore would be greatly surprised at horns growing out of an animal's mouth?

[2] πάρεστι δὲ ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε ἔτι: κέρατα γὰρ κατὰ ἐτῶν περίοδον ἀπογίνεται καὶ αὐθις ἐκβλαστάνει ζῶις, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαφοι τε καὶ δορκάδες, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πεπόνθασιν. ὁδοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ

δεύτερα παρέσται ζῶν τῶν γε ἤδη τελείων: εἰ δὲ ὀδόντες τὰ διὰ στόματος ἐξίσχοντα καὶ μὴ κέρατα ἦσαν, πῶς ἂν καὶ ἀνεφύοντο αὐθις; οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἴκειν πυρὶ ἔχουσιν ὀδόντες φύσιν: κέρατα δὲ καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐς ὁμαλές τε ἐκ περιφεροῦς καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἄγεται σχήματα. ποταμίους γε μὴν ἵππους καὶ ὕσιν ἢ κάτωθεν γένυς τοὺς χαυλιόδοντας φέρει, κέρατα δὲ ἀναφυόμενα οὐχ ὁρῶμεν ἐκ γενύων:

[12.2] They may also correct their error from the following considerations. Horns drop off animals each year and grow again; the deer and the antelope undergo this experience, and so likewise does the elephant. But a tooth will never be found to grow again, at least after the animal is full-grown. So if the projections through the mouth were teeth and not horns, how could they grow up again? Again, a tooth refuses to yield to fire; but fire turns the horns of oxen and elephants from round to flat, and also into other shapes. However, the hippopotamus and the boar have tusks growing out of the lower jaw, but we do not see horns growing out of jaws.

[3] ἐλέφαντι οὖν τὰ κέρατα ἴστω τις διὰ κροτάφων κατερχόμενα ἄνωθεν καὶ

οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐπιστρέφοντα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκοὴν γράφω, θεασάμενος δὲ ἑλέφαντος ἐν γῇ τῇ Καμπανῶν κρανίον ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ: σταδίους δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα Καπύης τὸ ἱερόν, αὕτη δὲ ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστὶν ἡ Καπύη τῶν Καμπανῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἑλέφας παρὰ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα διάφορον καὶ τὴν ἑκφυσιν παρέχεται τῶν κεράτων, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶδος οὐδὲν εὐκότα ἐτέρῳ θηρίῳ: φιλότιμοι δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μοι καὶ ἐς θεῶν τιμὴν οὐ φειδωλοὶ χρημάτων γενέσθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἷς γε παρὰ Ἰνδῶν ἤγετο καὶ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἑλέφας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων.

[12.3] So be assured that an elephant's horns descend through the temples from above, and so bend outwards. My statement is not hearsay; I once saw an elephant's skull in the sanctuary of Artemis in Campania. The sanctuary is about thirty stades from Capua, which is the capital of Campania. So the elephant differs from all other animals in the way its horns grow, just as its size and shape are peculiar to itself. And the Greeks in my opinion showed an unsurpassed zeal and generosity in honoring the gods, in that they imported ivory from India and Aethiopia to make images.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS

[4] ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παραπέτασμα ἔρεοῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῇ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ αἰγὶς ἡ χρυσεὴ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Γοργώ ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀνέλκουσι, καλωδίους δὲ ἐπιχαλῶντες

καθιᾶσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος.

[12.4] In Olympia there is a woollen curtain, adorned with Assyrian weaving and Phoenician purple, which was dedicated by Antiochus, who also gave as offerings the golden aegis with the Gorgon on it above the theater at Athens. This curtain is not drawn upwards to the roof as is that in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but it is let down to the ground by cords.

[5] ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἔνδον ἢ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ κεῖται, θρόνος ἐστὶν Ἀριμνήστου βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Τυρσηνοῖς, ὃς πρῶτος βαρβάρων ἀναθήματι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Δία ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ ἵπποι Κυνίσκας χαλκοῖ, σημεῖα Ὀλυμπικῆς νίκης: οὗτοι μέγεθος μὲν ἀποδέουσιν ἵππων, ἐστήκασιν δὲ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τοῖς ἐσιούσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. κεῖται δὲ καὶ τρίπους ἐπίχαλκος, ἐφ' οὗ πρὶν ἢ τὴν τράπεζαν ποιηθῆναι προετίθεντο τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι.

[12.5] The offerings inside, or in the fore-temple include: a throne of Arimnestus, king of Etruria, who was the first foreigner to present an offering to the Olympic Zeus, and bronze horses of Cynisca, tokens of an Olympic victory. These are not as large as real horses, and stand in the fore-temple on the right as you enter. There is also a tripod, plated with bronze, upon which, before the table was made, were displayed the crowns for the victors.

[6] βασιλέων δὲ ἀνδριάντας, Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν αἰ ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν τελοῦσαι πόλεις

ἀνέθεσαν Παρίου λίθου, Τραϊανοῦ δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἑλληνες. οὗτος προσεκτίσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θράκης Ὀσρόη τε τῷ ἀπογόνῳ τῷ Ἀρσάκου καὶ Πάρθοις ἐπολέμησεν: ὅποσα δὲ ἐς ἔργων ἔχει οἱ κατασκευήν, ἀξιολογώτατά ἐστι λουτρά ἐπὶ πόντον αὐτοῦ καὶ θέατρον μέγα κυκλοτερές πανταχόθεν καὶ οἰκοδόμημα ἐς ἵππων δρόμους προῆκον καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίων μήκος, καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰ κόσμου τε ἔνεκα τοῦ λοιποῦ θάας ἀξία καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ὄροφον χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον.

[12.6] There are statues of emperors: Hadrian, of Parian marble dedicated by the cities of the Achaean confederacy, and Trajan, dedicated by all the Greeks. This emperor subdued the Getae beyond Thrace, and made war on Osroes the descendant of Arsaces and on the Parthians. Of his architectural achievements the most remarkable are baths called after him, a large circular theater, a building for horse-races which is actually two stades long, and the Forum at Rome, worth seeing not only for its general beauty but especially for its roof made of bronze.

[7] αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες αἱ τοῖς κατασκευάσμασι τοῖς περιφερέσιν ἐγκείμεναι, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἡλέκτρον βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν Αὐγούστου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος βασιλέως Νικομήδους ἐλέγγοτο εἶναι Βιθυνῶν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεων μετεβλήθη τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀστακῶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου καλουμένη: τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῇ Ζυποίτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστής, Θραξ γένος εἰκάζοντί γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος. τὸ δὲ ἡλεκτρον τοῦτο οὐ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πεποιήνται τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅσον μὲν αὐτόματον ἐν τοῦ Ἡριδανοῦ ταῖς ψάμμοις εὐρίσκεται, σπανίζεται τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τίμιον πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἔνεκα: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡλεκτρον ἀναμειγμένος ἐστὶν ἀργύρῳ χρυσός.

[12.7] Of the statues set up in the round buildings, the amber one represents Augustus the Roman emperor, the ivory one they told me was a portrait of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. After him the greatest city in Bithynia was renamed Nicomedeia; before him it was called Astacus, and its first founder was Zypoetes, a Thracian by birth to judge from his name. This amber of which the statue of Augustus is made, when found native in the sand of the Eridanus, is very rare and precious to men for many reasons; the other “amber” is an alloy of gold and silver.

[8] ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναῷ Νέρωνος ἀναθήματα τρεῖς μὲν ἐς κοτίνου φύλλα στέφανοι, τέταρτος δὲ ἐς δρυὸς ἐστὶ μεμιμημένος: κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀσπίδες χαλκαῖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς ὀπλιτεύουσιν εἶναι φορήματα ἐς τὸν δρόμον. στήλαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἐσθήκασιν καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ Μαντινέας ἔχουσα ὄρκον παρὰ Ἑλλήων ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐτῶν ἑκατόν.

[12.8] In the temple at Olympia are four offerings of Nero – three crowns representing wild-olive leaves, and one representing oak leaves. Here too are laid twenty-five bronze shields, which are for the armed men to carry in the race. Tablets too are set up, including one on which is written the oath sworn by the Eleans to the Athenians, the Argives and the Mantineans, that they

would be their allies for a hundred years.

THE TEMPLE OF PELOPS AT OLYMPIA

13. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἑλπεως καὶ Πέλοπι ἀποτετμημένον τέμενος: ἡρώων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοσοῦτον προτετμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ἥλειων ὅσον Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ δεξιὰν τῆς ἐσόδου πρὸς ἄνεμον Βορέαν τὸ Πελόπιον, ἀφεστηκὸς μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τοσοῦτον ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄλλα ἀνακεῖσθαι, παρήκει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπὸ μέσου μάλιστα ἀρξάμενον τοῦ ναοῦ: καὶ λίθων τε θριγκῶ περιέχεται καὶ δένδρα ἐντὸς πεφυκότα καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἀνακεῖμενοι,

[13.1] XIII. Within the Altis there is also a sacred enclosure consecrated to Pelops, whom the Eleans as much prefer in honor above the heroes of Olympia as they prefer Zeus over the other gods. To the right of the entrance of the temple of Zeus, on the north side, lies the Pelopium. It is far enough removed from the temple for statues and other offerings to stand in the intervening space, and beginning at about the middle of the temple it extends as far as the rear chamber. It is surrounded by a stone fence, within which trees grow and statues have been dedicated.

[2] ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς δυσμῶν ἐστὶν ἡλίου. τοῦτο ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ Πέλοπι Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος λέγεται: τέταρτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπόγονος καὶ οὗτος ἦν Πέλοπος, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἔθυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπι. θύουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ κατὰ ἔτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες: τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖόν ἐστι κριὸς μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ γίνεται τῷ μάντει μοῖρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ μόνον δίδοσθαι τοῦ κριοῦ καθέστηκε τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ ξυλεῖ.

[13.2] The entrance is on the west. The sanctuary is said to have been set apart to Pelops by Heracles the son of Amphytryon. Heracles too was a great-grandson of Pelops, and he is also said to have sacrificed to him into the pit. Right down to the present day the magistrates of the year sacrifice to him, and the victim is a black ram. No portion of this sacrifice goes to the sooth-sayer, only the neck of the ram it is usual to give to the “woodman,” as he is called.

[3] ἔστι δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόσκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ιδιώτῃ: τὰ δὲ λευκῆς μόνης ξύλα καὶ ἄλλου δένδρου ἐστὶν οὐδενός: ὃς δ’ ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Ἥλειων ἢ ξένων τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Πέλοπι ἱερείου φάγῃ τῶν κρεῶν, οὐκ ἐστὶν οἱ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν Δία. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περιγὰμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Καϊκοῦ πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Τηλέφῳ θύοντες: ἔστι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀναβῆναι πρὸ λουτροῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν.

[13.3] The woodman is one of the servants of Zeus, and the task assigned to him is to supply cities and private individuals with wood for sacrifices at a fixed rate, wood of the white poplar, but of no other tree, being allowed. If anybody, whether Elean or stranger, eat of the meat of the victim sacrificed to Pelops,

he may not enter the temple of Zeus. The same rule applies to those who sacrifice to Telephus at Pergamus on the river Caicus; these too may not go up to the temple of Asclepius before they have bathed.

[4] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτον: μηχανομένου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πολέμου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, προαγορεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς τοὺς μάντις ὡς αἰρήσουσιν οὐ πρότερον τὴν πόλιν, πρὶν ἂν τὰ Ἡρακλέους τόξα καὶ ὅστουν ἐπαγάγωνται Πέλοπος. οὕτω δὴ μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν Φилоκτήτην φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀχθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁστών ὠμοπλάτην σφίσιν ἐκ Πίσσης τῶν Πέλοπος: ὡς δὲ οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἀπόλλυται περὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ ἡ ναὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ τὸ ὅστουν φέρουσα τὸ Πέλοπος.

[13.4] The following tale too is told. When the war of the Greeks against Troy was prolonged, the soothsayers prophesied to them that they would not take the city until they had fetched the bow and arrows of Heracles and a bone of Pelops. So it is said that they sent for Philoctetes to the camp, and from Pisa was brought to them a bone of Pelops – a shoulder-blade. As they were returning home, the ship carrying the bone of Pelops was wrecked off Euboea in the storm.

[5] ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου Δαμάρμενον ἀλιέα ἐξ Ἐρετρίας ἀφέντα δίκτυον ἐς θάλασσαν τὸ ὅστουν ἐλκύσαι, θαυμάσαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἔχειν ἀποκρύψαντα ὑπὸ τὴν ψάμμον. τέλος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὅτου τε ἀνδρὸς τὸ ὅστουν εἶη καὶ ὃ τι χρηστέον αὐτῷ διδαχθῆναι δεησόμενον.

[13.5] Many years later than the capture of Troy, Damarmenus, a fisherman from Eretria, cast a net into the sea and drew up the bone. Marvelling at its size he kept it hidden in the sand. At last he went to Delphi, to inquire whose the bone was, and what he ought to do with it.

[6] καὶ πῶς κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆνικαῦτα πρεσβεία παρῆν Ἥλείων ἐπανόρθωμα αἰτούντων νόσου

λοιμῶδους: ἀνείπεν οὖν σφίσιν ἡ Πυθία, τοῖς μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι Πέλοπος τὰ ὅστᾱ, Δαμαρμένῳ δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ εὐρημένα αὐτῷ Ἥλείοις. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι ἄλλα τε ἀντέδοσαν Ἥλεῖοι καὶ Δαμάρμενόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπογόνους τοὺς ἐκείνου φύλακας σφᾶς εἶναι τοῦ ὅστου. ἡ δὲ ὠμοπλάτη τοῦ Πέλοπος ἠφάνιστο ἤδη κατ' ἐμέ, ὅτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐκέκρυπτο ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ προσέκαμνεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης.

[13.6] It happened that by the providence of Heaven there was then at Delphi an Elean embassy praying for deliverance from a pestilence. So the Pythian priestess ordered the Eleans to recover the bones of Pelops, and Damarmenus to give back to the Eleans what he had found. He did so, and the Eleans repaid him by appointing him and his descendants to be guardians of the bone. The shoulder-blade of Pelops had disappeared by my time, because, I suppose, it had been hidden in the depths so long, and besides its age it was greatly

decayed through the salt water.

[7] Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεία ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἑρμῶν ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθελύϊας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρελήφμεν μνήμη, προῖλασκόμενόν τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἴπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον.

[13.7] That Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in my country there have remained signs right down to the present day. There is a lake called after Tantalus and a famous grave, and on a peak of Mount Sipylus there is a throne of Pelops beyond the sanctuary of Plastene the Mother. If you cross the river Hermus you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnus made of a living myrtle-tree. It is a tradition among us that it was dedicated by Pelops when he was propitiating the goddess and asking for Hippodameia to be his bride.

THE ALTAR OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS

[8] ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμὸς ἴσον μὲν μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπέχων, προκείμενος μέντοι καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων· κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἡρώων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενεαῖς δύο ὕστερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. πεποιήται δὲ ἱερείων τῶν θυομένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ· τέφρας γὰρ δὴ ἔστι καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Σαμῖᾳ βωμὸς οὐδὲν τι ἐπιφανέστερος ἢ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἃς αὐτοσχεδίας

Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἐσχάρας.

[13.8] The altar of Olympic Zeus is about equally distant from the Pelopium and the sanctuary of Hera, but it is in front of both. Some say that it was built by Idaean Heracles, others by the local heroes two generations later than Heracles. It has been made from the ash of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus, as is also the altar at Pergamus. There is an ashen altar of Samian Hera not a bit grander than what in Attica the Athenians call “improvised hearths.”

[9] τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρηπίδος μὲν τῆς πρώτης, προθύσεως καλουμένης, πόδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ περίοδος, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ προθύσει περίμετρος ἐπακτοῦ πόδες δύο καὶ τριάκοντα· τὸ δὲ ὕψος τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν ἐς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνήκει πόδας. αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν μέρει τῷ κάτω, τῇ προθύσει, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς θύειν· τοὺς μηροὺς δὲ ἀναφέροντες ἐς τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ ὑψηλέστατον καθαγίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα.

[13.9] The first stage of the altar at Olympia, called prothysis, has a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet; the circumference of the stage on the prothysis is thirty-two feet; the total height of the altar reaches to twenty-two feet. The victims themselves it is the custom to sacrifice on the

lower stage, the prothysis. But the thighs they carry up to the highest part of the altar and burn them there.

[10] ἀναβασμοὶ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν πρόθυσιν ἀνάγουσιν ἐξ ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς λίθου πεποιημένοι: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προθύσεως ἐς τὸ ἄνω τοῦ βωμοῦ τέφρας παρέχεται καὶ ἀναβασμούς. ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς προθύσεως ἔστιν ἀναβῆναι καὶ παρθένους καὶ ὡσαύτως γυναῖξιν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας μὴ ἐξείργωνται: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ βωμοῦ μόνοις ἔστιν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελθεῖν. θύεται δὲ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς πανηγύρεως ὑπὸ τε ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ Ἑλείων.

[13.10] The steps that lead up to the prothysis from either side are made of stone, but those leading from the prothysis to the upper part of the altar are, like the altar itself, composed of ashes. The ascent to the prothysis may be made by maidens, and likewise by women, when they are not shut out from Olympia, but men only can ascend from the prothysis to the highest part of the altar. Even when the festival is not being held, sacrifice is offered to Zeus by private individuals and daily by the Eleans.

[11] κατ' ἔτος δὲ ἕκαστον φυλάξαντες οἱ μάντιες τὴν ἐνάτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἐλαφίου μηνὸς κομίζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τὴν τέφραν, φυράσαντες δὲ τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ κονιῶσιν οὕτω τὸν βωμόν. ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλου τὴν τέφραν ὕδατος ποιηθῆναι πηλὸν οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐγγένηται: καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ὁ Ἀλφειὸς νενόμισται τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ποταμῶν δὴ μάλιστα εἶναι φίλος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις τῶν Μιλησίων βωμός, ἐποιήθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Θηβαίου, καθὰ οἱ Μιλήσιοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων τοῦ αἵματος: ἐς δὲ τὰ ὕστερα τὸ αἶμα τῶν θυμάτων οὐκ ἐς ὑπέρογκον ἠὔξηκεν αὐτὸν μέγεθος.

[13.11] Every year the soothsayers, keeping carefully to the nineteenth day of the month Elaphius, bring the ash from the town-hall, and making it into a paste with the water of the Alpheius they daub the altar therewith. But never may the ash be made into paste with other water, and for this reason the Alpheius is thought to be of all rivers the dearest to Olympic Zeus. There is also an altar at Didyma of the Milesians, which Heracles the Theban is said by the Milesians to have made from the blood of the victims. But in later times the blood of the sacrifices has not made the altar excessively large.

14. ὁ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βωμὸς παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε ἐς θαῦμα: οἱ γὰρ ἰκτῖνες πεφυκότες ἀρπάζειν μάλιστα ὀρνίθων ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς θύοντας: ἦν δὲ ἀρπάση ποτὲ ἰκτίνος ἦτοι σπλάγχνα ἢ τῶν κρεῶν, νενόμισται τῷ θύοντι οὐκ αἴσιον εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον. φασὶ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης θύοντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δι' ὄχλου μάλιστα γενέσθαι τὰς μυίας: ἐξευρόντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου διδαχθέντα Ἀπομνίῳ θῆσαι Δίῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἀποτραπῆναι τὰς μυίας πέραν τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ. λέγονται δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ἑλεῖοι θύειν τῷ Ἀπομνίῳ Δίῃ, ἐξελαύνοντες τῆς Ἠλείας Ὀλυμπίας τὰς μυίας.

[14.1] XIV. The altar at Olympia shows another strange peculiarity, which is this. The kite, the bird of prey with the most rapacious nature, never harms

those who are sacrificing at Olympia. Should ever a kite seize the entrails or some of the flesh, it is regarded as an unfavorable sign for the sacrificer. There is a story that when Heracles the son of Alcmena was sacrificing at Olympia he was much worried by the flies. So either on his own initiative or at somebody's suggestion he sacrificed to Zeus Averter of Flies, and thus the flies were diverted to the other side of the Alpheius. It is said that in the same way the Eleans too sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies, to drive the flies out of Olympia.

[2] τῆς δὲ λεύκης μόνης τοῖς ξύλοις ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δένδρου τῶν ἄλλων οἱ Ἥλαιοι χρῆσθαι νομίζουσι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν προτιμώντες ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὴν λεύκην, ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκόμισεν αὐτὴν ἐς Ἑλλήνας ἐκ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος χώρας. καὶ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐφαίνετο, ἥνικα τῷ Διὶ ἔθυσεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τῶν ἱερείων τὰ μηρία ἐπὶ λεύκης καῦσαι ξύλων: τὴν δὲ λεύκην ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πεφυκυῖαν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα εὗρε τὸν ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ ποταμόν, καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκά φασιν αὐτὴν Ἀχερωίδα ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου καλεῖσθαι.

[14.2] The Eleans are wont to use for the sacrifices to Zeus the wood of the white poplar and of no other tree, preferring the white poplar, I think, simply and solely because Heracles brought it into Greece from Thesprotia. And it is my opinion that when Heracles sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia he himself burned the thigh bones of the victims upon wood of the white poplar. Heracles found the white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron, the river in Thesprotia, and for this reason Homer calls it "Acheroid."

[3] εἶχον δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔχουσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεῖως πρὸς γένεσιν πόας τε καὶ δένδρων: ἀλλὰ πλεῖσται μὲν ὑπὸ Μαιάνδρου μυρῖκαι καὶ μάλιστα αὖξονται, Ἀσωπὸς δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίος βαθυτάτας πέφυκεν ἐκτρέφειν τὰς σχοῖνους, τὸ δένδρον δὲ ἡ περσεῖα μόνου χαίρει τοῦ Νεῖλου τῷ ὕδατι. οὕτω καὶ τὴν λεύκην θαῦμα οὐδὲν καὶ αἰγείρον τε καὶ κότινον, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀχέροντι ἀναφῦναι πρώτῳ, κότινον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ, τὴν δὲ αἰγείρον γῆς τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ θρέμμα εἶναι.

[14.3] So from the first down to the present all rivers have not been equally suited for the growth of plants and trees. Tamarisks grow best and in the greatest numbers by the Maeander; the Boeotian Asopus can produce the tallest reeds; the perseae tree flourishes only in the water of the Nile. So it is no wonder that the white poplar grew first by the Acheron and the wild olive by the Alpheius, and that the dark poplar is a nursling of the Celtic land of the Celtic Eridanus.

THE ALTARS AT OLYMPIA

[4] φέρε δὴ, ἐποιησάμεθα γὰρ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μνήμην, ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς βωμούς: ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἣντινα Ἥλαιοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι. θύουσι δὲ

Ἑστία μὲν πρώτη, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, τρίτα δὲ Λαοίτα Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Λαοίτα: ἐπὶ ἐνὸς βωμοῦ καὶ αὕτη καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία.

[14.4] Now that I have finished my account of the greatest altar, let me proceed to describe all the altars in Olympia. My narrative will follow in dealing with them the order in which the Eleans are wont to sacrifice on the altars. They sacrifice to Hestia first, secondly to Olympic Zeus, going to the altar within the temple, thirdly to Zeus Laoetas and to Poseidon Laoetas. This sacrifice too it is usual to offer on one altar. Fourthly and fifthly they sacrifice to Artemis and to Athena, Goddess of Booty,

[5] τέταρτα καὶ πέμπτα Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι καὶ Ληίτιδι Ἀθηνᾶ, ἕκτα Ἐργάνη: ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἥλείων εὐληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὗτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρχονται. ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος παρ' αὐτὸν τετράγωνος ἀνήκων ἡρέμα ἐς ὕψος.

[14.5] sixthly to the Worker Goddess. The descendants of Pheidias, called Cleansers, have received from the Eleans the privilege of cleaning the image of Zeus from the dirt that settles on it, and they sacrifice to the Worker Goddess before they begin to polish the image. There is another altar of Athena near the temple, and by it a square altar of Artemis rising gently to a height.

[6] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κατελεγμένους Ἀλφειῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἐνὸς βωμοῦ: τὸ δὲ αἷτιον τούτου παρεδήλωσε μὲν πού καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾧδῃ, γράφομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς Λετριναίοις. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καὶ ἄλλος τῷ Ἀλφειῷ βωμὸς πεποιήται, παρὰ δὲ αὐτόν ἐστιν Ἥφαιστου: τοῦ δὲ Ἥφαιστου τὸν βωμὸν εἰσιν Ἥλείων οἱ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀρείου Διός: λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμαος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύει τῷ Ἀρείῳ Δίι, ὁπότε τῶν Ἱπποδαμείας μνηστήρων καθίστασθαι μέλλοι τινὶ ἐς ἵππων ἄμιλλαν.

[14.6] After the altars I have enumerated there is one on which they sacrifice to Alpheius and Artemis together. The cause of this Pindar, I think, intimates in an ode, and I give it in my account of Letrini. Not far from it stands another altar of Alpheius, and by it one of Hephaestus. This altar of Hephaestus some Eleans call the altar of Warlike Zeus. These same Eleans also say that Oenomaus used to sacrifice to Warlike Zeus on this altar whenever he was about to begin a chariot-race with one of the suitors of Hippodameia.

[7] μετὰ τοῦτον πεποιήται μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ βωμὸς ἐπὶ κλήσιν Παραστάτῃ, πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἐπιμήδει καὶ Ἴδα καὶ Παιωναίῳ τε καὶ Ἰάσῳ: τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἴδα βωμὸν Ἀκεσίδα ὑπὸ ἐτέρων οἶδα καλούμενον. ἐνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμέλια ἐστὶ τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταῦθά εἰσι βωμοί, Διὸς τε Ἐρκείου — τοῦτον ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐφαίνετο αὐτὸς

οἰκοδομήσασθαι — , τῷ δὲ Κεραννίῳ Διὶ ὕστερον ἐποιήσαντο ἔμοι δοκεῖν βωμόν, ὅτ' ἐς τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηπεν ὁ κεραννός.

[14.7] After this stands an altar of Heracles surnamed Parastates (Assistant); there are also altars of the brothers of Heracles – Epimedes, Idas, Paeonaeus, and Iasus; I am aware, however, that the altar of Idas is called by others the altar of Acesidas. At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaus stand two altars: one is of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaus appears to have had built himself, and the other of Zeus of the Thunderbolt, which I believe they built later, when the thunderbolt had struck the house of Oenomaus.

[8] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν μέγαν βωμόν ὀλίγῳ μὲν τι ἡμῖν πρότερόν ἐστιν εἰρημένα, καλεῖται δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διός: πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαρσίου Διὸς καὶ Νίκης καὶ αὐθις Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Χθονίου. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων βωμοὶ καὶ Ἥρας ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ὀλυμπίας, πεποιημένους τέφρας καὶ οὗτος: Κλυμένου δὲ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἀνάθημα εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ, διότι Ἑρμῆν λύρας, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ εὐρέτην εἶναι κιθάρας Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος.

[14.8] An account of the great altar I gave a little way back; it is called the altar of Olympian Zeus. By it is an altar of Unknown Gods, and after this an altar of Zeus Purifier, one of Victory, and another of Zeus – this time surnamed Underground. There are also altars of all gods, and of Hera surnamed Olympian, this too being made of ashes. They say that it was dedicated by Clymenus. After this comes an altar of Apollo and Hermes in common, because the Greeks have a story about them that Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the lute.

[9] ἐφεξῆς δὲ Ὀμονοίας βωμός καὶ αὐθις Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν. τῆς ἐσόδου δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον εἰσὶν ἐγγύτατα βωμοὶ δύο: τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Ἑρμοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἐναγωνίου, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Καιροῦ. Ἴωνι δὲ οἶδα τῷ Χίῳ καὶ ὕμνον πεποιημένον Καιροῦ: γενεαλογεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ νεώτατον παίδων Διὸς Καιρὸν εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Σικυνίωνων θησαυροῦ ἦτοι Κουρήτων ἢ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους: λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω.

[14.9] Next come an altar of Concord, another of Athena, and the altar of the Mother of the gods. Quite close to the entrance to the stadium are two altars; one they call the altar of Hermes of the Games, the other the altar of Opportunity. I know that a hymn to Opportunity is one of the poems of Ion of Chios; in the hymn Opportunity is made out to be the youngest child of Zeus. Near the treasury of the Sicyonians is an altar of Heracles, either one of the Curetes or the son of Alcmena, for both accounts are given.

[10] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλούμενῳ, βωμός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γῆς, τέφρας καὶ οὗτος: τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα καὶ μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς αὐτόθι εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Στομίου Θέμιδι ὁ βωμός πεποιήται. τοῦ δὲ Καταιβάτου Διὸς προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα, ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. μεμνήσθω δέ τις οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον τῆς ἰδρύσεως ἀριθμουμένους τοὺς βωμούς, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῇ Ἡλείων ἐς τὰς θυσίας συμπερινοστοῦντα ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον. πρὸς δὲ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος Διονύσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων ἐν κοινῷ, μεταξὺ δὲ αὐτῶν Μουσῶν καὶ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ βωμός.

[14.10] On what is called the Gaeum (sanctuary of Earth) is an altar of Earth; it too is of ashes. In more ancient days they say that there was an oracle also of Earth in this place. On what is called the Stomium (Mouth) the altar to Themis has been built. All round the altar of Zeus Descender runs a fence; this altar is near the great altar made of the ashes. The reader must remember that the altars have not been enumerated in the order in which they stand, but the order followed by my narrative is that followed by the Eleans in their sacrifices. By the sacred enclosure of Pelops is an altar of Dionysus and the Graces in common; between them is an altar of the Muses, and next to these an altar of the Nymphs.

15. ἔστι δὲ οἴκημα ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως, καλεῖται δὲ ἐργαστήριον Φειδίου, καὶ ὁ Φειδίας καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζετο: ἔστιν οὖν βωμός ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ. ὀπίσω δὲ ἀναστρέψαντι αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Λεωνίδαίου —

[15.1] XV. Outside the Altis there is a building called the workshop of Pheidias, where he wrought the image of Zeus piece by piece. In the building is an altar to all the gods in common. Now return back again to the Altis opposite the Leonidaem.

[2] τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ Λεωνίδαϊον, τῶν δὲ ἐσόδων πεποιήται τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν, ἥ μόνη τοῖς πομπεύουσιν ἐστὶν ὁδός: τοῦτο δὲ ἀνδρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Λεωνίδου, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐσφκίζοντο οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύοντες: διέστηκε δὲ ἀγυιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς πομπικῆς, τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλουμένους στενωποὺς ἀγυιάς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι —

[15.2] The Leonidaem is outside the sacred enclosure, but at the processional entrance to the Altis, which is the only way open to those who take part in the processions. It was dedicated by Leonidas, a native, but in my time the Roman governors of Greece used it as their lodging. Between the processional entrance and the Leonidaem is a street, for the Eleans call streets what the Athenians call lanes.

[3] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου περᾶν μέλλοντι ἐς ἀριστερὰν Ἀφροδίτης βωμὸς καὶ Ὡρῶν μετ' αὐτόν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον μάλιστα ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πεφυκὼς κότινος· καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαία Καλλιστέφανος, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια καθέστηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς δίδοσθαι τοὺς στεφάνους. τούτου πλησίον τοῦ κοτίνου πεποίηται Νύμφαις βωμός·

[15.3] Well, there is in the Altis, when you are about to pass to the left of the Leonidaem, an altar of Aphrodite, and after it one of the Seasons. About opposite the rear chamber a wild olive is growing on the right. It is called the olive of the Beautiful Crown, and from its leaves are made the crowns which it is customary to give to winners of Olympic contests. Near this wild olive stands an altar of Nymphs; these too are styled Nymphs of the Beautiful Crowns.

[4] Καλλιστεφάνους ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ταύτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγοραίας βωμός, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Δεσποίναις — τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσι Δέσποιναν διδάξει μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας — , μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔστιν Ἀγοραίου Διὸς βωμός, πρὸ δὲ τῆς καλουμένης Προεδρίας Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπωνυμίαν Πυθίου καὶ μετ' αὐτόν Διονύσου· τοῦτον οὔτε πάλαι τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι λέγουσιν.

[15.4] Outside the Altis, but on the right of the Leonidaem, is an altar of Artemis of the Market, and one has also been built for Mistresses, and in my account of Arcadia I will tell you about the goddess they call Mistress. After this is an altar of Zeus of the Market, and before what is called the Front Seats stands an altar of Apollo surnamed Pythian, and after it one of Dionysus. The last altar is said to be not old, and to have been dedicated by private individuals.

[5] ἰόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφρῃσιν τῶν ἵππων ἔστι βωμός, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα· δηλὰ οὖν ἔστιν ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἶναι Διὸς ὃς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν, ὅσα διδῶσιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωταί σφισι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἔστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψίστου· ἐν δὲ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἀφέσει ἐν μὲν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ, τῆς ἀφέσεως κατὰ μέσον πού μάλιστα, Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἥρας εἰσὶν Ἰππίας βωμοί, πρὸς δὲ τῷ κίονι Διοσκοῦρων.

[15.5] As you go to the starting-point for the chariot-race there is an altar with an inscription “to the Bringer of Fate.” This is plainly a surname of Zeus, who knows the affairs of men, all that the Fates give them, and all that is not destined for them. Near there is also an oblong altar of Fates, after it one of Hermes, and the next two are of Zeus Most High. At the starting-point for the chariot-race, just about opposite the middle of it, there are in the open altars of Poseidon Horse-god and Hera Horse-goddess, and near the pillar an altar of the Dioscuri.

[6] τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἑμβολὸν καλούμενον ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Ἄρεως Ἱππίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἱππίας βωμός, ἐς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἑμβολὸν ἐσελθόντων Τύχης ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς βωμός καὶ Πανός τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἐνδοτάτῳ δὲ τοῦ Ἑμβόλου Νυμφῶν ὡς Ἀκμηνὰς καλοῦσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ἦν οἱ Ἥλαιοι καλοῦσιν Ἀγνάπτου, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπονομάζοντες τῷ οἰκοδομῇματι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπανιώντι ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμός Ἀρτέμιδος.

[15.6] At the entrance to what is called the Wedge there is on one side an altar of Ares Horse-god, on the other one of Athena Horse-goddess. On entering the Wedge itself you see altars of Good Luck, Pan and Aphrodite; at the innermost part of the Wedge an altar of the Nymphs called Blooming. An altar of Artemis stands on the right as you return from the Portico that the Eleans call the Portico of Agnaptus, giving to the building the name of its architect.

[7] ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὖθις διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν, εἰσὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου Κλαδέου τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοί, ὁ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦς Ἀπόλλωνος, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κοκκῶκας, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος Θερμίου. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἥλαιοις Θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο εἰκάζειν ὡς κατὰ Ἀτθίδα γλῶσσαν εἶη θέσμιος· ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπονομάζουσι Κοκκῶκαν, οὐχ οἷά τε ἦν μοι διδαχθῆναι.

[15.7] After re-entering the Altis by the processional gate there are behind the Heraeum altars of the river Cladeus and of Artemis; the one after them is Apollo's, the fourth is of Artemis surnamed Coccoca, and the fifth is of Apollo Thermius. As to the Elean surname Thermius, the conjecture occurred to me that in the Attic dialect it would be thesmios (god of laws), but why Artemis is surnamed Coccoca I could not discover.

[8] ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Θεηκολεῶνος οἴκημα· τούτου δὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τοῦ οἰκήματος Πανὸς ἱδρύται βωμός. τὸ πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἥλαιοις ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἄλτεως ἐντός, πεποιήται δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἣ ἐστὶ τοῦ γυμνασίου πέραν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ τε δρόμοι τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσὶν αἱ παλαίστραι. τοῦ πρυτανείου δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῶν θυρῶν βωμός ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας·

[15.8] Before what is called Theëcoleon is a building, in a corner of which has been set up an altar of Pan. The Town Hall of the Eleans is within the Altis, and it has been built beside the exit beyond the gymnasium. In this gymnasium are the running-tracks and the wrestling-grounds for the athletes. In front of the door of the Town Hall is an altar of Artemis Huntress.

[9] ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ παριόντων ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἔνθα σφίσιν ἡ ἐστία, Πανός ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου βωμός. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐστία τέφρας καὶ αὕτη πεποιημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὡσαύτως καίεται· ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐστίας τὴν τέφραν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμόν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς μέγεθος συντελεῖ τῷ βωμῷ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἐπιφορούμενον.

[15.9] In the Town Hall itself, on the right as you enter the room where they

have the hearth, is an altar of Pan. This hearth too is made of ashes, and on it fire burns every day and likewise every night. The ashes from this hearth, according to the account I have already given, they bring to the altar of Olympian Zeus, and what is brought from the hearth contributes a great deal to the size of the altar.

[10] ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνὸς θύουσιν ἐπὶ πάντων Ἥλαιοι τῶν κατεileγμένων βωμῶν. θύουσι δὲ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον: λιβανωτὸν γὰρ ὁμοῦ πυροῖς μεμαγμένοις μέλιτι θυμιῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, τιθέασι δὲ καὶ κλῶνας ἐλαίας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἶνω χρῶνται σπονδῇ. μόναις δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσποίनाς σπένδειν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν. μέλει δὲ τὰ ἐς θυσίας θεηκόλῳ τε, ὃς ἐπὶ μηνὶ ἐκάστῳ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχει, καὶ μάντεσι καὶ σπονδοφόροις, ἔτι δὲ ἐξηγητῇ τε καὶ αὐλητῇ καὶ τῷ ξυλεῖ:

[15.10] Each month the Eleans sacrifice once on all the altars I have enumerated. They sacrifice in an ancient manner; for they burn on the altars incense with wheat which has been kneaded with honey, placing also on the altars twigs of olive, and using wine for a libation. Only to the Nymphs and the Mistresses are they not wont to pour wine in libation, nor do they pour it on the altar common to all the gods. The care of the sacrifices is given to a priest, holding office for one month, to soothsayers and libation-bearers, and also to a guide, a flute-player and the woodman.

[11] ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς λέγειν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καθέστηκεν, ἥ καὶ ὕμνους ὁποίους ᾄδουσιν, οὗ με ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπεισαγαγέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν λόγον. θεοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ σπένδουσι καὶ Ἥρᾳ τε Ἀμμωνίᾳ καὶ Παράμμωνι: Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἐστὶν ὁ Παράμμων. φαίνονται δὲ χρώμενοι ἐκ παλαιστάτου τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντεῖῳ, καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἥλειον ἐν Ἀμμωνός εἰσι βωμοί: γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὅσα τε ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἥλαιοι καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμωνα ἦλθον ἐξ Ἡλίδος. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμμωνος:

[15.11] The traditional words spoken by them in the Town Hall at the libations, and the hymns which they sing, it were not right for me to introduce into my narrative. They pour libations, not only to the Greek gods, but also to the god in Libya, to Hera Ammonia and to Parammon, which is a surname of Hermes. From very early times it is plain that they used the oracle in Libya, and in the temple of Ammon are altars which the Eleans dedicated. On them are engraved the questions of the Eleans, the replies of the god, and the names of the men who came to Ammon from Elis. These are in the temple of Ammon.

[12] Ἥλαιοι δὲ καὶ ἡρώσι καὶ γυναιξὶ σπένδουσιν ἡρώων, ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἥλειᾳ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν. ὅποσα δὲ ᾄδουσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ, φωνὴ μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ Δῶριος, ὅστις δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἦν τὰ ᾄσματα, οὐ λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐστιατόριον Ἥλαιοις: καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν

ἐντὸς τοῦ πρυτανείου, τοῦ οἰκήματος τοῦ τῆς ἐστίας ἀπαντικρῶ, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ὀλύμπια νικῶντας ἐστιῶσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι.

[15.12] The Eleans also pour libations to all heroes and wives of heroes who are honored either in Elis or among the Aetolians. The songs sung in the Town Hall are in the Doric dialect, but they do not say who it was that composed them. The Eleans also have a banqueting room. This too is in the Town Hall, opposite the chamber where stands the hearth. In this room they entertain the winners in the Olympic games.

TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN HERA

16. λείπεται δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς τε Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρέποντα ἐς συγγραφὴν. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων ὡς Σκιλλούντιοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ πόλεων εἰσιν οἱ κατασκευασάμενοι τὸν ναὸν ὁκτῶ μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ἐν Ἥλιδι ἐκτίσατο Ὀξυλος. ἐργασία μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ Δῶριος, κίονες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκασιν αὐτόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ δρυὸς ὁ ἕτερος τῶν κίωνων ἐστὶ. μῆκος δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες ἐννέα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ τρεῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῶν πεντήκοντα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ· τὸν δὲ ἀρχιτέκτονα ὅστις ἐγένετο οὐ μνημονεύουσι.

[16.1] XVI. It remains after this for me to describe the temple of Hera and the noteworthy objects contained in it. The Elean account says that it was the people of Scillus, one of the cities in Triphylia, who built the temple about eight years after Oxylus came to the throne of Elis. The style of the temple is Doric, and pillars stand all round it. In the rear chamber one of the two pillars is of oak. The length of the temple is one hundred and sixty-nine feet, the breadth sixty-three feet, the height not short of fifty feet. Who the architect was they do not relate.

THE HERAEA GAMES

[2] διὰ πέμπτου δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἥρᾳ πέπλον αἱ ἑξ καὶ δέκα γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τιθέασιν καὶ ἀγῶνα Ἡραῖα. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν ἄμιλλα δρόμου παρθένους· οὔτι που πᾶσαι ἡλικίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶται μὲν αἱ νεώταται, μετὰ ταύτας δὲ αἱ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ δεύτεραι, τελευταῖαι δὲ θέουσιν ὅσαι πρεσβύταται τῶν παρθένων εἰσί.

[16.2] Every fourth year there is woven for Hera a robe by the Sixteen women, and the same also hold games called Heraea. The games consist of foot-races for maidens. These are not all of the same age. The first to run are the youngest; after them come the next in age, and the last to run are the oldest of the maidens. They run in the following way:

[3] θέουσι δὲ οὕτω· καθεῖται σφισιν ἡ κόμη, χιτῶν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ γόνατος καθήκει, τὸν ὤμον ἄχρι τοῦ στήθους φαίνουσι τὸν δεξιόν. ἀποδεδειγμένον μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνά ἐστὶ καὶ ταύταις τὸ Ὀλυμπικὸν στάδιον, ἀφαιροῦσι δὲ αὐταῖς ἐς τὸν

δρόμον τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ἕκτον μάλιστα: ταῖς δὲ νικώσαις ἐλαίας τε διδόασι στεφάνους καὶ βοὸς μοῖραν τεθυμένης τῇ Ἥρᾳ, καὶ δὴ ἀναθεῖναι σφισιν ἔστι γραψαμέναις εἰκόνας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ διακονούμεναι ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς ἀγωνοθετούσαις γυναῖκες.

[16.3] their hair hangs down, a tunic reaches to a little above the knee, and they bare the right shoulder as far as the breast. These too have the Olympic stadium reserved for their games, but the course of the stadium is shortened for them by about one-sixth of its length. To the winning maidens they give crowns of olive and a portion of the cow sacrificed to Hera. They may also dedicate statues with their names inscribed upon them. Those who administer to the Sixteen are, like the presidents of the games, married women.

[4] ἐπανάγουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν παρθένων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα, Ἴπποδάμειαν τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῶν γάμων τῶν Πέλοπος ἐκτίνουσαν χάριν τὰς τε ἑκκαίδεκα ἀθροῖσαι γυναῖκας λέγοντες καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς διαθεῖναι πρῶτην τὰ Ἥραϊα: μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅτι Χλωρίς νικήσειεν Ἀμφίονος θυγάτηρ μόνη λειφθεῖσα τοῦ οἴκου. σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἓνα περιγενέσθαι φασὶ τῶν ἀρσένων: ἃ δὲ ἐς τοὺς Νιόβης παῖδας παρίστατο αὐτῷ μοι γινώσκειν, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς Ἀργεῖους ἐδήλωσα.

[16.4] The games of the maidens too are traced back to ancient times; they say that, out of gratitude to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, Hippodameia assembled the Sixteen Women, and with them inaugurated the Heraea. They relate too that a victory was won by Chloris, the only surviving daughter of the house of Amphion, though with her they say survived one of her brothers. As to the children of Niobe, what I myself chanced to learn about them I have set forth in my account of Argos.

[5] ἐς δὲ τὰς ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκας καὶ ἄλλον τοιόνδε λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ λόγον. Δαμοφῶντά φασι τυραννοῦντα ἐν Πίσῃ πολλά τε ἐργάσασθαι καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἥλειους: ὥς δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Δαμοφῶν — οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἱ Πισαῖοι συνεχώρουν μετέχειν δημοσίᾳ τοῦ τυράννου τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ πῶς ἄρεστὰ καὶ Ἥλείοις ἐγένετο καταλύεσθαι τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα —, οὕτως ἑκκαίδεκα οἰκουμένων τηνικαῦτα ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ πόλεων γυναῖκα ἀφ' ἐκάστης εἵλοντο διαλύειν τὰ διάφορά σφισιν, ἥτις ἡλικία τε ἦν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἀξιώματι καὶ δόξῃ τῶν γυναικῶν προεῖχεν.

[16.5] Besides the account already given they tell another story about the Sixteen Women as follows. Damophon, it is said, when tyrant of Pisa did much grievous harm to the Eleans. But when he died, since the people of Pisa refused to participate as a people in their tyrant's sins, and the Eleans too became quite ready to lay aside their grievances, they chose a woman from each of the sixteen cities of Elis still inhabited at that time to settle their differences, this woman to be the oldest, the most noble, and the most esteemed of all the women.

[6] αἱ πόλεις δὲ ἀφ' ὧν τὰς γυναῖκας εἵλοντο, ἦσαν Ἥλις * * *. ἀπὸ τούτων μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες οὔσαι τῶν πόλεων Πισαίοις διαλλαγὰς πρὸς Ἥλειους

ἐποίησαν: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπετράπησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὰ Ἡραῖα καὶ ὑφίνασθαι τῇ Ἥρᾳ τὸν πέπλον. αἱ δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες καὶ χοροὺς δύο ἰσθᾶσι καὶ τὸν μὲν Φυσκόας τῶν χορῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἴπποδαμείας καλοῦσι: τὴν Φυσκόαν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἥλιδος τῆς Κοίλης, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ ἔνθα ὥκησεν ὄνομα μὲν Ὀρθίαν εἶναι.

[16.6] The cities from which they chose the women were Elis, . . . The women from these cities made peace between Pisa and Elis. Later on they were entrusted with the management of the Heraean games, and with the weaving of the robe for Hera. The Sixteen Women also arrange two choral dances, one called that of Physcoa and the other that of Hippodameia. This Physcoa they say came from Elis in the Hollow, and the name of the parish where she lived was Orthia.

[7] ταύτη τῇ Φυσκόᾳ Διόνυσον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι, Φυσκόαν δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου τεκεῖν παῖδα Нарκαῖον: τοῦτον, ὥς ηὔξῃθη, πολεμεῖν τοῖς προσοίκοις καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθῆναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Нарκαΐας αὐτὸν ἰδρύσασθαι: Διονύσῳ τε τιμὰς λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Нарκαίου καὶ Φυσκόας δοθῆναι πρώτων. Φυσκόας μὲν δὴ γέρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χορὸς ἐπώνυμος παρὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα γυναικῶν, φυλάσσουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον Ἥλαιοι καὶ τᾶλλα καταλυθεισῶν ὁμῶς τῶν πόλεων: νενεμημένοι γὰρ ἐς ὅκτ' ὅκτ' ἀφ' ἐκάστης αἰροῦνται γυναῖκας δύο.

[16.7] She mated they say with Dionysus, and bore him a son called Narcaeus. When he grew up he made war against the neighboring folk, and rose to great power, setting up moreover a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Narcaea. They say too that Narcaeus and Physcoa were the first to pay worship to Dionysus. So various honors are paid to Physcoa, especially that of the choral dance, named after her and managed by the Sixteen Women. The Eleans still adhere to the other ancient customs, even though some of the cities have been destroyed. For they are now divided into eight tribes, and they choose two women from each.

[8] ὅποσα δὲ ἡ ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα γυναιξὶν ἢ τοῖς ἑλλανδοικοῦσιν Ἥλείων δρᾶν καθέστηκεν, οὐ πρότερον δρῶσι πρὶν ἢ χοίρῳ τε ἐπιτηδεῖω πρὸς καθαρμὸν καὶ ὕδατι ἀποκαθῆρωνται. γίνεται δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ Πιέρᾳ τὰ καθάρσια: ἐκ δὲ Ὀλυμπίας τὴν πεδιάδα ἐς Ἥλιν ἐρχομένῳ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Πιέραν ἔστι.

[16.8] Whatever ritual it is the duty of either the Sixteen Women or the Elean umpires to perform, they do not perform before they have purified themselves with a pig meet for purification and with water. Their purification takes place at the spring Piera. You reach this spring as you go along the flat road from Olympia to Elis.

TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN HERA CONT.

17. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα: τῆς Ἥρας δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ

Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ: παρέστηκε δὲ γένειά τε ἔχων καὶ ἐπικείμενος κυνὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἔργα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπλᾶ. τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τούτων καθήμενας ἐπὶ θρόνων Ὡρας ἐποίησεν Αἰγινήτης Σμῖλις. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὰς Θέμιδος ἅτε μητρὸς τῶν Ὡρῶν ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε Δορυκλείδου τέχνη, γένος μὲν Λακεδαιμονίου, μαθητοῦ δὲ Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος.

[17.1] XVII. These things, then, are as I have already described. In the temple of Hera is an image of Zeus, and the image of Hera is sitting on a throne with Zeus standing by her, bearded and with a helmet on his head. They are crude works of art. The figures of Seasons next to them, seated upon thrones, were made by the Aeginetan Smilis. Beside them stands an image of Themis, as being mother of the Seasons. It is the work of Dorycleidas, a Lacedaemonian by birth and a disciple of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

[2] τὰς δὲ Ἑσπερίδας πέντε ἀριθμὸν Θεοκλῆς ἐποίησε, Λακεδαιμόνιος μὲν καὶ οὗτος, πατρὸς Ἡγύλου, φοιτῆσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Σκύλλιν καὶ Δίποινον λέγεται. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν κράνος ἐπικειμένην καὶ δόρυ καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔχουσιν Λακεδαιμονίου λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι Μέδοντος, τοῦτον δὲ ἀδελφόν τε εἶναι Δορυκλείδου καὶ παρὰ ἀνδράσι διδαχθῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

[17.2] The Hesperides, five in number, were made by Theocles, who like Dorycleidas was a Lacedaemonian, the son of Hegylus; he too, they say, was a student under Scyllis and Dipoenus. The Athena wearing a helmet and carrying a spear and shield is, it is said, a work of Medon, a Lacedaemonian, brother of Dorycleidas and a pupil of the same masters.

[3] Κόρη δὲ καὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις, αἱ μὲν ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καθήμεναι, Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐναντίος ἐστώσῃ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἔστηκεν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Λητώ Τύχη τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ ἔχουσα Νίκη περὰ: τοὺς δὲ εἰργασμένους αὐτὰ οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι, φαίνεται δὲ εἶναί μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατειλεγμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον: Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δὲ ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλους, καὶ Ἀφροδίτη χαλκῇ Κλέωνος ἔργον Σικυωνίου.

[17.3] Then the Maid and Demeter sit opposite each other, while Apollo and Artemis stand opposite each other. Here too have been dedicated Leto, Fortune, Dionysus and a winged Victory. I cannot say who the artists were, but these figures too are in my opinion very ancient. The figures I have enumerated are of ivory and gold, but at a later date other images were dedicated in the Heraeum, including a marble Hermes carrying the baby Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles, and a bronze Aphrodite made by Cleon of Sicyon.

[4] τούτου δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Κλέωνος, ὄνομα Ἀντιφάνης, ἐκ φοιτήσεως Περικλύτου, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητῆς ὁ Περικλυτος. παιδίον δὲ ἐπίχρυσον κάθηται γυμνὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης: Βοηθὸς δὲ ἐτόρρευσε αὐτὸ Καλχηδόνιος. μετεκομίσθη δὲ αὐτόσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Φιλιππείου,

χρυσοῦ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἑλέφαντος, Εὐρυδίκη τε ἡ Ἀριδαίου γυνὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάς ἡ Φιλίππου.

[17.4] The master of this Cleon, called Antiphanes, was a pupil of Periclytus, who himself was a pupil of Polycleitus of Argos. A nude gilded child is seated before Aphrodite, a work fashioned by Boethus of Calchedon. There were also brought hither from what is called the Philippeum other images of gold and ivory, Eurydice the wife of Aridaeus and Olympias the wife of Philip.

THE CHEST OF CYPSELUS

[5] λάρναξ δὲ κέδρου μὲν πεποιήται, ζώδια δὲ ἑλέφαντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα τῆς κέδρου: ἐς ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα Κύψελον τὸν Κορίνθου τυραννήσαντα ἀπέκρυπεν ἡ μήτηρ, ἡνίκα τερχθέντα ἀνευρεῖν αὐτὸν σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο οἱ Βακχίδαι. τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τὴν λάρνακα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε ἐκάλουν Κορίνθιοι κυψέλας: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Κύψελον τῷ παιδί θέσθαι λέγουσι.

[17.5] There is also a chest made of cedar, with figures on it, some of ivory, some of gold, others carved out of the cedar-wood itself. It was in this chest that Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, was hidden by his mother when the Bacchidae were anxious to discover him after his birth. In gratitude for the saving of Cypselus, his descendants, Cypselids as they are called, dedicated the chest at Olympia. The Corinthians of that age called chests kypselai, and from this word, they say, the child received his name of Cypselus.

[6] τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα ἔπεστι τοῖς πλείοσι, γράμμασι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γεγραμμένα: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχήματα δὲ ἄλλα τῶν γραμμάτων βουστροφηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τοιόνδε: ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεῦτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐλιγμοῖς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποῖς. ἀρξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάτωθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ τῆς λάρνακος ἡ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα.

[17.6] On most of the figures on the chest there are inscriptions, written in the ancient characters. In some cases the letters read straight on, but in others the form of the writing is what the Greeks call bustrophedon. It is like this: at the end of the line the second line turns back, as runners do when running the double race. Moreover the inscriptions on the chest are written in winding characters difficult to decipher. Beginning our survey at the bottom we see in the first space of the chest the following scenes.

[7] Οἰνόμαος διώκων Πέλοπᾶ ἐστὶν ἔχοντα Ἴπποδάμειαν: ἐκατέρῳ μὲν δὴ δύο αὐτῶν εἰσὶν ἵπποι, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπός ἐστι πεφυκότα καὶ πτερά. ἐξῆς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου τε ἡ οἰκία πεποιήται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον φέρει νήπιον πρεσβῦτις ἦτις δὴ: πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὄρμον ἔχουσα ἔστηκε, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ

θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη καὶ Δημόνασσα, καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς γυμνός.

[17.7] Oenomaus is chasing Pelops, who is holding Hippodameia. Each of them has two horses, but those of Pelops have wings. Next is wrought the house of Amphiarauus, and baby Amphilochous is being carried by some old woman or other. In front of the house stands Eriphyle with the necklace, and by her are her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa, and the boy Alcmaeon naked.

[8] Ἄσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀλκμήνην ἐποίησε θυγατέρα Ἀμφιαράου καὶ Ἐριφύλης εἶναι. Βάτων δέ, ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ, τάς τε ἡνίας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέρᾳ λόγχην. Ἀμφιαράῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιβέβηκεν ἤδη τοῦ ἄρματος, τὸ ξίφος δὲ ἔχει γυμνὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἐστὶν ἐπεστραμμένος ἐξαγόμενός τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὥς μόλις ἐκείνης ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι.

[17.8] Asius in his poem makes out Alcmena also to be a daughter of Amphiarauus and Eriphyle. Baton is driving the chariot of Amphiarauus, holding the reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiarauus already has one foot on the chariot and his sword drawn; he is turned towards Eriphyle in such a transport of anger that he can scarcely refrain from striking her.

[9] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν ἔστιν ἀγὼν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. πεποίηται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος καὶ ὀπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ: ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἄπεστιν ἥτις ἐστὶ, Φρυγίῳις δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς αὐλοῖς. ἡνιοχοῦντες δὲ συνωρίδα Πῖσός ἐστιν ὁ Περιήρους καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομήτου, πλεῦσαι καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, καὶ Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Ἀδμητος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐφημος, Ποσειδῶνός τε ὢν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον καὶ Ἰάσονι ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ μετεσχηκός: οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῇ συνωρίδι ὁ νικῶν ἐστίν.

[17.9] After the house of Amphiarauus come the games at the funeral of Pelias, with the spectators looking at the competitors. Heracles is seated on a throne, and behind him is a woman. There is no inscription saying who the woman is, but she is playing on a Phrygian, not a Greek, flute. Driving chariots drawn by pairs of horses are Pisuus, son of Perieres, and Asterion, son of Cometas (Asterion is said to have been one of the Argonauts), Polydeuces, Admetus and Euphemus. The poets declare that

the last was a son of Poseidon and a companion of Jason on his voyage to Colchis. He it is who is winning the chariot-race.

[10] οἱ δὲ ἀποτετολμηκότες πυκτεύειν Ἀδμητος καὶ Μόψος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄμψυκος: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἐστηκεν ἐπαυλεῖ, καθότι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλματι αὐλεῖν τῶν πεντάθλων νομίζουσιν. Ἰάσονι δὲ καὶ Πηλεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς πάλης ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκε. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Εὐρυβότας ἀφίεις δίσκον, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δίσκῳ φήμην ἔχων. οἱ δ' ἐς ἄμιλλαν δρόμου καθεστηκότες Μελανίων ἐστὶ καὶ Νεοθεὺς καὶ Φαλαρεὺς, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἴφικλος πέμπτος: τούτῳ δὲ νικῶντι ὀρέγει τὸν στέφανον ὁ Ἄκαστος: εἴη δ' ἂν ὁ

Πρωτεσιλάου πατὴρ τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἴλιον.

[17.10] Those who have boldly ventured to box are Admetus and Mopsus, the son of Ampyx. Between them stands a man playing the flute, as in our day they are accustomed to play the flute when the competitors in the pentathlon are jumping. The wrestling-bout between Jason and Peleus is an even one. Eurybotas is shown throwing the quoit; he must be some famous quoit-thrower. Those engaged in a running-race are Melanion, Neotheus and Phalareus; the fourth runner is Argeius, and the fifth is Iphiclus. Iphiclus is the winner, and Acastus is holding out the crown to him. He is probably the father of the Protesilaus who joined in the war against Troy.

[11] κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τρίποδες, ἄθλα δὴ τοῖς νικῶσι, καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσὶν αἱ Πελίου: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλκῆστιδι γέγραπται μόνῃ. Ἰόλαος δέ, ὃς ἐθελοντῆς μετεῖχεν Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἔργων, ἔστιν ἵππων ἄρματι ἀνηρημένος νίκην. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀγὼν μὲν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελῖᾳ πέπαιται, τὴν ὕδραν δέ, τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῇ Ἀμυμῶνι θηρίον, Ἡρακλεῖ τοξεύοντι Ἀθηναῖα παρέστηκεν: ἄτε δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὄντος οὐκ ἀγνώστου τοῦ τε ἄθλου χάριν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι, τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον. Φινεύς τε ὁ Θρᾷξ ἐστι, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Βορέου τὰς Ἀρπυίας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώκουσιν.

[17.11] Tripods too are set here, prizes of course for the winners; and there are the daughters of Pelias, though the only one with her name inscribed is Alcestis. Iolaus, who voluntarily helped Heracles in his labours, is shown as a victor in the chariot-race. At this point the funeral games of Pelias come to an end, and Heracles, with Athena standing beside him, is shooting at the hydra, the beast in the river Amymone. Heracles can be easily recognized by his exploit and his attitude, so his name is not inscribed by him. There is also Phineus the Thracian, and the sons of Boreas are chasing the harpies away from him.

18. τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γίνοιτο ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιόδου, πεποιήται δὲ γυνὴ παῖδα λευκὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρί, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα καθεύδοντι εἰκοτά, ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας. δηλοῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἔστι Θάνατόν τε εἶναι σφᾶς καὶ Ὑπνον καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τροφόν.

[18.1] XVIII. Now I come to the second space on the chest, and in going round it I had better begin from the left. There is a figure of a woman holding on her right arm a white child asleep, and on her left she has a black child like one who is asleep. Each has his feet turned different ways. The inscriptions declare, as one could infer without inscriptions, that the figures are Death and Sleep, with Night the nurse of both.

[2] γυνὴ δὲ εὐειδῆς γυναῖκα αἰσχροὺς κολάζουσα καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀπάγχουσα αὐτήν, τῇ δὲ ράβδῳ παίουσα, Δίκη ταῦτα Ἀδικίαν δρῶσα ἐστι: δύο δὲ ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐς ὅλους καθικνουμένας ὑπέρους, φάρμακα εἰδέναι σφᾶς

νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτάς ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα ἐπομένην αὐτῷ τὰ ἔπη δηλοῖ τὰ ἐξάμετρα: λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως: “Ἰδας Μάρπησσαν καλλίσφυρον, ἃν οἱ Ἀπόλλων

ἄρπασε, τὰν Εὐανοῦ ἄγει πάλιν οὐκ ἀέκουσαν.

“

[18.2] A beautiful woman is punishing an ugly one, choking her with one hand and with the other striking her with a staff. It is Justice who thus treats Injustice. Two other women are pounding in mortars with pestles; they are supposed to be wise in medicine-lore, though there is no inscription to them. Who the man is who is followed by a woman is made plain by the hexameter verses, which run thus:—

Idas brings back, not against her will,

Fair-ankled Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, whom Apollo carried off.

[3] χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνδεδुकῶς ἀνὴρ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κύλικα, τῇ δὲ ἔχων ἐστὶν ὄρμον, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλκμήνη: πεποιήται δὲ ἐς τὸν λόγον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς συγγένοιτο Ἀλκμήνῃ Ζεὺς Ἀμφιτρύωνι εἰκασθεῖς. Μενέλαος δὲ θώρακά τε ἐνδεδुकῶς καὶ ἔχων ξίφος ἐπείσιν Ἑλένην ἀποκτείνειν, δηλαδὴ ὡς ἀλίσκομένης Ἰλίου. Μηδείας δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου καθημένης Ἰάσων ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέστηκε: γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς:”Μήδειαν Ἰάσων γαμέει, κέλεται δ’ Ἀφροδίτα.

“

[18.3] A man wearing a tunic is holding in his right hand a cup, and in his left a necklace; Alcmena is taking hold of them. This scene represents the Greek story how Zeus in the likeness of Amphytrion had intercourse with Alcmena. Menelaus, wearing a breastplate and carrying a sword, is advancing to kill Helen, so it is plain that Troy has been captured. Medeia is seated upon a throne, while Jason stands on her right and Aphrodite on her left. On them is an inscription:—

Jason weds Medeia, as Aphrodite bids.

[4] πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ᾠδουσαι Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐξάρχων τῆς ᾠδῆς, καὶ σφισιν ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται:”Λατοῖδας οὗτος τάχ’ ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων:

Μοῦσαι δ’ ἅμφ’ αὐτόν, χαρίεις χορός, αἴσι κατάρχει.

“Ἀτλας δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὤμων κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐρανόν τε ἀνέχει καὶ γῆν, φέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑσπερίδων μῆλα. ὅστις δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔχων τὸ ξίφος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντα ἐρχόμενος, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν οὐδέν, δηλαδὴ ἐς ἅπαντας Ἡρακλέα εἶναι. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις:”Ἀτλας οὐρανὸν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα μεθήσει.

“

[18.4] There are also figures of Muses singing, with Apollo leading the song;

these too have an inscription:—

This is Leto's son, prince Apollo, far-shooting;
Around him are the Muses, a graceful choir, whom he is leading.

Atlas too is supporting, just as the story has it, heaven and earth upon his shoulders; he is also carrying the apples of the Hesperides. A man holding a sword is coming towards Atlas. This everybody can see is Heracles, though he is not mentioned specially in the inscription, which reads:—

Here is Atlas holding heaven, but he will let go the apples.

[5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης ὅπλα ἐνδεδυκώς, Ἀφροδίτην ἄγων: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ἐνυάλιος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Θέτις παρθένος, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πηλεὺς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς Θέτιδος ὄφιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πηλεᾶ ἐστὶν ὀρμῶν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ Μεδούσης ἔχουσιν περὰ πετόμενον Περσέα εἰσὶ διώκουσαι: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ Περσεῖ γέγραπται μόνῳ.

[18.5] There is also Ares clad in armour and leading Aphrodite. The inscription by him is "Enyalios." There is also a figure of Thetis as a maid; Peleus is taking hold of her, and from the hand of Thetis a snake is darting at Peleus. The sisters of Medusa, with wings, are chasing Perseus, who is flying. Only Perseus has his name inscribed on him.

[6] στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος: τὸ μὲν πολὺ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοί, πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἵππεῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔστιν εἰκάζειν συνιέναι μὲν σφᾶς ἐς μάχην, συνιέναι δὲ καὶ ἀσπασομένους τε καὶ ἀναγνωριοῦντας ἀλλήλους. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀμφοτέρω ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐστὶν εἰρημένον Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς μετὰ Ὀξύλου καὶ Ἥλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχαίους, ἀπαντὰν δὲ σφᾶς γένους τε μνήμη τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἐς ἀλλήλους: οἱ δὲ συνιέναι φασὶν ἐς ἀγῶνα τὰ στρατιωτικά, Πυλίου δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἀρκάδας παρὰ τε Φειὰν πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν μαχουμένους Ἰάρδανον.

[18.6] On the third space of the chest are military scenes. The greater number of the figures are on foot, though there are some knights in two-horse chariots. About the soldiers one may infer that they are advancing to battle, but that they will recognize and greet each other. Two different accounts of them are given by the guides. Some have said that they are the Aetolians with Oxylus and the ancient Eleans, and that they are meeting in remembrance of their original descent and as a sign of their mutual good will. Others declare that the soldiers are meeting in battle, and that they are Pylians and Arcadians about to fight by the city Pheia and the river Iardanus.

[7] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀποδέξαίτο ἂν τις, ὥς ὁ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρόγονος Κορινθίος τε ὢν καὶ τὴν λάρνακα αὐτῷ ποιούμενος κτῆμα, ὅποσα μὲν Κορινθίοις ἦν ἐπιχώρια, ἐκὼν ὑπερέβαινεν, ἃ δὲ ξενικά τε καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἦκοντα ἐς δόξαν, ἐτεχνᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι: αὐτῷ μέντοι παρίστατο ἐμοὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζειν. Κυψέλω καὶ τοῖς προγόνους ἐκ τῶνδε Γονούσης ἦν γένος ἐξ ἀρχῆς

γονούσης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος, καὶ πρόγονός σφισιν ἦν Μέλας ὁ Ἀντάσους:

[18.7] But it cannot for a moment be admitted that the ancestor of Cypselus, a Corinthian, having the chest made as a possession for himself, of his own accord passed over all Corinthian story, and had carved on the chest foreign events which were not famous. The following interpretation suggested itself to me. Cypselus and his ancestors came originally from Gonussa above Sicyon, and one of their ancestors was Melas, the son of Antasus.

[8] Μέλανα δὲ καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα μοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ οὐκ ἤθελεν Ἀλήτης συνοίκους δέξασθαι, γεγονός οἱ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ὑφορώμενος, ἐς ὃ θεραπεία τε τῇ πάσῃ χρώμενον καὶ Μέλανα καὶ ὁπότε ἀπελασθεῖν σὺν δεήσει ἐπανιόντα αὐτὸς ἐδέξατο καὶ ἄκων Ἀλήτης. τοῦτο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τεκμαίροιο ἂν τις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι εἰργασμένους εἶναι.

[18.8] But, as I have already related in my account of Corinth, Aletes refused to admit as settlers Melas and the host with him, being nervous about an oracle which had been given him from Delphi; but at last Melas, using every art of winning favours, and returning with entreaties every time he was driven away, persuaded Aletes however reluctantly to receive them. One might infer that this army is represented by the figures wrought upon the chest.

19. τέταρτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς περιούντι Βορέας ἐστὶν ἡρπακὼς Ὠρείθυιαν — οὐραὶ δὲ ὄφεων ἀντὶ ποδῶν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ — καὶ Ἡρακλέους ὁ πρὸς Γηρυόνην ἀγών: τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες Γηρυόνης εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι. Θησεὺς δὲ ἔχων λύραν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀριάδνη κατέχουσά ἐστι στέφανον. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ καὶ Μένμωνι μαχομένοις παρεστήκασιν αἱ μητέρες:

[19.1] XIX. In the fourth space on the chest as you go round from the left is Boreas, who has carried off Oreithyia; instead of feet he has serpents' tails. Then comes the combat between Heracles and Geryones, who is represented as three men joined to one another. There is Theseus holding a lyre, and by his side is Ariadne gripping a crown. Achilles and Memnon are fighting; their mothers stand by their side.

[2] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μελανίων καὶ Ἀταλάντη παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχουσα ἐλάφου νεβρόν. μονομαχοῦντος δὲ Αἴαντι Ἑκτορος κατὰ τὴν πρόκλησιν, μεταξὺ ἔστηκεν αὐτῶν Ἔρις αἰσχίστη τὸ εἶδος ἐοικυῖα: πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ Καλλιφῶν Σάμιος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐποίησεν Ἔριν, τὴν μάχην γράψας τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι Διόσκουροι, ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, μέση δὲ αὐτῶν Ἑλένη:

[19.2] There is also Melanion by whom is Atalanta holding a young deer. Ajax is fighting a duel with Hector, according to the challenge, and between the pair stands Strife in the form of a most repulsive woman. Another figure of Strife is in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis; Calliphon of Samos included it in his picture of the battle at the ships of the Greeks. On the chest are also the

Dioscuri, one of them a beardless youth, and between them is Helen.

[3] Αἶθρα δὲ ἡ Πιτθέως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς ἔδαφος καταβεβλημένη μέλαιναν ἔχουσα ἐστὶν ἐσθῆτα, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπος τε ἐξάμετρον καὶ ὀνόματός ἐστιν ἑνὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξάμετρῳ προσθήκη: “Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἶθραν δ' ἔλκετον

Ἀθάνανθεν.

“

[19.3] Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, lies thrown to the ground under the feet at Helen. She is clothed in black, and the inscription upon the group is an hexameter line with the addition of a single word:—

The sons of Tyndareus are carrying of Helen, and are dragging Aethra from Athens.

[4] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔπος οὕτω πεποιήται: Ἰφιδάμαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κειμένου μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κόων ἐστί: Φόβος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἔπεστιν, ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντος. ἐπιγράμματα δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἰφιδάμαντος νεκροῦ, “Ἰφιδάμας οὗτός τε Κόων περιμάρναται αὐτοῦ:

“τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι,

[19.4] Such is the way this line is constructed. Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, is lying, and Coon is fighting for him against Agamemnon. On the shield of Agamemnon is Fear, whose head is a lion's. The inscription above the corpse of Iphidamas runs:

Iphidamas, and this is Coon fighting for him.

The inscription on the shield of Agamemnon runs:

[5] “οὗτος μὲν Φόβος ἐστί βροτῶν, ὁ δ' ἔχων Ἀγαμέμνων.

“ἄγει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου τὰς θεὰς κριθησομένας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τούτοις:” Ἑρμείας ὃδ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δείκνυσσι διαιτῇν

τοῦ εἵδους Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθάναν καὶ Ἀφροδίταν.

“Ἀρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας ἔχουσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδραν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος Αἴας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔλκων, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν:” Αἴας Κασσάνδραν ἀπ' Ἀθαναίας Λοκρὸς ἔλκει.

“

[19.5]

This is the Fear of mortals: he who holds him is Agamemnon.

There is also Hermes bringing to Alexander the son of Priam the goddesses of

whose beauty he is to judge, the inscription on them being: Here is Hermes, who is showing to Alexander, that he may arbitrate
Concerning their beauty, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite.

On what account Artemis has wings on her shoulders I do not know; in her right hand she grips a leopard, in her left a lion. Ajax too is represented dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena, and by him is also an inscription: Ajax of Locri is dragging Cassandra from Athena.

[6] τῶν δὲ Οἰδίποδος παίδων Πολυνείκει πεπτωκότες ἐς γόνυ ἔπεισιν Ἑτεοκλῆς. τοῦ Πολυνείκου δὲ ὀπισθεν γυνὴ ἔστηκεν ὀδόντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν ἡμερωτέρους θηρίου καὶ οἱ τῶν χειρῶν εἰσιν ἐπικαμπεῖς οἱ ὄνυχες: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἶναί φησι Κῆρα, ὡς τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπρωμένου τὸν Πολυνείκην ἀπαχθέντα, Ἑτεοκλῆ δὲ γενομένης καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς τελευτῆς. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐν ἄνθρωπῳ κατακείμενος, γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν, ἐνδεδυκὼς ἐστὶ ποδῆρη χιτῶνα: δένδρα δὲ ἄμπελοι περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ μηλέαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ῥόαι.

[19.6] Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, has fallen on his knee, and Eteocles, the other son of Oedipus, is rushing on him. Behind Polyneices stands a woman with teeth as cruel as those of a beast, and her fingernails are bent like talons. An inscription by her calls her Doom, implying that Polyneices has been carried off by fate, and that Eteocles fully deserved his end. Dionysus is lying down in a cave, a bearded figure holding a golden cup, and clad in a tunic reaching to the feet. Around him are vines, apple-trees and pomegranate-trees.

[7] ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτω χώρα — πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμόν εἰσι — παρέχεται μὲν ἐπίγραμμα οὐδέν, λείπεται δὲ εἰκάζειν ἐς τὰ ἐπειρασμένα. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐν σπηλαίῳ γυνὴ καθεύδουσα σὺν ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλίνῃ, καὶ σφᾶς Ὀδυσσεᾶ εἶναι καὶ Κίρκην ἐδοξάζομεν ἀριθμῶ τε τῶν θεραπειῶν, αἱ εἰσι πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, καὶ τοῖς ποιουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν: τέσσαρές τε γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐργάζονται τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος εἴρηκε. Κένταυρος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πάντας ἵππου πόδας, τοὺς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνδρὸς ἐστίν.

[19.7] The highest space – the spaces are five in number – shows no inscription, so that we can only conjecture what the reliefs mean. Well, there is a grotto and in it a woman sleeping with a man upon a couch. I was of opinion that they were Odysseus and Circe, basing my view upon the number of the handmaidens in front of the grotto and upon what they are doing. For the women are four, and they are engaged on the tasks which Homer mentions in his poetry. There is a Centaur with only two of his legs those of a horse; his forelegs are human.

[8] ἐξῆς καὶ ἵππων συνωρίδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἰσὶν ἐστῶσαι: περὰ δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις χρυσᾶ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀνὴρ δίδωσιν ὅπλα μιᾷ τῶν γυναικῶν. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πατρόκλου τελευτὴν ἔχειν τεκμαίρονται: Νηρηίδας τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἶναι καὶ Θέτιν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἥφαιστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ τὰ ὅπλα διδούς οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἐστὶν ἐρρωμένους καὶ ὀπισθεν

οϊκέτης ἔπεται οἱ πυράγραν ἔχων:

[19.8] Next come two-horse chariots with women standing in them. The horses have golden wings, and a man is giving armour to one of the women. I conjecture that this scene refers to the death of Patroclus; the women in the chariots, I take it, are Nereids, and Thetis is receiving the armour from Hephaestus. And moreover, he who is giving the armour is not strong upon his feet, and a slave follows him behind, holding a pair of fire-tongs.

[9] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Κένταυρον ὡς Χίρων, ἀπηλλαγμένος ἤδη παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡξιωμένος εἶναι σύνοικος θεοῖς, ῥαστώνην τινὰ ἤκοι τοῦ πένθους Ἀχιλλεῖ παρασκευάσων. παρθένους δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμιόνων τὴν μὲν ἔχουσιν τὰς ἡνίας, τὴν δὲ ἐπικειμένην κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, Ναυσικᾶν τε νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν Ἀλκίνου καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν, ἐλαυνούσας ἐπὶ τοῖς πλυνούσ. τοξεύοντα δὲ ἄνδρα Κενταύρους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπεκτονότα ἐξ αὐτῶν, δῆλα Ἡρακλέα τε τὸν τοξεύοντα καὶ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι τὸ ἔργον.

[19.9] An account also is given of the Centaur, that he is Chiron, freed by this time from human affairs and held worthy to share the home of the gods, who has come to assuage the grief of Achilles. Two maidens in a mule-cart, one holding the reins and the other wearing a veil upon her head, are thought to be Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinous, and her handmaiden, driving to the washing-pits. The man shooting at Centaurs, some of which he has killed, is plainly Heracles, and the exploit is one of his.

[10] τὸν μὲν δὴ τὴν λάρνακα κατεῖργασμένον ὅστις ἦν, οὐδαμῶς ἡμῖν δυνατὰ ἦν συμβαλέσθαι: τὰ ἐπιγράμματα δὲ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάχα μὲν που καὶ ἄλλος τις ἂν εἴη πεποιηκώς, τῆς δὲ ὑπονοίας τὸ πολὺ ἐς Εὐμηλον τὸν Κορίνθιον εἶχεν ἡμῖν, ἄλλον τε ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσοδίου μάλιστα ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐς Δῆλον.

[19.10] As to the maker of the chest, I found it impossible to form any conjecture. But the inscriptions upon it, though possibly composed by some other poet, are, as I was on the whole inclined to hold, the work of Eumelus of Corinth. My main reason for this view is the processional hymn he wrote for Delos.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN THE TEMPLE OF HERA

20. ἔστι δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, κλίνη τε μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη, τὰ πολλὰ ἐλέφαντι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ὁ Ἰφίτου δίσκος καὶ τράπεζα ἐφ' ἧς προτίθενται τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ἴπποδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι παίγιον: ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσιν Ἥλειοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλον σχῆμα περίεισιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα.

[20.1] XX. There are here other offerings also: a couch of no great size and for the most part adorned with ivory; the quoit of Iphitus; a table on which are set out the crowns for the victors. The couch is said to have been a toy of Hippodameia. The quoit of Iphitus has inscribed upon it the truce which the

Eleans proclaim at the Olympic festivals; the inscription is not written in a straight line, but the letters run in a circle round the quoit.

[2] ἡ τράπεζα δὲ ἐλέφαντος μὲν πεποιήται καὶ χρυσοῦ, Κωλώτου δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργον: εἶναι δὲ φασιν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τὸν Κωλώτην, οἱ δὲ πολυπραγμονήσαντες σπουδῇ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πλάστας Πάριον ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα αὐτόν, μαθητὴν Πασιτέλους, Πασιτέλῃ δὲ αὐτὸν διδαχθῆναι * *. καὶ Ἥρα τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ θεῶν Μήτηρ καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἀπόλλων μετὰ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποιήται: ὀπισθε δὲ ἡ διάθεσις ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ ἀγῶνος.

[20.2] The table is made of ivory and gold, and is the work of Colotes. Colotes is said to have been a native of Heracleia, but specialists in the history of sculpture maintain that he was a Parian, a pupil of Pasiteles, who himself was a pupil of . . . There are figures of Hera, Zeus, the Mother of the gods, Hermes, and Apollo with Artemis. Behind is the disposition of the games.

[3] κατὰ δὲ ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν τῇ μὲν Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ τῶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ θυγατέρων Ὑγεία ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης καὶ Ἀγὼν παρ' αὐτόν, τῇ δὲ Πλούτων καὶ Διόνυσος Περσεφόνη τε καὶ Νύμφαι, σφαῖραν αὐτῶν ἢ ἑτέρα φέρουσα: ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κλειδί — ἔχει γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πλούτων κλεῖν — , λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν καλούμενον Ἄιδην κεκλεισθαί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ ὡς ἐπάνεισιν οὐδεὶς αὐθις ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

[20.3] On one side are Asclepius and Health, one of his daughters; Ares too and Contest by his side; on the other are Pluto, Dionysus, Persephone and nymphs, one of them carrying a ball. As to the key (Pluto holds a key) they say that what is called Hades has been locked up by Pluto, and that nobody will return back again therefrom.

[4] λόγον δέ, ὃν Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεγεν ὁ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐξηγητής, οὗ με εἰκὸς ἦν παριδεῖν: ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔφη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὄροφον τοῦ Ἡραίου πεπονηκότα ἐπανορθουμένων Ἡλείων ὀπλίτου νεκρὸν τραύματα ἔχοντα μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων εὐρεθῆναι, τῆς τε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν στέγης καὶ τῆς ἀνεχούσης τὸν κέραμον: τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα μαχέσασθαι τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλτεως πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους Ἡλείων.

[20.4] I must not omit the story told by Aristarchus, the guide to the sights at Olympia. He said that in his day the roof of the Heraeum had fallen into decay. When the Eleans were repairing it, the corpse of a foot-soldier with wounds was discovered between the roof supporting the tiles and the ornamented ceiling. This soldier took part in the battle in the Altis between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians.

[5] καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπαναβαίνοντες ἡμύνοντο οἱ Ἡεῖοι. οὗτος δ' οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἡμῖν ὑποδύναί μὲν ἐνταῦθα λιποψυχήσας ὑπὸ τραυμάτων: ὡς δὲ ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄρα οὔτε πνίγος θέρους οὔτε ἐν χειμῶνι κρυμὸς ἔσεσθαι τῷ νεκρῷ βλάβος ἅτε ἐν σκέπῃ πάσῃ κειμένῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τότε ἔτι ὁ

Ἀρίσταρχος, ὥς ἐκκομίσαιντο ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις γῇ κρύψαιεν.

[20.5] The Eleans in fact climbed to defend themselves on to all high places alike, including the sanctuaries of the gods. At any rate this soldier seemed to us to have crept under here after growing faint with his wounds, and so died. Lying in a completely sheltered spot the corpse would suffer harm neither from the heat of summer nor from the frost of winter. Aristarchus said further that they carried the corpse outside the Altis and buried him in the earth along with his armour.

THE PILLAR OF OENOMAUUS

[6] ἦν δὲ καλοῦσιν Οἰνομάου κίονα καὶ οἱ Ἥλαιοι καλοῦσιν, ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ: τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κίονες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφος, πεποίηγται δὲ ἔρυμα εἶναι ξυλίνῳ κίονι πεπονηκότι ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ δεσμῶν συνεχομένῳ. οὗτος ὁ κίων ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, καθὰ λέγουσιν, εἰστήκει: κεραυνώσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἠφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐξ ἀπάσης μόνον.

[20.6] What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaus is in the direction of the sanctuary of Zeus as you go from the great altar. On the left are four pillars with a roof on them, the whole constructed to protect a wooden pillar which has decayed through age, being for the most part held together by bands. This pillar, so runs the tale, stood in the house of Oenomaus. Struck by lightning the rest of the house was destroyed by the fire; of all the building only this pillar was left.

[7] πινάκιον δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦν ἐλεγείᾳ ἔχει γεγραμμένα: “καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κεινῶν εἴμ' ὧ ξένη λείψανον οἴκων,

στυλὶς ἐν Οἰνομάου πρὶν ποτ' εἶδ' οἶσα δόμοις:

νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδην κεῖμαι τάδ' ἔχουσα τὰ δεσμὰ

τίμιος: οὐδ' ὅλοη δαίσατο φλόξ με πυρός.

“συνέβη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο κατ' ἐμὲ τοιόνδε.

[20.7] A bronze tablet in front of it has the following elegiac inscription:—

Stranger, I am a remnant of a famous house,

I, who once was a pillar in the house of Oenomaus;

Now by Cronus' son I lie with these bands upon me,

A precious thing, and the baleful flame of fire consumed me not.

In my time another incident took place, which I will relate.

[8] ἀνὴρ βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην: ἐθέλων δὲ ὑπολιπέσθαι τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημα χαλκὴν εἰκόνα σὺν ἐπιγράμματι, ὥρυσσεν ἐς ποίησιν βάθρου: καὶ ὥς ἐγένετο ἐγγύτατα τὸ ὄρυγμα αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ Οἰνομάου

κίονος, ἐνταῦθα εὕρισκον οἱ ὀρύσσοντες καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χαλινῶν καὶ ψαλίων θραύματα.

[20.8] A Roman senator won an Olympic victory. Wishing to leave behind, as a memorial of his victory, a bronze statue with an inscription, he proceeded to dig, so as to make a foundation. When his excavation came very close to the pillar of Oenomaus, the diggers found there fragments of armour, bridles and curbs.

THE METROUM & TOWN HALL AT OLYMPIA

[9] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς ἐώρων ὀρυσσόμενα: ναὸν δὲ μεγέθει οὐ μέγαν καὶ ἐργασία Δώριον Μητρῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καλοῦσιν ἔτι, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶ διασώζοντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον: κεῖται δὲ οὐκ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ θεῶν Μητρός, βασιλέων δὲ ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες Ῥωμαίων. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τό τε Μητρῶν καὶ οἶκημα περιφερὲς ὀνομαζόμενον Φιλιππεῖον: ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δὲ ἔστι τοῦ Φιλιππείου μήκων χαλκῇ σύνδεσμος ταῖς δοκοῖς.

[20.9] These I saw myself as they were being dug out. A temple of no great size in the Doric style they have called down to the present day Metroum, keeping its ancient name. No image lies in it of the Mother of the gods, but there stand in it statues of Roman emperors. The Metroum is within the Altis, and so is a round building called the Philippeum. On the roof of the Philippeum is a bronze poppy which binds the beams together.

[10] τοῦτο τὸ οἶκημα ἔστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πεποιῆται δὲ ὅπτης πλίνθου, κίονες δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστήκασι: Φιλίπῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν. κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι Φιλίππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατήρ: ἔργα δὲ ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρους ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες.

[20.10] This building is on the left of the exit over against the Town Hall. It is made of burnt brick and is surrounded by columns. It was built by Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaeroneia. Here are set statues of Philip and Alexander, and with them is Amyntas, Philip's father. These works too are by Leochares, and are of ivory and gold, as are the statues of Olympias and Eurydice.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT OLYMPIA

21. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἔς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν. ἀναμῖξαι δὲ οὐκ ἄρεστὰ ἦν μοι τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον. ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὅποσα ἄλλα, τὰ πάντα ἔστιν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκεινται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικάντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἀνδριάντων ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην: ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις.

[21.1] XXI. From this point my account will proceed to a description of the statues and votive offerings; but I think that it would be wrong to mix up the accounts of them. For whereas on the Athenian Acropolis statues are votive offerings like everything else, in the Altis some things only are dedicated in honor of the gods, and statues are merely part of the prizes awarded to the victors. The statues I will mention later; I will turn first to the votive offerings, and go over the most noteworthy of them.

[2] ἰόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητροῦ, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρητὶς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς: πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπιδὶ ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾷ. ταῦτα ἐποιήθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες.

[21.2] As you go to the stadium along the road from the Metroum, there is on the left at the bottom of Mount Cronius a platform of stone, right by the very mountain, with steps through it. By the platform have been set up bronze images of Zeus. These have been made from the fines inflicted on athletes who have wantonly broken the rules of the contests, and they are called Zanes (figures of Zeus) by the natives.

[3] πρῶτοι δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ἔστησαν καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος: Εὐπόλος γὰρ Θεσσαλὸς χρήμασι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν πυκτῶν, Ἀγήτορα Ἀρκάδα καὶ Πρύτανιν Κυζικηνόν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φορμίωνα Ἀλικαρνασσέα μὲν γένος, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης κρατήσαντα. τοῦτο ἐξ ἀθλητῶν ἀδίκημα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ πρῶτοι χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων Εὐπόλος καὶ οἱ δεξάμενοι δῶρα παρὰ Εὐπόλου. δύο μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔργα Κλέωνος Σικυωνίου: τὰ δὲ ἑφεξῆς τέσσαρα ὅστις ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἴσμεν.

[21.3] The first, six in number, were set up in the ninety-eighth Olympiad. For Eupolus of Thessaly bribed the boxers who entered the competition, Agenor the Arcadian and Prytanis of Cyzicus, and with them also Phormio of Halicarnassus, who had won at the preceding Festival. This is said to have been the first time that an athlete violated the rules of the games, and the first to be fined by the Eleans were Eupolus and those who accepted bribes from Eupolus. Two of these images are the work of Cleon of Sicyon; who made the next four I do not know.

[4] τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τούτων

παρέντι τρίτον τε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τέταρτον, γεγραμμένα ἐλεγείᾳ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐλεγείων δηλοῦν ὡς οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ ὠκύτητι τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος σώματος Ὀλυμπικὴν ἔστιν εὐρέσθαι νίκην, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὡς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας τῆς Ἡλείων καὶ ἀθληταῖς παρανομοῦσιν εἶναι δέος: πέμπτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕκτῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος γνώμη τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς ἔπαινον Ἡλείων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῇ ζημίᾳ τῶν πυκτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὑπολοίπῳ

διδασκαλίαν πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδὲνα ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπικῇ νίκῃ
διδόναι χρήματα.

[21.4] Except the third and the fourth these images have elegiac inscriptions on them. The first of the inscriptions is intended to make plain that an Olympic victory is to be won, not by money, but by swiftness of foot and strength of body. The inscription on the second image declares that the image stands to the glory of the deity, through the piety of the Eleans, and to be a terror to law-breaking athletes. The purport of the inscription on the fifth image is praise of the Eleans, especially for their fining the boxers; that of the sixth and last is that the images are a warning to all the Greeks not to give bribes to obtain an Olympic victory.

[5] Εὐπόλου δὲ ὕστερόν φασιν Ἀθηναῖον Κάλλιππον ἀθλήσαντα πένταθλον ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιζομένους χρήμασι, δευτέραν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα τε καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι ταύτην. ἐπιβλήθεισος δὲ τῷ Καλλίπῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισαμένοις ζημίας ὑπὸ Ἥλείων, ἀποστέλλουσιν Ὑπερείδην Ἀθηναῖοι πείσοντα Ἥλείους ἀφεῖναι σφισι τὴν ζημίαν: ἀπειπόντων δὲ Ἥλείων τὴν χάριν, ἐχρῶντο ὑπεροψία τοιαύδε ἐς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε ἀποδιδόντες τὰ χρήματα καὶ Ὀλυμπίων εἰργόμενοι, πρὶν ἢ σφισιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς οὐ πρότερον ἔφησεν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὴν ζημίαν ἀποδοῖεν Ἥλείοις.

[21.5] Next after Eupolus they say that Callippus of Athens, who had entered for the pentathlon, bought off his fellow-competitors by bribes, and that this offence occurred at the hundred and twelfth Festival. When the fine had been imposed by the Eleans on Callippus and his antagonists, the Athenians commissioned Hypereides to persuade the Eleans to remit them the fine. The Eleans refused this favour, and the Athenians were disdainful enough not to pay the money and to boycott the Olympic games, until finally the god at Delphi declared that he would deliver no oracle on any matter to the Athenians before they had paid the Eleans the fine.

[6] οὕτω δὴ ἀποδόντων ἐποιήθη τῷ Διὶ ἀγάλματα, ἕξ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία οὐδέν τι δεξιώτερα ἐς ποίησιν ἢ τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν ζημίαν τὴν Εὐπόλου. γινώμει δὲ εἰσι τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνατεθῆναι τὰ ἀγάλματα μαντεία τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήσαντος τὰ ἐς τοὺς πεντάθλους δόξαντα Ἥλείοις, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ Ἥλείους ἐπαινοῦντά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν πεντάθλων τῇ ζημίᾳ:

[21.6] So when it was paid, images, also six in number, were made in honor of Zeus; on them are inscribed elegiac verses not a whit more elegant than those relating the fine of Eupolus. The gist of the first inscription is that the images were dedicated because the god by an oracle expressed his approval of the Elean decision against the pentathletes; on the second image and likewise on the third are praises of the Eleans for their fining the competitors in the pentathlon.

[7] τὸ τέταρτον δὲ ἐθέλει λέγειν τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα ἀρετῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐ

χρημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ τε καὶ ἑκτῷ, τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν δηλοῖ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀνετέθη τὰ ἀγάλματα, τὸ δὲ ἀναμνησκει τοῦ χρησιμοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν.

[21.7] The fourth purports to say that the contest at Olympia is one of merit and not of wealth; the inscription on the fifth declares the reason for dedicating the images, while that on the sixth commemorates the oracle given to the Athenians by Delphi.

[8] τῶν δὲ κατελεγμένων τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν ἐστὶν ἀριθμόν, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐπιτεθείσης παλαισταῖς ἀνδράσι ζημίας: οἷτινες δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, ἐμέ γε ἡ τοὺς Ἥλειων λέληθεν ἐξηγητάς. ἐπιγράμματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔπεστι, λέγει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ὡς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ Ῥόδιοι χρήματα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίας ἐκτίσαιεν παλαιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ δώροις παλαισάντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων χρημάτων αὐτοῖς γένοιτο τὸ ἄγαλμα.

[21.8] The images next to those I have enumerated are two in number, and they were dedicated from a fine imposed on wrestlers. As to their names, neither I nor the guides of the Eleans knew them. On these images too are inscriptions; one says that the Rhodians paid money to Olympian Zeus for the wrongdoing of a wrestler; the other that certain men wrestled for bribes and that the image was made from the fines imposed upon them.

[9] τὰ δὲ ἐπίλοιπα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς τούτους οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἥλειων, ὀγδόην μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι, λαβεῖν δὲ Εὐδηλον παρὰ Φιλοστράτου χρήματα, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Φιλόστρατον Ῥόδιον. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διάφορα ὄντα εὗρισκον τὰ Ἥλειων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα: ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τούτοις Στράτων Ἀλεξανδρέα Ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδοῇ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἀνελέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης νίκην. Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Κανωβικῷ τοῦ Νείλου στόματι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο ὁ Φιλίππου, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι πόλισμα Αἰγυπτίων ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγα εἶναι Ῥακῶτιν:

[21.9] The rest of the information about these athletes comes from the guides of the Eleans, who say that it was at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival that Eudelus accepted a bribe from Philostratus, and that this Philostratus was a Rhodian. This account I found was at variance with the Elean record of Olympic victories. In this record it is stated that Strato of Alexandria at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival won on the same day the victory in the pancratium and the victory at wrestling. Alexandria on the Canopic mouth of the Nile was founded by Alexander the son of Philip, but it is said that previously there was on the site a small Egyptian town called Racotis.

[10] Στράτωνος δὲ τούτου τρεῖς μὲν ἡλικία πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτόν εἰσι δηλοὶ τὸν κότινον παγκρατίου τε ἄθλα εἰληφότες καὶ πάλης, Κάπρος μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἥλιδος, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν πέραν Αἰγαίου Ῥοδῖός τε

Ἀριστομένης καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Στράτωνος Μαρίων τε πόλεως ἐκεῖνῃ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ Στρατονικεὺς Ἀριστεάς — τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἢ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσασορίς — , ἔβδομος δὲ Νικόστρατος ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Κιλικίων, οὐδὲν τοῖς Κίλιξιν αὐτοῦ μετὼν εἰ μὴ ὅσα τῷ λόγῳ.

[21.10] Three Competitors before the time of this Strato, and three others after him, are known to have received the wild-olive for winning the pancratium and the wrestling: Caprus from Elis itself, and of the Greeks on the other side of the Aegean, Aristomenes of Rhodes and Protophanes of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, were earlier than Strato; after him came Marion his compatriot, Aristreas of Stratoniceia (anciently both land and city were called Chrysaoris), and the seventh was Nicostratus, from Gilicia on the coast, though he was in no way a Gilician except in name.

[11] τοῦτον τὸν Νικόστρατον νήπιον παῖδα ἔτι ἐκ Πρυμνησοῦ λησται τῆς Φρυγῶν ἤρπασαν, οἰκίας ὄντα οὐκ ἀφανοῦς: κομισθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἰγέας ὠνήσατο ὅστις δὴ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ ὄνειρον γίνεται: λέοντος δὲ ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκίμῳ κατακεῖσθαι σκύμνον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν ὁ Νικόστρατος. Νικοστράτῳ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ηὔξήθη, καὶ ἄλλαι νῖκαι καὶ Ὀλυμπίαισιν ἐγένοντο παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης.

[21.11] This Nicostratus while still a baby was stolen from Prymnessus in Phrygia by robbers, being a child of a noble family. Conveyed to Aegeae he was bought by somebody or other, who some time afterwards dreamed a dream. He thought that a lion's whelp lay beneath the pallet-bed on which Nicostratus was sleeping. Now Nicostratus, when he grew up, won other victories elsewhere, besides in the pancratium and wrestling at Olympia.

[12] χρήμασι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλείων ἑτεροὶ τε ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐζημιώθη πύκτης Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς διακοσίαις ὀγδόῃ τε καὶ δεκάτῃ. ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ζημιωθέντι Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ ἦν Ῥάντης: καὶ πως καὶ ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐστίν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀδικεῖν ὑπὸ Ἑλείων κατεγνώσθη πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων:

[21.12] Afterwards others were fined by the Eleans, among whom was an Alexandrian boxer at the two hundred and eighteenth Festival. The name of the man fined was Apollonius, with the surname of Rhantes — it is a sort of national characteristic for Alexandrians to have a surname. This man was the first Egyptian to be convicted by the Eleans of a misdemeanor.

[13] κατεγνώσθη δὲ οὐ δοῦναι χρήματα ἢ λαβεῖν αὐτός, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε ἄλλο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξυβρίσαι. ἀφίκετο οὐκ ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον καιρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλείων πειθομένων τῷ νόμῳ ἐλείπετο τοῦ ἀγῶνος εἰργεσθαι: τὴν γάρ οἱ πρόφασιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κατείχετο ἐναντίων, Ἡρακλείδης γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἤλεγχεν ἀπάτην οὕσαν: ὑστερῆσαι γὰρ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτὸν ἐκλέγοντα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ.

[21.13] It was not for giving or taking a bribe that he was condemned, but for the following outrageous conduct in connection with the games. He did not arrive by the prescribed time, and the Eleans, if they followed their rule, had no option but to exclude him from the games. For his excuse, that he had been kept back among the Cyclades islands by contrary winds, was proved to be an untruth by Heracleides, himself an Alexandrian by birth. He showed that Apollonius was late because he had been picking up some money at the Ionian games.

[14] οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἦκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν τῶν πυκτῶν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Ἥλαιοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπελαύνουσι, τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ τὸν στέφανον παριᾶσιν ἀκονιτί: ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατεσκευάσατό τε τοῖς ἱμάσιν ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐσδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἤπτετο ἐπικειμένου τε ἤδη τὸν κότινον καὶ καταπεφευγότος ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ἔμελλε τὸ κοῦφον τοῦ νοῦ βλάβος μέγα ἔσσεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ καὶ

[21.14] In these circumstances the Eleans shut out from the games Apollonius with any other boxer who came after the prescribed time, and let the crown go to Heracleides without a contest. Whereupon Apollonius put on his gloves for a fight, rushed at Heracleides, and began to pummel him, though he had already put the wild-olive on his head and had taken refuge with the umpires. For this light-headed folly he was to pay dearly.

[15] ἄλλα δύο τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα: ἕκτη γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ διακοσίαις Ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἄνδρας, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένους τῆς νίκης, ἐφώρασαν συνθεμένους ὑπὲρ λήμματος. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν ἐγένετο ζημία: ποιηθέντων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων Διὸς τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐσόδου, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἔστηκεν ἐν δεξιᾷ. τοῖς δὲ πύκταις τούτοις Δίδας τε ὄνομα ἦν καὶ τῷ τὰ χρήματα δόντι αὐτῶν Σαραπάμμων: νομοῦ δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, νεωτάτου τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καλουμένου δὲ Ἀρσινοῖτου.

[21.15] There are also two other images of modern workmanship. For at the two hundred and twenty-sixth Festival they detected that two boxing men, in a fight for victory only, had agreed about the issue for a sum of money. For this misconduct a fine was inflicted, and of the images of Zeus that were made, one stands on the left of the entrance to the stadium and the other on the right. Of the boxers, the one bribed was called Didas, and the briber was Sarapammon. They were from the same district, the newest in Egypt, called Arsinoites.

[16] θαῦμα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν οὐδενὸς λόγῳ τὸν θεὸν θέσθαι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ δέξασθαι τινα ἢ δοῦναι δῶρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι: μείζονος δὲ ἔτι θαύματος, εἴ γε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἤδη τις Ἥλειων. λέγεται δὲ ὡς Δαμόνικος τολμήσειεν Ἥλειος δευτέρᾳ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι: συνεστηκέναι μὲν γὰρ παλαιόντας ἐπὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τόν τε τοῦ Δαμονίκου παῖδα Πολύκτορα καὶ Σώσανδρον γένος Σμυρναῖον, ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί: Δαμόνικον δέ, ἅτε περισσῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντα γενέσθαι τῷ παιδί τὴν νίκην, δοῦναι τοῦ Σωσάνδρου

τῷ πατρὶ χρήματα.

[21.16] It is a wonder in any case if a man has so little respect for the god of Olympia as to take or give a bribe in the contests; it is an even greater wonder that one of the Eleans themselves has fallen so low. But it is said that the Elean Damoniscus did so fall at the hundred and ninety second Festival. They say that collusion occurred between Polycctor the son of Damoniscus and Sosander of Smyrna, of the same name as his father; these were competitors for the wrestling prize of wild-olive. Damoniscus, it is alleged, being exceedingly ambitious that his son should win, bribed the father of Sosander.

[17] ὥς δὲ ἐγγόνει τὰ πραχθέντα ἔκπυστα, ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαί ζημίαν, ἐπιβάλλουσι δὲ οὐ τοῖς παισίν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τοὺς πατέρας ἔτρεψαν τὴν ὀργήν: οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡδίκουν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ζημίας ἀγάλματα ἐποιήθη: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἡλείων ἀνάκειται γυμνασίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλτεως πρὸ τῆς Ποικίλης στοᾶς καλουμένης, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων γραφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν στοὰν ταύτην καὶ Ἥχοῦς ὀνομάζουσι: βοήσαντι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἐπτάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ἡχοῦς ἢ φωνῇ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἀποδίδοται.

[21.17] When the transaction became known, the umpires imposed a fine, but instead of imposing it on the sons they directed their anger against the fathers, for that they were the real sinners. From this fine images were made. One is set up in the Elean gymnasium; the other is in the Altis in front of what is called the Painted Portico, because anciently there were pictures on the walls. Some call this Portico the Echo Portico, because when a man has shouted his voice is repeated by the echo seven or even more times.

[18] παγκρατιαστὴν δὲ φασιν Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὄνομα δὲ εἶναι οἱ Σαραπίωνα, τοῦτον ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ τὰς διακοσίας ἐς τοσοῦτο δεῖσαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὥστε ἡμέρα μιᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐσκληθήσεσθαι τὸ παγκράτιον ἔμελλεν ἀποδράντα οἴχεσθαι. τοῦτον ζημιωθέντα ἐπὶ δειλία μόνον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσιν Αἰγυπτίων.

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατειλεγμένα ἐπὶ αἰτίαις τοιαῖσδε ποιηθέντα εὗρισκον:

[21.18] They say that a pancratiast of Alexandria, by name Sarapion, at the two hundred and first Festival, was so afraid of his antagonists that on the day before the pancratiun was to be called on he ran away. This is the only occasion on record when any man, not to say a man of Egypt, was fined for cowardice.

22. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Διὸς δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀνατεθέντα ἰδιωτῶν. ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀλτει τῆς ἐσόδου πλησίον τῆς ἀγοῦσης ἐς τὸ στάδιον: ἐπὶ τούτου θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ θύουσιν Ἡλεῖοι, σαλπικταῖς δὲ ἐφεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς κήρυξιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι καθέστηκε. παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν βωμὸν βάθρον τε πεποιήται χαλκοῦν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Διός, μέγεθος μὲν ὅσον ἕξ πήχεις, κεραυνὸν δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει: ἀνέθεσαν δὲ αὐτὸ Κυναιθαεῖς. ὁ δὲ περικείμενός τε τὸν ὄρμον καὶ ἡλικίαν παῖς ἔτι ἀνάθημα ἀνδρός ἐστι

[22.1] XXII. These were the causes for which I found that these images were made. There are also images of Zeus dedicated by States and by individuals. There is in the Altis an altar near the entrance leading to the stadium. On it the Eleans do not sacrifice to any of the gods, but it is customary for the trumpeters and heralds to stand upon it when they compete. By the side of this altar has been built a pedestal of bronze, and on it is an image of Zeus, about six cubits in height, with a thunderbolt in either hand. It was dedicated by the people of Cynaetha. The figure of Zeus as a boy wearing the necklace is the votive offering of Cleolas, a Phliasian.

[2] παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἴπποδάμιον καλούμενον λίθου τε βάθρον ἐστὶ κύκλος ἡμισυς καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς καὶ Θέτις τε καὶ Ἡμέρα τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἱκετεύουσαι. ταῦτα ἐπὶ μέσῳ τῷ βάθρῳ: οἱ δὲ ἤδη σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένων ὃ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς παρέχεται καὶ ὁ Μένων ἐπὶ ἑκατέρῳ τοῦ βάθρου τῷ πέρατι ἑκάτερος. ἀνθεστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι, Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν Ἑλένῳ, ὅτι οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφία δόξαν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι εἰλήφεσαν, Μενελάῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀλέξανδρος, Διομήδει δὲ Αἰνείας καὶ τῷ Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντι Δηϊόφοβος.

[22.2] By the side of what is called the Hippodamium is a semicircular stone pedestal, and on it are Zeus, Thetis, and Day entreating Zeus on behalf of her children. These are on the middle of the pedestal. There are Achilles and Memnon, one at either edge of the pedestal, representing a pair of combatants in position. There are other pairs similarly opposed, foreigner against Greek: Odysseus opposed to Helenus, reputed to be the cleverest men in the respective armies; Alexander and Menelaus, in virtue of their ancient feud; Aeneas and Diomedes, and Deiphobus and Ajax son of Telamon.

[3] ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἔργα μὲν Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιάται δὲ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλεγεῖον γράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσί: “μνάματ’ Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακέιμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ

Ἰονίῳ Φοῖβος ὄκισ’ ἀκερσεκόμας:

οἱ γὰρ τέρμαθ’ ἐλόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα

ἔστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρόνιου δεκάταν.

“ἡ δὲ Ἀβαντὶς καλουμένη χώρα καὶ πόλισμα ἐν αὐτῇ Θρόνιον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἦσαν ἡπείρου κατὰ ὄρη τὰ Κεραύνια.

[22.3] These are the work of Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the people of Apollonia on the Ionian sea. There are also elegiac verses written in ancient characters under the feet of Zeus.

As memorials of Apollonia have we been dedicated, which on the Ionian sea Phoebus founded, he of the unshorn locks.

The Apollonians, after taking the land of Abantis, set up here
These images with heaven's help, tithe from Thronium.

The land called Abantis and the town of Thronium in it were a part of the
Thesprotian mainland over against the Ceraunian mountains.

[4] σκεδασθεισῶν γὰρ Ἑλλησιν, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῶν νεῶν, Λοκροὶ τε
ἐκ Θρονίου τῆς ἐπὶ Βοαγρίῳ ποταμῷ καὶ Ἀβαντες ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας ναυσὶν ὁκτῶ
συναμφότεροι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη κατηνέχθησαν τὰ Κεραυνία. οἰκίσαντες δὲ
ἐνταῦθα καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαντες Θρόνιον, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνέμοντο
Ἀβαντίδος ὄνομα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου θέμενοι, ἐκπίπτουσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ
Ἀπολλωνιατῶν ὁμόρων κρατηθέντες πολέμῳ. ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας
τὴν Απολλωνίαν, τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων εἶναι φασιν ἀποικίαν, οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοις
αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι λαφύρων.

[22.4] When the Greek fleet was scattered on the voyage home from Troy,
Locrians from Thronium, a city on the river Boagrius, and Abantes from
Euboea, with eight ships altogether, were driven on the Ceraunian mountains.
Settling here and founding the city of Thronium, by common agreement they
gave the name of Abantis to the land as far as they occupied it. Afterwards,
however, they were conquered in war and expelled by the people of
Apollonia, their neighbors. Apollonia was a colony of Corcyra, they say, and
Corcyra of Corinth, and the Corinthians had their share of the spoils.

[5] προελθόντι δὲ ὀλίγον Ζεὺς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένος τὸν ἥλιον,
ἅετὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν κεραυνόν: ἐπίκειται δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἄνθη τὰ ἡρινά. Μεταποντίνων δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα,
Αἰγινήτου δὲ ἔργον Ἀριστόνου: τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόνου τούτου διδάσκαλον, ἢ καθ'
ὄντινα χρόνον ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἴσμεν.

[22.5] A little farther on is a Zeus turned towards the rising sun; he holds an
eagle in one hand and in the other a thunderbolt. On him are set spring
flowers, with a crown of them on his head. It is an offering of the people of
Metapontum. The artist was Aristonus of Aegina, but we do not know when
he lived nor who his teacher was.

[6] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Φλιάσιοι Δία καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς Ἀσωποῦ καὶ αὐτὸν
Ἀσωπόν, διακεκόσμηται δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. Νεμέα μὲν τῶν
ἀδελφῶν πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ζεὺς λαμβανόμενός ἐστιν Αἰγίνης, παρὰ δὲ
τὴν Αἴγιναν ἔστηκεν Ἄρπινα — ταύτῃ τῷ Ἥλείων καὶ Φλιασίων λόγῳ
συνεγένετο Ἄρης, καὶ Οἰνομάῳ δὲ μήτηρ τῷ περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν βασιλεύσαντί
ἐστὶν Ἄρπινα — , μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Κόρκυρά τε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Θήβη, τελευταῖος
δὲ ὁ Ἀσωπός. λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν Κόρκυραν ὡς μιχθεῖν Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ:
τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα ἦσε Πίνδαρος ἐς Θήβην τε καὶ ἐς Δία.

[22.6] The Phliasians also dedicated a Zeus, the daughters of Asopus, and
Asopus himself. Their images have been ordered thus: Nemea is the first of
the sisters, and after her comes Zeus seizing Aegina; by Aegina stands

Harpina, who, according to the tradition of the Eleans and Phliasians, mated with Ares and was the mother of Oenomaus, king around Pisa; after her is Corcyra, with Thebe next; last of all comes Aesopus. There is a legend about Corcyra that she mated with Poseidon, and the same thing is said by Pindar of Thebe and Zeus.

[7] ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἄνδρες Λεοντῖνοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Δία ἀνέστησαν: μέγεθος μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος πῆχεις εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν αἰτός τέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ βέλος τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν λόγους. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἱππαγόρας τε καὶ Φρύνων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος, ὃν ἄλλον πού τινα Αἰνεσίδημον δοκῶ καὶ οὐ τὸν τυραννήσαντα εἶναι Λεοντίνων.

[22.7] Men of Leontini have set up a Zeus, not at public expense but out of their private purse. The height of the image is seven cubits, and in its hands are an eagle and the bolt of Zeus, in accordance with the poets' tales. It was dedicated by Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Aenesidemus, who in my opinion was some other Aenesidemus and not the tyrant of Leontini.

23. παρεξίοντι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔσοδον Ζεὺς τε ἔστηκεν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχων οὐδὲν καὶ αὐθις ὥς πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέψαντι ἀγαλμὰ ἐστί Διός: τοῦτο τέτραπται μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Μαρδονίου τε καὶ Μήδων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐγγεγραμμένοι κατὰ τοῦ βάθρου τὰ δεξιὰ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις τοῦ ἔργου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, τρίτοι δὲ γεγραμμένοι καὶ τέταρτοι Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Σικυῶνιοι,

[23.1] XXIII. As you pass by the entrance to the Council Chamber you see an image of Zeus standing with no inscription on it, and then on turning to the north another image of Zeus. This is turned towards the rising sun, and was dedicated by those Greeks who at Plataea fought against the Persians under Mardonius. On the right of the pedestal are inscribed the cities which took part in the engagement: first the Lacedaemonians, after them the Athenians, third the Corinthians, fourth the Sicyonians,

[2] πέμπτοι δὲ Αἰγινῆται, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐπιδαῦριοι, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Τεγεᾶται τε καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅσοι Φλιοῦντα καὶ Τροίζηνα καὶ Ἑρμώνα οἰκοῦσιν, ἐκ δὲ χώρας τῆς Ἀργείας Τιρύνθιοι, Πλαταιεῖς δὲ μόνον Βοιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀργείων οἱ Μυκῆνας ἔχοντες, νησιῶται δὲ Κεῖοι καὶ Μήλιοι, Ἀμβρακῶται δὲ ἐξ ἠπείρου τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, Τήνιοι τε καὶ Λεπρεᾶται, Λεπρεᾶται μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας μόνον, ἐκ δὲ Αἰγαίου καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐ Τήνιοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Νάξιοι καὶ Κύθιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας Στυρεῖς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἥλαιοι καὶ Ποτιδαῖται καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι, τελευταῖοι δὲ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ.

[23.2] fifth the Aeginetans; after the Aeginetans, the Megarians and Epidaurians, of the Arcadians the people of Tegea and Orchomenus, after them the dwellers in Phlius, Troezen and Hermion, the Tirynthians from the Argolid, the Plataeans alone of the Boeotians, the Argives of Mycenae, the

islanders of Ceos and Melos, Ambraciots of the Thesprotian mainland, the Tenians and the Lepreans, who were the only people from Triphylia, but from the Aegean and the Cyclades there came not only the Tenians but also the Naxians and Cythnians, Styrians too from Euboea, after them Eleans, Potidaeans, Anactorians, and lastly the Chalcidians on the Euripus.

[3] τούτων τῶν πόλεων τοσαῖδε ἦσαν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι: Μυκηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Τυρύνθιοι ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἀνάστατοι: Ἀμβρακιώτας δὲ καὶ Ἀνακτορίους ἀποίκους Κορινθίων ὄντας ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐς Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ: Ποτιδαίατας δὲ δις μὲν ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τε γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος κατήγαγε μὲν Ποτιδαίατας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὄνομα δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῇ πόλει, Κασσάνδρεια δὲ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ ἀνατεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν Ἀναξαγόρας Αἰγινήτης: τοῦτον οἱ συγγράψαντες τὰ ἐς Πλαταιὰς παριᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

[23.3] Of these cities the following are at the present day uninhabited: Mycenae and Tiryns were destroyed by the Argives after the Persian wars. The Ambraciots and Anactorians, colonists of Corinth, were taken away by the Roman emperor to help to found Nicopolis near Actium. The Potidaeans twice suffered removal from their city, once at the hands of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and once before this at the hands of the Athenians. Afterwards, however, Cassander restored the Potidaeans to their homes, but the name of the city was changed from Potidaea to Cassandreia after the name of its founder. The image at Olympia dedicated by the Greeks was made by Anaxagoras of Aegina. The name of this artist is omitted by the historians of Plataea.

[4] ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου στήλη χαλκῇ, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων συνθήκας ἔχουσα εἰρήνης ἐς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. ταύτας ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι παραστησάμενοι τὸ δεύτερον Εὐβοίαν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς τρίτης πρὸς τὰς ὀγδοήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Κρίσων Ἰμεραῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τόδε εἰρημένον, εἰρήνης μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ Ἀργείων μὴ μετεῖναι πόλει, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους, ἣν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. αὗται μὲν λέγουσι τοιαῦτα αἱ συνθήκαι, Διὸς δὲ ἄλλο ἄγαλμα παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα

[23.4] In front of this Zeus there is a bronze slab, on which are the terms of the Thirty-years Peace between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. The Athenians made this peace after they had reduced Euboea for the second time, in the third year of the eighty-third Olympiad, when Crison of Himera won the foot-race. One of the articles of the treaty is to the effect that although Argos has no part in the treaty between Athens and Sparta, yet the Athenians and the Argives may privately, if they wish, be at peace with each other. Such are the terms of this treaty.

[5] ἀνάκειται τὸ Κλεοσθένους· τούτου μὲν δὴ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ἔσται μνήμη, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Μεγαρέων μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα, ἀδελφοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ Ψύλακός τε καὶ Ὀναιθος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τούτων εἰργάσαντο· ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἢ πατρίδα ἢ παρ' ᾧ τινι ἐδιδάχθησαν, οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι.

[23.5] There is yet another image of Zeus dedicated beside the chariot of Cleosthenes. This chariot I will describe later; the image of Zeus was dedicated by the Megarians, and made by the brothers Psylacus and Onaethus with the help of their sons. About their date, their nation and their master, I can tell you nothing.

[6] πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἄρματι τῷ Γέλωνος Ζεὺς ἔστηκεν ἀρχαῖος ἔχων σκῆπτρον, Ὑβλαίων δὲ φασιν εἶναι ἀνάθημα· αἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ὑβλαι, ἡ μὲν Γερεᾶτις ἐπὶ κλησιν, τὴν δὲ — ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν — ἐκάλουν Μείζονα. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔρημος ἐς ἅπαν, ἡ δὲ κόμη τε Καταναίων ἢ Γερεᾶτις καὶ ἱερόν σφισιν Ὑβλαίας ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν ἔχον τιμᾶς. παρὰ τούτων δὲ κομισθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἡγοῦμαι· τεράτων γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ ἐνυπνίων Φίλιστος ὁ Ἀρχομενίδου φησὶν ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα εὐσεβείᾳ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ βαρβάρων προσκεισθαι.

[23.6] By the chariot of Gelon stands an ancient Zeus holding a scepter which is said to be an offering of the Hyblaeans. There were two cities in Sicily called Hybla, one surnamed Gereatis and the other Greater, it being in fact the greater of the two. They still retain their old names, and are in the district of Catana. Greater Hybla is entirely uninhabited, but Gereatis is a village of Catana, with a sanctuary of the goddess Hyblaea which is held in honor by the Sicilians. The people of Gereatis, I think, brought the image to Olympia. For Philistus, the son of Archomenides, says that they were interpreters of portents and dreams, and more given to devotions than any other foreigners in Sicily.

[7] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ὑβλαίων ἀναθήματος βάθρον τε πεποιήται

χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς· τοῦτον ὀκτὼ μάλιστα εἶναι ποδῶν καὶ δέκα εἰκάζομεν. οἵτινες δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὄντινών ἐστιν ἔργον, ἐλεγείον γεγραμμένον σημαίνει· “Κλειτόριοι τὸδ' ἄγαλμα θεῷ δεκάταν ἀνέθηκαν,

πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.

ῥκαιμετρεῖτ Ἀρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας

αὐτοκασίγητοι καλὰ Λάκωνες ἔθεν.

“τούτους οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπιφανεῖς νομίζω γενέσθαι· εἶχον γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ Ἥλειοι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν, καὶ πλέονα ἔτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιτῶν γε ὄντων.

[23.7] Near the offering of the Hyblaeans has been made a pedestal of bronze with a Zeus upon it, which I conjecture to be about eighteen feet high. The

donors and sculptors are set forth in elegiac verse:—

The Cleitorians dedicated this image to the god, a tithe
From many cities that they had reduced by force.
The sculptors were Aristo and Telestas,
Own brothers and Laconians.

I do not think that these Laconians were famous all over Greece, for had they been so the Eleans would have had something to say about them, and the Lacedaemonians more still, seeing that they were their fellow-citizens.

24. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Λαοίτα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Λαοίτα δὲ, παρὰ τούτων τὸν βωμὸν Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ βάθρου δῶρον μὲν τοῦ Κορινθίων δήμου, Μούσου δὲ ἐστὶ ποίημα, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μοῦσος. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐρχομένῳ τὸν μέγαν ἔστιν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Διὸς, ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ οἷα δὴ ἄνθεσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κεραυνὸς πεποίηται. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀσκάρου τέχνη Θηβαίου, διδαχθέντος παρὰ τῷ Σικυωνίῳ Κανάχῳ: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δεκάτην ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου Φωκέων καὶ Θεσσαλῶν φησιν εἶναι.

[24.1] XXIV. By the side of the altar of Zeus Laoetas and Poseidon Laoetas is a Zeus on a bronze pedestal. The people of Corinth gave it and Musus made it, whoever this Musus may have been. As you go from the Council Chamber to the great temple there stands on the left an image of Zeus, crowned as it were with flowers, and with a thunderbolt set in his right hand. It is the work of Ascarus of Thebes, a pupil of Canachus of Sicyon. The inscription on it says that it is a tithe from the war between Phocis and Thessaly.

[2] εἰ δὲ Φωκεῦσιν ἐς πόλεμόν τινα οὗτοι κατέστησαν καὶ ἔστιν ἀπὸ Φωκέων αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ἂν ὃ γε ἱερὸς καλούμενος εἴη πόλεμος, ὃν δὲ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπολέμησαν πρὶν ἢ Μήδους καὶ βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβῆναι. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ζεὺς ἐστίν, ὅντινα ἀναθεῖναι Ψωφιδίους ἐπὶ πολέμου κατορθώματι τὸ ἔπος τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον δηλοῖ.

[24.2] If the Thessalians went to war with Phocis and dedicated the offering from Phocian plunder, this could not have been the so-called "Sacred War," but must have been a war between the two States previous to the invasion of Greece by the Persians under their king. Not far from this is a Zeus, which, as is declared by the verse inscribed on it, was dedicated by the Psophidians for a success in war.

[3] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζεὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου, μέγεθος μὲν δυόδεκα ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἠνίκα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δεύτερα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν: ἔπεστι δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, "Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα

ἰλάφ θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

[24.3] On the right of the great temple is a Zeus facing the rising of the sun, twelve feet high and dedicated, they say, by the Lacedaemonians, when they entered on a war with the Messenians after their second revolt. On it is an elegiac couplet:—

Accept, king, son of Cronus, Olympian Zeus, a lovely image,
And have a heart propitious to the Lacedaemonians.

[4] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οὔτε ἄνδρα ιδιώτην οὔτε ὁπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς οὐδένα Μομμίου πρότερον ἀνάθημα ἴσμεν ἐς ἱερὸν ἀναθέντα Ἑλληνικόν, Μόμμιος δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας Δία ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν: οὗτος ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναθήματος, παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον ταύτη τοῦ ναοῦ κίονα. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει μέγιστον τῶν χαλκῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Διός, ἀνετέθη μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν Ἑλλείων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πολέμου, μέγεθος δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν ἐστί.

[24.4] We know of no Roman, either commoner or senator, who gave a votive offering to a Greek sanctuary before Mummius, and he dedicated at Olympia a bronze Zeus from the spoils of Achaia. It stands on the left of the offering of the Lacedaemonians by the side of the first pillar on this side of the temple. The largest of the bronze images of Zeus in the Altis is twenty-seven feet high, and was dedicated by the Eleans themselves from the plunder of the war with the Arcadians.

[5] παρὰ δὲ τῷ Πελοπίῳ κίων τε οὐχ ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μικρόν, τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν προτεῖνον. τούτου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχου, ὥς δὲ αὐτῶς Διός καὶ Γανυμήδους ἀγάλματα: ἔστι δὲ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ὥς ἀρπασθεῖν τε ὑπὸ θεῶν Γανυμήδης οἶνοχοεῖν Διὶ καὶ ὥς Τρωὶ δῶρα ἵπποι δοθεῖν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο ἀνέθηκε μὲν Γναθὺς Θεσσαλός, ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς μαθητὴς τε καὶ υἱὸς Κλεοίτα.

[24.5] Beside the Pelopium is a pillar of no great height with a small image of Zeus on it; one hand is outstretched. Opposite this are other offerings in a row, and likewise images of Zeus and Ganymedes. Homer's poem tells how Ganymedes was carried off by the gods to be wine-bearer to Zeus, and how horses were given to Tros in exchange for him. This offering was dedicated by the Thessalian Gnathis and made by Aristocles, pupil and son of Cleoetas.

[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῖς Μικύθου. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μίκυθον, γένος τε ὁποῖον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν, ὁ ἐφεξῆς μοι λόγος δηλώσει. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ εἰρημένου προελθόντι ὀλίγον κατ' εὐθεΐαν ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διός οὐκ ἔχων γένεια οὐδὲ αὐτό, Ἑλαϊτῶν δὲ ἀνάθημα, οἱ καταβάντι ἐκ Καΐκου πεδίου ἐς θάλασσαν πρῶτοι ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι οἰκοῦσι.

[24.6] There is also another Zeus represented as a beardless youth, which is among offerings of Micythus. The history of Micythus, his family, and why he dedicated so many offerings at Olympia, my narrative will presently set forth.

A little farther on in a straight line from the image I have mentioned is another beardless image of Zeus. It was dedicated by the people of Elaea, who live in the first city of Aeolis you reach on descending from the plain of the Caicus to the sea.

[7] τούτου δὲ αὐθις ἄλλο ἄγαλμα ἔχεται Διός, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν Κνίδῳ Χερρονησίους ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀναθεῖναι πολεμίων φησίν: ἀνέθεσαν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὸν Δία Πέλοπά τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ποταμόν. Κνιδίους δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πεπόλισται τῇ Καρικῇ, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ καλουμένη Χερρόνησός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ κειμένη νῆσος γεφύρᾳ διαβατὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς:

[24.7] Yet another image of Zeus comes next, and the inscription on it says that it was dedicated by the Chersonesians of Cnidus from enemy spoils. On either side of the image of Zeus they have dedicated images of Pelops and of the river Alpheius respectively. The greater part of the city of Cnidus is built on the Carian mainland, where are their most noteworthy possessions, but what is called Chersonnesus is an island lying near the mainland, to which it is joined by a bridge.

[8] καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Διὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντες, ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως οἱ ἔχοντες τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κόρησον ἀνάθημα φαῖεν ἰδίᾳ τι ἀναθεῖναι τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινοῦ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῆς Ἄλτεως Ζεὺς ἐπὶ ἡλίου τετραμμένος δυσμᾶς, ἐπίγραμμα οὐδὲν παρεχόμενος: ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ οὗτος Μομμίου τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν εἶναι πολέμου.

[24.8] It is the inhabitants of this quarter who dedicated to Zeus the offerings at Olympia, just as if Ephesians living in what is called Coresus were to say that they had dedicated an offering independently of the Ephesians as a body. There is also by the wall of the Altis a Zeus turned towards the setting of the sun; it bears no inscription, but is said to be another offering of Mummius made from the plunder of the Achaean war.

[9] ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς μάλιστα ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποιήται: ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν Ὀρκίος ἐστίν αὐτῷ, ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ κεραυνὸν χειρὶ. παρὰ τούτῳ καθέστηκε τοῖς ἀθληταῖς καὶ πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, ἔτι δὲ γυμνασταῖς ἐπὶ κάπρου κατόμνυσθαι τομίῳν, μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπίῳν ἀγῶνα ἔσσεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν κακούργημα. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀθληταὶ καὶ τότε ἔτι προσκατόμνυνται, δέκα ἐφεξῆς μηνῶν ἀπηκριβῶσθαι σφισι τὰ πάντα ἐς ἄσκησιν.

[24.9] But the Zeus in the Council Chamber is of all the images of Zeus the one most likely to strike terror into the hearts of sinners. He is surnamed Oath-god, and in each hand he holds a thunderbolt. Beside this image it is the custom for athletes, their fathers and their brothers, as well as their trainers, to swear an oath upon slices of boar's flesh that in nothing will they sin against the Olympic games. The athletes take this further oath also, that for ten successive months they have strictly followed the regulations for training.

[10] ὁμνύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πῶλους κρίνουσιν, ἐπὶ δίκαιῳ καὶ ἄνευ δώρων ποιεῖσθαι κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενόν τε καὶ μὴ, φυλάξειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. τῷ κάπρῳ δὲ ὃ τι χρῆσθαι σφισι μετὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸν ὄρκον καθέστηκεν, οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα ἐπερέσθαι, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις ἐπὶ ἱερεῖα ἦν καθεστηκός, ἐφ' ᾧ τις ὄρκον ἐποιήσατο, μηδὲ ἐδώδιμον εἶναι τοῦτο ἔτι ἀνθρώπῳ. δημοῖ δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ Ὅμηρος:

[24.10] An oath is also taken by those who examine the boys, or the foals entering for races, that they will decide fairly and without taking bribes, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether accepted or not. I forgot to inquire what it is customary to do with the boar after the oath of the athletes, though the ancient custom about victims was that no human being might eat of that on which an oath had been sworn.

[11] τὸν γοῦν κάπρον καθ' ὅτου τῶν τομίῳν Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπώμοσεν ἢ μὴν εἶναι τὴν Βρισηίδα ἑαυτοῦ τῆς εὐνῆς ἀπείρατον, τοῦτον τὸν κάπρον ἀφιέμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐποίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν: “ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ σφάραγον κάπρου τάμε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ.

τὸν μὲν Ταλθύβιος πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἐς μέγα λαῖτμα

ῥῖψ' ἐπιδιήσας, βόσιν ἰχθύσιν.

“Hom. Il 19.266-268 οὕτω μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνόμιζον: ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Ὀρκίου πινάκιον χαλκοῦν, ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, δεῖμα ἐθέλοντα τοῖς ἐπιπορκοῦσι παριστάναι.

[24.11] Homer proves this point clearly. For the boar, on the slices of which Agamemnon swore that verily Briseis had not lain with him, Homer says was thrown by the herald into the sea.

He spake, and cut the boar's throat with ruthless bronze;
And the boar Talthybius swung and cast into the great depth
Of the grey sea, to feed the fishes. Hom. Il. 19.266-268

Such was the ancient custom. Before the feet of the Oath-god is a bronze plate, with elegiac verses inscribed upon it, the object of which is to strike fear into those who forswear themselves.

25. τοσαῦτα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως ἀγάλματα εἶναι Διὸς ἀνηριθμησάμεθα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον. τὸ ἀνάθημα γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου τεθέν, Κορινθίων δὲ οὐ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀλλ' οἱ παρὰ βασιλείῳ ἔχουσιν εἰληφότες τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάθημα Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν ὁ Φιλίππου, Διὶ εἰκασμένος δῆθεν. ὁπόσα δὲ ἄλλοῖα καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἐστὶ Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων: εἰκόνας δὲ οὐ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, τῇ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς χάριτι ἀνατεθείσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λόγῳ σφᾶς τῷ ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίζομεν.

[25.1] XXV. I have enumerated the images of Zeus within the Altis with the

greatest accuracy. For the offering near the great temple, though supposed to be a likeness of Zeus, is really Alexander, the son of Philip. It was set up by a Corinthian, not one of the old Corinthians, but one of those settlers whom the Emperor planted in the city. I shall also mention those offerings which are of a different kind, and not representations of Zeus. The statues which have been set up, not to honor a deity, but to reward mere men, I shall include in my account of the athletes.

[2] Μεσσηνίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κατὰ ἔθος δὴ τι ἀρχαῖον πέμποντας ἐς Ῥήγιον χορὸν παίδων πέντε ἄριθμὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ διδάσκαλόν τε ὁμοῦ τῷ χορῷ καὶ ἄνδρα αὐλητὴν ἐς ἑορτὴν τινα ἐπιχώριον Ῥηγίων, κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ποτε συμφορά, μηδὲνα ὀπίσω τῶν ἀποσταλέντων σφίσιν ἀποσωθῆναι: ἀλλὰ ἡ ναὺς ἡ ἄγουσα τοὺς παῖδας ἠφανίσθη σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον θάλασσα τὸν πορθμὸν θαλάσσης χειμεριωτάτη πάσης:

[25.2] The Messenians on the Strait in accordance with an old custom used to send to Rhegium a chorus of thirty-five boys, and with it a trainer and a flautist, to a local festival of Rhegium. On one occasion a disaster befell them for not one of those sent out returned home alive, but the ship with the boys on board went to the bottom.

[3] οἱ τε γὰρ ἄνεμοι ταρασσουσιν αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸ κῦμα ἐπάγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου πελάγους ὃ καλεῖται Τυρσηνόν, ἣν τε καὶ ἀνέμων ἀπὴ πνεύματα, ὃ δὲ καὶ τινικαῦτα ὁ πορθμὸς κίνησιν βιαιοτάτην αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρὰς παρέχεται παλιρροίας: θηρία τε τοσαῦτα ἐς αὐτὸν τὰ ἀθροιζόμενά ἐστιν, ὥς καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀναπύμπλασθαι τῶν θηρίων τῆς ὁσμῆς, ὥς σωτηρίας γε ἐκ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μηδὲ ἐλπίδος τι ὑπολείπεσθαι ναυαγῷ. εἰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα συνέπεσε καὶ Ὀδυσσεὶ διαφθαρῆναι τὴν ναῦν, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἂν τις πεῖθοιτο ἐκνήξασθαι ζῶντα ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτόν: τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐργάζεται ραστώνη.

[25.3] The sea in fact at this strait is the stormiest of seas; it is made rough by winds bringing waves from both sides, from the Adriatic and the other sea, which is called the Tyrrhenian, and even if there be no gale blowing, even then the strait of itself produces a very violent swell and strong currents. So many monsters swarm in the water that even the air over the sea is infected with their stench. Accordingly a shipwrecked man has not even a hope left of getting out of the strait alive. If it was here that disaster overtook the ship of Odysseus, nobody could believe that he swam out alive to Italy, were it not that the benevolence of the gods makes all things easy.

[4] τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν παίδων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι πένθος ἤγον, καὶ ἄλλα τέ σφίσιν ἐς τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἐξευρέθη καὶ εἰκόνας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν χαλκᾶς, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν. τὸ μὲν δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐδήλου τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναθήματα εἶναι τῶν ἐν πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰππίας ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων γενέσθαι σοφὸς τὰ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίησεν. ἔργα δὲ εἰσιν Ἥλειου Κάλλωνος αἱ εἰκόνες.

[25.4] On this occasion the Messenians mourned for the loss of the boys, and one of the honors bestowed upon them was the dedication of bronze statues at Olympia, the group including the trainer of the chorus and the flautist. The old inscription declared that the offerings were those of the Messenians at the strait; but afterwards Hippias, called “a sage” by the Greeks, composed the elegiac verses on them. The artist of the statues was Callon of Elis.

[5] ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τετραμμένην ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ Νότου, καλουμένην δὲ Πάχυνον, Μοτύη πόλις: οἰκοῦσι δὲ Λίβυες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Φοίνικες. τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύῃ βαρβάροις Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καταστάντες ἐς πόλεμον καὶ λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοὺς χαλκοῦς, προτείνοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ. κεῖνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἀλτεως: Καλάμιδος δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς ἔργα ἐγὼ τε εἵκαζον καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.

[25.5] At the headland of Sicily that looks towards Libya and the south, called Pachynum, there stands the city Motye, inhabited by Libyans and Phoenicians. Against these foreigners of Motye war was waged by the Agrigentines, who, having taken from them plunder and spoils, dedicated at Olympia the bronze boys, who are stretching out their right hands in an attitude of prayer to the god. They are placed on the wall of the Altis, and I conjectured that the artist was Calamis, a conjecture in accordance with the tradition about them. Sicily is inhabited by the following races:

[6] Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσαύτε οἰκεῖ, Σικανοὶ τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβηκότες ἐς αὐτήν, Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρωάδος: οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καὶ Λίβυες στόλφ

ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν νῆσον κοινῶ καὶ ἄποικοι Καρχηδονίων εἰσι. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βάρβαρα: Ἑλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς τε ἔχουσιν αὐτήν καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ γένους ἑκατέρου μοῖρα οὐ πολλή.

[25.6] Sicanians, Sicels, and Phrygians; the first two crossed into it from Italy, while the Phrygians came from the river Scamander and the land of the Troad. The Phoenicians and Libyans came to the island on a joint expedition, and are settlers from Carthage. Such are the foreign races in Sicily. The Greeks settled there include Dorians and Ionians, with a small proportion of Phocians and of Attics.

[7] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τείχους τὰ τε Ἀκραγαντίνων ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἡρακλέους δύο εἰσὶν ἀνδριάντες γυμνοί, παῖδες ἡλικίαν: τὸν δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοξεύοντι ἔοικε λέοντα. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν λέοντα Ταραντῖνος ἀνέθηκεν Ἱπποτίων, Νικοδάμου δὲ ἐστὶ Μαιναλίου τέχνη: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἕτερον Ἀναξίππου μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Μενδαιοῦ, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήων: τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι, ἣ ἄγει μὲν ἐξ Ἡλιδος ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καλεῖται δὲ Ἰερά.

[25.7] On the same wall as the offerings of the Agrigentines are two nude

statues of Heracles as a boy. One represents him shooting the lion at Nemea. This Heracles and the lion with him were dedicated by Hippotion of Tarentum, the artist being Nicodamus of Maenalus. The other image was dedicated by Anaxippus of Mende, and was transferred to this place by the Eleans. Previously it stood at the end of the road that leads from Elis to Olympia, called the Sacred Road.

[8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, ὅσοι προκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἐς μονομαχίαν ἄνδρα Ἑλλήνα τὸν κληῖρον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπέμειναν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐστήκασιν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πλησίον, δόρασι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὠπλισμένοι· ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐτέρου βάθρου πεποιήται Νέστωρ, τὸν ἐκάστου κληῖρον ἐσβεβληκῶς ἐς τὴν κυνῆν. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑκτορικληρουμένων ἀριθμὸν ὄντων ὀκτώ — τὸν γὰρ ἕνατον αὐτῶν, τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰκόνα, Νέρωνα κομίσαι λέγουσιν ἐς Ῥώμην — , τῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ τούτων ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι

[25.8] There are also offerings dedicated by the whole Achaean race in common; they represent those who, when Hector challenged any Greek to meet him in single combat, dared to cast lots to choose the champion. They stand, armed with spears and shields, near the great temple. Right opposite, on a second pedestal, is a figure of Nestor, who has thrown the lot of each into the helmet. The number of those casting lots to meet Hector is now only eight, for the ninth, the statue of Odysseus, they say that Nero carried to Rome,

[9] Ἀγαμέμνωνι τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῇ λαίᾳ ἐκ δεξιῶν. οὗτο δὲ ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐστὶν ἐπίθημα τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἰδομενεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπόγονος Μίνω· τῷ δὲ Ἰδομενεὶ γένος ἀπὸ Ἥλιου τοῦ πατρὸς Πασιφάης, Ἥλιου δὲ ἱερόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ ἀγγέλλειν ἀνιέναι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου.

[25.9] but Agamemnon's statue is the only one of the eight to have his name inscribed upon it; the writing is from right to left. The figure with the cock emblazoned on the shield is Idomeneus the descendant of Minos. The story goes that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, the father of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and proclaims when he is about to rise.

[10] γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ· τῷ Διὶ τ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὰγάλματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκαν,

ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Τανταλίδα Πέλοπος.

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· ὁ δὲ ἀγαματοποιὸς ὅστις ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰδομενεὺς γέγραπται τῇ ἀσπίδι·” πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφοῦ ποιήματα καὶ τόδ' Ὀνάτα

ἔργον Αἰγινήτεω, τὸν γείνατο παῖδα Μίκων.

“

[25.10] An inscription too is written on the pedestal:—

To Zeus these images were dedicated by the Achaeans,
Descendants of Pelops the godlike scion of Tantalus.

Such is the inscription on the pedestal, but the name of the artist is written on the shield of Idomeneus:—

This is one of the many works of clever Onatas,
The Aeginetan, whose sire was Micon.

[11] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναθήματος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζωστήρος μαχόμενος πρὸς τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἔφιππον γυναῖκα· τοῦτον Εὐαγόρας μὲν γένος Ζαγκλαῖος ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησε δὲ Κυδωνιάτης Ἀριστοκλῆς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαίοις καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα ἔστι· καὶ σαφῶς μὲν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἔχει τις ἂν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ, δῆλα δὲ ὡς πρότερον ἔτι ἐγένετο πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλῃ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μεσσήνην.

[25.11] Not far from the offering of the Achaeans there is also a Heracles fighting with the Amazon, a woman on horseback, for her girdle. It was dedicated by Evagoras, a Zancleaeon by descent, and made by Aristocles of Cydonia. Aristocles should be included amongst the most ancient sculptors, and though his date is uncertain, he was clearly born before Zancle took its present name of Messene.

[12] Θάσιοι δέ, Φοίνικες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες καὶ ἐκ Τύρου καὶ Φοινίκης τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοῦ Θάσῳ τῷ Ἀγήνωρος κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐκπλεύσαντες τὴν Εὐρώπης, ἀνέθεσαν Ἡρακλέα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, τὸ βάθρον χαλκοῦν ὁμοίως τῷ ἀγάλματι· μέγεθος μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀγάλματός εἰσι πῆχεις δέκα, ρόπαλον δὲ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἔχει τόξον. ἤκουσα δὲ ἐν Θάσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν σφᾶς Ἡρακλέα ὄν καὶ Τύριοι σέβεσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ ἤδη τελοῦντας ἐς Ἑλλήνας νομίσαι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος νέμειν τιμὰς.

[25.12] The Thasians, who are Phoenicians by descent, and sailed from Tyre, and from Phoenicia generally, together with Thasus, the son of Agenor, in search of Europa, dedicated at Olympia a Heracles, the pedestal as well as the image being of bronze. The height of the image is ten cubits, and he holds a club in his right hand and a bow in his left. They told me in Thasos that they used to worship the same Heracles as the Tyrians, but that afterwards, when they were included among the Greeks, they adopted the worship of Heracles the son of Amphitryon.

[13] τῷ δὲ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Θασίων ἔπεστιν ἐλεγεῖον·”υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσε

αὐτὸς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δώματα ναιετάων.

“τὸν δὲ Ὀνάταν τοῦτον ὁμως, καὶ τέχνης ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄντα Αἰγιναιᾶς, οὐδενὸς ὕστερον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

[25.13] On the offering of the Thasians at Olympia there is an elegiac couplet:—

Onatas, son of Micon, fashioned me,
He who has his dwelling in Aegina.

This Onatas, though belonging to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, I shall place after none of the successors of Daedalus or of the Attic school.

26. Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων οἱ Ναύπακτόν ποτε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν: τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίου Παιωνίου, πεποιήται δὲ ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων, ὅτε Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Οἰνιάδαις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐπολέμησαν. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημά σφισιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πραχθέντος εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολεμίων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δέϊματι, ἐπεὶ Οἰνιαδῶν γε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον.

[26.1] XXVI. The Dorian Messenian who received Naupactus from the Athenians dedicated at Olympia the image of Victory upon the pillar. It is the work of Paeonius of Mende, and was made from the proceeds of enemy spoils, I think from the war with the Arcarnanians and Oeniadae. The Messenians themselves declare that their offering came from their exploit with the Athenians in the island of Sphacteria, and that the name of their enemy was omitted through dread of the Lacedaemonians; for, they say, they are not in the least afraid of Oeniadae and the Acarnanians.

[2] τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα Μικύθου πολλά τε ἀριθμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ὄντα εὗρισκον, ἀλλὰ Ἰφίτου μὲν τοῦ Ἥλείου καὶ Ἐκεχειρίας στεφανούσης τὸν Ἰφίτον, τούτων μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων ἔχεται τοσάδε ἀναθήματα τῶν Μικύθου, Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ἑστία: Γλαῦκος δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖος. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλευρὰν ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλα, Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Γανυμήδην τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, ποιητῶν δὲ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον, καὶ θεοὺς αὖθις Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγίαν.

[26.2] The offerings of Micythus I found were numerous and not together. Next after Iphitus of Elis, and Echecheiria crowning Iphitus, come the following offerings of Micythus: Amphitrite, Poseidon and Hestia; the artist was Glaucus the Argive. Along the left side of the great temple Micythus dedicated other offerings: the Maid, daughter of Demeter, Aphrodite, Ganymedes and Artemis, the poets Homer and Hesiod, then again deities, Asclepius and Health.

[3] Ἀγών τε ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐστὶ τοῖς Μικύθου φέρων ἀλτῆρας, οἱ δὲ ἀλτῆρες οὗτοι παρέχονται σχῆμα τοιόνδε: κύκλου παραμηκεστέρου καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιφεροῦς εἰσιν ἡμῖς, πεποιήται δὲ ὥς καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν χειρῶν διέναι καθάπερ δι' ὀχάνων ἀσπίδος. τούτων μὲν δὴ σχῆμά ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον: παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγῶνος τὴν εἰκόνα Διόνυσος καὶ ὁ Θοῤῥᾶς ἐστὶν Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διός, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγω πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην. ταῦτα ἔργα ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖου Διονυσίου: τεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μικύθου καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῦ τούτοις λέγουσι, Νέρωνα δὲ ἀφελέσθαι φασὶ καὶ ταῦτα.

[26.3] Among the offerings of Miccythus is Struggle carrying jumping-weights, the shape of which is as follows. They are half of a circle, not an exact circle but elliptical, and made so that the fingers pass through as they do through the handle of a shield. Such are the fashion of them. By the statue of Struggle are Dionysus, Orpheus the Thracian, and an image of Zeus which I mentioned just now. They are the works of Dionysius of Argos. They say that Miccythus set up other offerings also in addition to these, and that they formed part of the treasures taken away by Nero.

[4] τοῖς δὲ ἐργασαμένοις αὐτά, γένος οὓσιν Ἀργείοις, Διονυσίῳ τε καὶ Γλαύκῳ, διδάσκαλόν σφισιν οὐδένᾳ ἐπιλέγουσιν: ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰ ἔργα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀναθεῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ Μίκυθος. τὸν γὰρ δὴ Μίκυθον τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος ἔφη ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δοῦλος καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων ὕστερον τούτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλα.

[26.4] The artists are said to have been Dionysius and Glaucus, who were Argives by birth, but the name of their teacher is not recorded. Their date is fixed by that of Miccythus, who dedicated the works of art at Olympia. For Herodotus in his history says that this Miccythus, when Anaxilas was despot of Rhegium, became his slave and steward of his property afterwards, on the death of Anaxilas, he went away to Tegea.

[5] τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ πατέρα Μικύθῳ Χοῖρον καὶ Ἑλληνίδας αὐτῷ πόλεις Ῥηγίον τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν: οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγῇ φησιν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εὐχὴν τινα ἐκτελὼν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παιδὸς νοσήσαντος νόσον φθινάδα.

[26.5] The inscriptions on the offerings give Choerus as the father of Miccythus, and as his fatherland the Greek cities of Rhegium and Messene on the Strait. The inscriptions say that he lived at Tegea, and he dedicated the offerings at Olympia in fulfillment of a vow made for the recovery of a son, who fell ill of a wasting disease.

[6] πλησίον δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀναθημάτων Μικύθου, τέχνης δὲ τοῦ Ἀργείου Γλαύκου, Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε κράνος ἐπικειμένη καὶ αἰγίδα ἐνδεδουκυῖα: Νικόδαμος μὲν εἰργάσατο ὁ Μαινάλιος, Ἡλείων δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν πεποιήται Νίκη: ταύτην Μαντινεῖς ἀνέθεσαν, τὸν πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δηλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι: Κάλαμις δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσιν περὰ ποιῆσαι λέγεται ἀπομιμούμενος τὸ Ἀθήνησι τῆς Ἀπτέρου καλουμένης ζῶανον.

[26.6] Near to the greater offerings of Miccythus, which were made by the Argive Glaucus, stands an image of Athena with a helmet on her head and clad in an aegis. Nicodamus of Maenalus was the artist, but it was dedicated by the Eleans. Beside the Athena has been set up a Victory. The Mantineans dedicated it, but they do not mention the war in the inscription. Calamis is said to have made it without wings in imitation of the wooden image at

Athens called Wingless Victory.

[7] πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐλάσσοσιν ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Μικύθου, ποιηθεῖσι δὲ ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, πρὸς τούτοις Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ τῶν ἔργων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ ὕδρα τινε καὶ ἐς τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἄϊδου καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐρυμάνθῳ ποταμῷ κάπρον· ἐκόμισαν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἡρακλεῶται Μαρνανδυνῶν ὁμόρων βαρβάρων καταδραμόντες τὴν χώραν. ἡ δὲ Ἡράκλεια πεπόλισται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, ἀπώκισθη δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ.

[26.7] By the smaller offerings of Micythus, that were made by Dionysius, are some of the exploits of Heracles, including what he did to the Nemean lion, the Hydra, the Hound of Hell, and the boar by the river Erymanthus. These were brought to Olympia by the people of Heracleia when they had overrun the land of the Mariandynians, their foreign neighbors. Heracleia is a city built on the Euxine sea, a colony of Megara, though the people of Tanagra in Boeotia joined in the settlement.

27. τούτων δὲ ἀντικρὺ τῶν κατελεγμένων ἔστιν ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχῳ, τετραμμένα μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τοῦ τεμένου δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὃ τῷ Πέλοπι ἀνεῖται. ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιναλίου Φόρμιδος, ὃς ἐκ Μαινάλου διαβὰς ἐς Σικελίαν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένους καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰέρωνι ὕστερον ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀποδεικνύμενος λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐς τοσοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐδαιμονίας, ὥς ἀναθεῖναι μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἄλλα ἐς Δελφούς.

[27.1] XXVII. Opposite the offerings I have enumerated are others in a row; they face towards the south, and are very near to that part of the precinct which is sacred to Pelops. Among them are those dedicated by the Maenalian Phormis. He crossed to Sicily from Maenalus to serve Gelon the son of Deinomenes. Distinguishing himself in the campaigns of Gelon and afterwards of his brother Hieron, he reached such a pitch of prosperity that he dedicated not only these offerings at Olympia, but also others dedicated to Apollo at Delphi.

[2] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν δύο τέ εἰσιν ἵπποι καὶ ἡνίοχοι δύο, ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἵππων παρεστὼς ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος· ὁ μὲν δὴ πρότερος τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀργείου, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἔργα ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου Σίμωνος. τῷ προτέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν ἐπὶ τῇ πλευρᾷ, τὰ πρῶτα οὐ σὺν μέτρῳ· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω·”Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν

Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

“

[27.2] The offerings at Olympia are two horses and two charioteers, a charioteer standing by the side of each of the horses. The first horse and man are by Dionysius of Argos, the second are the work of Simon of Aegina. On the side

of the first of the horses is an inscription, the first part of which is not metrical. It runs thus:—

Phormis dedicated me, an Arcadian of Maenalus, now of Syracuse.

[3] οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἵππος ὅτῳ καὶ τὸ ἵππομανὲς λόγῳ τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐγκεῖται: δῆλα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς μάγου σοφία γενέσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῷ ἵπῳ. μέγεθος μὲν ἢ εἶδος ἵππων ἀποδεῖ πολλῶ, ὅσοι τῆς Ἄλτεως ἐντὸς ἐστήκασι, πρὸς δὲ ἀποκέκοπται τε τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ τοιῷδε ἔτι αἰσχίων: οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ἄρσενες οὔτι που τοῦ ἵπρου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῶσιν ἡμέραν.

[27.3] This is the horse in which is, say the Eleans, the hippomanes (what maddens horses). It is plain to all that the quality of the horse is the result of magic skill. It is much inferior in size and beauty to all the horses standing within the Altis. Moreover, its tail has been cut off which makes the figure uglier still. But male horses, not only in spring but on any day, are at heat towards it.

[4] καὶ γὰρ ἐσθέουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ἀπορρηγνύοντες τὰ δεσμὰ ἢ καὶ ἐκφεύγοντες τοὺς ἄγοντας καὶ ἐπιτηδῶσιν αὐτῷ πολλῶ δὴ τι ἐμμανέστερον ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν καλλίστην ἵππον ζῶσάν τε καὶ ἡθάδα ἀναβαίνεσθαι: ἀπολισθάνουσί τε δὴ αὐτοῖς αἱ ὀπλὰι καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσι χρεμετίζοντές τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτηδῶντες μετὰ βιαιοτέρας τῆς ὀρμῆς, πρὶν ἂν ὑπὸ μαστίγων καὶ ἀνάγκης ἰσχυρᾶς ἀφελκυσθῶσι: πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγὴ σφισιν οὐδεμία ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ.

[27.4] In fact they rush into the Altis, breaking their tethers or escaping from their grooms, and they leap upon it much more madly than upon a living brood mare, even the most beautiful of them. Their hoofs slip off, but nevertheless they keep on neighing more and more, and leap with a yet more violent passion, until they are driven away by whips and sheer force. In no other way can they be separated from the bronze horse.

[5] καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Λυδίᾳ θεασάμενος οἶδα διάφορον μὲν θαῦμα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Φόρμιδος, μάγων μέντοι σοφίας οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ἀπηλλαγμένον. ἔστι γὰρ Λυδοῖς ἐπὶ κλησιν Περσικοῖς ἱερὰ ἔν τε

Ἱεροκαيسαρεία καλουμένη πόλει καὶ ἐν Ὑπαίποις, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν οἴκημά τε καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκηματι ἔστιν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ τέφρα: χρῶα δὲ οὐ κατὰ τέφραν ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄλλην.

[27.5] There is another marvel I know of, having seen it in Lydia; it is different from the horse of Phormis, but like it not innocent of the magic art. The Lydians surnamed Persian have sanctuaries in the city named Hierocaesareia and at Hypaepa. In each sanctuary is a chamber, and in the chamber are ashes upon an altar. But the color of these ashes is not the usual color of ashes.

[6] ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἀνὴρ μάγος καὶ ξύλα ἐπιφορήσας αὐὰ ἐπὶ τὸν

βωμόν πρώτα μὲν τιάραν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἐπάδει βάρβαρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ Ἑλλησιν: ἐπάδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου: ἄνευ τε δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἀφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα καὶ περιφανῇ φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι.

[27.6] Entering the chamber a magician piles dry wood upon the altar; he first places a tiara upon his head and then sings to some god or other an invocation in a foreign tongue unintelligible to Greeks, reciting the invocation from a book. So it is without fire that the wood must catch, and bright flames dart from it.

[7] τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φόρμις ἀνδρὶ ἀνθεστηκῶς πολεμίῳ, καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ γε αὖθις μάχεται. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν στρατιώτην μὲν τὸν μαχόμενον Φόρμιν εἶναι τὸν Μαινάλιον, τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Συρακόσιον Λυκόρταν: δῆλα δὲ ὡς οὗτος ὁ Λυκόρτας κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναθεῖναι τοῦ Φόρμιδος. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα τοῦ Λυκόρτα καλεῖται Φόρμιδος καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων.

[27.7] So much for this subject. Among these offerings is Phormis himself opposed to an enemy, and next are figures of him fighting a second and again a third. On them it is written that the soldier fighting is Phormis of Maenalus, and that he who dedicated the offerings was Lycortas of Syracuse. Clearly this Lycortas dedicated them out of friendship for Phormis. These offerings of Lycortas are also called by the Greeks offerings of Phormis.

[8] ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ὁ τὸν κριὸν φέρων ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυνὴν καὶ χιτῶνά τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκῶς οὐ τῶν Φόρμιδος ἔτι ἀναθημάτων ἐστίν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Φενεοῦ δέδοται τῷ θεῷ: Ὀνάταν δὲ τὸν Αἰγινήτην, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Καλλιτέλῃν ἐργάσασθαι λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, δοκεῖν δέ μοι τοῦ Ὀνάτα μαθητῆς ἢ παῖς ὁ Καλλιτέλης ἦν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Φενεατῶν ἀναθήματος ἄλλο ἐστίν ἄγαλμα, κηρυκεῖον Ἑρμῆς ἔχων: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γλαυκίαν ἀναθεῖναι γένος Ῥηγῖνον, ποιῆσαι δὲ Κάλλωνα Ἥλειον.

[27.8] The Hermes carrying the ram under his arm, with a helmet on his head, and clad in tunic and cloak, is not one of the offerings of Phormis, but has been given to the god by the Arcadians of Pheneus. The inscription says that the artist was Onatas of Aegina helped by Calliteles, who I think was a pupil or son of Onatas. Not far from the offering of the Pheneatians is another image, Hermes with a herald's wand. An inscription on it says that Glaucias, a Rhegian by descent, dedicated it, and Gallon of Elis made it.

[9] βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἑρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἑρετριεύς ἐστὶ Φιλησίου: καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου μὲν οἱ Κορκυραῖοι τόν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἕτερον βοῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φωκέας τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν αὐτῶν ἀναθήματι συμβῆναι τοιόνδε ἥκουσα.

[27.9] Of the bronze oxen one was dedicated by the Corcyraeans and the other by the Eretrians. Philesius of Eretria was the artist. Why the Corcyraeans dedicated the ox at Olympia and another at Delphi will be explained in my account of Phocis. About the offering at Olympia I heard the following story.

[10] παῖς μικρὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καθήμενος τῷ βοῖ ἐς τὸ κάτω νενευκῶς ἔπαιζεν: ἀνασχῶν δὲ ἐξαίφνης τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεάγει τε αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπέθανεν οὐ πολλαῖς. Ἥλειοι μὲν δὴ τὸν βούν ἄτε αἵματι ἔνοχον ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκκομίσαι τῆς Ἄλτεως: ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἔαν τὸ ἀνάθημα καθάρσια ἔχρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένους, ὅποσα Ἑλλήνες ἐπὶ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ νομίζουσιν.

[27.10] Sitting under this ox a little boy was playing with his head bent towards the ground. Suddenly lifting his head he broke it against the bronze, and died a few days later from the wound. So the Eleans were purposing to remove the ox from out the Altis as being guilty of bloodshed. But the god at Delphi gave an oracle that they were to let the offering stay where it was, after performing upon it the purificatory rites that are customary among the Greeks for unintentional shedding of blood.

[11] ἔστι δὲ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πλατάνοις κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα πού τὸν περίβολον τρόπαιον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἥλειους ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναστῆσαι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπέλαβεν ἐκεῖνον ἀφείναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὃς τοῦ Ἡραίου τῆς ὀροφῆς κατ' ἐμὲ ἀνασκευαζομένης ἐνταῦθα ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις εὐρέθη κείμενος.

[27.11] Under the plane trees in the Altis, just about in the center of the enclosure, there is a bronze trophy, with an inscription upon the shield of the trophy, to the effect that the Eleans raised it as a sign that they had beaten the Lacedaemonians. It was in this battle that the warrior lost his life who was found lying in his armour when the roof of the Heraeum was being repaired in my time.

[12] τῶν δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατῆσαι με ὥς ἄνδρὸς εἰκὼν εἶη πεντάθλου: καὶ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἥλειον Ἀναυχίδαν, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτῆρας ἀρχαίους. ἐλεγείον δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ: “Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκαν

Μενδαῖοι, Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασάμενοι.

“τὸ μὲν δὴ Θράκιόν τι εἶναι τεῖχος καὶ πόλις ἔοικεν, ἢ Σίπτη: Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνῳ πόλει.

[27.12] The offering of the Mendeans in Thrace came very near to beguiling me into the belief that it was a representation of a competitor in the pentathlon. It stands by the side of Anauchidas of Elis, and it holds ancient jumping-weights. An elegiac couplet is written on its thigh:—

To Zeus, king of the gods, as first-fruits was I placed here
By the Mendeans, who reduced Sipte by might of hand.

Sipte seems to be a Thracian fortress and city. The Mendeans themselves are of Greek descent, coming from Ionia, and they live inland at some distance from the sea that is by the city of Aenus.

BOOK VI.

Ἡλιακῶν Β

BOOK VI.

STATUES OF OLYMPIC VICTORS

1. ἔπεται δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἵππων ἀγωνιστῶν μνήμην καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὁμοίως. τῶν δὲ νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίαςιν οὐχ ἀπάντων εἰσὶν ἐστηκότες ἀνδριάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὰ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἔργοις, ὅμως οὐ τετυχήκασιν εἰκόνων:

[1.1] I. After my description of the votive offerings I must now go on to mention the statues of racehorses and those of men, whether athletes or ordinary folk. Not all the Olympic victors have had their statues erected; some, in fact, who have distinguished themselves, either at the games or by other exploits, have had no statue.

[2] τούτους ἐκέλευσεν ἀφεῖναι με ὁ λόγος, ὅτι οὐ κατάλογός ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν ὅποσους γεγόνασιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, ἀναθημάτων δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ εἰκόνων συγγραφή. οὐδὲ ὅποσων ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπέξειμι, ἐπιστάμενος ὅσοι τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος ἀνείλοντο ἤδη τὸν κότινον: ὅποσους δὲ ἢ αὐτοῖς τι εἶχεν ἐς δόξαν ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἄμεινον ἐτέρων πεποιῆσθαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς μνησθήσομαι.

[1.2] These I am forced to omit by the nature of my work, which is not a list of athletes who have won Olympic victories, but an account of statues and of votive offerings generally. I shall not even record all those whose statues have been set up, as I know how many have before now won the crown of wild olive not by strength but by the chance of the lot. Those only will be mentioned who themselves gained some distinction, or whose statues happened to be better made than others.

[3] ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν παλαιστοῦ, γένος δὲ ἦν Ἥλειος, Σύμμαχος Αἰσχύλου: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Φενεοῦ τῆς Ἀρκάδων Νεολαΐδας Προξένου, πυγμῆς ἐν παισὶν ἀνηρημένος νίκην: ἐφεξῆς δὲ Ἀρχέδαμος Ξενίου, καταβαλὼν καὶ οὗτος παλαιστὰς παῖδας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἥλειος. τούτων τῶν κατευλεγμένων εἰργάσατο Ἄλυπος τὰς εἰκόνας Σικυώνιος, Ναυκύδους τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητής.

[1.3] On the right of the temple of Hera is the statue of a wrestler, Symmachus the son of Aeschylus. He was an Elean by birth. Beside him is Neolaidas, son of Proxenus, from Pheneus in Arcadia, who won a victory in the boys' boxing-match. Next comes Archedamus, son of Xenius, another Elean by birth, who like Symmachus overthrew wrestlers in the contest for boys. The statues of the athletes mentioned above were made by Alypus of Sicyon, pupil

of Naucydes of Argos.

[4] Κλεογένην δὲ Σιληνοῦ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐκ δὲ ἀγέλης αὐτὸν οἰκείας ἵππῳ κρατῆσαι κέλητι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Κλεογένους Δεινόλοχος τε κεῖται Πύρρου τε καὶ Τρωῖλος Ἀλκίνου. τοῦτοις γένος μὲν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἥλιδος, γεγόνασιν δὲ σφισιν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτ' αἰ νῖκαι· ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἑλλαοδικεῖν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἵππων ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελέσθαι νίκας τῷ Τρωίῳ δὲ τελεία τε συνωρίδι καὶ πῶλων ἄρματι — Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ἐκράτει δευτέρᾳ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν,

[1.4] The inscription on Cleogenes the son of Silenus declares that he was a native, and that he won a prize with a riding-horse from his own private stable. Hard by Cleogenes are set up Deinolochus, son of Pyrrhus, and Troilus, son of Alcinous. These also were both Eleans by birth, though their victories were not the same. Troilus, at the time that he was umpire, succeeded in winning victories in the chariot-races, one for a chariot drawn by a full-grown pair and another for a chariot drawn by foals. The date of his victories was the hundred and second Festival.

[5] ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ νόμος ἐγένετο Ἥλειοις μηδὲ ἵππους τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἑλλαοδικούντων καθιέναι μηδένα — , τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε Λύσιππος· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δεινολόχου μήτηρ εἶδεν ὄψιν ὀνείρατος ὥς ἔχοιτο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τοῖς κόλποις ἐστεφανωμένου, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁ Δεινόλοχος ἡσκήθη καὶ τοὺς παῖδας παρέθει τρέχων. Σικωνίου δὲ Κλέωνός ἐστιν ἡ εἰκὼν.

[1.5] After this the Eleans passed a law that in future no umpire was to compete in the chariot-races. The statue of Troilus was made by Lysippus. The mother of Deinolochus had a dream, in which she thought that the son she clasped in her bosom had a crown on his head. For this reason Deinolochus was trained to compete in the games and outran the boys. The artist was Cleon of Sicyon.

[6] ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου Κυνίσκαν, ἐς τὸ γένος τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπικαῖς νίκαις, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ ἐς τοὺς

βασιλέας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχουσι· πεποιήται δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Τρωίλου λίθου κρητὶς καὶ ἄρμα τε ἵππων καὶ ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος καὶ αὐτῆς Κυνίσκας εἰκὼν, Ἀπελλοῦ τέχνη, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐς τὴν Κυνίσκαν ἔχοντα.

[1.6] As for Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus, her ancestry and Olympic victories, I have given an account thereof in my history of the Lacedaemonian kings. By the side of the statue of Troilus at Olympia has been made a basement of stone, whereon are a chariot and horses, a charioteer, and a statue of Cynisca herself, made by Apelles; there are also inscriptions relating to Cynisca.

[7] εἰσὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀνακείμενοι τῇ Κυνίσκᾳ, ἵππων νῖκαι γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς· Ἀνάξανδρος μὲν ἄρματι ἀνηγορεύθη πρῶτος, τὸ δὲ

ἐπίγραμμα φησι τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου πρότερον ἔτι στεφανωθῆναι τὸν πατέρα πεντάθλῳ. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἔοικεν εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, Πολυκλῆς δὲ ἐπικλησιν λαβὼν Πολύχालκος τεθρίππῳ μὲν καὶ οὗτος ἐκράτησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει οἱ τῇ δεξιᾷ ταινίαν:

[1.7] Next to her also have been erected statues of Lacedaemonians. They gained victories in chariot-races. Anaxander was the first of his family to be proclaimed victor with a chariot, but the inscription on him declares that previously his paternal grandfather received the crown for the pentathlum. Anaxander is represented in an attitude of prayer to the god, while Polycles, who gained the surname of Polychalcus, likewise won a victory with a four-horse chariot, and his statue holds a ribbon in the right hand.

[8] παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ παιδία δύο τὸ μὲν τροχὸν κατέχει, τὸ δὲ αἰτεῖ τὴν ταινίαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Πολυκλῆς ἵπποις, ὥς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγει, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ τε καὶ Νεμέᾳ.

[1.8] Beside him are two children; one holds a wheel and the other is asking for the ribbon. Polycles, as the inscription on him says, also won the chariot-race at Pytho, the Isthmus and Nemea.

2. παγκρατιαστοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο Λύσιππος: ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ παγκρατίῳ νίκην τῶν ἄλλων τε Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς Στράτου πρῶτος Ξενάρκης τε ἐκαλεῖτο Φιλανδρίδου. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄρα μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου διετέθησαν πάντων φιλοτιμώτατα Ἑλλήνων πρὸς ἵππων τροφάς. χωρὶς γὰρ ἡ ὅσους αὐτῶν κατέλεξα ἤδη, τοσοῖδε ἄλλοι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἵπποτρόφων μετὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνάκεινται τοῦ Ἀκαρνᾶνος ἀθλητοῦ, Ξενάρκης καὶ Λυκῖνος Ἀρκεσίλαός τε καὶ ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλαου Λίχας.

[2.1] II. The statue of a pancratiast was made by Lysippus. The athlete was the first to win the pancratiun not only from Stratus itself but from the whole of Acarnania, and his name was Xenarces the son of Philandrides. Now after the Persian invasion the Lacedaemonians became keener breeders of horses than any other Greeks. For beside those I have already mentioned, the following horse-breeders from Sparta have their statues set up after that of the Acarnanian athlete Xenarces, Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and Lichas his son.

[2] Ξενάρκει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τε ὑπῆρξε καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ προσανελέσθαι νίκας: Λυκῖνος δὲ ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν πῶλους, καὶ οὐ δοκιμασθέντος ἐνὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν, καθῆκεν ἐς τῶν ἵππων τὸν δρόμον τῶν τελείων τοὺς πῶλους καὶ ἐνίκα δι' αὐτῶν, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας δύο ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ποιήματα. τῷ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαῳ καὶ Λίχᾳ τῷ παιδί, τῷ μὲν αὐτῶν γεγόνασι δύο Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, Λίχας δὲ εἰργομένων τηνικαῦτα τοῦ ἀγῶνος Λακεδαιμονίων καθῆκεν ἐπὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θηβαίων δήμου τὸ ἄρμα, τὸν δὲ ἡνίοχον νικήσαντα ἀνέδησεν αὐτὸς ταινία: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μαστιγοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι, καὶ διὰ τὸν Λίχαν τοῦτον ἡ κατὰ

[2.2] Xenarces succeeded in winning other victories, at Delphi, at Argos and at Corinth. Lycinus brought foals to Olympia, and when one of them was disqualified, entered his foals for the race for full-grown horses, winning with them. He also dedicated two statues at Olympia, works of Myron the Athenian. As for Arcesilaus and his son Lichas, the father won two Olympic victories; his son, because in his time the Lacedaemonians were excluded from the games, entered his chariot in the name of the Theban people, and with his own hands bound the victorious charioteer with a ribbon. For this offence he was scourged by the umpires,

[3] Ἄγιν βασιλέα ἐπιστρατεία Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἥλειους καὶ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως μάχῃ. καταπαυσθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα ἐνταῦθα ἔστησε, τὰ δὲ Ἥλειων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας καὶ γράμματα οὐ Λίχαν, Θηβαίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἔχει νενικηκότα.

[2.3] and on account of this Lichas the Lacedaemonians invaded Elis in the reign of King Agis, when a battle took place within the Altis. When the war was over Lichas set up the statue in this place, but the Elean records of Olympic victors give as the name of the victor, not Lichas, but the Theban people.

[4] τοῦ δὲ Λίχα πλησίον μάντις ἔστηκεν Ἥλειος Θρασύβουλος Αἰνέου τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν, ὃς καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ἐμαντεύσατο ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἄγιδος τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλέως: ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἐπέξεμι. τοῦ Θρασυβούλου δὲ τῇ εἰκόνι γαλεώτης πρὸς τὸν ὦμον προσέρπων ἐστὶ τὸν δεξιόν, καὶ κύων ἱερεῖον δὴ παρ' αὐτῷ κεῖται διατετμημένος τε δίχα καὶ φαίνων τὸ ἥπαρ.

[2.4] Near Lichas stands an Elean diviner, Thrasybulus, son of Aeneas of the Iamid family, who divined for the Mantineans in their struggle against the Lacedaemonians under Agis, son of Eudamidas, their king. I shall have more to say about this in my account of the Arcadians. On the statue of Thrasybulus is a spotted lizard crawling towards his right shoulder, and by his side lies a dog, obviously a sacrificial victim, cut open and with his liver exposed.

[5] μαντικὴ δὲ ἢ μὲν δι' ἐρίφων καὶ ἀρνῶν τε καὶ μόσχων ἐκ παλαιοῦ δήλη καθεστῶσα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, Κύπριοι δὲ ὥς καὶ ὑσὶν ἐπέξευρόντες ἔστι μαντεύεσθαι, κυσὶ δὲ οὐδένες ἐπὶ γε μαντικῆς νομίζουσιν οὐδὲν χρᾶσθαι: ἔοικεν οὖν ἰδίαν τινὰ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἐπὶ σπλάγχων μαντικὴν κυνεῖον καταστήσασθαι. οἱ δ' Ἰαμίδαι καλούμενοι μάντιες γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ Ἰάμου: τὸν δὲ εἶναι παῖδα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ λαβεῖν μαντικὴν φησιν ἐν ἄσματι Πίνδαρος.

[2.5] Divination by kids, lambs or calves has, we all know, been established among men from ancient times, and the Cyprians have even discovered how to practise the art by means of pigs; but no peoples are wont to make any use of dogs in divining. So Thrasybulus apparently established a method of divination peculiar to himself, by means of the entrails of dogs. The diviners called Iamidae are descended from Iamus, who, Pindar says in an ode, was a

son of Apollo and received the gift of divination from him.

[6] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Θρασυβούλου τὴν εἰκόνα Τιμοσθένης τε Ἡλεῖος ἔστηκε σταδίου νίκην ἐν παισὶν εἰληφώς καὶ Μιλήσιος Ἀντίπατρος Κλεινοπάτρου παῖδας κατειργασμένος πύκτας. Συρακοσίων δὲ ἄνδρες, ἄγοντες ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν παρὰ Διονυσίου θυσίαν, τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου χρήμασιν ἀναπεῖθουσιν ἀναγορευθῆναί οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Συρακουσῶν· Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ τοῦ τυράννου τὰ δῶρα ἡγούμενος ἀνεῖπεν αὐτὸν Μιλήσιον καὶ ἀνέγραψε τῇ εἰκόνι ὥς γένος τε εἶη Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἰόνων ἀναθείη πρῶτος ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνα.

[2.6] By the statue of Thrasybulus stands Timosthenes of Elis, winner of the foot-race for boys, and Antipater of Miletus, son of Cleinopater, conqueror of the boy boxers. Men of Syracuse, who were bringing a sacrifice from Dionysius to Olympia, tried to bribe the father of Antipater to have his son proclaimed as a Syracusan. But Antipater, thinking naught of the tyrant's gifts, proclaimed himself a Milesian and wrote upon his statue that he was of Milesian descent and the first Ionian to dedicate his statue at Olympia.

[7] τούτου μὲν δὴ Πολύκλειτος τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο, τὸν δὲ Τιμοσθένην Εὐτυχίδης Σικυώνιος παρὰ Λυσίππῳ δεδιδαγμένος· ὁ δὲ Εὐτυχίδης οὗτος καὶ Σύροις τοῖς ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ Τύχῃς ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα, μεγάλας παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔχον τιμὰς.

[2.7] The artist who made this statue was Polycleitus, while that of Timosthenes was made by Eutychides of Sicyon, a pupil of Lysippus. This Eutychides made for the Syrians on the Orontes an image of Fortune, which is highly valued by the natives.

[8] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιμοσθένους ἀνδριάντα ἀνάκειται Τίμων καὶ ὁ παῖς τοῦ Τίμωνος Αἴσυπος, παιδίον ἐπὶ ἵππῳ καθήμενον· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡ νίκη τῷ παιδί ἵππου κέλητος, ὁ Τίμων δὲ ἐπὶ ἄρματι ἀνηγορεύθη. τῷ δὲ Τίμωνι εἰργάσατο καὶ τῷ παιδί τὰς εἰκόνας Δαίδαλος Σικυώνιος, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ νικῇ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τρόπαιον ἐποίησεν Ἡλείοις.

[2.8] In the Altis by the side of Timosthenes are statues of Timon and of his son Aesypus, who is represented as a child seated on a horse. In fact the boy won the horse-race, while Timon was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race. The statues of Timon and of his son were made by Daedalus of Sicyon, who also made for the Eleans the trophy in the Altis commemorating the victory over the Spartans.

[9] ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαμίῳ πύκτῃ τὸν ἀναθέντα μὲν ὅτι ὁ παιδοτρίβης εἶη Μύκων καὶ ὅτι Σάμιοι τὰ ἐς ἀθλητὰς καὶ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαις εἰσὶν Ἰόνων ἄριστοι, τάδε μὲν λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ἐς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν πύκτην ἐσήμαιναν οὐδέν.

[2.9] The inscription on the Samian boxer says that his trainer Mycon dedicated

the statue and that the Samians are best among the Ionians for athletes and at naval warfare; this is what the inscription says, but it tells us nothing at all about the boxer himself.

[10] παρὰ δὲ Μεσσηνίος Δαμίσκος, ὃς δύο γεγονὼς ἔτη καὶ δέκα ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. θαῦμα δὲ εἶπερ ἄλλο τι καὶ τόδε ἐποησάμην: Μεσσηνίους γὰρ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας ἐπέλειπεν ἡ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν. ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Λεοντίσκος καὶ Σύμμαχος τῶν ἐπὶ πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων, ἄλλος γε οὐδεὶς Μεσσηνίος οὔτε Σικελιώτης οὔτ' ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δηλὸς ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπίαςιν ἀνηρημένος νίκην: εἶναι δὲ οἱ Σικελιώται καὶ τούτους τῶν ἀρχαίων Ζαγκλαίων καὶ οὐ Μεσσηνίους φασί.

[2.10] Beside this is the Messenian Damiscus, who won an Olympic victory at the age of twelve. I was exceedingly surprised to learn that while the Messenians were in exile from the Peloponnesus, their luck at the Olympic games failed. For with the exception of Leontiscus and Symmachus, who came from Messene on the Strait, we know of no Messenian, either from Sicily or from Naupactus, who won a victory at Olympia. Even these two are said by the Sicilians to have been not Messenians but of old Zanclean blood.

[11] συγκατῆλθε μέντοι Μεσσηνίοις ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν: ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ ὕστερον τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσηνῆς ἀγόντων Ὀλύμπια Ἡλείων ἐνίκα στάδιον παῖδας ὁ Δαμίσκος οὗτος, καὶ οἱ καὶ πενταθλήσαντι ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ἐν Νεμέᾳ τε νῖκαι καὶ Ἴσθμοι.

[2.11] However, when the Messenians came back to the Peloponnesus their luck in the Olympic games came with them. For at the festival celebrated by the Eleans in the year after the settlement of Messene, the foot-race for boys was won by this Damiscus, who afterwards won in the pentathlum both at Nemea and at the Isthmus.

3. Δαμίσκου δὲ ἐγγύτατα ἔστηκεν ἀνὴρ ὅστις δὴ, τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα οὐ λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστι τοῦ Λάγου: Μακεδόνα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ἐκάλεσε, βασιλεύων ὅμως Αἰγύπτου. Χαιρέα δὲ Σικωνίῳ πύκτη παιδὶ ἐπίγραμμά ἐστιν ὡς νικήσειεν ἡλικίαν νέος καὶ ὡς πατρὸς εἴη Χαιρήμονος, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργασμένος Ἀστερίων Αἰσχύλου.

[3.1] III. Nearest to Damiscus stands a statue of somebody; they do not give his name, but it was Ptolemy son of Lagus who set up the offering. In the inscription Ptolemy calls himself a Macedonian, though he was king of Egypt. On Chaereas of Sicyon, a boy boxer, is an inscription that he won a victory when a young man, and that his father was Chaeremon; the name of the artist who made the statue is also written, Asterion son of Aeschylus.

[2] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χαιρέαν Μεσσηνίός τε παῖς Σόφιος καὶ ἀνὴρ Ἡλεῖος ἀνάκειται Στόμιος, καὶ τῷ μὲν τοὺς συνθέοντας τῶν παίδων παρελθεῖν, Στομίῳ δὲ πενταθλοῦντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμείων τρεῖς ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελεσθαι νίκας, τὸ δὲ

ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγει, τῆς ἵππου τε Ἡλείοις αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἀναστῆσαι τρόπαια καὶ ἄνδρα τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατηγούμεντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Στομίου, μονομαχήσαντά οἱ κατὰ πρόκλησιν:

[3.2] After Chaereas are statues of a Messenian boy Sophius and of Stomius, a man of Elis. Sophius outran his boy competitors, and Stomius won a victory in the pentathlon at Olympia and three at the Nemean games. The inscription on his statue adds that, when commander of the Elean cavalry, he set up trophies and killed in single combat the general of the enemy, who had challenged him.

[3] εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Σικυῶνος οἱ Ἡλεῖοί φασι καὶ ἄρχειν Σικωνίων, στρατεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα αὐτοὶ φιλία Θηβαίων ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐκ Βοιωτίας δυνάμει. φαίνεται ἂν οὖν ἢ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα Ἡλείων καὶ Θηβαίων στρατεία γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις.

[3.3] The Eleans say that the dead general was a native of Sicyon in command of Sicyonian troops, and that they themselves with the force from Boeotia attacked Sicyon out of friendship to the Thebans. So the attack of the Eleans and Thebans against Sicyon apparently took place after the Lacedaemonian disaster at Leuctra.

[4] ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἀνάκειται μὲν πύκτης ἐκ Λεπρέου τοῦ Ἡλείων, Λάβαξ Εὐφρονος, ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡλίδος παλαιστής ἀνὴρ Ἀριστόδημος Θράσιδος· γεγόνاسι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ δύο νῖκαι, ἢ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τέχνη Δαιδάλου τοῦ Σικωνίου, μαθητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Πατροκλέους.

[3.4] Next stands the statue of a boxer from Lepreus in Elis, whose name was Labax son of Euphron, and also that of Aristodemus, son of Thrasis, a boxer from Elis itself, who also won two victories at Pytho. The statue of Aristodemus is the work of Daedalus of Sicyon, the pupil and son of Patrocles.

[5] Ἴππον δὲ Ἡλεῖον πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα ἐποίησε Δαμόκριτος Σικωνίος, ὃς ἐς πέμπτον διδάσκαλον ἀνῆγει τὸν Ἀττικὸν Κριτίαν· Πτόλιχος μὲν γὰρ ἔμαθεν ὁ Κορκυραῖος παρ' αὐτῷ Κριτία, Πτολίχου δὲ ἦν μαθητὴς Ἀμφίων, Πίσων δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐκ Καλαυρείας ἐδιδάχθη παρ' Ἀμφίονι, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ Πίσωνι Δαμόκριτος.

[3.5] The statue of Hippius of Elis, who won the boys' boxing-match, was made by Damocritus of Sicyon, of the school of Attic Critias, being removed from him by four generations of teachers. For Gritias himself taught Ptolichus of Corcyra, Amphion was the pupil of Ptolichus, and taught Pison of Calauria, who was the teacher of Damocritus.

[6] Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐξ Αἰγείρας τῆς Ἀχαιῶν τότε ἐγένετο κάλλιστος τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σὺν τέχνῃ μάλιστα ἐπάλαισε, καταπαλαίσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας προσαναστῆσαι καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἐδόθη: τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα

ἐποίησε Σικυώνιος Κάνθαρος, Ἀλέξιδος μὲν πατρός, διδασκάλου δὲ ὦν Εὐτυχίδου.

[3.6] Cratinus of Aegeira in Achaia was the most handsome man of his time and the most skilful wrestler, and when he won the wrestling-match for boys the Eleans allowed him to set up a statue of his trainer as well. The statue was made by Cantharus of Sicyon, whose father was Alexis, while his teacher was Eutychides.

[7] Εὐπολέμου δὲ Ἠλείου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα Σικυώνιος εἵργασται Δαίδαλος· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μὲν σταδίου ἀνδρῶν Ὀλυμπίασι νίκην ἀνελέσθαι τὸν Εὐπόλεμον, εἶναι δὲ καὶ δύο Πυθικοὺς αὐτῷ πεντάθλου στεφάνους καὶ ἄλλον Νεμείων. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐπολέμῳ καὶ τάδε, ὡς ἐφεστήκοιεν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ τῷ πέρατι Ἑλλανοδίκαί, νικᾶν δὲ τῷ μὲν Εὐπολέμῳ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν δοῖεν, ὁ τρίτος δὲ Ἀμβρακιώτῃ Λέοντι, καὶ ὡς χρημάτων καταδικάσαιτο ὁ Λέων ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς βουλῆς ἑκατέρου τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν οἱ νικᾶν τὸν Εὐπόλεμον ἔγνωσαν.

[3.7] The statue of Eupolemus of Elis was made by Daedalus of Sicyon. The inscription on it informs us that Eupolemus won the foot-race for men at Olympia, and that he also received two Pythian crowns for the pentathlum and another at the Nemean games. It is also said of Eupolemus that three umpires stood on the course, of whom two gave their verdict in favour of Eupolemus and one declared the winner to be Leon the Ambraciot. Leon, they say, got the Olympic Council to fine each of the umpires who had decided in favour of Eupolemus.

[8] Οἰβώτα δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα Ἀχαιοὶ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος ὀγδοηκοστῆς· ἡ δὲ τοῦ σταδίου νίκη τῷ Οἰβώτῃ γέγονεν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτῃ. πῶς ἂν οὖν τὴν γε ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην μεμαχημένος ὁ Οἰβώτας εἴη μετὰ Ἑλλήνων; πέμπτῃ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑβδομηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι τὸ παῖσμα ἐγένετο τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Μαρδονίῳ καὶ Μήδοις. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενα ἀνάγκη, πείθεσθαι δὲ πᾶσιν οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅποια τὰ συμβάντα ἦν ἐς τὸν Οἰβώταν, τῇ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς προσέσται μοι συγγραφῇ.

[3.8] The statue of Oebotas was set up by the Achaeans by the command of the Delphic Apollo in the eightieth Olympiad, but Oebotas won his victory in the footrace at the sixth Festival. How, therefore, could Oebotas have taken part in the Greek victory at Plataea? For it was in the seventy-fifth Olympiad that the Persians under Mardonius suffered their disaster at Plataea. Now I am obliged to report the statements made by the Greeks, though I am not obliged to believe them all. The other incidents in the life of Oebotas I will add to my history of Achaia.

[9] Ἀντίοχου δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε μὲν Νικόδαμος, γένος δὲ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἦν ἐκ Λεπρέου· παγκρατίῳ δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὲν ἐκράτησεν ἅπαζ, ἐν Ἰσθμῷ δὲ καὶ Νεμέᾳ δις πεντάθλου ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι. οὐ γάρ τι Ἰσθμίων

Λεπρεάταις δειῖμα ὥσπερ γε αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν Ἥλαιοις, ἐπεὶ Ὑσμῶνί γε τῷ Ἥλείῳ — πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ὑσμῶν οὗτος ἔστηκε — τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθλήσαντι πένταθλον ἢ τε Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ Νεμείων γέγονεν ἡ ἑτέρα, Ἰσθμίων δὲ δῆλα ὡς καὶ οὗτος κατὰ ταῦτα Ἥλαιοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶργετο.

[3.9] The statue of Antiochus was made by Nicodamus. A native of Lepreus, Antiochus won once at Olympia the pancratium for men, and the pentathlum twice at the Isthmian games and twice at the Nemean. For the Lepreans are not afraid of the Isthmian games as the Eleans themselves are. For example, Hysmon of Elis, whose statue stands near that of Antiochus, competed successfully in the pentathlum both at Olympia and at Nemea, but clearly kept away, just like other Eleans, from the Isthmian games.

[10] λέγεται δὲ παιδὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῷ Ὑσμῶνι κατασκήψαι ῥεῦμα ἐς τὰ νεῦρα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μελετῆσαι πένταθλον, ἵνα δὴ ἐκ τῶν πόνων ὑγίης τε καὶ ἄνσος ἀνὴρ εἴη: τῷ δὲ ἄρα τὸ μάθημα καὶ νίκας ἔμελλεν ἐπιφανεῖς οὕτω παρασκευάσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνδριὰς αὐτῷ Κλέωνος μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτῆρας ἀρχαίους.

[3.10] It is said that when Hysmon was still a boy he was attacked by a flux in his muscles, and it was in order that by hard exercise he might be a healthy man free from disease that he practised the pentathlum. So his training was also to make him win famous victories in the games. His statue is the work of Cleon, and he holds jumping-weights of old pattern.

[11] μετὰ δὲ Ὑσμῶνα παλαιστῆς παῖς ἐξ Ἡραίας ἀνάκειται τῆς Ἀρκάδων, Νικόστρατος Ξενοκλείδου: Παντίας δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Σικυωνίου καταριθμουμένῳ τοὺς διδασχθέντας ἔβδομος ἀπὸ τούτου ἦν μαθητής.

Δίκων δὲ ὁ Καλλιβρότου πέντε μὲν Πυθοῖ δρόμου νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀνείλετο Ἰσθμίων, τέσσαρας δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ, καὶ Ὀλυμπικὰς μίαν μὲν ἐν παισί, δύο δὲ ἄλλας ἀνδρῶν: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἀνδριάντες ἴσοι ταῖς νίκαις εἰσὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. παιδὶ μὲν δὴ ὄντι αὐτῷ Καυλωνιάτῃ, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ὑπῆρξεν ἀναγορευθῆναι: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Συρακούσιον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ χρήμασι.

[3.11] After Hysmon comes the statue of a boy wrestler from Heraea in Arcadia, Nicostratus the son of Xenocleides. Pantias was the artist, and if you count the teachers you will find five between him and Aristocles of Sicyon. Dicon, the son of Callibrotus, won five footraces at Pytho, three at the Isthmian games, four at Nemea, one at Olympia in the race for boys besides two in the men's race. Statues of him have been set up at Olympia equal in number to the races he won. When he was a boy he was proclaimed a native of Caulonia, as in fact he was. But afterwards he was bribed to proclaim himself a Syracusan.

[12] Καυλωνία δὲ ἀπώκισθη μὲν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, οἰκιστῆς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Τύφων Αἰγιεύς: Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Αἰακίδου καὶ Ταραντίνων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον καταστάντων ἄλλαι τε τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐγένοντο αἱ

μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν ἀνάστατοι, κατέλαβε δὲ ἐς ἅπαν ἐρημωθῆναι καὶ τὴν Καυλωνίαν ἀλοῦσαν ὑπὸ Καμπανῶν, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοις μεγίστη τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ μοῖρα ἦσαν.

[3.12] Caulonia was a colony in Italy founded by Achaeans, and its founder was Typhon of Aegium. When Pyrrhus son of Aeacides and the Tarentines were at war with the Romans, several cities in Italy were destroyed, either by the Romans or by the Epeirots, and these included Caulonia, whose fate it was to be utterly laid waste, having been taken by the Campanians, who formed the largest contingent of allies on the Roman side.

[13] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Δίκωνι ἀνάκειται μὲν Ξενοφῶν Μενεφύλου παγκρατιαστής ἀνὴρ ἐξ Αἰγίου τῆς Ἀχαιῶν, ἀνάκειται δὲ Πυριλάμπης Ἐφέσιος λαβὼν δολίχου νίκην. τοῦ μὲν δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν Ὀλυμπος, Πυριλάμπει δὲ ὁμώνυμος καὶ ὁ πλάστης, γένος δὲ οὐ Σικυώνιος, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Μεσσήνης τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ.

[3.13] Close to Dicon is a statue of Xenophon, the son of Menephylus, a pancratiast of Aegium in Achaia, and likewise one of Pylilampes of Ephesus after winning the long foot-race. Olympus made the statue of Xenophon; that of Pylilampes was made by a sculptor of the same name, a native, not of Sicyon, but of Messene beneath Ithome.

[14] Λύσανδρον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοκρίτου Σπαρτιάτην ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Σάμιοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν πρότερον τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐστὶν “ἐν πολυθαήτῳ τεμένει Διὸς ὑψιμέδοντος

ἔσθηκ’ ἀνθέντων δημοσίᾳ Σαμίων:

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοὺς τὸ ἀνάθημα ἀναθέντας μηνύει, τὸ δ’ ἐφεξῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπαινός ἐστι Λύσανδρον:” ἄθνατον πάτρα καὶ Ἀριστοκρίτῳ κλέος ἔργων,

Λύσανδρ’, ἐκτελέσας δόξαν ἔχεις ἀρετᾶς.

“δῆλοι οὖν εἰσιν οἱ τε Σάμιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες,

[3.14] A statue of Lysander, son of Aristocritus, a Spartan, was dedicated in Olympia by the Samians, and the first of their inscriptions runs:

In the much-seen precinct of Zeus, ruler on high,
I stand, dedicated at public expense by the Samians.

So this inscription informs us who dedicated the statue; the next is in praise of Lysander himself:

Deathless glory by thy achievements, for fatherland and for Aristocritus,
Lysander, hast thou won, and art famed for valour.

[15] κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ἰόνων, τοὺς τοίχους τοὺς δύο ἐπαλείφοντες. Ἀλκιβιάδου μὲν γε τριήρεσιν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ἰωνίαν ἰσχύοντος ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν Ἰόνων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ εἰκὼν Ἀλκιβιάδου χαλκῇ παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Σαμίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα: ὥς δὲ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἐάλωσαν αἱ ναῦς αἱ Ἀττικαί, Σάμιοι μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν Λύσανδρον, Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνετίθεσαν

τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Λύσανδρόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐτεόνικον καὶ Φάρακα καὶ ἄλλους Σπαρτιατῶν ἥκιστα ἔξ γε τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γινώριμους.

[3.15] So plainly “the Samians and the rest of the Ionians,” as the Ionians themselves phrase it, painted both the walls. For when Alcibiades had a strong fleet of Athenian triremes along the coast of Ionia, most of the Ionians paid court to him, and there is a bronze statue of Alcibiades dedicated by the Samians in the temple of Hera. But when the Attic ships were captured at Aegospotami, the Samians set up a statue of Lysander at Olympia, and the Ephesians set up in the sanctuary of Artemis not only a statue of Lysander himself but also statues of Eteonicus, Pharax and other Spartans quite unknown to the Greek world generally.

[16] μεταπεσόντων δὲ αὐθις τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ Κόνωνος κεκρατηκότης τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Κνίδον καὶ ὅρος τὸ Δώριον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὕτω μετεβάλλοντο οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ Κόνωνα ἀνακείμενον χαλκοῦν καὶ Τιμόθεον ἐν Σάμῳ τε ἔστιν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παρὰ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεᾷ. ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἔχοντα οὕτω τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, καὶ Ἴωσιν ὡσαύτως οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπεύουσι τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τῇ ἰσχύι.

[3.16] But when fortune changed again, and Conon had won the naval action off Cnidus and the mountain called Dorium, the Ionians likewise changed their views, and there are to be seen statues in bronze of Conon and of Timotheus both in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos and also in the sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess at Ephesus. It is always the same; the Ionians merely follow the example of all the world in paying court to strength.

4. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τῆς εἰκόνης Ἐφεσίος τε πύκτης τοὺς ἐλθόντας κρατήσας τῶν παίδων — ὄνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Ἀθήναιος — καὶ Σικυνίους Σώστρατος παγκρατιαστής ἀνὴρ, ἐπίκλησις δὲ ἦν Ἀκροχερσίτης αὐτῷ: παραλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἄκρων τοῦ ἀνταγωνιζομένου τῶν χειρῶν ἔκλα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνίει πρὶν ἢ αἰσθοίτο ἀπαγορεύσαντος.

[4.1] IV. Next to the statue of Lysander is an Ephesian boxer who beat the other boys, his competitors – his name was Athenaeus, – and also a man of Sicyon who was a pancratiast, Sostratus surnamed Acrochersites. For he used to grip his antagonist by the fingers and bend them, and would not let go until he saw that his opponent had given in.

[2] γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ Νεμείων μὲν νῖκαι καὶ Ἰσθμίων ἀναμῖξ δυόδεκα, Ὀλυμπίασι δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, τῇ μὲν δύο, τρεῖς δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. τὴν τετάρτην δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν — πρώτην γὰρ δὴ ἐνίκησεν ὁ Σώστρατος ταύτην — οὐκ

ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, διότι μὴ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Πισαῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἔθεσαν ἀντ’ αὐτῶν.

[4.2] He won at the Nemean and Isthmian games combined twelve victories, three victories at Olympia and two at Pytho. The hundred and fourth Festival,

when Sostratus won his first victory, is not reckoned by the Eleans, because the games were held by the Pisans and Arcadians and not by themselves.

[3] παρὰ δὲ τὸν Σώστρατον παλαιστής ἀνὴρ πεποιήται Λεοντίσκος, ἐκ Συκελίας τε ὦν γένος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνης: στεφανωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ δις ὑπὸ Ἡλείων, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ λέγεται τὴν πάλην καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὸ παγκράτιον τῷ Σικυωνίῳ Σωστράτῳ: καὶ γὰρ τὸν Λεοντίσκον καταβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς παλαίοντας, νικᾶν δὲ αὐτὸν κλῶντα τοὺς δακτύλους.

[4.3] Beside Sostratus is a statue of Leontiscus, a man wrestler, a native of Sicily from Messene on the Strait. He was crowned, they say, by the Amphictyons and twice by the Eleans, and his mode of wrestling was similar to the pancratium of Sostratus the Sicyonian. For they say that Leontiscus did not know how to throw his opponents, but won by bending their fingers.

[4] τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα Πυθαγόρας ἐποίησεν ὁ Ῥηγῖνος, εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς πλαστικὴν. διδαχθῆναι δὲ παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ φασὶν αὐτόν, Ῥηγίνῳ μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ, μαθητῇ δὲ Εὐχείρου: τὸν δὲ Εὐχείρον εἶναι Κορίνθιον, φοιτήσαι δὲ ὡς Συάδραν τε καὶ Χάρταν Σπαρτιάτας.

[4.4] The statue was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium, an excellent sculptor if ever there was one. They say that he studied under Clearchus, who was likewise a native of Rhegium, and a pupil of Eucheirus. Eucheirus, it is said, was a Corinthian, and attended the school of Syadras and Chartas, men of Sparta.

[5] ὁ δὲ παῖς ὁ ἀναδούμενος ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπεισέχθω μοι καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν λόγον Φειδίου τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Φειδίου σοφίας, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅτου τὴν εἰκόνα ὁ Φειδίας ἐποίησε. Σάτυρος δὲ Ἡλείος Λυσιάνакτος πατρός, γένους δὲ τοῦ Ἰαμιδῶν, ἐν Νεμέᾳ πεντάκις ἐνίκησε πυκτεύων καὶ Πυθοῖ τε δις καὶ δις ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: τέχνη δὲ Ἀθηναίου Σιλανίωνος ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐστι. πλάστης δὲ ἄλλος τῶν Ἀττικῶν Πολυκλῆς, Σταδιεύς μαθητὴς Ἀθηναίου, πεποίηκε παῖδα Ἐφέσιον παγκρατιαστήν, Ἀμύνταν Ἑλλανίκου.

[4.5] The boy who is binding his head with a fillet must be mentioned in my account because of Pheidias and his great skill as a sculptor, but we do not know whose portrait the statue is that Pheidias made. Satyrus of Elis, son of Lysianax, of the clan of the Iamidae, won five victories at Nemea for boxing, two at Pytho, and two at Olympia. The artist who made the statue was Silanion, an Athenian. Polycles, another sculptor of the Attic school, a pupil of Stadiеus the Athenian, has made the statue of an Ephesian boy pancratiast, Amyntas the son of Hellanicus.

[6] Χίλωνι δὲ Ἀχαιῷ Πατρεῖ δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι πάλης ἀνδρῶν, μία δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Δελφοῖς, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ καὶ Νεμείων τρεῖς: ἐτάφη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ οἱ καὶ τοῦ βίου συνέπεσεν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν

τελευτήν γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ:” μουνοπάλῃς νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθιά τ’ ἄνδρας,

τρὶς Νεμέα, τετράκις δ’ Ἴσθμῳ ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ,

Χίλων Χίλωνος Πατρεύς, ὃν λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν

ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον θάψ’ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

“τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν:

[4.6] Chilon, an Achaean of Patrae, won two prizes for men wrestlers at Olympia, one at Delphi, four at the Isthmus and three at the Nemean games. He was buried at the public expense by the Achaeans, and his fate it was to lose his life on the field of battle. My statement is borne out by the inscription at Olympia:—

In wrestling only I alone conquered twice the men at Olympia and at Pytho, Thrice at Nemea, and four times at the Isthmus near the sea;

Chilon of Patrae, son of Chilon, whom the Achaean folk

Buried for my valour when I died in battle.

[7] εἰ δὲ Λυσίππου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα τεκμαιρόμενον τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συμβαλέσθαι δεῖ με τὸν πόλεμον ἔνθα ὁ Χίλων ἔπεσεν, ἥτοι ἐς Χαιρώνειαν Ἀχαιοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ στρατεύσασθαι ἢ ἰδίᾳ κατ’ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ τόλμαν Ἀχαιῶν μόνος Ἀντιπάτρου μοι καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ Λάμειαν φαίνεται τὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ.

[4.7] Thus much is plain from the inscription. But the date of Lysippus, who made the statue, leads me to infer about the war in which Chilon fell, that plainly either he marched to Chaeroneia with the whole of the Achaeans, or else his personal courage and daring led him alone of the Achaeans to fight against the Macedonians under Antipater at the battle of Lamia in Thessaly.

[8] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τοῦ Χίλωνος δύο ἀνάκεινται: τῷ μὲν Μολπίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα, στεφανωθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἐπίγραμμά φησιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων: τὸν δὲ ἕτερον, ὅτῳ μηδὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα, μνημονεύουσιν ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τῶν Θρακίων Σταγείρων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἥτοι μαθητῆς ἢ καὶ στρατιωτικὸς ἀνέθηκεν ἀνὴρ ἅτε παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρω καὶ πρότερον ἰσχύσαντα παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

[4.8] Next to Chilon two statues have been set up. One is that of a man named Molpion, who, says the inscription, was crowned by the Eleans. The other statue bears no inscription, but tradition says that it represents Aristotle from Stageira in Thrace, and that it was set up either by a pupil or else by some soldier aware of Aristotle’s influence with Antipater and at an earlier date with Alexander. Sodamas from Assos in the Troad,

[9] Σωδάμας δὲ ἐξ Ἀσσοῦ τῆς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι, κειμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ, πρῶτος Αἰολέων τῶν ταύτῃ στάδιον Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐνίκησεν ἐν παισίν. παρὰ δὲ Σωδάμαν Ἀρχίδαμος ἔστηκεν ὁ Ἀγησιλάου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου βασιλέως εἰκόνα οὐδενὸς ἐν γε τῇ ὑπερρίᾳ

Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναθέντας εὕρισκον: Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα ἀνδριάντα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅτι ἐν βαρβάρῳ τε ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν καὶ βασιλέων μόνος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δῆλός ἐστιν ἁμαρτῶν τάφου.

[4.9] a city at the foot of Ida, was the first of the Aeolians in this district to win at Olympia the foot-race for boys. By the side of Sodamas stands Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, king of the Lacedaemonians. Before this Archidamus no king, so far as I could learn, had his statue set up by the Lacedaemonians, at least outside the boundaries of the country. They sent the statue of Archidamus to Olympia chiefly, in my opinion, on account of his death, because he met his end in a foreign land, and is the only king in Sparta who is known to have missed burial.

[10] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτιατικοῖς λόγοις ἐς πλεον ἡμῖν δεδήλωται: Εὐάνθει δὲ Κυζικηνῷ γεγόνασι πυγμῆς νίκαι, μία μὲν ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπική, Νεμείων δὲ ἐν παισὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίων. πεποιήται δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐάνθην ἀνὴρ τε ἵπποτρόφος καὶ τὸ ἄρμα, ἀναβεβηκυῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα παῖς παρθένος: ὄνομα μὲν Λάμπος τῷ ἀνδρὶ, πατὴρ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων, καλουμένη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου.

[4.10] I have spoken at greater length on this matter in my account of Sparta. Euanthes of Cyzicus won prizes for boxing, one among the men at Olympia, and also among the boys at the Nemean and at the Isthmian games. By the side of Euanthes is the statue of a horse-breeder and his chariot; mounted on the chariot is a young maid. The man's name is Lampus, and his native city was the last to be founded in Macedonia, named after its founder Philip, son of Amyntas.

[11] Κυνίσκῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Μαντινείας πύκτη παιδὶ ἐποίησε Πολύκλειτος τὴν εἰκόνα. Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμείων ἀνηρημένος, οὐχ Ἱμεραῖος εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησι, Κρῆς δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνώσσιος: ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ ἐς Ἱμέραν ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε καὶ πολλὰ εὖρετο ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν. ἔμελλεν οὖν ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς Ἱμεραῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀναγορευθῆσεσθαι.

[4.11] The statue of Cyniscus, the boy boxer from Mantinea, was made by Polycleitus. Ergoteles, the son of Philanor, won two victories in the long foot-race at Olympia, and two at Pytho, the Isthmus and Nemea. The inscription on the statue states that he came originally from Himera; but it is said that this is incorrect, and that he was a Cretan from Cnossus. Expelled from Cnossus by a political party he came to Himera, was given citizenship and won many honors besides. It was accordingly natural for him to be proclaimed at the games as a native of Himera.

5. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τῷ ὑψηλᾷ Λυσίππου μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, μέγιστος δὲ ἀπάντων ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων πλην τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο

ἦν πρὸ τῶν ἡρώων θνητὸν γένος· ἀνθρώπων δὲ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μέγιστος Πουλυδάμας Νικίου.

[5.1] V. The statue on the high pedestal is the work of Lysippus, and it represents the tallest of all men except those called heroes and any other mortal race that may have existed before the heroes. But this man, Pulydamas the son of Nicias, is the tallest of our own era.

[2] Σκοτοῦσσα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντας πατρίς οὐκ ᾤκειτο ἔτι ἐφ' ἡμῶν· Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Φεραίων τυραννήσας κατέλαβεν ἐν σπονδαῖς, καὶ Σκοτουσσαίων τοὺς τε ἐς τὸ θέατρον συνειλεγμένους — ἔτυχε γάρ σφισι καὶ ἐκκλησία τηνικαῦτα οὔσα — τούτους τε ἅπαντας κατηκόντισε, πελτασταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περισχῶν καὶ τοξόταις, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ὅσον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ κατεφόνευσε, γυναικας δὲ ἀπέδοτο καὶ παῖδας, μισθὸν εἶναι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς ξένοις.

[5.2] Scotussa, the native city of Pulydamas, has now no inhabitants, for Alexander the tyrant of Pherae seized it in time of truce. It happened that an assembly of the citizens was being held, and those who were assembled in the theater the tyrant surrounded with targeteers and archers, and shot them all down; all the other grown men he massacred, selling the women and children as slaves in order to pay his mercenaries.

[3] αὕτη Σκοτουσσαίοις ἡ συμφορὰ Φρασικλείδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἐγένετο ἄρχοντος, δευτέρα δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἦν Δάμων Θούριος ἐνίκα τὸ δεύτερον, ταύτης ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. καὶ ὀλίγον τε ἔμενε τὸ διαφυγὸν τῶν Σκοτουσσαίων καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ἐξέλιπον καὶ οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι προσπταῖσαι δεύτερα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μακεδόνας πολέμῳ παρεσκεύασεν ὁ δαίμων.

[5.3] This disaster befell Scotussa when Phrasicleides was archon at Athens, in the hundred and second Olympiad, when Damon of Thurii was victor for the second time, and in the second year of this Olympiad. The people that escaped remained but for a while, for later they too were forced by their destitution to leave the city, when Heaven brought a second calamity in the war with Macedonia.

[4] παγκρατίου μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεῖς νῖκαι· Πουλυδάμαντι δὲ τάδε ἄλλοῖα παρὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ στεφάνους ὑπάρχοντά ἐστιν. ἡ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Θράκης, ἡ ἔνδον Νέστου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ρέοντος διὰ τῆς Ἀβδηριτῶν, καὶ ἄλλα θηρία, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρέχεται καὶ λέοντας, οἳ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐπιθέμενοι τῷ Ξέρξῳ τὰς ἀγούσας καμήλους τὰ σιτία ἐλυμήναντο.

[5.4] Others have won glorious victories in the pancratium, but Pulydamas, besides his prizes for the pancratium, has to his credit the following exploits of a different kind. The mountainous part of Thrace, on this side the river Nestus, which runs through the land of Abdera, breeds among other wild

beasts lions, which once attacked the army of Xerxes, and mauled the camels carrying his supplies.

[5] οὗτοι πολλάκις οἱ λέοντες καὶ ἐς τὴν περὶ τὸν

Ὀλυμπον πλανῶνται χώραν: τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὄρους ἡ μὲν ἐς Μακεδονίαν πλευρά, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τέτραπται τὸν Πηνειόν: ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πουλυδάμας λέοντα ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ, μέγα καὶ ἄλκιμον θηρίον, κατειργάσατο οὐδενὶ ἐσκευασμένος ὄπλῳ. προήχθη δὲ ἐς τὸ τόλμημα φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα, ὅτι καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἔχει λόγος κρατῆσαι τοῦ ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέοντος.

[5.5] These lions often roam right into the land around Mount Olympus, one side of which is turned towards Macedonia, and the other towards Thessaly and the river Peneius. Here on Mount Olympus Pulydamas slew a lion, a huge and powerful beast, without the help of any weapon. To this exploit he was impelled by an ambition to rival the labours of Heracles, because Heracles also, legend says, overthrew the lion at Nemea.

[6] ἕτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαῦμα ὑπελίπετο ὁ Πουλυδάμας ἐς μνήμην: ἐς ἀγέλην ἐσελθὼν βοῶν τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ταῦρον λαβὼν τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὀπισθεν ποδῶν τὰς χηλὰς κατεῖχεν ἄκρας, καὶ πηδῶντα καὶ ἐπειγόμενον οὐκ ἀνίει, πρὶν γε δὴ ὁ ταῦρος ὀψέ ποτε καὶ ἐς ἅπαν ἀφικόμενος βίας ἀπέφυγεν ἀφείς ταύτῃ τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι τὰς χηλὰς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρα ἡνίοχον ἐλαύνοντα σπουδῇ τὸ ἄρμα ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσω: λαβόμενος γὰρ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ὀπισθε τοῦ ἅρματος, ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον εἶχε.

[5.6] In addition to this, Pulydamas is remembered for another wonderful performance. He went among a herd of cattle and seized the biggest and fiercest bull by one of its hind feet, holding fast the hoof in spite of the bull's leaps and struggles, until at last it put forth all its strength and escaped, leaving the hoof in the grasp of Pulydamas. It is also said of him that he stopped a charioteer who was driving his chariot onwards at a great speed. Seizing with one hand the back of the chariot he kept a tight hold on both horses and driver.

[7] Δαρεῖος δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς νόθος, ὃς ὁμοῦ τῷ Περσῶν καὶ δήμῳ Σόγδιον καταπαύσας παῖδα Ἀρταξέρξου γνήσιον ἔσχεν ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχήν, οὗτος ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Δαρεῖος — ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὰ ἔργα —, πέμπων ἀγγέλους ὑπισχνούμενος δῶρα ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐς Σουδᾶ τε καὶ ἐς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ. ἔνθα δὴ κατὰ πρόκλησιν Περσῶν ἄνδρας τῶν καλουμένων ἀθανάτων ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς ἀθρόους οἱ μονομαχήσαντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔργων δὲ τῶν κατειλεγμένων οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ βάρῳ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ δηλούμενά ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος.

[5.7] Dareius, the bastard son of Artaxerxes, who with the support of the Persian common people put down Sogdus, the legitimate son of Artaxerxes,

and ascended the throne in his stead, learning when he was king of the exploits of Pulydamas, sent messengers with the promise of gifts and persuaded him to come before his presence at Susa. There he challenged three of the Persians called Immortals to fight him – one against three – and killed them. Of his exploits enumerated, some are represented on the pedestal of the statue at Olympia, and others are set forth in the inscription.

[8] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα τὸ ὑπὸ Ὅμηρου προθεσπισθὲν ἄλλους τε τῶν φρονησάντων ἐπὶ ἰσχύι καὶ Πουλυδάμαντα ἐπιλήψεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ρώμης ἔμελλεν ἀπολεῖσθαι καὶ οὗτος. ἐς σπήλαιον γὰρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι τῶν συμποτῶν καὶ ὁ Πουλυδάμας ἐσῆλθεν ὥρα θέρους, καὶ πως οὐ κατὰ τινα ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα ἢ κορυφῇ τηνικαῦτα τοῦ σπηλαίου κατερρήγνυτο, καὶ δῆλα ἦν ὡς αὐτίκα ἐμπεσεῖσθαι καὶ χρόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἔμελλεν ἀνθέξειν:

[5.8] But after all, the prophecy of Homer respecting those who glory in their strength was to be fulfilled also in the case of Pulydamas, and he too was fated to perish through his own might. For Pulydamas entered a cave with the rest of his boon companions. It was summer-time, and, as ill-luck would have it, the roof of the cave began to crack. It was obvious that it would quickly fall in, and could not hold out much longer.

[9] γενομένης δὲ αἰσθήσεως τοῦ ἐπιόντος κακοῦ καὶ τρεπομένων ἐς φυγὴν τῶν λοιπῶν παρέστη καταμεῖναι τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι, καὶ ἀνέσχε τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἐπιπίπτοντι ἀνθέξων τῷ σπηλαίῳ καὶ οὐ βιασθησόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους.

[5.9] Realizing the disaster that was coming, the others turned and ran away; but Pulydamas resolved to remain, holding up his hands in the belief that he could prevent the falling in of the cave and would not be crushed by the mountain. Here Pulydamas met his end.

6. τούτῳ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐγένετο ἡ τελευτή: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα δύο τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀττικὸς ὁ τρίτος ἔστηκεν ἀθλητῆς. τὸν μὲν δὴ Μαντινέα Πρωτόλαον Διαλκοῦς πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα ὁ Ῥηγῖνος Πυθαγόρας, Ναρυκίδαν δὲ τὸν Δαμαρέτου παλαιστήν ἄνδρα ἐκ Φιγαλίας Σικυώνιος Δαίδαλος, Καλλιὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ παγκρατιαστῇ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Μίκων ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος. Νικοδάμου δὲ ἔργον τοῦ Μαιναλίου παγκρατιαστῆς ἐστὶν ἐκ Μαινάλου, δύο νίκας ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος, Ἀνδροσθένης Λοχαίου.

[6.1] VI. Beside the statue of Pulydamas at Olympia stand two Arcadians and one Attic athlete. The statue of the Mantinean, Protolaus the son of Dialces, who won the boxing-match for boys, was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium; that of Narycidas, son of Damaretus, a wrestler from Phigalia, was made by Daedalus of Sicyon; that of the Athenian Callias, a pancratiast, is by the Athenian painter Micon. Nicodamus the Maenalian made the statue of the Maenalian pancratiast Androsthene, the son of Lochaeus, who won two victories among the men.

[2] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Εὐκλῆς ἀνάκειται Καλλιάνакτος, γένος μὲν Ῥόδιος, οἴκου δὲ τοῦ Διαγοριδῶν· θυγατρὸς γάρ Διαγόρου παῖς ἦν, ἐν δὲ ἀνδράσι πυγμῆς ἔσχεν Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην. τούτου μὲν δὴ ἡ εἰκὼν Ναυκύδους ἐστὶν ἔργον· Πολύκλειτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος, οὐχ ὁ τῆς Ἥρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας, μαθητὴς δὲ Ναυκύδους, παλαιστὴν παῖδα εἰργάσατο Θηβαῖον Ἀγήνορα. ἀνετέθη δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φωκέων κοινοῦ· Θεόπομπος γάρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Ἀγήνορος πρόξενος τοῦ ἔθνους ἦν αὐτῶν.

[6.2] By these is set up a statue of Eucles, son of Callianax, a native of Rhodes and of the family of the Diagoridae. For he was the son of the daughter of Diagoras, and won an Olympic victory in the boxing-match for men. His statue is by Naucydes. Polycleitus of Argos, not the artist who made the image of Hera, but a pupil of Naucydes, made the statue of a boy wrestler, Agenor of Thebes. The statue was dedicated by the Phocian Commonwealth, for Theopompus, the father of Agenor, was a state friend of their nation.

[3] Νικόδαμος δὲ ὁ πλάστης ὁ ἐκ Μαινάλου Δαμοξενίδαν ἄνδρα πύκτην ἐποίησεν ἐκ Μαινάλου. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Λαστρατίδα παιδὸς εἰκὼν Ἥλειου, πάλης ἀνελομένου στέφανον· ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νεμείων ἐν τε παισὶ καὶ ἀγενεῖων ἐτέρα νίκη. Παραβάλλοντι δὲ τῷ Λαστρατίδα πατρὶ ὑπῆρξε μὲν διαύλου παρελθεῖν δρόμῳ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα φιλοτιμίαν, τῶν νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίᾳσι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀναγράψας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

[6.3] Nicodamus, the sculptor from Maenalus, made the statue of the boxer Damoxenidas of Maenalus. There stands also the statue of the Elean boy Lastratidas, who won the crown for wrestling. He won a victory at Nemea also among the boys, and another among the beardless striplings. Paraballon, the father of Lastratidas, was first in the double foot-race, and he left to those coming after an object of ambition, by writing up in the gymnasium at Olympia the names of those who won Olympic victories.

[4] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τούτους εἶχεν οὕτω· τὰ δὲ ἐς Εὐθύμον τὸν πύκτην, οὗ με εἰκός ὑπερβαίνειν ἦν τὰ ἐς τὰς νίκας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ὑπάρχοντα τὴν ἄλλην. γένος μὲν δὴ ἦν ὁ Εὐθύμος ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λοκρῶν, οἱ χώραν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ζεφυρίῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ νέμονται, πατρὸς δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀστυκλέους· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ τούτου, ποταμοῦ δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦ Καικίνου φασίν, ὃς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Ῥηγίνην ὀρίζων τὸ ἐς τοὺς τέττιγας παρέχεται θαῦμα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τέττιγες οἱ ἐντὸς τῆς Λοκρίδος ἄχρι τοῦ Καικίνου κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέττιξιν ἄδουσι· διαβάντων δὲ τὸν Καικίνην οὐδεμίαν ἔτι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥηγίνῃ τέττιγες ἀφίᾳσι τὴν φωνήν.

[6.4] So much for these. But it would not be right for me to pass over the boxer Euthymus, his victories and his other glories. Euthymus was by birth one of the Italian Locrians, who dwell in the region near the headland called the West Point, and he was called son of Astycles. Local legend, however, makes him the son, not of this man, but of the river Caecinus, which divides Locris from

the land of Rhegium and produces the marvel of the grasshoppers. For the grasshoppers within Locris as far as the Caecinus sing just like others, but across the Caecinus in the territory of Rhegium they do not utter a sound.

[5] τούτου μὲν δὴ παῖδα εἶναι λέγεται τὸν

Εὐθυμον· ἀνελομένῳ δέ οἱ πυγμῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκην τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐμελλε χωρήσειν· Θεαγένης γὰρ ὁ Θάσιος Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐθέλων τῇ αὐτῇ πυγμῆς τε ἀνελεσθαι καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας ὑπερεβάλετο πυκτεύων τὸν Εὐθυμον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Θεαγένης ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθη τὸν κότινον ἅτε προκατεργασθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τὸν Εὐθυμον.

[6.5] This river then, according to tradition, was the father of Euthymus, who, though he won the prize for boxing at the seventy-fourth Olympic Festival, was not to be so successful at the next. For Theagenes of Thasos, wishing to win the prizes for boxing and for the pancratium at the same Festival, overcame Euthymus at boxing, though he had not the strength to gain the wild olive in the pancratium, because he was already exhausted in his fight with Euthymus.

[6] ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδῖκαι τῷ Θεαγένῃ τάλαντον μὲν ἱερὰν ἐς τὸν θεὸν ζημίαν, τάλαντον δὲ βλάβης τῆς ἐς Εὐθυμον, ὅτι ἐπηρεία τῇ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἐδόκει σφίσιν ἐπανελεσθαι τὸ ἀγώνισμα τῆς πυγμῆς· τούτων ἕνεκα καταδικάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκτίσαι καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῷ Εὐθύμῳ χρήματα. ἕκτη δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα τὸ μὲν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἀργυρίου γινόμενον ἐξέτισεν ὁ Θεαγένης, * * καὶ ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐσηλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν πυγμὴν· καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην Ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ στέφανον ἀνείλετο ὁ Εὐθυμος. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδριάς τέχνη τέ ἐστι Πυθαγόρου καὶ θέας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος.

[6.6] Thereupon the umpires fined Theagenes a talent, to be sacred to the god, and a talent for the harm done to Euthymus, holding that it was merely to spite him that he entered for the boxing competition. For this reason they condemned him to pay an extra fine privately to Euthymus. At the seventy-sixth Festival Theagenes paid in full the money owed to the god, . . . and as compensation to Euthymus did not enter for the boxing-match. At this Festival, and also at the next following, Euthymus won the crown for boxing. His statue is the handiwork of Pythagoras, and is very well worth seeing.

[7] ἐπανήκων δὲ ἐς Ἰταλίαν τότε δὴ ἐμαχέσατο πρὸς τὸν Ἥρω· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχεν οὕτως. Ὀδυσσέα πλανώμενον μετὰ ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἰλίου κατενεχθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἕς τε ἄλλας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ πόλεων, ἀφικέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐς Τεμέσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ναυσί· μεθυσθέντα οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἓνα τῶν ναυτῶν παρθένον βιάσασθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀντὶ τούτου καταλευσθῆναι τοῦ ἀδικήματος.

[6.7] On his return to Italy Euthymus fought against the Hero, the story about

whom is as follows. Odysseus, so they say, in his wanderings after the capture of Troy was carried down by gales to various cities of Italy and Sicily, and among them he came with his ships to Temesa. Here one of his sailors got drunk and violated a maiden, for which offence he was stoned to death by the natives.

[8] Ὀδυσσεά μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θέμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀποπλέοντα οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ καταλευσθέντος δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα οὐδένα ἀνιέναι καιρὸν ἀποκτείνοντά τε ὁμοίως τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεμέσῃ καὶ ἐπεξερχόμενον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν, ἐς ὃ ἡ Πυθία τὸ παράπαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ὠρμημένους φεύγειν Τεμέσαν μὲν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐκ εἶα, τὸν δὲ Ἥρω σφᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἰλάσκεσθαι τέμενός τε ἀποτεμομένους οἰκοδομήσασθαι ναόν, διδόναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν Τεμέσῃ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην.

[6.8] Now Odysseus, it is said, cared nothing about his loss and sailed away. But the ghost of the stoned man never ceased killing without distinction the people of Temesa, attacking both old and young, until, when the inhabitants had resolved to flee from Italy for good, the Pythian priestess forbad them to leave Temesa, and ordered them to propitiate the Hero, setting him a sanctuary apart and building a temple, and to give him every year as wife the fairest maiden in Temesa.

[9] τοῖς μὲν δὴ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προστεταγμένα ὑπουργοῦσι δεῖμα ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐς τᾶλλα ἦν οὐδέν· Εὐθυμος δὲ — ἀφίκετο γὰρ ἐς τὴν Τεμέσαν, καί πως τῆνικαῦτα τὸ ἔθος ἐποιεῖτο τῷ δαίμονι — πυνθάνεται τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἐσελθὼν θεάσασθαι. ὥς δὲ εἶδε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς οἶκτον, δεύτερα δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτῆς· καὶ ἡ παῖς τε συνοικήσειν κατώμνυτο αὐτῷ σώσαντι αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ Εὐθυμος ἐνεσκευασμένος ἔμενε τὴν ἑφοδὸν τοῦ δαίμονος.

[6.9] So they performed the commands of the god and suffered no more terrors from the ghost. But Euthymus happened to come to Temesa just at the time when the ghost was being propitiated in the usual way; learning what was going on he had a strong desire to enter the temple, and not only to enter it but also to look at the maiden. When he saw her he first felt pity and afterwards love for her. The girl swore to marry him if he saved her, and so Euthymus with his armour on awaited the onslaught of the ghost.

[10] ἐνίκα τε δὴ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ — ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς — ὁ Ἥρωσ ἀφανίζεται τε καταδύς ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ γάμος τε ἐπιφανῆς Εὐθύμῳ καὶ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐλευθερία τοῦ λοιποῦ σφισιν ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔτι ἐς τὸν Εὐθυμον, ὥς γήρως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀφίκοιτο καὶ ὥς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφυγὼν αὐθις ἕτερόν τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλον ἀπέλθοι τρόπον· οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν Τεμέσαν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα πλεύσαντος κατὰ ἑμπορίαν.

[6.10] He won the fight, and the Hero was driven out of the land and disappeared, sinking into the depth of the sea. Euthymus had a distinguished

wedding, and the inhabitants were freed from the ghost for ever. I heard another story also about Euthymus, how that he reached extreme old age, and escaping again from death departed from among men in another way. Temesa is still inhabited, as I heard from a man who sailed there as a merchant.

[11] τόδε μὲν ἤκουσα, γραφῇ δὲ τοιάδε ἐπιτυχὼν οἶδα: ἦν δὲ αὕτη γραφῆς μίμημα ἀρχαίας. νεανίσκος Σύβαρις καὶ Κάλαβρός τε ποταμὸς καὶ Λύκα πηγὴ, πρὸς δὲ ἡρῶόν τε καὶ Τεμέσα ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἐν δὲ σφισι καὶ δαίμων ὄντινα ἐξέβαλεν ὁ Εὐθύμος, χρόαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερός, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχετο δέρμα ἐσθῆτα: ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ γράμματα.

[6.11] This I heard, and I also saw by chance a picture dealing with the subject. It was a copy of an ancient picture. There were a stripling, Sybaris, a river, Calabrus, and a spring, Lyca. Besides, there were a hero-shrine and the city of Temesa, and in the midst was the ghost that Euthymus cast out. Horribly black in color, and exceedingly dreadful in all his appearance, he had a wolf's skin thrown round him as a garment. The letters on the picture gave his name as Lycas.

7. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο εἰρήσθω: μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Εὐθύμου Πύθαρχός τε ἔστηκε Μαντινεὺς σταδιοδρόμος καὶ πύκτης Ἥλειος Χαρμίδης, λαβόντες νίκας ἐπὶ παισὶ. θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀθλητῶν ἀφίξῃ τὰς εἰκόνας, Διαγόραν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος: οἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τοιῷδε ἀνέκειντο, Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν λαβὼν πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον, Δωριεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισί. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ Δωριέως ἐκράτησε καὶ Δαμάγητος τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸ παγκράτιον.

[7.1] VII. So much for the story of Euthymus. After his statue stands a runner in the foot-race, Pytharchus of Mantinea, and a boxer, Charmides of Elis, both of whom won prizes in the contests for boys. When you have looked at these also you will reach the statues of the Rhodian athletes, Diagoras and his family. These were dedicated one after the other in the following order. Acusilaus, who received a crown for boxing in the men's class; Dorieus, the youngest, who won the pancratium at Olympia on three successive occasions. Even before Dorieus, Damagetus beat all those who had entered for the pancratium.

[2] οὗτοι μὲν ἀδελφοί τέ εἰσι καὶ Διαγόρου παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς κεῖται καὶ ὁ Διαγόρας, πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος νίκην: τοῦ Διαγόρου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα Μεγαρεὺς εἰργάσατο Καλλικλῆς Θεοκόσμου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Μεγάροις τοῦ Διός. Διαγόρου δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θυγατέρων παῖδες πύξ τε ἤσκησαν καὶ ἔσχον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας, ἐν μὲν ἀνδράσιν Εὐκλῆς Καλλιάνακτός τε ὦν καὶ Καλλιπατεῖρας τῆς Διαγόρου, Πεισίροδος δὲ ἐν παισίν, ὃν ἡ μήτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιθεμένη γυμναστοῦ σχῆμα ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων αὐτὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤγαγεν:

[7.2] These were brothers, being sons of Diagoras, and by them is set up also a statue of Diagoras himself, who won a victory for boxing in the men's class. The statue of Diagoras was made by the Megarian Callicles, the son of the Theocosmus who made the image of Zeus at Megara. The sons too of the daughters of Diagoras practised boxing and won Olympic victories: in the men's class Eucles, son of Callianax and Callipateira, daughter of Diagoras; in the boys' class Peisirodus, whose mother dressed herself as a man and a trainer, and took her son herself to the Olympic games.

[3] οὗτος δὲ ὁ Πεισίροδος καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔστηκε. Διαγόραν δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς παισὶν Ἀκουσιλάῳ καὶ Δαμαγῆτῳ λέγουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν: νικῆσαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι διὰ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὸν πατέρα ἔφερον βαλλόμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄνθεσι καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ καλούμενον. γένος δὲ ὁ Διαγόρας τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μεσσηνίου πρὸς γυναικῶν ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστομένους ἐγγόνει θυγατρὸς.

[7.3] This Peisirodus is one of the statues in the Altis, and stands by the father of his mother. The story goes that Diagoras came to Olympia in the company of his sons Acusilaus and Damagetus. The youths on defeating their father proceeded to carry him through the crowd, while the Greeks pelted him with flowers and congratulated him on his sons. The family of Diagoras was originally, through the female line, Messenian, as he was descended from the daughter of Aristomenes.

[4] Δωριεὶ δὲ τῷ Διαγόρου παρὲξ ἣ Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν Ἰσθμίων μὲν γεγόνασιν ὀκτὼ νῖκαι, Νεμείων δὲ ἀποδέουσαι μιᾷς ἐς τὰς ὀκτώ: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἀκονιτί. ἀνηγορεύοντο δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ὁ Πεισίροδος Θούριοι, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ Θουρίους ἀπελθόντες. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατήλθεν ὁ Δωριεὺς ἐς Ῥόδον: καὶ φανερώτατα δὴ πάντων ἀνὴρ εἷς φρονήσας οὗτος τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φαίνεται, ὥστε καὶ ἐνανυμάχησεν ἐναντία Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν οἰκειάς, ἐς ὃ τριήρων ἁλούς Ἀττικῶν ἀνήχθη ζῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους.

[7.4] Dorieus, son of Diagoras, besides his Olympian victories, won eight at the Isthmian and seven at the Nemean games. He is also said to have won a Pythian victory without a contest. He and Peisirodus were proclaimed by the herald as of Thurii, for they had been pursued by their political enemies from Rhodes to Thurii in Italy. Dorieus subsequently returned to Rhodes. Of all men he most obviously showed his friendship with Sparta, for he actually fought against the Athenians with his own ships, until he was taken prisoner by Attic men-of-war and brought alive to Athens.

[5] οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὶν μὲν ἢ Δωριέα παρὰ σφᾶς ἀναχθῆναι θυμῷ τε ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρῶντο: ὥς δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθόντες ἄνδρα οὕτω μέγαν καὶ δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκοντα ἐθεάσαντο ἐν σχήματι αἰχμαλώτου, μεταπίπτει σφίσιν ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἀφιασὶν οὐδὲ ἔργον οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργάζονται, παρόν σφισι πολλὰ τε καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ δρᾶσαι.

[7.5] Before he was brought to them the Athenians were wroth with Dorieus and used threats against him; but when they met in the assembly and beheld a man so great and famous in the guise of a prisoner, their feeling towards him changed, and they let him go away without doing him any hurt, and that though they might with justice have punished him severely.

[6] τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Δωριέως τὴν τελευτὴν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀτθίδι Ἀνδροτίωνι εἰρημένα, εἶναι μὲν τηνικαῦτα ἐν Καύνῳ τὸ βασιλέως ναυτικὸν καὶ Κόνωνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ στρατηγόν, Ῥοδίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μεταβαλέσθαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βασιλέως καὶ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν, Δωριέα δὲ ἀποδημεῖν μὲν τότε ἐκ Ῥόδου περὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου χωρία, συλληφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναχθέντα ἐς Σπάρτην ἀδικεῖν τε ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καταγνωσθῆναι καὶ ἐπιβληθῆναι οἱ θάνατον ζημίαν.

[7.6] The death of Dorieus is told by Androtion in his Attic history. He says that the great King's fleet was then at Caunus, with Conon in command, who persuaded the Rhodian people to leave the Lacedaemonian alliance and to join the great King and the Athenians. Dorieus, he goes on to say, was at the time away from home in the interior of the Peloponnesus, and having been caught by some Lacedaemonians he was brought to Sparta, convicted of treachery by the Lacedaemonians and sentenced to death.

[7] εἰ δὲ τὸν ὄντα εἶπεν Ἀνδροτίων λόγον, ἐθέλειν μοι φαίνεται Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἔτι Ἀθηναίοις καταστήσαι, ὅτι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Θράσυλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ὁμοῦ τῷ Θρασύλλῳ στρατηγήσαντας προπετείας ἐστὶν ἔγκλημα.

Διαγόρας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκοντο:

[7.7] If Androtion tells the truth, he appears to me to wish to put the Lacedaemonians on a level with the Athenians, because they too are open to the charge of precipitous action in their treatment of Thrasyllus and his fellow admirals at the battle of Arginusae. Such was the fame won by Diagoras and his family.

[8] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαϊνέτῳ τῷ Θεάντου Λεπρεάτῃ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι. αὐτὸς μὲν γε πυκτεύων ὁ Ἀλκαϊνετος ἔν τε ἀνδράσι καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπεκράτησεν ἐν παισίν: Ἑλλάνικον δὲ τὸν Ἀλκαϊνέτου καὶ Θεάντον ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων ἀναγορευθῆναι τὸν μὲν ἐνάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ συνέβη τὸν Θεάντον: καὶ σφισιν ἀνδριάντες ἅπασιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κεῖνται.

[7.8] Alcaenetus too, son of Theantus, a Leprean, himself and his sons won Olympian victories. Alcaenetus was successful in the boxing contest for men, as at an earlier date he had been in the contest for boys. His sons, Helianicus and Theantus, were proclaimed winners of the boys' boxing match, Hellanicus at the eighty-ninth Festival and Theantus at the next. All have their

statues set up at Olympia.

[9] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκαίνετου τοῖς υἱοῖς Γνάθων τε Διπαιεὺς τῆς Μαιναλέων χώρας καὶ Λυκῖνος ἔστηκεν Ἥλειος· κρατῆσαι δὲ Ὀλυμπίασι πυγμῇ παῖδας ὑπῆρξε καὶ τούτοις. Γνάθωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνίκησεν, εἶναι νέον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησί· Καλλικλέους δὲ τοῦ Μεγαρέως ποίημα ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐστίν.

[7.9] Next to the sons of Alcaenetus stand Gnathon, a Maenalian of Dipaea, and Lucinus of Elis. These too succeeded in beating the boys at boxing at Olympia. The inscription on his statue says that Gnathon was very young indeed when he won his victory. The artist who made the statue was Callicles of Megara.

[10] ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐκ Στυμφήλου Δρομεὺς ὄνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπὶ δολίχῳ παρεσχημένος, δύο μὲν ἔσχεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμίων τε τρεῖς καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ πέντε. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ κρέας ἐσθίειν ἐπινοήσκει· τέως δὲ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς σιτία τυρὸν ἐκ τῶν ταλάρων εἶναι. τούτου μὲν δὴ Πυθαγόρας τὴν εἰκόνα, τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, πένταθλον Ἥλειον Πυθοκλέα, Πολύκλειτός ἐστιν εἰργασμένους.

[7.10] A man from Stymphalus, by name Dromeus (Runner), proved true to it in the long race, for he won two victories at Olympia, two at Pytho, three at the Isthmus and five at Nemea. He is said to have also conceived the idea of a flesh diet; up to this time athletes had fed on cheese from the basket. The statue of this athlete is by Pythagoras; the one next to it, representing Pythocles, a pentathlete of Elis, was made by Polycleitus.

8. Σωκράτους δὲ Πελληνέως δρόμου νίκην ἐν παισὶν εἰληφότος καὶ Ἥλείου Ἀμέρτου καταπαλαίσαντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παῖδας, καταπαλαίσαντος δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῦ μὲν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ λέγουσι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἀμέρτου Φράδμων ἐποίησεν Ἀργεῖος. Εὐανορίδα δὲ Ἥλειῳ πάλης ἐν παισὶν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τε Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ νίκη· γενόμενος δὲ Ἑλλανοδίκης ἔγραψε καὶ οὗτος τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῶν νενικηκότων.

[8.1] VIII. Socrates of Pellene won the boys' race, and Amertes of Elis the wrestlers' match for boys at Olympia, besides beating all competitors in the men's wrestling match at Pytho. It is not said who made the statue of Socrates, but that of Amertes is from the band of Phradmon of Argos. Euanoridas of Elis won the boys' wrestling-match both at Olympia and at Nemea. When he was made an umpire he joined the ranks of those who have recorded at Olympia the names of the victors.

[2] ἐς δὲ πύκτην ἄνδρα, γένος μὲν Ἀρκάδα ἐκ Παρρασίων, Δάμαρχον δὲ ὄνομα, οὗ μοι πιστὰ ἦν πέρα γε τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκης ὅποσα ἄλλα ἀνδρῶν ἀλαζόνων ἐστὶν εἰρημένα, ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου μεταβάλαι τὸ εἶδος ἐς λύκον ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διός, καὶ ὡς ὕστερον τούτων ἔτει δεκάτῳ γένοιτο αὐθις ἄνθρωπος, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λέγεσθαι μοι τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο ἐς

αὐτόν, ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: ἔχει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως:”υἱὸς Δινύτα Δάμαρχος τάνδ’ ἀνέθηκεν

εἰκόν’ ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίας Παρράσιος γενεάν.

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο πεποιήται:

[8.2] As to the boxer, by name Damarchus, an Arcadian of Parrhasia, I cannot believe (except, of course, his Olympic victory) what romancers say about him, how he changed his shape into that of a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean (Wolf) Zeus, and how nine years after he became a man again. Nor do I think that the Arcadians either record this of him, otherwise it would have been recorded as well in the inscription at Olympia, which runs:—

This statue was dedicated by Damarchus, son of Dinytas, Parrhasian by birth from Arcadia.

[3] Εὐβώτας δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ἅτε τὴν ἐσομένην οἱ δρόμου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ προπεπυσμένος, τὴν τε εἰκόνα ἐπεποίητο πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνηγορεύθη τε νικήσας καὶ ἀνέθηκε τὴν εἰκόνα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς κρατήσῃ καὶ ἄρματι ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος ταύτης ἢ λόγῳ τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐστὶ κίβδηλος τῶν ἀγωνοθετησάντων Ἀρκάδων ἕνεκα.

[8.3] Here the inscription ends. Eubotas of Cyrene, when the Libyan oracle foretold to him his coming Olympic victory for running, had his portrait statue made beforehand, and so was proclaimed victor and dedicated the statue on the same day. He is also said to have won the chariot-race at that Festival which, according to the account of the Eleans, was not genuine because the Arcadians presided at it.

[4] Κλεωναῖφ δὲ Τιμάνθει παγκρατίου λαβόντι ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον καὶ Τροιζηνίφ Βαύκιδι παλαιστὰς καταβαλόντι ἄνδρας, τῷ μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Μύρωνος, Βαύκιδι δὲ Ναυκύδους ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδριὰς ἔργον. τῷ δὲ Τιμάνθει τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου συμβῆναί φασιν ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιαύδε. πεπαῦσθαι μὲν ἀθλοῦντα, ἀποπειρᾶσθαι δὲ ὅμως αὐτὸν ἔτι τῆς ἰσχύος, τόξον μέγα ἐπὶ ἐκάστης τείνοντα τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀποδημῆσαι τε δὴ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τόξῳ τηνικαῦτα ἐκλειφθῆναί οἱ τὴν μελέτην: ὥς δὲ ἐπανήκων οὐχ οἷός τε ἔτι τεῖναι τὸ τόξον ἐγένετο, πῦρ ἀνακαύσας ἀφίησι ζῶντα ἐς τὴν πυρὰν αὐτόν. ὅποσα δὲ ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ καὶ ὑστερόν ποτε ἔσται, μανία μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρία νομίζοιτο ἂν κατὰ γε ἐμὴν γνώμην.

[8.4] The statue of Timanthes of Cleonae, who won the crown in the pancratium for men, was made by Myron of Athens, but Naucydes made that of Baucis of Troezen, who overthrew the men wrestlers. Timanthes, they say, met his end through the following cause. On retiring from athletics he continued to test his strength by drawing a great bow every day. His practice with the bow was interrupted during a period when he was away from home. On his return, finding that he was no longer able to bend the bow, he lit a fire and threw himself alive on to it. In my view all such deeds, whether they have already

occurred among men or will take place hereafter, ought to be regarded as acts of madness rather than of courage.

[5] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαύκιδᾶ εἰσιν ἀθλητῶν Ἀρκάδων

εἰκόνες, Εὐθυμένης τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Μαινάλου, νίκας τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν πάλης, τὴν δ' ἔτι πρότερον ἐν παισὶν εἰληφώς, καὶ Ἀζᾶν ἐκ Πελλάνας Φίλιππος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας, καὶ Κριτόδαμος ἐκ Κλείτορος, ἐπὶ πυγμῇ καὶ οὗτος ἀναγορευθεὶς παίδων: τὰς δὲ σφισιν εἰκόνας, τὴν μὲν ἐν παισὶ τοῦ Εὐθυμένου Ἄλυπος, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Δαμοκρίτου Κλέων, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀζᾶνος Μύρων τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε. τὰ δὲ ἐς Πρόμαχον τὸν Δρύωνος παγκρατιαστήν Πελληνέα προσέσται μοι καὶ ταῦτα τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς λόγῳ.

[8.5] After Baucis are statues of Arcadian athletes: Euthymenes from Maenalus itself, who won the men's and previously the boys' wrestling-match; Philip, an Azanian from Pellana, who beat the boys at boxing, and Critodamus from Cleitor, who like Philip was proclaimed victor in the boys' boxing match. The statue of Euthymenes for his victory over the boys was made by Alypus; the statue of Damocritus was made by Cleon, and that of Philip the Azanian by Myron. The story of Promachus, son of Dryon, a pancratiast of Pellene, will be included in my account of the Achaeans.

[6] Προμάχου δὲ οὐ πόρῳ Τιμασίθεος ἀνάκειται γένος Δελφός, Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἔργον τοῦ Ἀργείου, παγκρατίου δὲ δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀννηρημένος Πυθοῖ. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶν ἔργα τῇ τε τόλμῃ λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέοντα τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ τελευταίου: τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ θάνατον τὸ ἐγχείρημα ἤνεγκεν. Ἰσαγόρα γὰρ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων καταλαμβάνοντι ἐπὶ τυραννίδι μετασχὼν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ὁ Τιμασίθεος — ἐγένετο γὰρ τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει — θάνατον ζημίαν εὔρετο εὔρετο δὲ τοῦ ἀδικήματος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων.

[8.6] Not far from Promachus is set up the statue of Timasitheus, a Delphian by birth, the work of Ageladas of Argos. This athlete won in the pancratiun two victories at Olympia and three at Pytho. His achievements in war too are distinguished by their daring and by the good luck which attended all but the last, which caused his death. For when Isagoras the Athenian captured the Acropolis of the Athenians with a view to setting up a tyranny, Timasitheus took part in the affair, and, on being taken prisoner on the Acropolis, was put to death by the Athenians for his sin against them.

9. Θεογνῆτῳ δὲ Αἰγινήτῃ πάλης μὲν στέφανον λαβεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν παισὶ, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα οἱ Πτόλιχος ἐποίησεν Αἰγινήτης. διδάσκαλοι δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν Πτολίχῳ μὲν Συννοῶν ὁ πατήρ, ἐκείνῳ δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς Σικυώνιος, ἀδελφός τε Κανάχου καὶ οὐ πολὺ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἔλασσούμενος. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ ὁ Θεογνήτος πίτυος τῆς γ' ἡμέρου καὶ ροιᾶς φέρει καρπὸν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ οἷά τε ἦν συμβαλέσθαι, τάχα δ' ἂν Αἰγινήταις τισὶν ἐπιχώριος ἐς αὐτὰ ἂν εἴη λόγος.

[9.1] IX. Theognetus of Aegina succeeded in winning the crown for the boys'

wrestling-match, and Ptolichus of Aegina made his statue. Ptolichus was a pupil of his father Synnoon, and he of Aristocles the Sicyonian, a brother of Canachus and almost as famous an artist. Why Theognetus carries a cone of the cultivated pine and a pomegranate I could not conjecture; perhaps some of the Aeginetans may have a local story about it.

[2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃν Ἡλεῖοί φασιν οὐ γραφῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι ἐπὶ κάλπης ἀνηγορεύθη δρόμῳ, μετὰ τούτου τὴν εἰκόνα Ξενοκλῆς τε Μαινάλιος ἔσθηκε παλαιστὰς καταβαλὼν παῖδας καὶ Ἄλκετος Ἀλκίνου κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας, Ἀρκὰς καὶ οὗτος ἐκ Κλείτορος· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Κλέων, Ξενοκλέους δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα Πολύκλειτος ἔστιν εἰργασμένος.

[9.2] After the statue of the man who the Eleans say had not his name recorded with the others because he was proclaimed winner of the trotting-race, stand Xenocles of Maenalus, who overthrew the boys at wrestling, and Alcetus, son of Alcinous, victor in the boys' boxing-match, who also was an Arcadian from Cleitor. Cleon made the statue of Alcetus; that of Xenocles is by Polycleitus.

[3] Ἀριστεὺς δὲ Ἀργεῖος δολίχου μὲν νίκην ἔσχεν αὐτός, πάλης δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Ἀριστεύς Χείμων· ἐστήκασιν μὲν δὴ ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, ἐποίησε δὲ τὸν μὲν Παντίας Χῖος παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ δεδιδαγμένος Σωστράτω, αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες τοῦ Χείμωνος ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν δοκιμωτάτων Ναυκύδους, ἥ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Εἰρήνης τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομισθεῖσα ἐξ Ἀργους. λέγεται δὲ ὡς Ταυροσθένην καταπαλαίσειεν ὁ Χείμων τὸν Αἰγινήτην καὶ ὡς Ταυροσθένης τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ ἐφεξῆς καταβάλῃ τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὡς ἐοικὸς Ταυροσθένει φάσμα ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν Αἰγίνῃ φανέν ἀπαγγέλλειε τὴν νίκην.

[9.3] Aristeus of Argos himself won a victory in the long-race, while his father Cheimon won the wrestling-match. They stand near to each other, the statue of Aristeus being by Pantias of Chios, the pupil of his father Sostratus. Besides the statue of Cheimon at Olympia there is another in the temple of Peace at Rome, brought there from Argos. Both are in my opinion among the most glorious works of Naucydes. It is also told how Cheimon overthrew at wrestling Taurosthenes of Aegina, how Taurosthenes at the next Festival overthrew all who entered for the wrestling-match, and how a wraith like Taurosthenes appeared on that day in Aegina and announced the victory.

[4] Φίλλην δὲ Ἡλεῖον κρατήσαντα παῖδας πάλη Σπαρτιάτης Κρατῖνος ἐποίησε.

τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄρμα τὸ Γέλωνος οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα δοξάζειν ἐμοὶ τε παρίστατο καὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ εἰρηκόσιν, οἱ Γέλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυραννήσαντός φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι τὸ ἄρμα. ἐπίγραμμα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Γέλωνα Δεινομένους ἀναθεῖναι Γελῶν, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τούτῳ τῷ Γέλωνί ἐστι τῆς νίκης τρίτη πρὸς τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδας:

[9.4] The statue of Philles of Elis, who won the boys' wrestling-match, was

made by the Spartan Cratinus.

As regards the chariot of Gelon, I did not come to the same opinion about it as my predecessors, who hold that the chariot is an offering of the Gelon who became tyrant in Sicily. Now there is an inscription on the chariot that it was dedicated by Gelon of Gela, son of Deinomenes, and the date of the victory of this Gelon is the seventy-third Festival.

[5] Γέλων δὲ ὁ Σικελίας τυραννήσας Συρακούσας ἔσχεν Ὑβριλίδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Τισικράτης ἐνίκα Κροτωνιάτης στάδιον. δηλαδὴ οὖν ὡς Συρακούσιον ἤδη καὶ οὐ Γελῶν ἀναγορεύειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλεν: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἰδιώτης εἶη ἂν τις ὁ Γέλων οὗτος, πατρός τε ὁμωνύμου τῷ τυράνῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμώνυμος. Γλαυκίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης τό τε ἄρμα καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Γέλωνι ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα.

[9.5] But the Gelon who was tyrant of Sicily took possession of Syracuse when Hybrilides was archon at Athens, in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, when Tisicrates of Croton won the foot-race. Plainly, therefore, he would have announced himself as of Syracuse, not Gela. The fact is that this Gelon must be a private person, of the same name as the tyrant, whose father had the same name as the tyrant's father. It was Glaucias of Aegina who made both the chariot and the portrait-statue of Gelon.

[6] τῇ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρὸ ταύτης Κλεομήδην φασὶν Ἀστυपालαίᾳ ὡς Ἴκκῳ πυκτεύων ἀνδρὶ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ τὸν Ἴκκον ἀποκτείνειεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν ἄδικα εἰργάσθαι καὶ ἀφηρημένος τὴν νίκην ἔκφρων ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἀνέστρεψε μὲν ἐς Ἀστυπάλαιαν, διδασκαλείῳ δ' ἐπιστάς ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἀριθμὸν παίδων ἀνατρέπει τὸν κίονα ὃς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνεῖχεν.

[9.6] At the Festival previous to this it is said that Cleomedes of Astypalaea killed Iccus of Epidaurus during a boxing-match. On being convicted by the umpires of foul play and being deprived of the prize he became mad through grief and returned to Astypalaea. Attacking a school there of about sixty children he pulled down the pillar which held up the roof.

[7] ἐμπεσόντος δὲ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῖς παισὶ, καταλιθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν κατέφυγεν ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν: ἐσβάντος δὲ ἐς κιβωτὸν κειμένην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐφελκυσσαμένου τὸ ἐπίθημα, κάματον ἐς ἀνωφελεῖς οἱ Ἀστυपालαεῖς ἔκαμνον ἀνοίγειν τὴν κιβωτὸν πειρώμενοι: τέλος δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῆς κιβωτοῦ καταρρήξαντες, ὥς οὔτε ζῶντα Κλεομήδην οὔτε τεθνεῶτα εὕρισκον, ἀποστέλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησομένους ὅποια ἐς Κλεομήδην τὰ συμβάντα ἦν.

[9.7] This fell upon the children, and Cleomedes, pelted with stones by the citizens, took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena. He entered a chest standing in the sanctuary and drew down the lid. The Astypalaeans toiled in vain in

their attempts to open the chest. At last, however, they broke open the boards of the chest, but found no Cleomedes, either alive or dead. So they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what had happened to Cleomedes.

[8] τούτοις χρῆσαι τὴν Πυθίαν φασίν: ὅστατος ἥρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυपालαιεύς,

ὄν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ' ἅτε μηκέτι θνητὸν ἔοντα.

“Κλεομήδει μὲν οὖν Ἀστυपालαιεῖς ἀπὸ τούτου τιμᾶς ὡς ἥρωι νέμουσιν:

[9.8] The response given by the Pythian priestess was, they say, as follows:—

Last of heroes is Cleomedes of Astypalaea;

Honor him with sacrifices as being no longer a mortal.

So from this time have the Astypalaeans paid honors to Cleomedes as to a hero.

[9] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Γέλωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνάκειται Φίλων, τέχνη τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Γλαυκίου. τούτῳ τῷ Φίλωνι Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπους ἐλεγείον δεξιώτατον ἐποίησε: “πατρίς μὲν Κόρκυρα, Φίλων δ' ὄνομα: εἰμὶ δὲ Γλαύκου

υἱὸς καὶ νικῶ πᾶς δὴ Ὀλυμπιάδας.

“ἀνάκειται καὶ Μαντινεὺς Ἀγαμήτωρ, κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας.

[9.9] By the side of the chariot of Gelon is dedicated a statue of Philon, the work of the Aeginetan Glaucias. About this Philon Simonides the son of Leoprepes composed a very neat elegiac couplet:—

My fatherland is Corcyra, and my name is Philon; I am

The son of Glaucus, and I won two Olympic victories for boxing.

There is also a statue of Agametor of Mantinea, who beat the boys at boxing.

10. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατεिलεγμένοις ἔστηκεν ὁ Καρύστιος Γλαῦκος: εἶναι δὲ φασιν ἐξ Ἀνθηδόνης τῆς Βοιωτῶν τὸ ἄνθρον αὐτὸν γένος ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ δαίμονος. πατὴρ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Καρύστιος ἦν Δημόλου, καὶ γῆν φασιν αὐτὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐργάζεσθαι: ἐκπεσοῦσαν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρότρου τὴν ὕψιν πρὸς τὸ ἄροτρον καθήρμωσε τῇ χειρὶ ἀντὶ σφύρας χρώμενος, καὶ πῶς

[10.1] X. Next to those that I have enumerated stands Glaucus of Carystus. Legend has it that he was by birth from Anthedon in Boeotia, being descended from Glaucus the sea-deity. This Carystian was a son of Demylus, and they say that to begin with he worked as a farmer. The ploughshare one day fell out of the plough, and he fitted it into its place, using his hand as a hammer;

[2] ἐθεάσατο ὁ Δημόλος τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ποιούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πυκτεύσοντα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγεν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γλαῦκος ἅτε οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἔχων τῆς μάχης ἐτιτρώσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιζομένων, καὶ ἡνίκα πρὸς τὸν λειπόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπύκτευνεν, ἀπαγορεύειν ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν τραυμάτων ἐνομίζετο: καὶ οἱ τὸν πατέρα βοῆσαι φασιν ὧ παῖ τὴν ἀπ'

ἀρότρου'. οὕτω γε δὴ βιαίτεράν ἐς τὸν ἀνταγωνιζόμενον ἐνεγκὼν τὴν πληγὴν αὐτίκα εἶχε τὴν νίκην.

[10.2] Demylus happened to be a spectator of his son's performance, and thereupon brought him to Olympia to box. There Glaucus, inexperienced in boxing, was wounded by his antagonists, and when he was boxing with the last of them he was thought to be fainting from the number of his wounds. Then they say that his father called out to him, "Son, the plough touch." So he dealt his opponent a more violent blow which forthwith brought him the victory.

[3] στεφάνους δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἄλλους Πύθια μὲν δις λαβεῖν, Νεμείων δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμίων ὀκτάκις ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἀγῶνι. τοῦ

Γλαύκου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκε μὲν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ, Γλαυκίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε: σκιαμαχοῦντος δὲ ὁ ἀνδριάς παρέχεται σχῆμα, ὅτι ὁ Γλαῦκος ἦν ἐπιτηδεϊότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν χειρονομήσαι πεφυκώς. ἀποθανόντα δὲ οἱ Καρύστιοι ταφῆναί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν νήσῳ καλουμένῃ Γλαύκου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι.

[10.3] He is said to have won other crowns besides, two at Pytho, eight at the Nemean and eight at the Isthmian games. The statue of Glaucus was set up by his son, while Glaucias of Aegina made it. The statue represents a figure sparring, as Glaucus was the best exponent of the art of all his contemporaries. When he died the Carystians, they say, buried him in the island still called the island of Glaucus.

[4] Δαμαρέτῳ δὲ Ἡραιεῖ υἱῷ τε τοῦ Δαμαρέτου καὶ υἱωνῶ δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ γεγόνασιν ἑκάστῳ νῖκαι, Δαμαρέτῳ μὲν πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι, ὅτε ἐνομίσθη πρῶτον ὁ τοῦ ὀπλίτου δρόμος, καὶ ὡσαύτως τῇ ἐφεξῆς — πεποίηται ὁ ἀνδριάς ἀσπίδα τε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχων τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ κράνος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ κνημίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσί: ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ τε Ἡλείων καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἄλλων ἀφηρέθη τοῦ δρόμου — , Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τῷ Δαμαρέτου καὶ αὐθις ἐκείνου παιδί ὁμωνύμῳ ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ πάλης ἐγένοντο αἱ νῖκαι.

[10.4] Damaretus of Heraea, his son and his grandson, each won two victories at Olympia. Those of Damaretus were gained at the sixty-fifth Festival (at which the race in full armour was instituted) and also at the one succeeding. His statue shows him, not only carrying the shield that modern competitors have, but also wearing a helmet on his head and greaves on his legs. In course of time the helmet and greaves were taken from the armour of competitors by both the Eleans and the Greeks generally. Theopompus, son of Damaretus, won his victories in the pentathlum, and his son Theopompus the second, named after his father, won his in the wrestling-match.

[5] τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα Θεοπόμπου μὲν τοῦ παλαίσαντος τὸν ποιήσαντα οὐκ ἴσμεν, τὰς δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάμπου φησι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Εὐτελίδα τε εἶναι καὶ Χρυσοθέμιδος Ἀργείων: οὐ μὴν παρ' ὅτῳ γε ἐδιδάχθησαν δεδῆλωκεν, ἔχει

γὰρ δὴ οὕτως:”Εὐτελίδας καὶ Χρυσόθεμις τὰδε ἔργα τέλεσσαν

Ἀργεῖοι, τέχνην εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων.

“

Ἴκκος δὲ ὁ Νικολαΐδα Ταραντῖνος τὸν τε Ὀλυμπικὸν στέφανον ἔσχεν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ καὶ ὕστερον γυμναστῆς ἄριστος λέγεται τῶν ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι:

[10.5] Who made the statue of Theopompus the wrestler we do not know, but those of his father and grandfather are said by the inscription to be by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis, who were Argives. It does not, however, declare the name of their teacher, but runs as follows:—

Eutelidas and Chrysothemis made these works,
Argives, who learnt their art from those who lived before.

Iccus the son of Nicolaidas of Tarentum won the Olympic crown in the pentathlon, and afterwards is said to have become the best trainer of his day.

[6] μετὰ δὲ Ἴκκον καταπαλαίσας παῖδας Παντάρκης ἔστηκεν Ἥλειος ὁ ἐρώμενος Φειδίου. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Παντάρκει Κλεοσθένους ἐστὶν ἄρμα ἀνδρὸς Ἐπιδαμνίου: τοῦτο ἔργον μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀγελάδα, ἔστηκε δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. ἐνίκα μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔκτην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν ὁ Κλεοσθένης, ἀνέθηκε δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ τε εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον.

[10.6] After Iccus stands Pantarces the Elean, beloved of Pheidias, who beat the boys at wrestling. Next to Pantarces is the chariot of Cleosthenes, a man of Epidamnus. This is the work of Ageladas, and it stands behind the Zeus dedicated by the Greeks from the spoil of the battle of Plataea. Cleosthenes’ victory occurred at the sixty-sixth Festival, and together with the statues of his horses he dedicated a statue of himself and one of his charioteer.

[7] ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ ὀνόματα Φοῖνιξ καὶ Κόραξ, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ οἱ παρὰ τὸ ζυγόν, κατὰ μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ Κνακίας, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Σάμος: καὶ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι:”Κλεοσθένης μ’ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου,

νικήσας ἵπποις καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός.

“

[10.7] There are inscribed the names of the horses, Phoenix and Corax, and on either side are the horses by the yoke, on the right Cnacias, on the left Samus. This inscription in elegiac verse is on the chariot:—

Cleosthenes, son of Pontis, a native of Epidamnus, dedicated me
After winning with his horses a victory in the glorious games of Zeus.

[8] τῶν δὲ ἵπποτροφησάντων ἐν Ἑλλήσι πρῶτος ἐξ Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Κλεοσθένης οὕτως. τὰ γὰρ Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου καὶ Εὐαγόρου τοῦ

Λάκωνος ἀναθήματα, τοῦ μὲν ἄρματά ἐστιν, οὐ μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν Εὐαγόρας· τὰ Μιλτιάδου δέ, ὅποια ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθηκεν, ἐτέρωθι δὴ δηλώσω τοῦ λόγου. Ἐπιδάμνιοι δὲ χώραν μὲν ἦνπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πόλιν δὲ οὐ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ἔχουσιν, ἐκείνης δὲ ἀφεστηκυῖαν ὀλίγον· ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει τῇ νῦν Δυρράχιον ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ.

[10.8] This Cleosthenes was the first of those who bred horses in Greece to dedicate his statue at Olympia. For the offering of Evagoras the Laconian consists of the chariot without a figure of Evagoras himself; the offerings of Miltiades the Athenian, which he dedicated at Olympia, I will describe in another part of my story. The Epidamnians occupy the same territory to-day as they did at first, but the modern city is not the ancient one, being at a short distance from it. The modern city is called Dyrrhachium from its founder.

[9] Λυκῖνον δὲ Ἡραιέα καὶ Ἐπικράδιον Μαντινέα καὶ Τέλλωνα Ὀρεσθάσιον καὶ Ἥλειον Ἀγιάδαν ἐν παισὶν ἀνελομένους νίκας, Λυκῖνον μὲν δρόμου, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατειλεγμένους πυγμῆς, Ἐπικράδιον μὲν καὶ Ἀγιάδαν, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Πτόλιχος Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ Ἀγιάδαν Σήραμβος, γένος καὶ οὗτος Αἰγινήτης· Λυκῖνου δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδριάς Κλέωνος τέχνη· τὸν δὲ Τέλλωνα ὅστις εἰργάσατο, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν.

[10.9] Lycinus of Heraea, Epicradius of Mantinea, Tellon of Oresthas, and Agiadas of Elis won victories in boys' matches; Lycinus for running, the rest of them for boxing. The artist who made the statue of Epicradius was Ptolichus of Aegina; that of Agiadas was made by Serambus, also a native of Aegina. The statue of Lycinus is the work of Cleon. Who made the statue of Tellon is not related.

11. ἐφεξῆς τούτων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν Ἥλειων, Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ Σέλευκος τε καὶ Ἀντίγονος· τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐφ' ἵππων, Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ ἀνὴρ πεζός ἐστιν ἢ εἰκὼν.

[11.1] XI. Next to these are offerings of Eleans, representing Philip the son of Amyntas, Alexander the son of Philip, Seleucus and Antigonus. Antigonus is on foot; the rest are on horseback.

[2] τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν εἰρημένων ἔστηκεν οὐ πόρρω Θεαγένης ὁ Τιμοσθένους Θάσιος· Θάσιοι δὲ οὐ Τιμοσθένους παῖδα εἶναι Θεαγένην φασίν, ἀλλὰ ἱερᾶσθαι μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Τιμοσθένην Θασίῳ, τοῦ Θεαγένους δὲ τῇ μητρὶ Ἡρακλέους συγγενέσθαι φάσμα εἰκὸς Τιμοσθένει. ἑνατὸν τε δὴ ἔτος εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων φασίν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμενον ἄγαλμα ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦν — χαίρειν γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτόν — , ἀνασπάσαι τε δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὤμων ἀναθέμενον ἐνεγκεῖν παρ' αὐτόν.

[11.2] Not far from the kings mentioned stands a Thasian, Theagenes the son of Timosthenes. The Thasians say that Timosthenes was not the father of Theagenes, but a priest of the Thasian Heracles, a phantom of whom in the

likeness of Timosthenes had intercourse with the mother of Theagenes. In his ninth year, they say, as he was going home from school, he was attracted by a bronze image of some god or other in the marketplace; so he caught up the image, placed it on one of his shoulders and carried it home.

[3] ἐχόντων δὲ ὀργὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ πεποιημένῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀνὴρ τις αὐτῶν δοκιμὸς καὶ ἡλικία προήκων ἀποκτείνει μὲν σφᾶς τὸν παῖδα οὐκ ἔα, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῆς κομίσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν: ὥς δὲ ἤνεγκε, μέγα αὐτίκα ἦν κλέος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ ἰσχύι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐβεβόητο τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

[11.3] The citizens were enraged at what he had done, but one of them, a respected man of advanced years, bade them not to kill the lad, and ordered him to carry the image from his home back again to the market-place. This he did, and at once became famous for his strength, his feat being noised abroad through-out Greece.

[4] ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἔργων τῶν Θεαγένους ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἦκει τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν, προεδίλωσεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὰ δοκιμώτατα ἐξ αὐτῶν, Εὐθυμόν τε ὡς κατεμαχέσατο τὸν πύκτην καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἐπεβλήθη τῷ Θεαγένει ζημία. τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ παγκρατίου τὴν νίκην ἀνὴρ ἐκ Μαντινείας Δρομεὺς ὄνομα πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν ἀκονιτὶ λέγεται λαβεῖν: τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ παγκρατιάζων ὁ Θεαγένης ἐκράτει.

[11.4] The achievements of Theagenes at the Olympian games have already – the most famous of them – been described in my story, how he beat Euthymus the boxer, and how he was fined by the Eleans. On this occasion the pancratium, it is said, was for the first time on record won without a contest, the victor being Dromeus of Mantinea. At the Festival following this, Theagenes was the winner in the pancratium.

[5] γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ νῖκαι τρεῖς, αὗται μὲν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ, Νεμείων δὲ ἐννέα καὶ Ἰσθμίων δέκα παγκρατίου τε ἀναμιξ καὶ πυγμῆς. ἐν Φθίᾳ δὲ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν πυγμῆς μὲν ἡ παγκρατίου παρῆκε τὴν σπουδὴν, ἐφρόντιζε δὲ ὅπως καὶ ἐπὶ δρόμῳ ἐμφανὲς ἐν Ἑλλήσιν εἶη, καὶ τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸν δόλιχον ἐκράτησεν: ἦν δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ φιλοτίμημα, ἐν πατρίδι τοῦ ὠκίστου τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἀνελέσθαι δρόμου νίκην. τοὺς δὲ σύμπαντας στεφάνους τετρακοσίους τε ἔσχε καὶ χιλίους.

[11.5] He also won three victories at Pytho. These were for boxing, while nine prizes at Nemea and ten at the Isthmus were won in some cases for the pancratium and in others for boxing. At Phthia in Thessaly he gave up training for boxing and the pancratium. He devoted himself to winning fame among the Greeks for his running also, and beat those who entered for the long race. His ambition was, I think, to rival Achilles by winning a prize for running in the fatherland of the swiftest of those who are called heroes. The total number of crowns that he won was one thousand four hundred.

[6] ὥς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνὴρ τῶν τις ἀπῆχθιμένων ζῶντι αὐτῷ παρεγίνετο ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἐμαστίγου τὸν χαλκὸν ἅτε αὐτῷ Θεαγένει λυμαινόμενος· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐμπεσὼν ὕβρεως παύει, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τῇ εἰκόνι ἐπεξήρσαν φόνου. καὶ οἱ Θάσιοι καταποντοῦσι τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπακολουθήσαντες γνώμῃ τῇ Δράκοντος, ὃς Ἀθηναίους θεσμοὺς γράψας φονικοὺς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, εἶγε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον.

[11.6] When he departed this life, one of those who were his enemies while he lived came every night to the statue of Theagenes and flogged the bronze as though he were ill-treating Theagenes himself. The statue put an end to the outrage by falling on him, but the sons of the dead man prosecuted the statue for murder. So the Thasians dropped the statue to the bottom of the sea, adopting the principle of Draco, who, when he framed for the Athenians laws to deal with homicide, inflicted banishment even on lifeless things, should one of them fall and kill a man.

[7] ἀνὰ χρόνον δέ, ὥς τοῖς Θασίοις οὐδένα ἀπεδίδου καρπὸν ἡ γῆ, θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δεδιωγμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καταδεχθέντες οὐδὲν τῆς ἀκαρπίας παρείχοντο ἴαμα· δεύτερα οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Πυθίαν ἔρχονται, λέγοντες ὥς καὶ ποιήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὰ χρησθέντα διαμένοι τὸ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν μῆνιμα.

[11.7] But in course of time, when the earth yielded no crop to the Thasians, they sent envoys to Delphi, and the god instructed them to receive back the exiles. At this command they received them back, but their restoration brought no remedy of the famine. So for the second time they went to the Pythian priestess, saying that although they had obeyed her instructions the wrath of the gods still abode with them.

[8] ἐνταῦθα ἀπεκρίνατό σφισιν ἡ Πυθία: "Θεαγένην δ' ἄμνηστον ἀφήκατε τὸν μέγαν ὕμέων.

"ἀπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁποῖα μηχανῇ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνασώσωνται, φασὶν ἀλίεας ἀναχθέντας ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ ἰχθύων θήραν περισχεῖν τῷ δικτύῳ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν αὐτὴς ἐς τὴν γῆν: Θάσιοι δὲ ἀναθέντες, ἐνθα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκειτο, νομίζουσιν ἅτε θεῷ θύειν.

[11.8] Whereupon the Pythian priestess replied to them:—

But you have forgotten your great Theagenes.

And when they could not think of a contrivance to recover the statue of Theagenes, fishermen, they say, after putting out to sea for a catch of fish caught the statue in their net and brought it back to land. The Thasians set it up in its original position, and are wont to sacrifice to him as to a god.

[9] πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἔν τε Ἑλλήσιν οἶδα καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἀγάλματα ἰδρυμένα Θεαγένους καὶ νοσήματά τε αὐτὸν ἰώμενον καὶ ἔχοντα

παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τιμάς. ὁ δὲ ἀνδριάς τοῦ Θεαγένους ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει, τέχνη τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Γλαυκίου.

[11.9] There are many other places that I know of, both among Greeks and among barbarians, where images of Theagenes have been set up, who cures diseases and receives honors from the natives. The statue of Theagenes is in the Altis, being the work of Glaucias of Aegina.

12. πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλῃτες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔσθηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες· ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐπὶ νίκαις Ὀλυμπικαῖς ἐστὶν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένου τυραννήσαντος Συρακουσίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ Ἰέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰέρωνος, ἔργα δὲ τὸ μὲν Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα, Καλάμιδος δὲ οἱ ἵπποι τε οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ παῖδες.

[12.1] XII. Hard by is a bronze chariot with a man mounted upon it; race-horses, one on each side, stand beside the chariot, and on the horses are seated boys. They are memorials of Olympic victories won by Hiero the son of Deinomenes, who was tyrant of Syracuse after his brother Gelo. But the offerings were not sent by Hiero; it was Hiero's son Deinomenes who gave them to the god, Onatas the Aeginetan who made the chariot, and Calamis who made the horses on either side and the boys on them.

[2] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινομένους καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ οὗτος τυραννήσας, Ἰέρων δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἱεροκλέους· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ πρότερον τυραννήσαντος τελευτὴν Συρακουσίοις αὐθις ἀναπεφύκει τύραννος ὁ Ἰέρων οὗτος, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἣν Κυρηναῖος στάδιον ἐνίκησεν Ἰδαῖος.

[12.2] By the chariot of Hiero is a man of the same name as the son of Deinomenes. He too was tyrant of Syracuse, and was called Hiero the son of Hierocles. After the death of Agathocles, a former tyrant, tyranny again sprung up at Syracuse in the person of this Hiero, who came to power in the second year of the hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad, at which Festival Idaeus of Cyrene won the foot-race.

[3] οὗτος ὁ Ἰέρων ξενίαν πρὸς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ ξενίᾳ καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποιήσατο, Γέλωνι τῷ παιδὶ Νηρηίδα ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Πύρρου. Ῥωμαίων δὲ περὶ Σικελίας ἐς τὴν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον καταστάντων εἶχον μὲν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς νήσου πλεον ἢ ἡμῖς, Ἰέρωνι δὲ συνιόντων μὲν ἄρτι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλέσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἥρεσε, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὴ δυνάμει τε εἶναι νομίζων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐχυρότερα καὶ βεβαιότερα ἅμα ἐς φιλίαν μετεβάλετο ὥς τούτους.

[12.3] This Hiero made an alliance with Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides, sealing it by the marriage of Gelo his son and Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus. When the

Romans went to war with Carthage for the possession of Sicily, the Carthaginians held more than half the island, and Hiero sided with them at the beginning of the war. Shortly after, however, he changed over to the Romans, thinking that they were stronger, and firmer and more reliable friends.

[4] τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Δεινομένους, γένος μὲν Συρακουσίου, δυσμενέστατα δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐς τυραννίδα ἔχοντος, ὃς καὶ ὕστερον τούτων Ἱπποκράτει τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπικύδους ἐξ Ἑρβησσοῦ παρεληλυθότι ἄρτι ἐς Συρακούσας καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ποιεῖσθαι λόγους ἀρχομένῳ ἐπέδραμεν ὡς ἀποκτενῶν τὸν Ἱπποκράτην· τοῦ δὲ οἱ ἀντιστάντος, κρατήσαντες τῶν δορυφόρων ἄλλοι διαφθείρουσι τὸν Δεινομένην. τοὺς ἀνδριάντας δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, ἐφ' ἵππου τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν πεζόν, ἀνέθεσαν μὲν τοῦ Ἱέρωνος οἱ παῖδες, ἐποίησε δὲ Μίκων Νικηράτου Συρακούσιος.

[12.4] He met his end at the hands of Deinomenes, a Syracusan by birth and an inveterate enemy of tyranny, who afterwards, when Hippocrates the brother of Epicydes had just come from Erbessus to Syracuse and was beginning to harangue the multitude, rushed at him with intent to kill him. But Hippocrates withstood him, and certain of the bodyguard over-powered and slew Deinomenes. The statues of Hiero at Olympia, one on horseback and the other on foot, were dedicated by the sons of Hiero, the artist being Micon, a Syracusan, the son of Niceratus.

[5] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἄρατος ἔστηκεν ὁ Κλεινίου, καὶ αὐθις ἀναβεβηκώς ἐστιν Ἀρεὺς ἵππον. ἀνάθημα δὲ ὁ μὲν Κορινθίων ὁ Ἄρατος, Ἀρεὺς δὲ Ἠλείων ἐστί· καὶ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ πρότερα οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἄρατον οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἀρέα ἀμνημόνως ἔσχεν, Ἄρατος δὲ καὶ ἄρματι ἀνηγορεύθη νικῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

[12.5] After the likenesses of Hiero stand Areus the Lacedaemonian king, the son of Acrotatus, and Aratus the son of Cleinias, with another statue of Areus on horseback. The statue of Aratus was dedicated by the Corinthians, that of Areus by the people of Elis.

[6] Τίμωνι δὲ τῷ Αἰσύπου καθέντι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἵππους ἀνδρὶ Ἠλείῳ * * ἐστὶ τοῦτο χαλκοῦν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναβέβηκε παρθένος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Νίκη. Κάλλωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀρμοδίου καὶ τὸν Μοσχίωνος Ἱππόμαχον, γένος τε Ἠλείους καὶ πυγμῇ κρατήσαντας ἐν παισί, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐποίησε Δάιππος, Ἱππομάχου δὲ ὅστις μὲν τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο οὐκ ἴσμεν, καταμαχέσασθαι δὲ τρεῖς φασιν ἀνταγωνιστὰς αὐτὸν οὔτε πληγὴν ἀποδεξάμενον οὔτε τι τρωθέντα τοῦ σώματος.

[12.6] I have already given some account of both Aratus and Areus, and Aratus was also proclaimed at Olympia as victor in the chariot-race. Timon, an Elean, the son of Aesypus, entered a four-horse chariot for the Olympic races . . . this is of bronze, and on it is mounted a maiden, who, in my opinion, is Victory. Callon the son of Harmodius and Hippomachus the son of Moschion, Elean by race, were victors in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of Callon was

made by Daippus; who made that of Hippomachus I do not know, but it is said that he overcame three antagonists without receiving a blow or any physical injury.

[7] Θεόχρηστον δὲ Κυρηναῖον ἵπποτροφήσαντα κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον τοῖς Λίβυσι καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τὸν ὁμώνυμόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πατέρα, τούτους μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἵππων νίκας, ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ τοῦ Θεοχρήστου λαβεῖν τὸν πατέρα, τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι.

[12.7] Theochrestus of Cyrene bred horses after the traditional Libyan manner; he himself and before him his paternal grandfather of the same name won victories at Olympia with the four-horse chariot, while the father of Theochrestus won a victory at the Isthmus. So declares the inscription on the chariot.

[8] Ἀγήσαρχον δὲ τὸν Αἰμοστράτου Τριταιέα κρατῆσαι μὲν πύκτας ἄνδρας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐλεγείον, Ἀρκάδας δὲ τοὺς Τριταιεῖς εἶναι τοῦ ἐλεγείου λέγοντος οὐκ ἀληθεύοντα εὕρισκον. πόλεων γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ταῖς μὲν ἐπειλημμέναις δόξης οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς οἰκιστάς ἐστιν ἄγνωστα, τὰς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ἀφανεστέρας καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἀνοικισθείσας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν, οὐ περιέχει σφᾶς γενόμενον τότε ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινῷ δόγμα;

[12.8] The elegiac verses bear witness that Agesarchus of Triteia, the son of Haemostratus, won the boxing-match for men at Olympia, Nemea, Pytho and the Isthmus; they also declare that the Tritaeans are Arcadians, but I found this statement to be untrue. For the founders of the Arcadian cities that attained to fame have well-known histories; while those that had all along been obscure because of their weakness were surely absorbed for this very reason into Megalopolis, being included in the decree then made by the Arcadian confederacy;

[9] οὐδὲ τίνα ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλληνισί Τρίτειαν πόλιν ἄλλην γε ἢ τὴν Ἀχαιῶν εὐρεῖν. τηνικαῦτα γοῦν ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἡγοῖτο ἂν τις συντελέσαι τοὺς Τριταιεῖς, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι Ἀρκάδων αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ ἐς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν τελοῦντες. τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου δὲ ἔστιν ἡ εἰκὼν τέχνῃ τῶν Πολυκλέους παίδων. τούτων μὲν δὴ ποιησόμεθα μνήμην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις τοῦ λόγου:

[12.9] no other city Triteia, except the one in Achaia, is to be found in Greece. However, one may assume that at the time of the inscription the Tritaeans were reckoned as Arcadians, just as nowadays too certain of the Arcadians themselves are reckoned as Argives. The statue of Agesarchus is the work of the sons of Polycles, of whom we shall give some account later on.

13. Ἀστύλος δὲ Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγόρου μὲν ἔστιν ἔργον, τρεῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς Ὀλυμπιάσι σταδίου τε καὶ διαύλου νίκας ἔσχεν. ὅτι δὲ ἐν δύο ταῖς ὑστέραις ἐς χάριν τὴν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένου ἀνηγόρευσε αὐτὸν Συρακούσιον, τούτων ἕνεκα οἱ Κροτωνιάται τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ δεσποτήριον εἶναι

κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα καθεῖλον παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Λακινίᾳ κειμένην.

[13.1] XIII. The statue of Astylus of Crotona is the work of Pythagoras; this athlete won three successive victories at Olympia, in the short race and in the double race. But because on the two latter occasions he proclaimed himself a Syracusan, in order to please Hiero the son of Deinomenes, the people of Crotona for this condemned his house to be a prison, and pulled down his statue set up by the temple of Lacinian Hera.

[2] ἀνάκειται δὲ τῇ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ στήλῃ λέγουσα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Χιόνιδος τὰς νίκας. εὐηθείας μὲν δὴ μετέχουσι καὶ ὅσοι Χίονιν αὐτὸν ἀναθεῖναι τὴν στήλην, ἀλλ' οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγνῆται τὸ δημόσιον: ἔστω γὰρ δῆπου, ὥς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ, οὐκ εἶναι πω τοῦ ὅπλου τὸν δρόμον: πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐπίστατο ὁ Χιόνις εἰ αὐθὶς ποτε προσνομοθετήσουσιν Ἑλλεῖοι; τούτων δὲ ἔτι ἐς πλέον ἤκουσιν εὐηθείας οἱ τὸν ἐστηκότα ἀνδριάντα παρὰ τῇ στήλῃ φασὶν εἰκόνα εἶναι Χιόνιδος, ἔργον ὄντα τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Μύρωνος.

[13.2] There is also set up in Olympia a slab recording the victories of Chionis the Lacedaemonian. They show simplicity who have supposed that Chionis himself dedicated the slab, and not the Lacedaemonian people. Let us assume that, as the slab says, the race in armour had not yet been introduced; how could Chionis know whether the Eleans would at some future time add it to the list of events? But those are simpler still who say that the statue standing by the slab is a portrait of Chionis, it being the work of the Athenian Myron.

[3] εὐοικότα δὲ Χιόνιδι τὰ ἐς δόξαν καὶ ἀνὴρ Λύκιος παρέσχετο Ἑρμογένης Ξάνθιος, ὃς τὸν κότινον ἐν τρισὶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀνείλετο ὀκτάκις ἐπὶ κλησὶν τε ἔσχεν Ἴππος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων: ποιήσαιο δ' ἂν καὶ Πολίτην ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι. ὁ Πολίτης δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐκ Κεράμου τῆς ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ Καρίας, ἀνέφηνε δὲ ἀρετὴν ποδῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πᾶσαν: ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ μηκίστου καὶ διαρκεστάτου δι' ὀλιγίστου δὴ καιροῦ μεθηρμόσατο ἐπὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ὁμοῦ καὶ ὥκιστον, καὶ δολίχου τε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ παραυτίκα σταδίου λαβὼν νίκην προσέθηκε δὲ διαύλου σφίσι τὴν τρίτην.

[13.3] Similar in renown to Chionis was Hermogenes of Xanthus, a Lydian, who won the wild olive eight times at three Olympic festivals, and was surnamed Horse by the Greeks. Polites also you will consider a great marvel. This Polites was from Ceramus in Caria, and showed at Olympia every excellence in running. For from the longest race, demanding the greatest stamina, he changed, after the shortest interval, to the shortest and quickest, and after winning a victory in the long race and immediately afterwards in the short race, he added on the same day a third victory in the double course.

[4] Πολίτης μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας * * * καὶ τέσσαρας, ὥς ἂν ἕκαστοι συνταχῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀφιασιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον: οἱ δ' ἂν ἐν ἐκάστῃ τάξει κρατήσωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αὐθὶς θέουσι τῶν ἄθλων: καὶ οὕτω σταδίου δύο ὁ στεφανούμενος ἀναιρήσεται νίκας. τὰ μέντοι ἐπιφανέστατα ἐς δρόμον Λεωνίδα Ῥοδίῳ ἐστίν: ἐπὶ γὰρ τέσσαρας

Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀκμάζων τε τῇ ὠκότητι ἀντήρκεσε, καὶ γεγόνασιν αὐτῷ δρόμου νῖκαι δύο ἀριθμὸν καὶ δέκα.

[13.4] Polites then in the second . . . and four, as they are grouped together by lot, and they do not start them all together for the race. The victors in each heat run again for the prize. So he who is crowned in the foot-race will be victorious twice. However, the most famous runner was Leonidas of Rhodes. He maintained his speed at its prime for four Olympiads, and won twelve victories for running.

[5] Χιόνιδος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπία στήλης Σκαῖος ἔστηκεν ὁ Δούριος Σάμιος, κρατήσας πυγμῇ παιδας: τέχνη δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ μὲν Ἰππίου τοῦ * *, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, νικῆσαι Σκαῖον ἥνικα ὁ Σαμίων δῆμος ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν * * * ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὸν δῆμον.

[13.5] Not far from the slab of Chionis at Olympia stands Scaeus, the son of Duris, a Samian, victor in the boys' boxing-match. The statue is the work of Hippias, the son of . . . and the inscription on it states that Scaeus won his victory at the time when the people of Samos were in exile from the island, but the occasion . . . the people to their own.

[6] παρὰ δὲ τὸν τύραννον Διάλλος ὁ Πόλλιδος ἀνάκειται, γένος μὲν Σμυρναῖος, Ἰόνων δὲ πρῶτος λαβεῖν ἐν Ὀλυμπία φησὶν οὗτος ὁ Δίαλλος παγκρατίου στέφανον ἐν παισίν. Θερσίλοχον δὲ Κορκυραῖον καὶ Ἀριστίωνα Θεοφίλους Ἐπιδαύριον, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν πυγμῆς, Θερσίλοχον δὲ λαβόντα ἐν παισὶ στέφανον, Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε σφᾶς ὁ Ἀργεῖος.

[13.6] By the side of the tyrant is a statue of Diallus the son of Pollis, a Smyranean by descent, and this Diallus declares that he was the first Ionian to receive at Olympia a crown for the boys' pancratium. There are statues of Thersilochus of Corcyra and of Aristion of Epidaurus, the son of Theophiles, made by Polycleitus the Argive; Aristion won a crown for the men's boxing, Thersilochus for the boys'.

[7] Βύκελος δέ, ὃς Σικυωνίων πρῶτος πύξ ἐκράτησεν ἐν παισίν, ἔστιν ἔργον Σικυωνίου Κανάχου παρὰ τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ Πολυκλείτῳ διδαχθέντος. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Βύκελον ὀπλίτης ἀνὴρ ἐπέκλησιν Λίβυς Μνασέας Κυρηναῖος ἔστηκε: Πυθαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα. Κυζικηνῷ δὲ Ἀγεμάχῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου * * * γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μνηνεῖ.

[13.7] Bycelus, the first Sicyonian to win the boys' boxing-match, had his statue made by Canachus of Sicyon, a pupil of the Argive Polycleitus. By the side of Bycelus stands the statue of a man-at-arms, Mnaseas of Cyrene, surnamed the Libyan; Pythagoras of Rhegium made the statue. To Agemachus of Cyzicus from the mainland of Asia . . . the inscription on it shows that he was born at Argos.

[8] Νάξου δὲ οἰκισθείσης ποτὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Εὐρίπῳ, τῆς

πόλως μὲν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἐλείπετο ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, ὄνομα δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα εἶναι τῆς Νάξου Τίσανδρος ὁ Κλεοκρίτου μάλιστα αἰτίαν ἔχέτω: τετράκις γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἀνδράσι κατεμαχέσατο ὁ Τίσανδρος πύκτας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τοσαῦται δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ γεγόνασιν αὐτῷ νῖκαι, καὶ Κορινθίοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν πω τηνικαῦτα οὐδὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς ἅπαντας ὑπομνήματα τοὺς Νέμεια καὶ Ἴσθμια νικήσαντας.

[13.8] Naxos was founded in Sicily by the Chalcidians on the Euripus. Of the city not even the ruins are now to be seen, and that the name of Naxos has survived to after ages must be attributed to Tisander, the son of Cleocritus. He won the men's boxing-match at Olympia four times; he had the same number of victories at Pytho, but at this time neither the Corinthians nor the Argives kept complete records of the victors at Nemea and the Isthmus.

[9] ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἡ τοῦ Κορινθίου Φειδώλα ὄνομα μὲν, ὥς οἱ Κορίνθιοι μνημονεύουσιν, ἔχει Αὔρα, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ δρόμου συνέπεσεν ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτήν: καὶ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν θεοῦσα ἐν κόσμῳ περὶ τε τὴν νύσσαν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν, ἐπετάχυνεν ἐς πλεον τὸν δρόμον, φθάνει τε δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας ἀφικομένη καὶ νικῶσα ἔγνω καὶ παύεται τοῦ δρόμου. Ἥλειοι δὲ ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τὸν Φειδῶλαν καὶ ἀναθεῖναι οἱ τὴν ἵππον ταύτην ἐφιᾶσιν.

[13.9] The mare of the Corinthian Pheidolas was called, the Corinthians relate, Aura (breeze), and at the beginning of the race she chanced to throw her rider. But nevertheless she went on running properly, turned round the post, and, when she heard the trumpet, quickened her pace, reached the umpires first, realized that she had won and stopped running. The Eleans proclaimed Pheidolas the winner and allowed him to dedicate a statue of this mare.

[10] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φειδώλα τοῖς παισὶν ἐπὶ κέλῃτι ἵππῳ νίκη, καὶ ὃ τε ἵππος ἐπὶ στήλῃ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ: "ὠκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἴσθμῳ ἅπαξ, δύο δ' ἐνθάδε νίκαις

Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους.

"οὐ μὴν τῷ γε ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὰ Ἥλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας ὁμολογεῖ γράμματα: ὀγδόῃ γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ οὐ πέρα ταύτης ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς Ἥλείων γράμμασιν ἡ νίκη τῶν Φειδώλα παίδων:

[13.10] The sons also of Pheidolas were winners in the horse-race, and the horse is represented on a slab with this inscription:—

The swift Lycus by one victory at the Isthmus and two here
Crowned the house of the sons of Pheidolas.

But the inscription is at variance with the Elean records of Olympic victors. These records give a victory to the sons of Pheidolas at the sixty-eighth Festival but at no other. You may take my statements as accurate.

[11] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα ἴστω τις: Ἥλείοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν Ἀγαθίνῳ τε τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ, Τηλεμάχῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων νίκη γέγονεν ἢ εἰκῶν,

Ἀγαθῖνον δὲ ἀνέθεσαν Ἀχαιοὶ Πελληνεῖς. ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος Ἀριστοφῶντα Λυσίνου, παγκρατιαστὰς ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρατήσαντα ἄνδρας.

[13.11] There are statues to Agathinus, son of Thrasybulus, and to Telemachus, both men of Elis. Telemachus won the race for four-horse chariots; the statue of Agathinus was dedicated by the Achaeans of Pellene. The Athenian people dedicated a statue of Aristophon, the son of Lysinus, who won the men's pancratium at Olympia.

14. Φερίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης — οὗτος γὰρ δὴ παρὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀριστοφῶντα ἀνάκειται — ὀγδόῃ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι κομιδῇ τε ἔδοξεν εἶναι νέος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός πω νομισθεὶς παλαίειν ἀπηλάθῃ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς — κατεδέχθη γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα ἐς τοὺς παῖδας — ἐνίκα παλαίων. τῷ δὲ Φερίᾳ τούτῳ διάφορον καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἑοικυῖαν ἔσχεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τύχην Νικασύλος Ῥόδιος.

[14.1] XIV. Pherias of Aegina, whose statue stands by the side of Aristophon the Athenian, at the seventy-eighth Festival was considered very young, and, being judged to be as yet unfit to wrestle, was debarred from the contest. Out at the next Festival he was admitted to the boys' wrestling-match and won it. What happened to this Pherias was different, in fact the exact opposite of what happened at Olympia to Nicasylus of Rhodes.

[2] ὄγδοον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι γεγονὼς μὴ παλαῖσαι μὲν ἐν παισὶν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἀπηλάθῃ, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐνίκησεν: ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσθμῷ. γεγονότα δὲ εἰκοσαετὴ τὸ χρεῶν ἐπιλαμβάνει, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτὸν οἴκαδε ἀναστρέψαι. τὸ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ Ῥοδίου παλαιστοῦ τόλμημα Ἀρτεμίδωρος γένος Τραλλιανὸς ὑπερεβάλετο κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν. Ἀρτεμιδῶρ γὰρ ἀμαρτεῖν μὲν Ὀλυμπίων συνέβη παγκρατιάζοντι ἐν παισὶν, αἰτία δὲ οἱ ἐγένετο τῆς διαμαρτίας τὸ ἄγαν νέον:

[14.2] Being eighteen years of age he was not allowed by the Eleans to compete in the boys' wrestling-match, but won the men's match and was proclaimed victor. He was afterwards proclaimed victor at Nemea also and at the Isthmus. But when he was twenty years old he met his death before he returned home to Rhodes. The feat of the Rhodian wrestler at Olympia was in my opinion surpassed by Artemidorus of Tralles. He failed in the boys' pancratium at Olympia, the reason of his failure being his extreme youth.

[3] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἀγῶνος καιρὸς ὃν Συμρναῖοι Ἰόνων ἄγουσιν, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἄρα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπηύξητο ὥς κρατῆσαι παγκρατιάζοντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς τούς τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἀνταγωνιστάς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν οὓς ἀγενοίους καλοῦσι καὶ τρίτα δὴ ὅ τι ἄριστον ἦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ τὴν ἄμιλλαν πρὸς ἀγενοίους τε καὶ ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐκ γυμναστοῦ παρακλήσεώς φασι, τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς παγκρατιαστοῦ λοιδορίας. ἀνείλετο δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην δευτέρᾳ καὶ δεκάτῃ πρὸς

[14.3] When, however, the time arrived for the contest held by the Ionians of Smyrna, his strength had so increased that he beat in the pancratium on the same day those who had competed with him at Olympia, after the boys the beardless youths as they are called, and thirdly the pick of the men. His match with the beardless youths was the outcome, they say, of a trainer's encouragement; he fought the men because of the insult of a man pancratiast. Artemidorus won an Olympic victory among the men at the two hundred and twelfth Festival.

[4] Νικασύλου δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος ἵππος τε οὐ μέγας ἔχεται χαλκοῦς, ὃν Κρόκων Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνέθηκεν ἀνελόμενος κέλῃτι ἵπῳ στέφανον, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ ἵππου Τελέστας ἐστὶ Μεσσηνίος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παιῖδας: Σιλανίωνος δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ὁ Τελέστας.

[14.4] Next to the statue of Nicasylus is a small bronze horse, which Crocon of Eretria dedicated when he won a crown with a racehorse. Near the horse is Telestas of Messene, who won the boys' boxing-match. The artist who represented Telestas was Silanion.

[5] Μίλωνα δὲ τὸν Διοτίμου πεποίηκε μὲν Δαμέας ἐκ Κρότωνος καὶ οὗτος: ἐγένοντο δὲ τῷ Μίλῳ ἐξ μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πάλης νῖκαι, μία δὲ ἐν παισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν, Πυθοῖ δὲ ἐν τε ἀνδράσιν ἐξ καὶ μία ἐνταῦθα ἐν παισίν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἑβδομον παλαίσων ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγένετο οἷός τε καταπαλαῖσαι Τιμασίθεον πολίτην τε ὄντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἡλικία νέον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ σύνεγγυς οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἴστασθαι.

[14.5] The statue of Milo the son of Diotimus was made by Dameas, also a native of Crotona. Milo won six victories for wrestling at Olympia, one of them among the boys; at Pytho he won six among the men and one among the boys. He came to Olympia to wrestle for the seventh time, but did not succeed in mastering Timasitheus, a fellow-citizen who was also a young man, and who refused, moreover, to come to close quarters with him.

[6] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐσκομίσειεν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ὁ Μίλων, λέγεται δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ροιᾷ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ: ροιὰν μὲν δὴ οὕτω κατεῖχεν ὥς μήτε ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι βιαζομένῳ μήτε αὐτὸς λυμήνασθαι πιέζων, ιστάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ἀληλημμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ γέλωτα ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντάς τε καὶ ὠθοῦντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου. παρείχετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦδε ἐς ἐπίδειξιν.

[14.6] It is further stated that Milo carried his own statue into the Altis. His feats with the pomegranate and the quoit are also remembered by tradition. He would grasp a pomegranate so firmly that nobody could wrest it from him by force, and yet he did not damage it by pressure. He would stand upon a greased quoit, and make fools of those who charged him and tried to push him from the quoit. He used to perform also the following exhibition feats.

[7] περιέδει τῷ μετώπῳ χορδὴν κατὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ εἰ ταινίαν περιθεῖτο ἢ στέφανον: κατέχων δὲ ἐντὸς χειλῶν τὸ ἄσθμα καὶ ἐμπιπλὰς αἵματος τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ φλέβας, διερρήγγυνεν ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τῶν φλεβῶν τὴν χορδὴν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τὸ μὲν ἐς τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου παρ' αὐτὴν καθίει τὴν πλευράν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἔτεινεν ἐς εὐθύ, τῶν δακτύλων τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφων τὸν ἀντίχειρα ἐς τὸ ἄνω, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικειμένων κατὰ στοῖχον: τὸν ἐλάχιστον οὖν τῶν δακτύλων κάτω γινόμενον οὐκ ἀπεκίνησεν ἂν τις βιαζόμενος.

[14.7] He would tie a cord round his forehead as though it were a ribbon or a crown. Holding his breath and filling with blood the veins on his head, he would break the cord by the strength of these veins. It is said that he would let down by his side his right arm from the shoulder to the elbow, and stretch out straight the arm below the elbow, turning the thumb upwards, while the other fingers lay in a row. In this position, then, the little finger was lowest, but nobody could bend it back by pressure.

[8] ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ θηρίων φασὶν αὐτόν: ἐπιτυχεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Κροτωνιάτιδι αὐαινομένῳ ξύλῳ, σφῆνες δὲ ἐγκείμενοι διίστασαν τὸ ξύλον: ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ φρονήματος ὁ Μίλων καθίησι τὰς χειράς ἐς τὸ ξύλον, ὀλισθάνουσί τε δὴ οἱ σφῆνες καὶ ἐχόμενος ὁ Μίλων ὑπὸ τοῦ ξύλου λύκοις ἐγίνετο εὖρημα. μάλιστα δέ πως τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Κροτωνιάτιδι πολὺ τε νέμεται καὶ ἄφθονον.

[14.8] They say that he was killed by wild beasts. The story has it that he came across in the land of Crotona a tree-trunk that was drying up; wedges were inserted to keep the trunk apart. Milo in his pride thrust his hands into the trunk, the wedges slipped, and Milo was held fast by the trunk until the wolves – a beast that roves in vast packs in the land of Crotona – made him their prey.

[9] Μίλωνι μὲν δὴ τοιόνδε τέλος ἐπηκολούθησε: Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Αἰακίδου βασιλεύσαντα ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ἠπεῖρω καὶ ἔργα πολλὰ ἐργασάμενον καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, ἃ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐδήλωσα, τοῦτον ἐς τὴν Ἑλτιν ἀνέθηκε Θρασύβουλος Ἡλεῖος. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Πύρρον ἀνὴρ μικρὸς αὐλοῦς ἔχων ἐστὶν ἐκτετυπωμένος ἐπὶ στήλῃ. τοῦτῳ Πυθικαὶ νίκαι γεγόνασι τῷ ἀνδρὶ δευτέρῳ μετὰ Σακάδαν τὸν Ἀργεῖον:

[14.9] Such was the fate that overtook Milo. Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, who was king on the Thesprotian mainland and performed many remarkable deeds, as I have related in my account of the Athenians, had his statue dedicated by Thrasybulus of Elis. Beside Pyrrhus is a little man holding flutes, carved in relief upon a slab. This man won Pythian victories next after Sacadas of Argos.

[10] Σακάδας μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τεθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων οὐκ ὄντα πω στεφανίτην καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ στεφανίτας δύο ἐνίκησε, Πυθόκριτος δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος τὰς ἐφεξῆς τούτων πυθιάδας ἔξ, μόνος δὴ οὗτος αὐλητής: δῆλα δὲ

ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐπηόλησεν ἐξάκις τῷ πεντάθλῳ. Πυθοκρίτῳ μὲν γέγονεν ἀντὶ τούτων ἢ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήλῃ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, "Πυθοκρίτου

τοῦ Καλλινίκου μνᾶμα ταύλητᾶ τάδε:

“ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Αἰτωλῶν Κύλωνα, ὃς

[14.10] For Sacadas won in the games introduced by the Amphictyons before a crown was awarded for success, and after this victory two others for which crowns were given; but at the next six Pythian Festivals Pythocritus of Sicyon was victor, being the only flute-player so to distinguish himself. It is also clear that at the Olympic Festival he fluted six times for the pentathlum. For these reasons the slab at Olympia was erected in honor of Pythocritus, with the inscription on it:—

This is the monument of the flute-player Pythocritus, the son of Callinicus.

[11] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστοτίμου τυραννίδος ἡλευθέρωσεν Ἡλείους. Γόργον δὲ τὸν Εὐκλήτου Μεσσήνιον ἀνελόμενον πεντάθλου νίκην καὶ Δαμάρετον καὶ τοῦτον Μεσσήνιον κρατήσαντα πυγμῇ παῖδας, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Βοιώτιος Θήρων, Δαμαρέτου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα Ἀθηναῖος Σιλανίων ἐποίησεν. Ἀναυχίδας δὲ ὁ Φίλυος Ἡλείος πάλης ἔσχεν ἐν παισὶ στέφανον καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὕστερον: τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ὅστις ὁ εἰργασμένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν, Ἄνοχος δὲ ὁ Ἀδαμάτα Ταραντῖνος, σταδίου λαβὼν καὶ διαύλου νίκην, ἐστὶν Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου.

[14.11] The Aetolian League dedicated a statue of Cylon, who delivered the Eleans from the tyranny of Aristotimus. The statue of Gorgus, the son of Eucletus, a Messenian who won a victory in the pentathlum, was made by the Boeotian Theron; that of Damaretus, another Messenian, who won the boys' boxing-match, was made by the Athenian Silanion. Anauchidas, the son of Philys, an Elean, won a crown in the boys' wrestling-match and afterwards in the match for men. Who made his statue is not known, but Ageladas of Argos made the statue of Anochus of Tarentum, the son of Adamatas, who won victories in the short and double foot-race.

[12] παῖδα δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενον καὶ ἐστηκότα ἄνδρα παρὰ τὸν ἵππον φησὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι Ξερόμβροτον ἐκ Κῶ τῆς Μεροπίδος, ἐπὶ ἵππῳ νίκη κεκηρυγμένον, Ξενόδικον δὲ ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων ἀναγορευθέντα: τὸν μὲν Παντίας αὐτῶν, Ξερόμβροτον δὲ Φιλότιμος Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε. Πύθου δὲ τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου, γένος ἀνδρὸς ἐξ Ἀβδήρων, ἐποίησε μὲν Λύσιππος, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται δύο εἰκόνας: εἶναι δὲ ἡγεμῶν τις ξένων ἢ καὶ ἄλλως τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Πύθης ἔοικε.

[14.12] A boy seated on a horse and a man standing by the horse the inscription declares to be Xenombrotus of Meropian Cos, who was proclaimed victor in the horse-race, and Xenodicus, who was announced a winner in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of the latter is by Pantias, that of the former is by

Philotimus the Aeginetan. The two statues of Pythes, the son of Andromachus, a native of Abdera, were made by Lysippus, and were dedicated by his soldiers. Pythes seems to have been a captain of mercenaries or some sort of distinguished soldier.

[13] κείνται δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν εἰληφότες δρόμου νίκας Μενεπτόλεμος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλῳ καὶ Κορκυραῖος Φίλων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰερώνυμος Ἄνδριος, ὃς τὸν Ἥλειον Τισαμενὸν πενταθλοῦντα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κατεπάλαισε τὸν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐναντία Μαρδονίου καὶ Μήδων Πλαταιᾶσι μαντευσάμενον. οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ Ἰερώνυμος ἀνάκειται καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν παλαιστῆς παῖς, Ἄνδριος καὶ οὗτος, Προκλῆς ὁ Λυκαστίδα· τοῖς πλάσταις δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐποίησαν, τῷ μὲν Στόμιός ἐστιν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ τὸν Προκλέα εἰργασμένῳ Σῶμις. Αἰσχίνη δὲ Ἥλείῳ νικαί τε δύο ἐγένοντο πεντάθλου καὶ ἴσαι ταῖς νίκαις αἱ εἰκόνες.

[14.13] There are statues of winners of the boys' race, namely, Meneptolemus of Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf and Philo of Corcyra; also Hieronymus of Andros, who defeated in the pentathlon at Olympia Tisamenus of Elis, who afterwards served as soothsayer in the Greek army that fought against Mardonius and the Persians at Plataea. By the side of this Hieronymus is a statue of a boy wrestler, also of Andros, Procles, the son of Lycastidas. The sculptor who made the statue of Lycastidas was named Stomius, while Somis made the statue of Procles. Aeschines of Elis won two victories in the pentathlon, and his statues are also two in number.

15. Ἀρχίπῳ δὲ Μιτυληναίῳ τοὺς ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν ἐσελθόντας κρατήσαντι ἄνδρας ἄλλο τοιόνδε προσποιουσιν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι ἐς δόξαν, ὥς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Ἰσθμῷ λάβοι στέφανον ἡλικίαν οὐ πρόσω γεγωνὸς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι. τὸν δὲ παῖδα σταδιοδρόμον Ξένωνα Καλλιτέλους ἐν Λεπρέου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ Πυριλάμπης Μεσσηνίος, Κλεινόμαχον δὲ Ἥλειον ὅστις ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν: ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ὁ Κλεινόμαχος ἐπὶ νίκῃ πεντάθλου.

[15.1] XV. Archippus of Mitylene overcame his competitors in the men's boxing-match, and his fellow-townsmen hold that he added to his fame by winning the crown, when he was not more than twenty years old, at Olympia, at Pytho, at Nemea and at the Isthmus. The statue of the boy runner Xenon, son of Calliteles from Lepreus in Triphylia, was made by Pyrilampes the Messenan; who made the statue of Cleinomachus of Elis I do not know, but Cleinomachus was proclaimed victor in the pentathlon.

[2] Παντάρκην δὲ Ἥλειον Ἀχαιῶν ἀνάθημα εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησιν: εἰρήνην τε γὰρ Ἀχαιοῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ Ἥλειοις αὐτόν, καὶ ὅσοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολεμοῦντων ἐάλωκεσαν, ἄφεσιν καὶ τούτοις γενέσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτόν. οὗτος ἀνείλετο καὶ κέλῃτι ἵπῳ νίκην ὁ Παντάρκης, καὶ οἱ καὶ τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημά ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Ὀλίδαν δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Ἥλειον τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Αἰτωλῶν, Χαρίνος δὲ Ἥλειος ἐπὶ διαύλου τε ἀνάκειται καὶ ὅπλου νίκη: παρὰ δὲ αὐτόν Ἀγέλης Χῖος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας, Θεομνήστου Σαρδιανοῦ τέχνη.

[15.2] The inscription on the statue of Pantarces of Elis states that it was dedicated by Achaeans, because he made peace between them and the Eleans, and procured the release of those who had been made prisoners by both sides during the war. This Pantarces also won a victory with a race-horse, and there is a memorial of his victory also at Olympia. The statue of Olidas, of Elis, was dedicated by the Aetolian nation, and Charinus of Elis is represented in a statue dedicated for a victory in the double race and in the race in armour. By his side is Ageles of Chios, victorious in the boys' boxing-match, the artist being Theomnestus of Sardes.

[3] Κλειτομάχου δὲ Θηβαίου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκεν Ἑρμοκράτης ὁ τοῦ Κλειτομάχου πατήρ, τὰ δὲ οἱ ἐς δόξαν ἦν τοιάδε. ἐν Ἰσθμῷ παλαιστὰς

κατεπάλαισεν ἄνδρας καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς τοὺς τε ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸ παγκράτιον ἐσελθόντας ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ: αἱ δὲ Πυθοῖ νῖκαι παγκρατίου μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι, τρεῖς δὲ ἀριθμόν: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπία δευτέρως ὁ Κλειτόμαχος οὗτος μετὰ τὸν Θάσιον Θεαγένην ἐπὶ παγκρατίῳ τε ἀνηγορεύθη καὶ πυγμῇ.

[15.3] The statue of Cleitomachus of Thebes was dedicated by his father Hermocrates, and his famous deeds are these. At the isthmus he won the men's wrestling-match, and on the same day he overcame all competitors in the boxing-match and in the pancratium. His victories at Pytho were all in the pancratium, three in number. At Olympia this Cleitomachus was the first after Theagenes of Thasos to be proclaimed victor in both boxing and the pancratium.

[4] παγκρατίου μὲν οὖν μιᾷ πρὸς ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἔφθανεν ἀνηρημένος νίκην: ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς ἡ ἐφεξῆς εἶχε μὲν τὸν Κλειτόμαχον τοῦτον παγκρατίου καὶ πυγμῆς ἀγωνιστήν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ Ἥλειον Κάπρον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς παλαῖσαι τε ὁμοῦ καὶ παγκρατιάσαι προθυμούμενον.

[15.4] He won his victory in the pancratium at the hundred and forty-first Olympic Festival. The next Festival saw this Cleitomachus a competitor in the pancratium and in boxing, while Caprus of Elis was minded both to wrestle and to compete in the pancratium on the same day.

[5] γεγονυίας δὲ ἤδη τῷ Κάπρῳ νίκης ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ, ἀνεδίδασκεν ὁ Κλειτόμαχος τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας γενήσεσθαι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ σφίσιν, εἰ τὸ παγκράτιον ἐσκαλέσαιντο πρὶν ἢ πυκτεύσαντα αὐτὸν λαβεῖν τραύματα: λέγει τε δὴ εἰκότα καὶ οὕτως ἐσκληθέντος τοῦ παγκρατίου κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάπρου ὁμῶς ἐχρήσατο ἐς τοὺς πύκτας θυμῷ τε ἐρρωμένῳ καὶ ἀκμῇτι τῷ σώματι.

[15.5] After Caprus had won in the wrestling-match, Cleitomachus put it to the umpires that it would be fair if they were to bring in the pancratium before he received wounds in the boxing. His request seemed reasonable, and so the pancratium was brought in. Although Cleitomachus was defeated by Caprus he tackled the boxers with sturdy spirit and unwearied vigor.

[6] Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ οἱ Ἴωνες Ἐπιθήρσην τὸν Μητροδώρου, δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπία πυγμῆς, δις δὲ Πυθοῖ νίκας καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ λαβόντα, οὗτοι μὲν τὸν Ἐπιθήρσην τοῦτον, Συρακούσιοι δὲ δύο μὲν Ἰέρωνος εἰκόνας τὸ δημόσιον, τρίτην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν οἱ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος παῖδες: ἐδήλωσα δὲ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον ὥς ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινομένους ὁ Ἰέρων οὗτος καὶ Συρακουσῶν εἷη κατὰ ταῦτά ἐκεῖνῳ τύραννος.

[15.6] The Ionians of Erythrae dedicated a statue of Epitherses, son of Metrodorus, who won two boxing prizes at Olympia, two at Pytho, and also victories at Nemea and the Isthmus; the Syracusans dedicated two statues of Hiero at the public charge, while a third is the gift of Hiero's sons. I pointed

out in a recent chapter on this Hiero had the same name as the son of Deinomenes, and, like him, was despot of Syracuse.

[7] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἥλειον ἄνδρα Τιμόπολιν Λάμπιδος Παλεῖς, ἡ τετάρτη Κεφαλλήνων μοῖρα: οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Παλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο Δουλιχιεῖς τὰ ἀρχαιότερα. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἀνὴρ ὅστις δὴ θηρεύοντος παρεχόμενος σχῆμα. Δημήτριον δὲ τὸν ἐλάσαντα ἐπὶ Σέλευκον στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀλόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου τὸν παῖδα Ἀντίγονον ἀναθήματα ἴσω τις Βυζαντίων ὄντας.

[15.7] The Paleans, who form one of the four divisions of the Cephallenians, dedicated a statue of Timoptolis, an Elean, the son of Lampis. These Paleans were of old called Dulichians. There is also a statue set up of Archidamus the son of Agesilaus, and of some man or other representing a hunter. There is a statue of Demetrius, who made an expedition against Seleucus and was taken prisoner in the battle, and one of Antigonus the son of Demetrius; they are offerings, you may be sure, of the Byzantines.

[8] Σπαρτιάτῃ δὲ Εὐτελίδᾳ γεγόνασιν ἐν παισὶ νῖκαι δύο ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τριακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος πάλης, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πεντάθλου: πρῶτον γὰρ δὴ τότε οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὕστατον πενταθλήσοντες ἐσεκλήθησαν: ἔστι δὲ ἡ τε εἰκὼν ἀρχαία τοῦ Εὐτελίδᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ γράμματα ἀμυδρὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου.

[15.8] At the thirty-eighth Festival Eutelidas the Spartan won two victories among the boys, one for wrestling and one for the pentathlum, this being the first and last occasion when boys were allowed to enter for the pentathlum. The statue of Eutelidas is old, and the letters on the pedestal are worn dim with age.

[9] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὐτελίδαν Ἀρεὺς τε αὖθις ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἥλειος παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνάκειται Γόργος. μόνῳ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἄχρι ἐμοῦ τῷ Γόργῳ τέσσαρες μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ γεγόνασιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, διαύλου δὲ καὶ ὅπλου μία ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ νίκη.

[15.9] After Eutelidas is another statue of Areus the Lacedaemonian king, and beside it is a statue of Gorgus the Elean. Gorgus is the only man down to my time who has won four victories at Olympia for the pentathlum, beside a victory in the double race and a victory in the race in armour.

[10] ὅτῳ δὲ παρεστήκασιν οἱ παῖδες, τοῦτον μὲν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου φασὶν εἶναι: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνδριάντες δύο ἀνδρός εἰσιν Ἥλείου Κάπρου τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, πάλης τε εἰληφότος καὶ παγκρατίου στέφανον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς: πρῶτῳ δὲ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων αἱ δύο νῖκαι τῷ Κάπρῳ τούτῳ. τὸν μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου καταγωνισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδήλωκεν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι: παλαίων δὲ κατέβαλεν Ἥλειον

Παιάνιον Ὀλυμπιάδα πάλῃ τὴν προτέραν ἀνηρημένον καὶ Πύθια παίδων τε πυγμῇ καὶ αὖθις ἐν ἀνδράσι πάλῃ τε καὶ πυγμῇ στεφανωθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς.

[15.10] The man with the boys standing beside him they say is Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Beside him are two statues of the Elean Caprus, the son of Pythagoras, who received on the same day a crown for wrestling and a crown for the pancratium. This Caprus was the first man to win the two victories. His victim overcome in the pancratium I have already mentioned; in wrestling the man he overcame was the Elean Paeanius, who at the previous Festival had won a victory for wrestling, while at the Pythian games he won a crown in the boys' boxing-match, and again in the men's wrestling-match and in the men's boxing-match on one and the same day.

16. Κάπρω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων πόνων καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς ταλαιπωρίας ἐγένοντο αἱ νῖκαι· εἰσὶ δὲ εἰκόνες ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἀναυχίδα καὶ Φερενίκω, γένος μὲν Ἠλείοις, πάλης δὲ ἐν παισὶν ἀνελομένοις στεφάνους. Πλείσταινον δὲ τὸν Εὐρυδάμου τοῦ ἐναντία Γαλατῶν στρατηγήσαντος Αἰτωλοῖς Θεσπιεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ ἀναθέντες.

[16.1] XVI. The victories of Caprus were not achieved without great toils and strong effort. There are also at Olympia statues to Anauchidas and Pherenicus, Eleans by race who won crowns for wrestling among the boys. Pleistaenus, the son of the Eurydamus who commanded the Aetolians against the Gauls, had his statue dedicated by the Thespians.

[2] Τυδεὺς δὲ Ἠλεῖος Ἀντίγονόν τε τὸν Δημητρίου πατέρα καὶ Σέλευκον ἀνέθηκε· Σελεύκου δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας ἦρθη τὸ ὄνομα ἀνθρώπους ἄλλων τε ἔνεκα καὶ διὰ τὴν Δημητρίου μάλιστα ἄλωσιν. Τίμωνι δὲ ἀγόνων τε νῖκαι τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισιν ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ πλὴν τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ — τούτου δὲ τῷ μὴ ἀγωνιστῆς γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἠλείοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἵργετο — καὶ τάδε ἄλλα φησὶ τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα, Αἰτωλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατείας μετασχεῖν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ φιλία γενέσθαι τῇ ἐς Αἰτωλοῦς.

[16.2] The statue of Antigonus the father of Demetrius and the statue of Seleucus were dedicated by Tydeus the Elean. The fame of Seleucus became great among all men especially because of the capture of Demetrius. Timon won victories for the pentathlon at all the Greek games except the Isthmian, at which he, like other Eleans, abstained from competing. The inscription on his statue adds that he joined the Aetolians in their expedition against the Thessalians and became leader of the garrison at Naupactus because of his friendship with the Aetolians.

[3] Τίμωνος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς εἰκόνης Ἑλλάς τε δὴ καὶ Ἥλις παρὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μὲν Ἀντίγονον τὸν ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν Φίλιππον στεφανοῦσα αὐτόν, ἢ δὲ Ἥλις Δημήτριον τὸν στρατεύσαντα ἐπὶ Σέλευκον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου στεφανοῦσά ἐστιν.

[16.3] Not far from the statue of Timon stands Hellas, and by Hellas stands Elis; Hellas is crowning with one hand Antigonus the guardian of Philip the son of Demetrius, with the other Philip himself; Elis is crowning Demetrius, who

marched against Seleucus, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus.

[4] Ἀριστείδη δὲ Ἡλείῳ γενέσθαι μὲν ὄπλου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ διαύλου Πυθοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δηλοῖ Νεμείων τε ἐν παισὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἵππῳ δρόμῳ. δρόμου δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ἵππιου μήκος μὲν δίαυλοι δύο, ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ἐκ Νεμείων τε καὶ Ἰσθμίων αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐς Νεμείων ἀγῶνα τῶν χειμερινῶν ἀπέδωκεν Ἀργείοις.

[16.4] Aristeides of Elis won at Olympia (so the inscription on his statue declares) a victory in the race run in armour, at Pytho a victory in the double race, and at Nemea in the race for boys in the horse-course. The length of the horse-course is twice that of the double course; the event had been omitted from the Nemean and Isthmian games, but was restored to the Argives for their winter Nemean games by the emperor Hadrian.

[5] τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστείδου ἐγγύτατα Μενάλκης ἔστηκεν Ἡλείῳ, ἀναγορευθεὶς Ὀλυμπίας ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, καὶ Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου, γένος μὲν ἐκ Χερρονήσου τῆς Κρητῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἡμεροδρόμος τοῦ Φιλίππου. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Βριμίας ἐστὶν Ἡλείῳ, κρατήσας ἀνδρας πυγμῇ, Λεωνίδας τε ἐκ Νάξου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, Ψωφιδίων ἀνάθημα Ἀρκάδων, Ἀσάμωνός τε εἰκὼν ἐν ἀνδράσι πυγμῇ νενικηκότος, ἡ δὲ Νικάνδρου, διαύλου μὲν δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, Νεμείων δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμίων ἀναμιξ ἐπὶ δρόμῳ νίκας ἔξ ἀνηρημένου. ὁ δὲ Ἀσάμων καὶ ὁ Νικάνδρος Ἡλείοι μὲν ἦσαν, πεποίηκε δὲ τῷ μὲν Δάιππος τὴν εἰκόνα, Ἀσάμωνι δὲ Πυριλάμπης Μεσσήνιος.

[16.5] Quite close to the statue of Aristeides stands Menalces of Elis, Proclaimed victor at Olympia in the pentathlum, along with Philonides son of Zotes, who was a native of Chersonesus in Crete, and a courier of Alexander the son of Philip. After him comes Brimias of Elis, victor in the men's boxing-match, Leonidas from Naxos in the Aegean, a statue dedicated by the Arcadians of Psophis, a statue of Asamon, victor in the men's boxing-match, and a statue of Nicander, who won two victories at Olympia in the double course and six victories in foot-races of various kinds at the Nemean games. Asamon and Nicander were Eleians the statue of the latter was made by Daippus, that of Asamon by the Messenian Pyrilampes.

[6] Εὐαλκίδα δὲ Ἡλείῳ καὶ Σελεάδᾳ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐν παισὶν ἐγένοντο πυγμῆς νῖκαι, Σελεάδᾳ δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάλης. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄρμα οὐ μέγα ἀνάκειται Πολυπείθους Λάκωνος καὶ ἐπὶ στήλης τῆς αὐτῆς Καλλιτέλης ὁ τοῦ Πολυπείθους πατήρ, παλαιστής ἀνὴρ: νῖκαι δὲ σφισι τῷ μὲν ἵπποις, Καλλιτέλει δὲ παλαίσαντί εἰσιν.

[16.6] Eualcidas of Elis won victories in the boys' boxing-match, Seleadas the Lacedaemonian in the men's wrestling-match. Here too is dedicated a small chariot of the Laconian Polypeithes, and on the same slab Calliteles, the father of Polypeithes, a wrestler. Polypeithes was victorious with his four-horse chariot, Calliteles in wrestling.

[7] ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας Ἥλειους Λάμπων Ἀρνίσκου καὶ * * * Ἀριστάρχου Ψοφίδιοι προξένους ὄντας σφίσιν ἀνέθεσαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας εὖνοιαν· μέσος δὲ ἔστηκεν αὐτῶν Λύσιππος Ἥλειος καταπαλαίσας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας τῶν παιδῶν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐποίησε τοῦ Λυσίππου τὴν εἰκόνα.

[16.7] There are private Eleans, Lampus the son of Arniscus and . . . of Aristarchus; these the Psophidians dedicated, either because they were their public friends or because they had shown them some good-will. Between them stands Lysippus of Elis, who beat his competitors in the boys' wrestling-match; his statue was made by Andreas of Argos.

[8] Λακεδαιμονίῳ δὲ Δεινοσθένει σταδίου τε ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ στήλην ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Δεινοσθένης· ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐπὶ ἐτέραν στήλην τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέτρα φησὶν εἶναι σταδίου ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίους. Θεόδωρον δὲ λαβόντα ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ νίκην καὶ Πύτταλον Λάμπιδος πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα καὶ Νεολαῖδαν σταδίου τε ἀνελόμενον καὶ ὄπλου στέφανον, Ἥλειος σφᾶς ὄντας ἴστω τις· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Πυττάλῳ καὶ τάδε ἔτι λέγουσιν, ὥς γενομένης πρὸς Ἀρκάδας Ἥλειοις ἀμφισβητήσεως περὶ γῆς ὅρων εἶπεν οὗτος ὁ Πύτταλος τὴν δίκην· ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδριάς ἔργον ἐστὶν Ὀλυνθίου Σθένειδος.

[16.8] Demosthenes the Lacedaemonian won an Olympic victory in the men's foot-race, and he dedicated in the Altis a slab by the side of his statue. The inscription declares that the distance from Olympia to another slab at Lacedaemon is six hundred and sixty furlongs. Theodorus gained a victory in the pentathlon, Pyttalus the son of Lampis won the boys' boxing-match, and Neolaidas received a crown for the foot-race and the race in armour; all were, I may tell you, Eleans. About Pyttalus it is further related that, when a dispute about boundaries occurred between the Arcadians and the Eleans, he delivered judgment on the matter. His statue is the work of Sthennis the Olynthian.

[9] ἐφεξῆς δὲ Πτολεμαῖός τέ ἐστιν ἀναβεβηκὼς ἵππον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἥλειος ἀθλητὴς Παιάνιος ὁ Δαματρίου πάλης τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὰς δύο Πυθικὰς ἀνηρημένος νίκας. Κλεάρετός τέ ἐστιν Ἥλειος πεντάθλου λαβὼν στέφανον καὶ ἄρμα ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέους· ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ὁ Γλαύκων οὗτος ἐπὶ ἄρματος τελείου δρόμῳ.

[16.9] Next is Ptolemy, mounted on a horse, and by his side is an Elean athlete, Paeanius the son of Damatrius, who won at Olympia a victory in wrestling besides two Pythian victories. There is also Clearetus of Elis, who received a crown in the pentathlon, and a chariot of an Athenian, Glaucion the son of Eteocles. This Glaucion was proclaimed victor in a chariot-race for full-grown horses.

17. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνδρὶ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει

κατὰ τὰ ἡμῖν εἰρημένα: εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνίδαίου πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ θελήσειας, τοσάδε ἔστι σοι τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐς μνήμην. Δημοκράτης Τενέδιος καὶ Ἥλεϊος Κριάννιος, οὗτος μὲν ὅπλου λαβὼν νίκην, Δημοκράτης δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάλης: ἀνδριάντας δὲ τοῦ μὲν Μιλήσιος Διονυσικλῆς, τοῦ δὲ Κριαννίου Μακεδὼν Λῦσός ἐστιν ὁ ἐργασάμενος.

[17.1] XVII. These are the most remarkable sights that meet a man who goes over the Altis according to the instructions I have given. But if you will go to the right from the Leonidaean to the great altar, you will come across the following notable objects. There is Democrates of Tenedos, who won the men's wrestling-match, and Criannius of Elis, who won a victory in the race in armour. The statue of Democrates was made by Dionysicles of Miletus, that of Criannius by Lysus of Macedonia.

[2] Κλαζομενίου δὲ Ἡροδότου καὶ Φιλίνου τοῦ Ἡγεπόλιδος Κῶου ἀνέθεσαν τὰς εἰκόνας αἱ πόλεις, Κλαζομένιοι μὲν ὅτι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κλαζομενίων πρῶτος ἀνηγορεύθη νικῶν Ἡρόδοτος, ἡ δὲ οἱ νίκη σταδίου γέγονεν ἐν παισὶ, Φιλῖνον δὲ οἱ Κῶοι δόξης ἔνεκα ἀνέθεσαν: ἐν μὲν γε Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου γεγόνασιν αὐτῷ νῖκαι πέντε, τέσσαρες δὲ Πυθοῖ καὶ ἴσαι Νεμείων, ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ μία ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα.

[17.2] The statues of Herodotus of Clazomenae and of Philinus, son of Hegopolis, of Cos, were dedicated by their respective cities. The Clazomenians dedicated a statue of Herodotus because he was the first Clazomenian to be proclaimed victor at Olympia, his victory being in the boys' foot-race. The Coans dedicated a statue of Philinus because of his great renown, for he won at Olympia five victories in running, at Pytho four victories, at Nemea four, and at the Isthmus eleven.

[3] Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου Ἀριστόλαος ἀνέθηκε Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ πύκτης κρατήσας ἐν παισὶ Βούτας Πολυνείκου Μιλήσιος, καὶ Καλλικράτης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Μαγνησίας ἐπὶ τῷ ὀπλίτῃ δρόμῳ στεφάνους δύο ἀνηρημένος: Λυσίππου δὲ ἔργον ἡ τοῦ Καλλικράτους ἐστὶν εἰκὼν.

[17.3] The statue of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy Lagus, was dedicated by Aristolaus, a Macedonian. There is also dedicated a statue of a victorious boy boxer, Butas of Miletus, son of Polyneices; a statue too of Callicrates of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, who received two crowns for victories in the race in armour. The statue of Callicrates is the work of Lysippus.

[4] Ἐνατίωνι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξιβίῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐν παισὶ σταδίου, Ἀλεξιβίῳ δὲ πεντάθλου γέγονε νίκη, καὶ Ἡραία τε Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πατρὶς καὶ Ἀκέστωρ ὁ τὴν εἰκόνα εἰργασμένος: Ἐνατίωνα δὲ ἡστινος ἦν οὐ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὅτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἦν ἔθνος δηλοῖ. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ Ἑρμησιάναξ Ἀγονέου καὶ Εἰκάσιος Λυκίνου τε ὧν καὶ τῆς Ἑρμησιάνακτος θυγατρὸς κατεπάλαισαν μὲν παῖδας ἀμφοτέρω, Ἑρμησιάνακτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Κολοφώνιον ὑπῆρξεν ἀνατεθῆναι τὴν εἰκόνα.

[17.4] Enation won a victory in the boys' foot-race, and Alexibius in the pentathlon. The native place of Alexibius was Heraea in Arcadia, and Acestor made his statue. The inscription on the statue of Enation does not state his native place, though it does state that he was of Arcadian descent. Two Colophonians, Hermesianax son of Agoneus and Eicasius son of Lycinus and the daughter of Hermesianax, both won the boys' wrestling-match. The statue of Hermesianax was dedicated by the commonwealth of Colophon.

[5] τούτων δέ εἰσιν Ἥλεῖοι πλησίον πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντες, ὁ μὲν Σθέννιδος ἔργον τοῦ Ὀλυνθίου Χοιρίλος, Θεότιμος δὲ Δαιτώνδα Σικωνίου· παῖς δὲ ὁ Θεότιμος ἦν Μοσχίωνος, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον καὶ Πέρσας στρατείας μετασχόντος. δύο δὲ αὖθις ἐξ Ἡλίδος, Ἀρχίδαμος τεθρίπῳ νενικηκώς καὶ Ἐπέραστος ἐστὶν ὁ Θεογόνου ὅπλου νίκην ἀνηρημένος·

[17.5] Near these are Eleans who beat the boys at boxing, Choerilus the work of Sthennis of Olynthus, and Theotimus the work of Daitondas of Sicyon. Theotimus was a son of Moschion, who took part in the expedition of Alexander the son of Philip against Dareius and the Persians. There are two more from Elis, Archidamus who was victorious with a four-horse chariot and Eperastus the son of Theogonus, victor in the race in armour.

[6] εἶναι δὲ καὶ μάντις ὁ Ἐπέραστος τοῦ Κλυτιδῶν γένους φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τῇ τελευτῇ, τῶν δ' ἱερογλώσσω Κλυτιδᾶν γένος εὖχομαι εἶναι μάντις, ἀπ' ἰσοθέων αἶμα Μελαμποδιδᾶν.

“Μελάμποδος γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος Μάντιος, τοῦ δὲ Οἰκλῆς, Κλυτίος δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ Οἰκλέους· ἐγγέγονει δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμαίῳ ὁ Κλυτίος ἐκ τῆς Φηγέως θυγατρὸς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλιν μετέκρησε, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς εἶναι τῆς μητρὸς σύννοικος φεύγων, ἅτε τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος ἐπιστάμενος σφᾶς εἰργασμένους τὸν φόνον.

[17.6] That he was the soothsayer of the clan of the Clytidae, Eperastus declares at the end of the inscription:—

Of the stock of the sacred-tongued Clytidae I boast to be,
Their soothsayer, the scion of the god-like Melampodidae.

For Mantius was a son of Melampus, the son of Amythaon, and he had a son Oicles, while Clytius was a son of Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraus, the son of Oicles. Clytius was the son of Alcmaeon by the daughter of Phegeus, and he migrated to Elis because he shrank from living with his mother's brothers, knowing that they had compassed the murder of Alcmaeon.

[7] ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμειγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἄγαν ἀναθήμασιν Ἀλεξινικόν τε Ἥλειον, τέχνην τοῦ Σικωνίου Κανθάρου, πάλης ἐν παισὶν ἀνηρημένον νίκην, καὶ τὸν Λεοντῖνον Γοργίαν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὐμόλπος ἀπόγονος τρίτος Δηικράτους

συνοικήσαντος ἀδελφῇ τῇ Γοργίου.

[17.7] Mingled with the less illustrious offerings we may see the statues of Alexinicus of Elis, the work of Cantharus of Sicyon, who won a victory in the boys' wrestling-match, and of Gorgias of Leontini. This statue was dedicated at Olympia by Eumolpus, as he himself says, the grandson of Deicrates who married the sister of Gorgias.

[8] οὗτος ὁ Γοργίας πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Χαρμαντίδου, λέγεται δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος ἡμελημένην τε ἐς ἅπαν καὶ ἐς λήθην ὀλίγου δεῖν ἤκουσαν ἀνθρώποις: εὐδοκιμῆσαι δὲ Γοργίαν λόγων ἔνεκα ἔν τε πανηγύρει τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ φασὶ καὶ

ἀφικόμενον κατὰ πρεσβείαν ὁμοῦ Τισία παρ' Ἀθηναίους. καίτοι ἄλλα τε Τισίας ἐς λόγους ἐσηνέγκατο καὶ πιθανώτατα τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν γυναικὶ Συρακουσία χρημάτων ἔγραψεν ἀμφισβήτησιν:

[17.8] This Gorgias was a son of Charmantides, and is said to have been the first to revive the study of rhetoric, which had been altogether neglected, in fact almost forgotten by mankind. They say that Gorgias won great renown for his eloquence at the Olympic assembly, and also when he accompanied Tisias on an embassy to Athens. Yet Tisias improved the art of rhetoric, in particular he wrote the most persuasive speech of his time to support the claim of a Syracusan woman to a property.

[9] ἀλλὰ γε ἐκείνου τε ἐς πλεον τιμῆς ἀφίκετο ὁ Γοργίας παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ Ἰάσων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τυραννήσας Πολυκράτους, οὐ τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνεγκαμένου διδασκαλείου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐποίησατο. βιῶναι δὲ ἔτη Γοργίαν πέντε φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατόν: Λεοντίνων δὲ ἐρημωθεῖσάν ποτε ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐμὲ αὖθις συνέβαινεν οἰκεῖσθαι.

[17.9] However, Gorgias surpassed his fame at Athens; indeed Jason, the tyrant of Thessaly, placed him before Polycrates, who was a shining light of the Athenian school. Gorgias, they say, lived to be one hundred and five years old. Leontini was once laid waste by the Syracusans, but in my time was again inhabited.

18. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κυρηναίου Κρατισθένους χαλκοῦν ἄρμα, καὶ Νίκη τε ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ ἅρματος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κρατισθένης. δῆλα μὲν δὴ ὅτι ἵππων γέγονεν αὐτῷ νίκη: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Μνασέου τοῦ δρομέως, ἐπικληθέντος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Λίβυος, εἶη παῖς ὁ Κρατισθένης. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου Πυθαγόρου τέχνη.

[18.1] XVIII. There is also a bronze statue of Cratisthenes of Cyrene, and on the chariot stand Victory and Cratisthenes himself. It is thus plain that his victory was in the chariot-race. The story goes that Cratisthenes was the son of Mnaseas the runner, surnamed the Libyan by the Greeks. His offerings at Olympia are the work of Pythagoras of Rhegium.

[2] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀναξιμένους οἶδα εἰκόνα ἀνευρών, ὃς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἀρχαῖα, καὶ ὅσα Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλέξανδρος εἰργάσατο, συνέγραπεν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα: ἡ δὲ οἱ τιμὴ γέγονεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν τοῦ δήμου. ὑπελίπετο δὲ Ἀναξιμένης τοσάδε ἐς μνήμην: βασιλέα γὰρ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἥπιον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα θυμῷ χρώμενον, Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φίλιππου, τέχνη περιῆλθε τοιαῦδε.

[18.2] Here too I remember discovering the statue of Anaximenes, who wrote a universal history of ancient Greece, including the exploits of Philip the son of Amyntas and the subsequent deeds of Alexander. His honor at Olympia was due to the people of Lampsacus. Anaximenes bequeathed to posterity the following anecdotes about himself. Alexander, the son of Philip, no meek and mild person but a most passionate monarch, he circumvented by the following artifice.

[3] Λαμψακηνῶν τὰ βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν φρονησάντων ἢ καὶ αἰτίαν φρονῆσαι λαβόντων, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἅτε ὑπερζέων ἐς αὐτοὺς τῇ ὀργῇ κακῶν ἠπεῖλει τὰ μέγιστα ἐργάσασθαι: οἱ δὲ ἅτε θέοντες περὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων καὶ αὐτῆς πατρίδος ἀποστέλλουσιν Ἀναξιμένην ἰκετεύειν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι Φιλίππῳ πρότερον γεγονότα ἐν γνώσει. προσῆι τε ὁ Ἀναξιμένης, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, πεπυσμένον καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἦκοι, κατομόσασθαί φασιν ἐπονομάζοντα θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων ἢ μὴν αὐτοῦ ταῖς δεήσεσιν ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐναντία ἐργάσασθαι.

[18.3] The people of Lampsacus favoured the cause of the Persian king, or were suspected of doing so, and Alexander, boiling over with rage against them, threatened to treat them with utmost rigor. As their wives, their children, and their country itself were in great danger, they sent Anaximenes to intercede for them, because he was known to Alexander himself and had been known to Philip before him. Anaximenes approached, and when Alexander learned for what cause he had come, they say that he swore by the gods of Greece, whom he named, that he would verily do the opposite of what Anaximenes asked.

[4] ἐνθα δὴ εἶπεν Ἀναξιμένης: ‘χαρίσασθαι μοι τήνδε ὦ βασιλεῦ τὴν χάριν, ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα Λαμψακηνῶν, καταβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν, τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν σφισιν ἐμπρῆσαι’. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὸ σόφισμα ἀντιμηχανήσασθαι τι εὐρίσκων καὶ ἐνεχόμενος τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ ὄρκου συγγνώμην ἔνεμεν οὐκ ἐθέλων Λαμψακηνοῖς.

[18.4] Thereupon Anaximenes said, “Grant me, O king, this favour. Enslave the women and children of the people of Lampsacus, raze the whole city even to the ground, and burn the sanctuaries of their gods.” Such were his words; and Alexander, finding no way to counter the trick, and bound by the compulsion of his oath, unwillingly pardoned the people of Lampsacus.

[5] φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ὁ Ἀναξιμένης ἐχθρὸν οὐκ ἀμαθέστατα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιφθονώτατα ἀμυνάμενος. ἐπεφύκει μὲν αὐτὸς σοφιστῆς καὶ σοφιστῶν

λόγους μιμεῖσθαι: ὥς δέ οἱ διαφορὰ ἐς Θεόπομπον ἐγεγόνει τὸν Δαμασιστράτου, γράφει βιβλίον ἐς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ καὶ Θηβαίοις συγγραφὴν λοιδόρον. ὥς δέ ἦν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον αὐτῷ μεμιμημένα, ἐπιγράψας τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τὸ ὄνομα τῷ βιβλίῳ διέπεμπεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις: καὶ αὐτός τε συγγεγραφῶς ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Θεόπομπον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπηύξητο.

[18.5] Anaximenes is also known to have retaliated on a personal enemy in a very clever but very ill-natured way. He had a natural aptitude for rhetoric and for imitating the style of rhetoricians. Having a quarrel with Theopompus the son of Damasistratus, he wrote a treatise abusing Athenians, Lacedaemonians and Thebans alike. He imitated the style of Theopompus with perfect accuracy, inscribed his name upon the book and sent it round to the cities. Though Anaximenes was the author of the treatise, hatred of Theopompus grew throughout the length of Greece.

[6] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν τις αὐτοσχεδίως Ἀναξιμένους πρότερός ἐστιν εὐρηκώς: τὰ ἔπη δὲ τὰ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ μοι πιστά ἐστιν Ἀναξιμένην τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι.

Σωτάδης δὲ ἐπὶ δολίχου νίκαις Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν ἐνάτῃ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ Κρής, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ἀνερρήθη, τῇ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ λαβὼν χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινοῦ Ἐφεσίοις ἐσεποίησεν αὐτόν: καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φυγῇ ζημιούσιν οἱ Κρήτες.

[18.6] Moreover, Anaximenes was the first to compose extemporary speeches, though I cannot believe that he was the author of the epic on Alexander.

Sotades at the ninety-ninth Festival was victorious in the long race and proclaimed a Cretan, as in fact he was. But at the next Festival he made himself an Ephesian, being bribed to do so by the Ephesian people. For this act he was banished by the Cretans.

[7] πρῶται δὲ ἀθλητῶν ἀνετέθησαν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνες Πραξιδάμαντός τε Αἰγινήτου νικήσαντος πυγμῇ τὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ Ὀπουντίου Ῥηξιβίου παγκρατιαστὰς καταγωνισαμένου μιᾷ πρὸς ταῖς ἐξήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι: αὗται κεῖνται μὲν αἱ εἰκόνες οὐ πρόσω τῆς Οἰνομάου κίονος, ξύλου δὲ εἰσιν εἰργασμένοι, Ῥηξιβίου μὲν συκῆς, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου κυπαρίσσου καὶ ἦσσαν τῆς ἐτέρας πεπονηκυῖά ἐστιν.

[18.7] The first athletes to have their statues dedicated at Olympia were Praxidamas of Aegina, victorious at boxing at the fifty-ninth Festival, and Rexibius the Opuntian, a successful pancratiast at the sixty-first Festival. These statues stand near the pillar of Oenomaus, and are made of wood, Rexibius of figwood and the Aeginetan of cypress, and his statue is less decayed than the other.

19. ἔστι δὲ λίθου πωρίνου κρηπίς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ Ἡραίου, κατὰ νότου δὲ αὐτῆς παρῇκει τὸ Κρόνιον· ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κρηπιδὸς εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θησαυρούς. ἔστι δὲ θησαυρὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Σικυωνίων καλούμενος, Μύρωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα τυραννήσαντος Σικυωνίων·

[19.1] XIX. There is in the Altis to the north of the Heraeum a terrace of conglomerate, and behind it stretches Mount Cronius. On this terrace are the treasuries, just as at Delphi certain of the Greeks have made treasuries for Apollo. There is at Olympia a treasury called the treasury of the Sicyonians, dedicated by Myron, who was tyrant of Sicyon.

[2] τοῦτον ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Μύρων νικήσας ἄρματι τὴν τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. ἐν δὲ τῷ θησαυρῷ καὶ θαλάμους δύο ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν Δώριον, τὸν δὲ ἐργασίας τῆς Ἴωνων. χαλκοῦ μὲν δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐώρων εἰργασμένους· εἰ δὲ καὶ Ταρτήσσιος χαλκὸς λόγῳ τῷ Ἡλείων ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδα.

[19.2] Myron built it to commemorate a victory in the chariot-race at the thirty-third Festival. In the treasury he made two chambers, one Dorian and one in the Ionic style. I saw that they were made of bronze; whether the bronze is Tartessian, as the Eleans declare, I do not know.

[3] Ταρτήσιον δὲ εἶναι ποταμὸν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Ἰβήρων λέγουσι στόμασιν ἐς θάλασσαν κατερχόμενον δυσὶ καὶ ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν κειμένην· τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν μέγιστόν τε ὄντα τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἄμπωτιν παρερχόμενον Βαῖτιν ὠνόμασαν οἱ ὕστερον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Καρπίαν Ἰβήρων πόλιν καλεῖσθαι νομίζουσι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Ταρτησσόν.

[19.3] They say that Tartessus is a river in the land of the Iberians, running down into the sea by two mouths, and that between these two mouths lies a city of the same name. The river, which is the largest in Iberia, and tidal, those of a later day called Baetis, and there are some who think that Tartessus was the ancient name of Carpia, a city of the Iberians.

[4] ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλάσσονί ἐστι τῶν θαλάμων, ἐς μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν σταθμόν, ὅτι πεντακόσια εἴη τάλαντα, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀναθέντας, Μύρωνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν Σικυωνίων δῆμον. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ θησαυρῷ δίσκοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνάκεινται τρεῖς, ὅσους ἐς τοῦ πεντάθλου τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐσκομίζουσι· καὶ ἄσπῃς ἐστὶν ἐπίχαλκος γραφῇ τὰ ἐντὸς πεποικιλμένα καὶ κράνος τε καὶ κνημίδες ὁμοῦ τῇ ἀσπίδι· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀκροθίνιον τῷ Διὶ ὑπὸ Μυάων ἀνατεθῆναι. οἵτινες δὲ οὗτοι ἦσαν, οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ παρίστατο ἅπασιν εἰκάζειν·

[19.4] On the smaller of the chambers at Olympia are inscriptions, which inform us that the weight of the bronze is five hundred talents, and that the dedicators were Myron and the Sicyonian people. In this chamber are kept three quoits, being used for the contest of the pentathlum. There is also a bronze-plated shield, adorned with paintings on the inner side, and along with the shield are

a helmet and greaves. An inscription on the armour says that they were dedicated by the Myanians as first-fruits to Zeus. Various conjectures have been made as to who these Myanians were.

[5] ἐμὲ δὲ ἐσῆλθεν ἀνάμνησις ὥς Θουκυδίδης ποιήσειεν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Λοκρῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Φωκίδι καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς εἶναι καὶ Μυονέας. οἱ Μυᾶνες οὖν οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι κατὰ γε ἡμετέραν γνώμην ἄνθρωποι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ Μυονεῖς οἱ ἐν τῇ Λοκρίδι ἡπείρῳ· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι γράμματα παρῆκται μὲν ἐπὶ βραχύ, πέπονθε δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦ ἀναθήματος τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

[19.5] I happened to remember that Thucydides in his history mentions various cities of the Locrians near Phocis, and among them the Myonians. So the Myanians on the shield are in my opinion the same folk as the Myonians on the Locrian mainland. The letters on the shield are a little distorted, a fault due to the antiquity of the votive offering.

[6] κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐνταῦθα ἄξια ἐπιμνησθῆναι, μάχαιρα ἢ Πέλοπος χρυσοῦ τὴν λαβὴν πεποιημένη, καὶ εἰργασμένον ἐλέφαντος κέρας τὸ Ἀμαλθείας, ἀνάθημα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, ὃς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν χερρονήσῳ τῇ Θρακίᾳ πρῶτος τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ κέρατί ἐστιν ἀρχαίοις Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασι, “Ζηνί μ’ ἄγαλμ’ ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ χερρονήσου

τεῖχος ἐλόντες Ἀράτου· ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης σφίν.

“κεῖται δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα πύξινον Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιχρύσου τὴν κεφαλὴν· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Λοκρῶν φησι τῶν πρὸς Ζεφυρίῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ, Πατροκλέα δὲ εἶναι Κατίλλου Κροτωνιάτην τὸν εἰργασμένον.

[19.6] There are placed here other offerings worthy to be recorded, the sword of Pelops with its hilt of gold, and the ivory horn of Amaltheia, an offering of Miltiades the son of Cimon, who was the first of his house to rule in the Thracian Chersonesus. On the horn is an inscription in old Attic characters:—

To Olympian Zeus was I dedicated by the men of Chersonesus

After they had taken the fortress of Aratus.

Their leader was Miltiades.

There stands also a box-wood image of Apollo with its head plated with gold. The inscription says that it was dedicated by the Locrians who live near the Western Cape, and that the artist was Patrocles of Crotona, the son of Catillus.

[7] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικυωνίων ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός, Ποθαίου τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλου τε καὶ Μεγακλέους· ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν, Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων Φοίνικας ἥτοι τριήρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων.

[19.7] Next to the treasury of the Sicyonians is the treasury of the Carthaginians, the work of Pothaeus, Antiphilus and Megacles. In it are votive offerings – a

huge image of Zeus and three linen breast-plates, dedicated by Gelo and the Syracusans after overcoming the Phoenicians in either a naval or a land battle.

[8] ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἀνάθημά ἐστιν Ἐπιδαμνίων * * * ἔχει μὲν πόλον ἀνεχόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀτλαντος, ἔχει δὲ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δένδρον τὸ παρὰ Ἑσπερίσι, τὴν μηλέαν, καὶ περιελελιγμένον τῇ μηλέᾳ τὸν δράκοντα, κέδρου μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, Θεοκλέους δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Ἡγύλου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδί φησι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου γράμματα. αἱ δὲ Ἑσπερίδες — μετεκινήθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων — αὗται μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ· τὸν δὲ θησαυρὸν τοῖς Ἐπιδαμνίοις Πύρρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες Λακράτης τε καὶ Ἑρμῶν ἐποίησαν.

[19.8] The third of the treasures, and the fourth as well, were dedicated by the Epidamnians . . . It shows the heavens upheld by Atlas, and also Heracles and the apple-tree of the Hesperides, with the snake coiled round the apple-tree. These too are of cedar-wood, and are works of Theocles, son of Hegylus. The inscription on the heavens says that his son helped him to make it. The Hesperides (they were removed by the Eleans) were even in my time in the Heraeum; the treasury was made for the Epidamnians by Pyrrhus and his sons Lacrates and Hermon.

[9] ὠκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ Συβαρίται θησαυρὸν ἐχόμενον τοῦ Βυζαντίων· ὅποσοι δὲ περὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ πόλεων ἐπολυπραγμόνησαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, Λουπίας φασὶ κειμένην Βρεντεσίου τε μεταξὺ καὶ Ὑδροῦντος μεταβεβληκέναι τὸ ὄνομα, Σύβαριν οὖσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ταῖς ναυσὶ χειροποίητος καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἔργον.

[19.9] The Sybarites too built a treasury adjoining that of the Byzantines. Those who have studied the history of Italy and of the Italian cities say that Lupiae, situated between Brundisium and Hydrus, has changed its name, and was Sybaris in ancient times. The harbor is artificial, being a work of the emperor Hadrian.

[10] πρὸς δὲ τῷ Συβαριτῶν Λιβύων ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν Κυρήνῃ θησαυρός· κεῖνται δὲ βασιλεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων. Σικελιώτας δὲ Σελινουντίους ἀνέστησαν μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πολέμῳ· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι σφίσι, θησαυρὸν τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὶ ἐποίησαν. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα πρόσωπον καὶ ἄκρους πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐλέφαντος εἰργασμένος.

[19.10] Near the treasury of the Sybarites is the treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene. In it stand statues of Roman emperors. Selinus in Sicily was destroyed by the Carthaginians in a war, but before the disaster befell them the citizens made a treasury dedicated to Zeus of Olympia. There stands in it an image of Dionysus with face, feet and hands of ivory.

[11] ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεταποντίνων θησαυρῷ — προσεχὴς γὰρ τῷ Σελινουντίων ἐστὶν οὗτος — ἐν τούτῳ πεποιημένος ἐστὶν Ἐνδυμίων· πλὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτός ἐστι τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐνδυμίωνι ἐλέφαντος. Μεταποντίνους δὲ ἥτις μὲν ἐπέλαβεν

ἀπολέσθαι πρόφασις, οὐκ οἶδα: ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ὅτι μὴ θέατρον καὶ περιβολοὶ
τείχους ἄλλο ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν Μεταποντίου.

[19.11] In the treasury of the Metapontines, which adjoins that of the Selinuntians, stands an Endymion; it too is of ivory except the drapery. How it came about that the Metapontines were destroyed I do not know, but to-day nothing is left of Metapontum but the theater and the circuit of the walls.

[12] Μεγαρεῖς δὲ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ θησαυρόν τε ᾠκοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν κέδρου ζῳδία χρυσῷ διηνητισμένα, τὴν πρὸς Ἀχελῶν Ἡρακλέους μάχην: Ζεὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡ Διανείρα καὶ Ἀχελῷος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστίν, Ἄρης τε τῷ Ἀχελῷ βοηθῶν. εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἅτε οὖσα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σύμμαχος: αὕτη παρὰ τὰς Ἑσπερίδας ἀνάκειται νῦν τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ.

[19.12] The Megarians who are neighbors of Attica built a treasury and dedicated in it offerings, small cedar-wood figures inlaid with gold, representing the fight of Heracles with Achelous. The figures include Zeus, Deianeira, Achelous, Heracles, and Ares helping Achelous. There once stood here an image of Athena, as being an ally of Heracles, but it now stands by the Hesperides in the Heraeum.

[13] τοῦ θησαυροῦ δὲ ἐπείργασται τῷ ἀετῷ ὁ γιγάντων καὶ θεῶν πόλεμος: ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἀσπίς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀετοῦ, τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἀπὸ Κορινθίων ἀναθεῖναι τὸν θησαυρὸν λέγουσα. ταύτην Μεγαρεῦσιν ἡγοῦμαι τὴν νίκην Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος γενέσθαι Φόρβαντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου παντός: ἐνιαύσιαι γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν πῶ τότε Ἀθηναίοις αἱ ἀρχαί, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλείων ἀνεγράφετό πῶ τῆνικαῦτα αἱ Ὀλυμπιάδες.

[19.13] On the pediment of the treasury is carved the war of the giants and the gods, and above the pediment is dedicated a shield, the inscription declaring that the Megarians dedicated the treasury from spoils taken from the Corinthians. I think that the Megarians won this victory when Phorbas, who held a life office, was archon at Athens. At this time Athenian offices were not yet annual, nor had the Eleans begun to record the Olympiads.

[14] λέγονται δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μετασχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἔργου. τὸν δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θησαυρὸν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς μάχης ἐποίησαν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς: τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφᾶς ἔχειν εἰκός, ἃ γε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος †Δόντας Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος μαθητῆς ἐποίησε.

[19.14] The Argives are said to have helped the Megarians in the engagement with the Corinthians. The treasury at Olympia was made by the Megarians years after the battle, but it is to be supposed that they had the offerings from of old, seeing that they were made by the Lacedaemonian Dontas, a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

[15] τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν θησαυρῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐστίν ἤδη τῷ σταδίῳ, Γελῶων δὲ ἀνάθημα τὸν τε θησαυρὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἶναι τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγει τὸ

ἐπιγράμμα: οὐ μέντοι ἀνακείμενά γε ἔτι ἀγάλματά ἐστιν.

[19.15] The last of the treasures is right by the stadium, the inscription stating that the treasury, and the images in it, were dedicated by the people of Gela. The images, however, are no longer there.

OTHER SHRINES AT OLYMPIA

20. τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Κρόνιον κατὰ τὰ ἤδη λελεγμένα μοι παρὰ τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρῆκει θησαυροὺς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ κορυφῇ θύουσιν οἱ Βασίλαι καλούμενοι τῷ Κρόνῳ κατὰ ἰσημερίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἥρῳ, Ἐλαφίῳ μηνὶ παρὰ Ἥλείοις.

[20.1] XX. Mount Cronius, as I have already said, extends parallel to the terrace with the treasures on it. On the summit of the mountain the Basilae, as they are called, sacrifice to Cronus at the spring equinox, in the month called Elaphius among the Eleans.

[2] ἐν δὲ τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ Κρονίου κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν Εἰλειθυίας, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Σωσίπολις Ἥλείοις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἔχει τιμὰς. τὴν μὲν δὴ Εἰλείθυιαν ἐπονομάζοντες Ὀλυμπίαν, ἱερασομένην αἰροῦνται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον: ἡ δὲ πρεσβύτις ἡ θεραπεύουσα τὸν Σωσίπολιν νόμῳ τε ἀγιστεύει τῷ Ἥλείῳ καὶ αὐτὴ λουτρὰ τε ἐσφέρει τῷ θεῷ καὶ μάζας κατατίθησιν αὐτῷ μεμαγμένας μέλιτι.

[20.2] At the foot of Mount Cronius, on the north . . . , between the treasures and the mountain, is a sanctuary of Eileithyia, and in it Sosipolis, a native Elean deity, is worshipped. Now they surname Eileithyia Olympian, and choose a priestess for the goddess every year. The old woman who tends Sosipolis herself too by an Elean custom lives in chastity, bringing water for the god's bath and setting before him barley cakes kneaded with honey.

[3] ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ — διπλοῦς γὰρ δὴ πεποιήται — τῆς τε Εἰλειθυίας βωμὸς καὶ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς ὁ Σωσίπολις ἔχει τιμὰς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τῇ θεραπευούσῃ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφειλκυσμένη ὕφος λευκόν: παρθένοι δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ὑπομένουσαι καὶ γυναικες ὕμνον ᾄδουσι, καθαγίζουσαι δὲ καὶ θυμιάματα παντοῖα αὐτῷ ἐπισπένδειν οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον. καὶ ὄρκος παρὰ τῷ Σωσιπόλιδι ἐπὶ μεγίστοις καθέστηκεν.

[20.3] In the front part of the temple, for it is built in two parts, is an altar of Eileithyia and an entrance for the public; in the inner Part Sosipolis is worshipped, and no one may enter it except the woman who tends the god, and she must wrap her head and face in a white veil. Maidens and matrons wait in the sanctuary of Eileithyia chanting a hymn; they burn all manner of incense to the god, but it is not the custom to pour libations of wine. An oath is taken by Sosipolis on the most important occasions.

[4] λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς τὴν Ἥλειαν ἐσβεβληκότων στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν

Ἥλειων σφίσιν ἀντικαθημένων γυναῖκα ἀφικομένην παρὰ τῶν Ἥλειων τοὺς στρατηγούς, νήπιον παῖδα ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῷ, λέγειν ὡς τέκοι μὲν αὐτὴ τὸν παῖδα, διδοίη δὲ ἐξ ὄνειράτων συμμαχήσοντα Ἥλείοις. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς — πιστὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἡγοῦντο εἰρηκέναι — τιθέασι τὸ παιδίον πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος γυμνόν.

[20.4] The story is that when the Arcadians had invaded the land of Elis, and the Eleans were set in array against them, a woman came to the Elean generals, holding a baby to her breast, who said that she was the mother of the child but that she gave him, because of dreams, to fight for the Eleans. The Elean officers believed that the woman was to be trusted, and placed the child before the army naked.

[5] ἐπήεσαν τε δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνταῦθα ἤδη δράκων ἦν: παραθθεῖσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπέκειντο οἱ Ἥλαιοι, καὶ νίκην τε ἐπιφανεστάτην ἀνείλοντο καὶ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ τίθενται Σωσίπολιν. ἐνθα δὲ σφισιν ὁ δράκων ἔδοξεν ἐσθδναι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν ἐνταῦθα: σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ σέβεσθαι καὶ τὴν Εἰλειθυίαν ἐνόμισαν, ὅτι τὸν παῖδά σφισιν ἡ θεὸς αὕτη προήγαγεν ἐς ἀνθρώπους.

[20.5] When the Arcadians came on, the child turned at once into a snake. Thrown into disorder at the sight, the Arcadians turned and fled, and were attacked by the Eleans, who won a very famous victory, and so call the god Sosipolis. On the spot where after the battle the snake seemed to them to go into the ground they made the sanctuary. With him the Eleans resolved to worship Eileithyia also, because this goddess to help them brought her son forth unto men.

[6] τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐστὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου διαβάντων τὸν Κλάδεον ὡς ἐπὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐρείπια Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας ἱεροῦ λείπεται, θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν.

[20.6] The tomb of the Arcadians who were killed in the battle is on the hill across the Cladeus to the west. Near to the sanctuary of Eileithyia are the remains of the sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite, and there too they sacrifice upon the altars.

THE STADIUMS OF OLYMPIA

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν ἔσοδον Ἱπποδάμειον καλούμενον, ὅσον πλέθρου χωρίον περιεχόμενον θριγκῷ: ἐς τοῦτο ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔστι ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἔσοδος, αἱ θύουσι τῇ Ἱπποδαμείᾳ καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν δρῶσιν αὐτῆς. τὴν δὲ Ἱπποδάμειάν φασιν ἐς Μιδέαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἅτε τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐπὶ τῷ Χρυσίππου θανάτῳ μάλιστα ἐς ἐκείνην ἔχοντος τὴν ὀργήν: αὐτοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ μαντείας κομίσαι φασὶ τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας τὰ ὁστὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

[20.7] There is within the Altis by the processional entrance the Hippodameium,

as it is called, about a quarter of an acre of ground surrounded by a wall. Into it once every year the women may enter, who sacrifice to Hippodameia, and do her honor in other ways. The story is that Hippodameia withdrew to Midea in Argolis, because Pelops was very angry with her over the death of Chrysippus. The Eleans declare that subsequently, because of an oracle, they brought the bones of Hippodameia to Olympia.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἃ ἐπὶ ζημίαις ἐποιήσαντο ἀθλητῶν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέρατι ἔστιν ἣν Κρυπτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἔσοδον· διὰ δὲ αὐτῆς τοὺς τε Ἑλλανοδικὰς ἐσιέναι ἐς τὸ στάδιον καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. τὸ μὲν δὴ στάδιον γῆς χῶμά ἐστι, πεποιήται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καθέδρα τοῖς τιθεῖσι τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν βωμὸς λίθου λευκοῦ:

[20.8] At the end of the statues which they made from the fines levied on athletes, there is the entrance called the Hidden Entrance. Through it umpires and competitors are wont to enter the stadium. Now the stadium is an embankment of earth, and on it is a seat for the presidents of the games. Opposite the umpires is an altar of white marble;

[9] ἐπὶ τούτου καθεζομένη τοῦ βωμοῦ θεᾶται γυνὴ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Χαμύνης, τιμὴν ταύτην ἄλλοτε ἄλλην λαμβάνουσα παρὰ Ἑλείων. παρθένους δὲ οὐκ εἵργουσι θεᾶσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τῷ πέρατι, ἣ τοῖς σταδιαδρόμοις ἄφεςις πεποιήται, Ἐνδυμίονος μνήμα ἐνταῦθα λόγῳ Ἑλείων ἐστίν.

[20.9] seated on this altar a woman looks on at the Olympic games, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, which office the Eleans bestow from time to time on different women. Maidens are not debarred from looking on at the games. At the end of the stadium, where is the starting-place for the runners, there is, the Eleans say, the tomb of Endymion.

[10] ὑπερβάλλοντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σταδίου, καθότι οἱ

Ἑλλανοδικαὶ καθέζονται, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐς τῶν ἵππων ἀνειμένον τοὺς δρόμους καὶ ἡ ἄφεςις ἐστὶ τῶν ἵππων. παρέχεται μὲν οὖν σχῆμα ἡ ἄφεςις κατὰ πρῶραν νεώς, τέτραπται δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ἔμβολον ἐς τὸν δρόμον· καθότι δὲ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου στοᾷ προσεχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ πρῶρα, κατὰ τοῦτο εὐρεῖα γίνεται, δελφίς δὲ ἐπὶ κανόνος κατὰ ἄκρον μάλιστα τὸ ἔμβολον πεποιήται χαλκοῦς.

[20.10] When you have passed beyond the stadium, at the point where the umpires sit, is a place set apart for the horse-races, and also the starting-place for the horses. The starting-place is in the shape of the prow of a ship, and its prow is turned towards the course. At the point where the prow adjoins the porch of Agnaptus it broadens and a bronze dolphin on a rod has been made at the very point of the ram.

[11] ἑκατέρα μὲν δὴ πλευρὰ τῆς ἀφέσεως πλέον ἢ τετρακοσίους πόδας παρέχεται τοῦ μήκους, ὥκοδόμηται δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς οἰκήματα· ταῦτα τὰ κλήρω τὰ οἰκήματα διαλαγχάνουσιν οἱ ἐσιόντες ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ἵππων. πρὸ δὲ τῶν

ἀρμάτων ἢ καὶ ἵππων τῶν κελήτων, διήκει πρὸ αὐτῶν καλῶδιον ἀντὶ ὕσπληγος· βωμὸς δὲ ὦμῃς πλίνθου τὰ ἐκτὸς κεκονιαμένος ἐπὶ ἐκάστης Ὀλυμπιάδος ποιεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν μάλιστά που μέσσην, ἀετὸς

[20.11] Each side of the starting-place is more than four hundred feet in length, and in the sides are built stalls. These stalls are assigned by lot to those who enter for the races. Before the chariots or race-horses is stretched a cord as a barrier. An altar of unburnt brick, plastered on the outside, is made at every Festival as near as possible to the center of the prow,

[12] δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χαλκοῦς κεῖται τὰ περὰ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτείνων. ἀνακινεῖ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ μηχανήμα ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ· ἀνακινήντος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄνω πεποιῆται πηδᾶν ὁ ἀετός, ὡς τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν γενέσθαι σύνοπτος, ὁ δελφὶς δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος πίπτει.

[20.12] and a bronze eagle stands on the altar with his wings stretched out to the fullest extent. The man appointed to start the racing sets in motion the mechanism in the altar, and then the eagle has been made to jump upwards, so as to become visible to the spectators, while the dolphin falls to the ground.

[13] πρῶται μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν αἱ πρὸς τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου χαλῶσιν ὕσπληγες, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτας ἐστηκότες ἐκθέουσιν ἵπποι πρῶτοι· θέοντές τε δὴ γίνονται κατὰ τοὺς εἰληχότας ἐστάναι τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν, καὶ τηνικαῦτα χαλῶσιν αἱ ὕσπληγες αἱ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάξει· διὰ πάντων τε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον συμβαίνει τῶν ἵππων, ἔστ' ἂν ἐξισωθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τῆς πρῶρας τὸ ἔμβολον· τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἤδη καθέστηκεν ἐπίδειξις ἐπιστήμης τε ἡνιόχων καὶ ἵππων ὠκύτητος.

[20.13] First on either side the barriers are withdrawn by the porch of Agnaptus, and the horses standing thereby run off first. As they run they reach those to whom the second station has been allotted, and then are withdrawn the barriers at the second station. The same thing happens to all the horses in turn, until at the ram of the prow they are all abreast. After this it is left to the charioteers to display their skill and the horses their speed.

[14] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κλεοίτας ἐστὶν ἄφεςιν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ φρονῆσαι γε φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῷ εὐρήματι, ὡς καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἀνδριάντι τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγράψαι “ὃς τὴν ἱπάφεςιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εὖρατο πρῶτος,

τευξέ με Κλεοίτας υἱὸς Ἀριστοκλέους:

“Κλεοίτα δὲ φασιν ὕστερον Ἀριστείδην σοφίαν τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μηχανήμα ἐσενέγκασθαι.

[20.14] It was Cleoetas who originally devised the method of starting, and he appears to have been proud of the discovery, as on the statue at Athens he wrote the inscription:—

Who first invented the method of starting the horses at Olympia,
He made me, Cleoetas the son of Aristocles.

It is said that after Cleoetas some further device was added to the mechanism by Aristeides.

[15] παρεχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου παρήκουσαν ἐς πλεον τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν πλευρῶν, ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος πλευρᾶς, οὔσης χώματος, κατὰ τὴν διέξοδον τὴν διὰ τοῦ χώματος τὸ τῶν ἵππων δεῖμα ὁ Ταράξιππος. σχῆμα μὲν βωμοῦ περιφεροῦς ἔστι, παραθέοντας δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἵππους φόβος τε αὐτίκα ἰσχυρὸς ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως φανερᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου λαμβάνει ταραχή, τὰ τε δὴ ἄρματα καταγνύουσιν ὥς ἐπίταν καὶ οἱ ἥνιοχοι τιτρώσκονται· καὶ τοῦδε ἥνιοχοι ἔνεκα θυσίας θύουσι καὶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἴλων εὐχονται τὸν Ταράξιππον.

[20.15] The race-course has one side longer than the other, and on the longer side, which is a bank, there stands, at the passage through the bank, Taraxippus, the terror of the horses. It has the shape of a round altar, and as they run along the horses are seized, as soon as they reach this point, by a great fear without any apparent reason. The fear leads to disorder; the chariots generally crash and the charioteers are injured. Consequently the charioteers offer sacrifice, and pray that Taraxippus may show himself propitious to them.

[16] Ἕλληνες δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ νομίζουσιν ἐς τὸν Ταράξιππον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἶναι τάφον ἀνδρὸς αὐτόχθονος καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὰ ἐς ἵππικὴν — καὶ ὄνομα Ὡλένιον αὐτῷ τίθενται, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὡλενίαν ἐν τῇ Ἥλειᾳ πέτρᾳ φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι — , οἱ δὲ τὸν Φλιοῦντος Δαμέωνα μετασχόντα Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς ἐπὶ Αὐγέαν καὶ Ἥλείους στρατείας αὐτόν τε ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπωχεῖτο ὑπὸ Κτεάτου λέγουσι τοῦ Ἄκτορος, καὶ τὸ μνῆμα κοινὸν Δαμέωνι καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ γενέσθαι.

[20.16] The Greeks differ in their view of Taraxippus. Some hold that it is the tomb of an original inhabitant who was skilled in horsemanship; they call him Olenius, and say that after him was named the Olenian rock in the land of Elis. Others say that Dameon, son of Phlius, who took part in the expedition of Heracles against Augeas and the Eleans, was killed along with his charger by Cteatus the son of Actor, and that man and horse were buried in the same tomb.

[17] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὥς Μυρτίλῳ κενὸν ἐνταῦθα ἥριον ποιήσῃε Πέλοψ καὶ θύσειέ τε αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ μῆνιμα ἰώμενος καὶ ἐπονομάσαι Ταράξιππον, ὅτι τῷ Οἰνομάῳ διὰ τοῦ Μυρτίλου τῆς τέχνης ἐταράχθησαν αἱ ἵπποι· τοῖς δὲ ἔστιν εἰρημένον ὥς αὐτὸς Οἰνόμαος ὁ τοὺς ἵππεύοντάς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ βλάπτων. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Πορθάονος Ἀλκάθουν ἀγόντων τὴν αἰτίαν, ὥς ἐνταῦθα μέρη λάβοι γῆς ὁ Ἀλκάθους ἀποθανὼν ὑπὸ Οἰνομάου τῶν Ἴπποδαμείας γάμων ἔνεκα· ἅτε δὲ ἀτυχήσαντα ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ, βάσκανόν τε εἶναι τοῖς ἵππεύουσι καὶ οὐκ εὐμενῇ δαίμονα.

[20.17] There is also a story that Pelops made here an empty mound in honor of Myrtilus, and sacrificed to him in an effort to calm the anger of the murdered man, naming the mound Taraxippus (Frightener of horses) because the mares

of Oenomaus were frightened by the trick of Myrtilus. Some say that it is Oenomaus himself who harms the racers in the course. I have also heard some attach the blame to Alcathus, the son of Porthaon. Killed by Oenomaus because he wooed Hippodameia, Alcathus, they say, here got his portion of earth; having been unsuccessful on the course, he is a spiteful and hostile deity to chariot-drivers.

[18] ἄνθρωπος δὲ Αἰγύπτιος Πέλοπα ἔφη παρὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου λαβόντα Ἀμφίονος κατορύξαι τι ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα καλοῦσι τὸν Ταραξίππον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κατορωρυγμένου ταραχθῆναι μὲν τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τότε, ταρασσεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς πᾶσι τὰς ἵππους: ἥξιου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος εἶναι μὲν Ἀμφίονα, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Θοῤῃκα Ὀρφέα μαγεῦσαι δεινόν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπάδουσι θηρία τε ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐς τὰς τοῦ τείχους οἰκοδομίας τὰς πέτρας. ὁ δὲ πιθανώτατος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν λόγων Ποσειδῶνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰππίου φησίν.

[20.18] A man of Egypt said that Pelops received something from Amphion the Theban and buried it where is what they call Taraxippus, adding that it was the buried thing which frightened the mares of Oenomaus, as well as those of every charioteer since. This Egyptian thought that Amphion and the Thracian Orpheus were clever magicians, and that it was through their enchantments that the beasts came to Orpheus, and the stones came to Amphion for the building of the wall. The most probable of the stories in my opinion makes Taraxippus a surname of Horse Poseidon.

[19] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ Ταραξίππος Γλαῦκος ὁ Σισύφου: γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τελευταίην λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅτε Ἀκαστος τὰ ἄθλα ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί. ἐν Νεμέᾳ δὲ τῇ Ἀργείων ἥρως μὲν ἦν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἔβλαπτε τοὺς ἵππους: πέτρας δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἵππων τὴν καμπὴν ἀνεστηκυίας χροᾶν πυρρᾶς, ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς αὐγὴ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ πῦρ ἐνεποίει φόβον τοῖς ἵπποις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Ταραξίππος πολὺν δὴ τι ὑπερηρκῶς ἐστὶν ἐς ἵππων φόβον. ἐπὶ δὲ νύσσης μιᾶς Ἱπποδαμείας ἐστὶν εἰκὼν χαλκῇ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἀναδεῖν τὸν Πέλοπα μέλλουσα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ.

[20.19] There is another Taraxippus at the Isthmus, namely Glaucus, the son of Sisyphus. They say that he was killed by his horses, when Acastus held his contests in honor of his father. At Nemea of the Argives there was no hero who harmed the horses, but above the turning-point of the chariots rose a rock, red in color, and the flash from it terrified the horses, just as though it had been fire. But the Taraxippus at Olympia is much worse for terrifying the horses. On one turning-post is a bronze statue of Hippodameia carrying a ribbon, and about to crown Pelops with it for his victory.

OTHER SHRINES & THE GYMNASIUM AT OLYMPIA

21. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ χῶμα γῆς ἐστίν, ὁρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τοῦ ὁρους ἱερὸν πεποιήται Δήμητρι ἐπὶ κλησὶν Χαμύνῃ: καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τὸ ὄνομα ἤγηνται, χανεῖν γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ

Ἄιδου καὶ αὐθις μῦσαι· οἱ δὲ Χάμυνον ἄνδρα Πισαῖον Πανταλέοντι ἐναντιούμενον τῷ Ὀμφαλίῳ τυραννοῦντι ἐν Πίσῃ καὶ ἀπόστασιν βουλεύοντι ἀπὸ Ἡλείων, ἀποθανεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαμύνου τῆς οὐσίας τῇ Δήμητρὶ οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἱερόν.

[21.1] XXI. The other side of the course is not a bank of earth but a low hill. At the foot of the hill has been built a sanctuary to Demeter surnamed Chamyne. Some are of opinion that the name is old, signifying that here the earth gaped for the chariot of Hades and then closed up once more. Others say that Chamynus was a man of Pisa who opposed Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion and despot at Pisa, when he plotted to revolt from Elis; Pantaleon, they say, put him to death, and from his property was built the sanctuary to Demeter.

[2] ἀγάλματα δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Κόρην καὶ Δήμητρα λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης.

ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πεντάθλοις μὲν καθεστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δρομεῦσιν αἱ μελέται, κρητὶς δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου πεποιήται· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τρόπαιον κατὰ Ἀρκάδων ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπιδί εἰστήκει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐλάσσων περίβολος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον, καὶ αἱ παλαιστραὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα· τῆς στοᾶς δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τοῦ γυμνασίου προσεχεῖς τῷ τοίχῳ τῶν ἀθλητῶν εἰσιν αἱ οἰκίσσεις, ἐπὶ τε ἄνεμον τετραμμένα Λίβα καὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς.

[21.2] In place of the old images of the Maid and of Demeter new ones of Pentelic marble were dedicated by Herodes the Athenian.

In the gymnasium at Olympia it is customary for pentathletes and runners to practise, and in the open has been made a basement of stone. Originally there stood on the basement a trophy to commemorate a victory over the Arcadians. There is also another enclosure, less than this, to the left of the entrance to the gymnasium, and the athletes have their wrestling-schools here. Adjoining the wall of the eastern porch of the gymnasium are the dwellings of the athletes, turned towards the southwest.

[3] διαβάντων δὲ τὸν Κλάδεον τάφος τε Οἰνομάου γῆς χῶμα περιφοδομημένον λίθοις ἔστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνήματος ἐρείπια οἰκοδομημάτων, ἔνθα τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὰς ἵππους αὐλίζεσθαι λέγουσιν.

ὄροι δὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν παρόντα Ἡλείοις, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ αὐτοὶ Πισαίοις καθεστήκεσαν ἀνέχοντες κατὰ τάδε. διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν Ἐρύμανθον κατὰ τὴν Σαύρου καλουμένην δειράδα τοῦ Σαύρου τε μνῆμα καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους, ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν· λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ὁδοιπόρους τε καὶ τοὺς προσοικοῦντας ὁ Σαῦρος ἐκακούργει, πρὶν ἢ παρὰ Ἡρακλέους τὴν δίκην ἔσχε.

[21.3] On the other side of the Cladeus is the grave of Oenomaus, a mound of earth with a stone wall built round it, and above the tomb are ruins of buildings in which Oenomaus is said to have stabled his mares.

SAURUS RIDGE & RIVER ERYMANTHUS

The boundaries which now separate Arcadia and Elis originally separated Arcadia from Pisa, and are thus situated. On crossing the river Erymanthus at what is called the ridge of Saurus are the tomb of Saurus and a sanctuary of Heracles, now in ruins. The story is that Saurus used to do mischief to travellers and to dwellers in the neighborhood until he received his punishment at the hands of Heracles.

[4] κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ληστοῦ δειράδα ποταμὸς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας κατιὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καταντικρὺ τοῦ Ἐρυμάνθου μάλιστα, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν Πισαίαν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας διορίζων, ὄνομα δέ οἱ Διάγων. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαύρου δειράδος προελθόντι στάδια ἔστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, ἐπὶ κλησιν μὲν Δημαινέτου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου, ἐρείπια δὲ καὶ αὐτός· ὥκοδομήθη δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειόν.

[21.4] At this ridge which has the same name as the robber, a river, falling into the Alpheiis from the south, just opposite the Erymanthus, is the boundary between the land of Pisa and Arcadia; it is called the Diagon. Forty stades beyond the ridge of Saurus is a temple of Asclepius, surnamed Demaenetus after the founder. It too is in ruins. It was built on the height beside the Alpheiis.

[5] τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἱερὸν Διονύσου Λευκυανίτου πεποιήται, καὶ ποταμὸς παρέξεισι ταύτῃ Λευκυανίας· ἐκδίδωσι μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, κάτεισι δὲ ἐκ Φολόης τοῦ ὄρους. διαβήσῃ τε δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ ἐντὸς γῆς ἔσῃ τῆς Πισαίας.

[21.5] Not far from it is a sanctuary of Dionysus Leucyanites, whereby flows a river Leucyanias. This river too is a tributary of the Alpheiis; it descends from Mount Pholoe. Crossing the Alpheiis after it you will be within the land of Pisa.

PHRIXA & RIVER PARTHENIA

[6] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ λόφος ἐστὶν ἀνήκων ἐς ὄξύ, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πόλεως Φρίξας ἐρείπια καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησιν Κυδωνίας ναός. οὗτος μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐστὶ σῶς, βωμὸς δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι· ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ τῇ θεῇ τὸ ἱερὸν Κλύμενόν φασιν ἀπόγονον Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, παραγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κυδωνίας τῆς Κρητικῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἰαρδάνου ποταμοῦ. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Πέλοπα οἱ Ἥλαιοι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Κυδωνίᾳ πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα αὐτὸν τῷ Οἰνομάῳ καθίστασθαι.

[21.6] In this district is a hill rising to a sharp peak, on which are the ruins of the city of Phrixia, as well as a temple of Athena surnamed Cydonian. This temple is not entire, but the altar is still there. The sanctuary was founded for the goddess, they say, by Clymenus, a descendant of Idaean Heracles, and he came from Cydonia in Crete and from the river Jardanus. The Eleans say that Pelops too sacrificed to Cydonian Athena before he set about his contest with

Oenomaus.

[7] προΐοντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τό τε ὕδωρ τῆς Παρθενίας ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τάφος ἵππων τῶν Μάρμακος· Ἴπποδαμείας δὲ μνηστήρα ἔχει λόγος ἀφικέσθαι πρῶτον τοῦτον Μάρμακα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἵπποις Παρθενίαν τε εἶναι καὶ Ἐρίφαν — Οἰνόμαον δὲ ἐπικατασφάζει μὲν τὰς ἵππους τῷ Μάρμακι, μεταδοῦναι μέντοι καὶ ταύταις ταφῆναι — , καὶ ὄνομα Παρθενίας τῷ ποταμῷ ἀπὸ ἵππου τῆς Μάρμακος.

[21.7] Going on from this point you come to the water of Parthenia, and by the river is the grave of the mares of Marmax. The story has it that this Marmax was the first suitor of Hippodameia to arrive, and that he was killed by Oenomaus before the others; that the names of his mares were Parthenia and Eripha; that Oenomaus slew the mares after Marmax, but granted burial to them also, and that the river received the name Parthenia from the mare of Marmax.

HARPINA & PISA

[8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀρπινάτης καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεως Ἀρπίνης ἄλλα τε ἐρείπια καὶ μάλιστα οἱ βωμοί· οἰκίσαι δὲ Οἰνόμαον τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς λέγουσιν Ἀρπίνης.

[21.8] There is another river called Harpinates, and not far from the river are, among the other ruins of a city Harpina, its altars. The city was founded, they say, by Oenomaus, who named it after his mother Harpina.

[9] προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν ὑψηλόν, τῶν μνηστήρων τῶν Ἴπποδαμείας τάφος. Οἰνόμαον μὲν οὖν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων κρύπτειν γῇ φασιν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶς αὐτοῦς· Πέλοψ δὲ ὕστερον μνῆμα ἐν κοινῷ σφισιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρε τιμῇ τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἴπποδαμείας χάριτι, δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ ὑπόμνημα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὄσων τε καὶ οἷων τὸν Οἰνόμαον κρατήσαντα ἐνίκησεν αὐτός.

[21.9] A little farther on is a high mound of earth, the grave of the suitors of Hippodameia. Now Oenomaus, they say, laid them in the ground near one another with no token of respect. But afterwards Pelops raised a high monument to them all, to honor them and to please Hippodameia. I think too that Pelops wanted a memorial to tell posterity the number and character of the men vanquished by Oenomaus before Pelops himself conquered him.

[10] ἀπέθανον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου κατὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἥοιαις Ἀλκάθους ὁ Πορθάονος, δεύτερος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρμακι, μετὰ δὲ Ἀλκάθουν Εὐρύαλος καὶ Εὐρύμαχος τε καὶ Κρόταλος· τούτων μὲν οὖν γονέας τε καὶ πατρίδας οὐχ οἶα τε ἦν πυθέσθαι μοι, τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἀκρίαν τεκμαίροιο ἂν τις Λακεδαιμονίον τε εἶναι καὶ οἰκιστὴν Ἀκριῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἀκρία Κάπετόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου φονευθῆναι καὶ Λυκοῦργον Λάσιόν τε καὶ Χαλκῶδοντα καὶ Τρικόλωνον· ἀπόγονον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ὁμώνυμον Τρικόλωνι τῷ Λυκάονος λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

[21.10] According to the epic poem called the Great Eoëae the next after Marmax to be killed by Oenomaus was Alcathus, son of Porthaon; after Alcathus came Euryalus, Eurymachus and Crotalus. Now the parents and fatherlands of these I was unable to discover, but Acrias, the next after them to be killed, one might guess to have been a Lacedaemonian and the founder of Acriae. After Acrias they say that Oenomaus slew Capetus, Lycurgus, Lasius, Chalcodon and Tricolonus, who, according to the Arcadians, was the descendant and namesake of Tricolonus, the son of Lycaon.

[11] Τρικολώνου δὲ ὕστερον ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τὸ χρεὼν Ἀριστόμαχόν τε καὶ Πρίαντα, ἔτι δὲ Πελάγοντα καὶ Αἰόλιόν τε καὶ Κρόνιον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπαριθμοῦσι τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις Ἐρύθραν παῖδα Λεύκωνος τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος — ἀπὸ τούτου Ἐρυθραὶ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Βοιωτῶν — καὶ Ἰονέα Μάγνητος τοῦ Αἰόλου. τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθ' ἔστι τὸ μνῆμα, καὶ τὸν Πέλοπα, ἡνίκα τῶν Πισαίων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, φασὶν ἐναγίζειν αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

[21.11] After Tricolonus there met their fate in the race Aristomachus and Prias, and then Pelagon, Aeolius and Cronius. Some add to the aforesaid Erythras, the son of Leucon, the son of Athamas, after whom was named Erythrae in Boeotia, and Eioneus, the son of Magnes the son of Aeolus. These are the men whose monument is here, and Pelops, they say, sacrificed every year to them as heroes, when he had won the sovereignty of Pisa.

22. προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον τε στάδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου σημειᾷ ἔστιν ἱεροῦ Κορδάκας ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἀκόλουθοι τὰ ἐπινίκια ἡγαγον παρὰ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ἐπιχώριον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σίπυλον κόρδακα ὀρχησιν. τοῦ ἱεροῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω οἰκημὰ τε οὐ μέγα καὶ κιβωτός ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ χαλκῇ: ὅσα τὰ Πέλοπος ἐν τῇ κιβωτῇ φυλάσσουσι. τείχους δὲ ἢ ἄλλου κατασκευάσματος ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν ἔτι,

ἄμπελοι δὲ ἦσαν διὰ τοῦ χωρίου πεφυτευμέναι παντός, ἔνθα ἡ Πίσα ὤκεῖτο.

[22.1] XXII. Going forward about a stade from the grave one sees traces of a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Cordax because the followers of Pelops celebrated their victory by the side of this goddess and danced the cordax, a dance peculiar to the dwellers round Mount Sipylus. Not far from the sanctuary is a small building containing a bronze chest, in which are kept the bones of Pelops. Of the wall and of the rest of the building there were no remains, but vines were planted over all the district where Pisa stood.

[2] οἰκιστὴν μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει Πίσον τὸν Περιήρους φασὶ τοῦ Αἰόλου: Πισαῖοι δὲ ἐφελκύσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοι τε Ἥλείοις καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἥλείων, οἷγε Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπηγάγοντο Φεῖδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάσσι μάλιστα ὑβρίσαντα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φεῖδωνι, τετάρτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τριακοστῇ στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλέων ὁ Ὀμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροίσαντες ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ Ἥλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια.

[22.2] The founder of the city, they say, was Pisus, the son of Perieres, the son of Aeolus. The people of Pisa brought of themselves disaster on their own heads by their hostility to the Eleans, and by their keenness to preside over the Olympic games instead of them. At the eighth Festival they brought in Pheidon of Argos, the most overbearing of the Greek tyrants, and held the games along with him, while at the thirty-fourth Festival the people of Pisa, with their king Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, collected an army from the neighborhood, and held the Olympic games instead of the Eleans.

[3] ταύτας τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ ἑκατοστήν, τεθεῖσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, ἀνολυμπιάδας οἱ Ἥλαιοι καλοῦντες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων γράφουσιν. ὁγδοῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέοντος ὑπόνοιαν μὲν τινα παρέσχευεν Ἥλείοις νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλευεῖν, ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν ὄπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε ἀπράκτους ἔπεισε δεήσεσίν τε καὶ ὅρκοις.

[22.3] These Festivals, as well as the hundred and fourth, which was held by the Arcadians, are called “Non-Olympiads” by the Eleans, who do not include them in a list of Olympiads. At the forty-eighth Festival, Damophon the son of Pantaleon gave the Eleans reasons for suspecting that he was intriguing against them, but when they invaded the land of Pisa with an army he persuaded them by prayers and oaths to return quietly home again.

[4] Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλεύσαντος Πισαῖοι πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἐπανείλοντο Ἥλείοις, συναπέστησαν δὲ σφίσιν ἀπὸ Ἥλείων Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκυλλούντιοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιοίκων Δυσπόντιοι· τούτοις καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς Πισαίους οἰκεῖα ἦν, καὶ οἰκιστὴν Δυσποντέα γενέσθαι σφίσιν Οἰνομάου παῖδα ἐμνημόνευον. Πισαίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πολέμου Πισαίοις μετέσχον, ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἥλείων γενέσθαι:

[22.4] When Pyrrhus, the son of Pantaleon, succeeded his brother Damophon as king, the people of Pisa of their own accord made war against Elis, and were joined in their revolt from the Eleans by the people of Macistus and Scillus, which are in Triphylia, and by the people of Dyspontium, another vassal community. The list were closely related to the people of Pisa, and it was a tradition of theirs that their founder had been Dysponteus the son of Oenomaus. It was the fate of Pisa, and of all her allies, to be destroyed by the Eleans.

PYLUS

[5] Πύλου δὲ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ δῆλα τὰ ἐρείπια κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐστὶν ἐς Ἥλιν ὀρεινὴν ὁδόν, ὁγδοήκοντα δὲ στάδια ἐς Ἥλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πύλου. ταύτην τὴν Πύλον ὤκισε μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἡδὴ λελεγμένα μοι Μεγαρεὺς ἀνὴρ Πύλων ὁ Κλήσωνος· γενομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀνάστατος καὶ αὐθις ἐπισυννοικισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἥλείων, ἔμελλεν ἀνὰ χρόνον οὐχ ἕξειν οἰκήτορας. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Λάδων κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πηνειόν.

[22.5] Of Pylus in the land of Elis the ruins are to be seen on the mountain road from Olympia to Elis, the distance between Elis and Pylus being eighty stades. This Pylus was founded, as I have already said, by a Megarian called Pylon, the son of Cleson. Destroyed by Heracles and refounded by the Eleans, the city was doomed in time to be without inhabitants. Beside it the river Ladon flows into the Peneius.

[6] λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Ἥλεῖοι καὶ ἔπος ἐς τὴν Πύλον ταύτην ἔχειν τῶν Ὀμήρου, “γένος δ’ ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῖο

Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅστ’ εὐρὺ ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης,

“Hom. Il 5.544 καὶ ἐμὲ ἔπειθον λέγοντες: ῥεῖ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ὁ Ἀλφειός, ἐς δὲ ἄλλην Πύλον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὸ ἔπος: Πυλίων γὰρ τῶν ὑπὲρ νήσου τῆς Σφακτηρίας οὐ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴν διοδεύειν τὴν γῆν ὁ Ἀλφειός, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων Πύλον ποτὲ ὀνομασθεῖσαν ἴσμεν πόλιν.

[22.6] The Eleans declare that there is a reference to this Pylus in the passage of Homer:—

And he was descended from the river

Alpheius, that in broad stream flows through the land of the Pylians. Hom. Il. 5.544

The Eleans convinced me that they are right. For the Alpheius does flow through this district, and the passage cannot refer to another Pylus. For the land of the Pylians over against the island Sphacteria simply cannot in the nature of things be crossed by the Alpheius, and, moreover, we know of no city in Arcadia named Pylus.

THE RIVER CYTHERUS

[7] ἀπέχει δὲ ὡς πεντήκοντα Ὀλυμπίας σταδίους κόμη τε Ἥλείων Ἡράκλεια καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Κύθηρος ποταμός: πηγὴ δὲ ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. ὀνόματα δὲ ἰδία μὲν ἐκάστη τῶν νυμφῶν Καλλιφάεια καὶ Συνάλλασις καὶ Πηγαία τε καὶ Ἰασις, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ κλησις Ἰωνίδες. λουομένοις δὲ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ καμάτων τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλγημάτων παντοίων ἰάματα: καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας ἀπὸ Ἰωνος λέγουσι τοῦ Γαργηττοῦ, μετοικήσαντος ἐνταῦθα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.

[22.7] Distant from Olympia about fifty stades is Heracleia, a village of the Eleans, and beside it is a river Cytherus. A spring flows into the river, and there is a sanctuary of nymphs near the spring. Individually the names of the nymphs are Calliphaeia, Synallasis, Pegaea and Iasis, but their common surname is the Ionides. Those who bathe in the spring are cured of all sorts of aches and pains. They say that the nymphs are named after Ion, the son of Gargettus, who migrated to this place from Athens.

LETRINI

[8] εἰ δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἥλιν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου θελήσειας, σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ

ἐκατὸν ἐς Λετρίνους ἕξεις, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ ἐκ Λετρίνων καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ Ἥλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλισμα ἦν οἱ Λετρίνοι, καὶ Λετρεὺς ὁ Πέλοπος ἐγεγόνει σφίσιν οἰκιστής· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ οἰκήματά τε ἐλείπετο ὀλίγα καὶ Ἀλφειαίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ναῷ.

[22.8] If you wish to go to Elis through the plain, you will travel one hundred and twenty stades to Letrini, and one hundred and eighty from Letrini to Elis. Originally Letrini was a town, and Letreus the son of Pelops was its founder; but in my time were left a few buildings, with an image of Artemis Alpheiaea in a temple.

[9] γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῇ θεῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε: ἐρασθῆναι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἐρασθέντα δέ, ὥς ἐπέγνω μὴ γενήσεσθαι οἱ διὰ πειθοῦς καὶ δεήσεως τὸν γάμον, ἐπιτολμᾶν ὥς βιασόμενον τὴν θεόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς παννυχίδα ἐς Λετρίνους ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τε ἀγομένην τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ νυμφῶν αἷς παίζουσα συνῆν αὐτῇ: τὴν δὲ — ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχειν — ἀλείψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ὅσαι τῶν νυμφῶν παρῆσαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὥς ἐσηλθεν, οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, ἅτε δὲ οὐ διαγινώσκοντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ ἀπράκτῳ τῷ ἐγχειρήματι.

[22.9] Legend has it that the goddess received the surname for the following reason. Alpheius fell in love with Artemis, and then, realizing that persuasive entreaties would not win the goddess as his bride, he dared to plot violence against her. Artemis was holding at Letrini an all-night revel with the nymphs who were her playmates, and to it came Alpheius. But Artemis had a suspicion of the plot of Alpheius, and smeared with mud her own face and the faces of the nymphs with her. So Alpheius, when he joined the throng, could not distinguish Artemis from the others, and, not being able to pick her out, went away without bringing off his attempt.

[10] Λετρινᾶιοι μὲν δὴ Ἀλφειαίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῷ ἐς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι: οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι — φιλία γὰρ σφίσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς Λετρινᾶίους — τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς τιμὴν τῇ Ἐλαφιαίᾳ καθοστηκότα ἐς Λετρίνους τε μετήγαγον καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐνόμισαν τῇ Ἀλφειαίᾳ δρᾶν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν Ἀλφειαίαν θεὸν Ἐλαφιαίαν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξένεικυσεν

ὀνομασθῆναι.

[22.10] The people of Letrini called the goddess Alpheian because of the love of Alpheius for her. But the Eleans, who from the first had been friends of Letrini, transferred to that city the worship of Artemis Elaphiaea established amongst themselves, and held that they were worshipping Artemis Alpheiaea, and so in time the Alpheiaean goddess came to be named Elaphiaea.

[11] Ἐλαφιαίαν δὲ ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλάφων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῇ θήρᾳ: αὐτοὶ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας ὄνομα εἶναι τὴν Ἐλάφιον καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τραφῆναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν φασι. Λετρίνων δὲ ὅσον τε ἕξ ἀπωτέρω

σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἀέναος λίμνη τριῶν που τὴν διάμετρον σταδίων μάλιστα.

[22.11] The Eleans, I think, called Artemis Elaphiaea from the hunting of the deer (elaphos). But they themselves say that Elaphius was the name of a native woman by whom Artemis was reared. About six stades distant from Letrini is a lake that never dries up, being just about three stades across.

ELIS CITY

23. ἐν δὲ Ἥλιδι τὰ ἄξια μνήμης γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον· καὶ ὅσα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς πρὶν ἢ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν, ἐν τούτῳ σφίσι τῷ γυμνασίῳ δρᾶν κατέστηκε. πλάτανοι μὲν ὑψηλαὶ διὰ τῶν δρόμων πεφύκασιν ἐντὸς τοίχου· ὁ σύμπαρ δὲ οὗτος περίβολος καλεῖται Ξυστός, ὅτι Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐς ἄσκησιν ἐγένετο, ὅσαι τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἐφύοντο ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ σφᾶς ἀναξύνειν.

[23.1] XXIII. One of the noteworthy things in Elis is an old gymnasium. In this gymnasium the athletes are wont to go through the training through which they must pass before going to Olympia. High plane-trees grow between the tracks inside a wall. The whole of this enclosure is called Xystus, because an exercise of Heracles, the son of Amphitryo, was to scrape up (anaxuein) each day all the thistles that grew there.

[2] χωρὶς μὲν δὴ ἐς ἄμιλλαν τῶν δρομέων ἐστὶν ἀποκεκριμένος δρόμος, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱερός, χωρὶς δὲ ἔνθα ἐπὶ μελέτῃ δρομεῖς καὶ οἱ πένταθλοι θέουσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καλούμενον Πλήθριον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ συμβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ αὐτῷ διαφέροντας τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι· συμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐπὶ πάλῃ.

[23.2] The track for the competing runners, called by the natives the Sacred Track, is separate from that on which the runners and pentathletes practise. In the gymnasium is the place called Plethrium. In it the umpires match the competitors according to age and skill; it is for wrestling that they match them.

[3] εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ βωμοί, Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, Παραστάτου δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ Ἔρωτος καὶ ὃν Ἥλειοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ ταῦτα Ἥλειοις Ἀντέρωτα ὀνομάζουσι, Δήμητρός τε καὶ τῆς παιδός. Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ οὐ βωμός, κενὸν δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μνημα ἐκ μαντείας· τῆς πανηγύρεως δὲ ἀρχομένης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥήτῃ περὶ ἀποκλίνοντα ἐς δυσμὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν δρόμον αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Ἥλειαι ἄλλα τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως δρῶσιν ἐς τιμὴν καὶ κόπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν αὐτόν.

[23.3] There are also in the gymnasium altars of the gods, of Idaean Heracles, surnamed Comrade, of Love, of the deity called by Eleans and Athenians alike Love Returned, of Demeter and of her daughter. Achilles has no altar, only a cenotaph raised to him because of an oracle. On an appointed day at the beginning of the festival, when the course of the sun is sinking towards the west, the Elean women do honor to Achilles, especially by bewailing him.

[4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐλάσσων γυμνασίου περίβολος, ὃς ἔχεται μὲν τοῦ μείζονος, τετράγωνον δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι· καὶ παλαιστραὶ τοῖς ἀθλοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦνται, καὶ συμβάλλουσιν αὐτόθι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς οὐ παλαίσοντας ἔτι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἱμάντων τῶν μαλακωτέρων ταῖς πληγαῖς. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸ ἕτερον, ἃ ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ Σωσάνδρου τε τοῦ Σμυρναίου καὶ Ἡλείου Πολύκτορος τῷ Διὶ ἐποιήθη.

[23.4] There is another enclosed gymnasium, but smaller, adjoining the larger one and called Square because of its shape. Here the athletes practise wrestling, and here, when they have no more wrestling to do, they are matched in contests with the softer gloves. There is also dedicated here one of the images made in honor of Zeus out of the fines imposed upon Sosander of Smyrna and upon Polycctor of Elis.

[5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτος γυμνασίου περίβολος, ὄνομα μὲν Μαλθῶ τῆς μαλακότητος τοῦ ἐδάφους ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ ἐρήβοις ἀνείται τῆς πανηγύρεως τὸν χρόνον πάντα. ἔστι δὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τῆς Μαλθοῦς πρόσωπον Ἡρακλέους ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ἐν τῶν παλαιστρῶν μιᾷ τύπος Ἔρωτα ἔχων ἐπειρασμένον καὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτα· ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν φοῖνικος ὁ Ἔρως κλάδον, ὁ δὲ ἀφελέσθαι πειρᾶται τὸν φοῖνικα ὁ Ἀντέρως.

[23.5] There is also a third enclosed gymnasium, called Maltho from the softness of its floor, and reserved for the youths for the whole time of the festival. In a corner of the Maltho is a bust of Heracles as far as the shoulders, and in one of the wrestling-schools is a relief showing Love and Love Returned, as he is called. Love holds a palm-branch, and Love Returned is trying to take the palm from him.

[6] τῆς ἐσόδου δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ἐς τὴν Μαλθῶ παιδὸς ἔστηκεν εἰκὼν πύκτου· καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν ὁ νομοφύλαξ Ἡλείων γένος μὲν Ἀλεξανδρέα εἶναι τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου τῆς νήσου, Σαραπίωνα δὲ ὄνομα, ἀφικόμενον δὲ ἐς Ἥλιν σπανίζουσι σίτου σφίσι τροφὰς δοῦναι. τούτῳ μὲν αὐτόθι ἀντὶ τούτου γεγόνασιν αἱ τιμαί· χρόνος δὲ στεφάνου τε τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ εὐεργεσίας αὐτῷ τῆς ἐς Ἡλείους Ὀλυμπιάς ἐβδόμη πρὸς ταῖς δέκα τε καὶ διακοσίαις.

[23.6] On each side of the entrance to the Maltho stands an image of a boy boxer. He was by birth, so the Guardian of the Laws at Elis told me, from Alexandria over against the island Pharos, and his name was Sarapion; arriving at Elis when the townsfolk were suffering from famine he supplied them with food. For this reason these honors were paid him here. The time of his crown at Olympia and of his benefaction to the Eleans was the two hundred and seventeenth Festival.

[7] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ βουλευτήριόν ἐστιν Ἡλείοις, καὶ ἐπιδείξεις ἐνταῦθα λόγων τε αὐτοσχεδίων καὶ συγγραμμάτων ποιοῦνται παντοίων· καλεῖται δὲ Λαλίχμιον τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπώνυμον. περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἀσπίδες ἀνάκεινται, θεάς ἕνεκα καὶ οὐκ ἐς ἔργον πολέμου πεποιημέναι.

[23.7] In this gymnasium is also the Elean Council House, where take place exhibitions of extempore speeches and recitations of written works of all kinds. It is called Lalichmium, after the man who dedicated it. About it are dedicated shields, which are for show and not made to be used in war.

[8] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου πρὸς τὰ λουτρά ἐρχομένων δι' ἀγυῖας τε ἡ ὁδὸς Σιωπῆς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Φιλομεΐρακος ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. τῇ μὲν δὴ θεῷ γέγονεν ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις ἅτε τοῦ γυμνασίου γείτονι: τῇ ἀγυῖᾳ δὲ Σιωπῇ ὄνομα ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τεθῆναι λέγουσιν. ἄνδρες τοῦ Ὀξύλου στρατεύματος ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν Ἥλιδι ἀποπεμφθέντες καὶ ἀλλήλοις διακελευσάμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐπειδὴν πλησίον γίνωνται τοῦ τείχους, φθέγγεσθαι μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι αὐτοί, ἐπακροᾶσθαι δὲ εἴ τι παρὰ τῶν ἐντὸς πυθέσθαι δυνήσονται, οὗτοι λανθάνουσι παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὴν ἀγυῖαν ταύτην καὶ ἐπακούσαντες ὅποσα ἐβούλοντο ἐπανίστιν αὐθις ἐς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς: καὶ ἡ ἀγυῖα τὸ ὄνομα εἴληφεν ἀπὸ τῶν κατασκόπων τῆς σιωπῆς.

[23.8] The way from the gymnasium to the baths passes through the Street of Silence and beside the sanctuary of Artemis Philomeirax. The goddess is so surnamed because she is neighbor to the gymnasium; the street received, they say, the name of Silence for the following reason. Men of the army of Oxylus were sent to spy out what was happening in Elis. On the way they exhorted each other, when they should be near the wall, themselves to keep a strict silence, but to listen attentively if perchance they might learn aught from the people in the town. These men by this street reached the town unobserved, and after hearing all they wished they went back again to the Aetolians. So the street received its name from the silence of the spies.

24. ἑτέρα δὲ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου φέρει μὲν ἕξ τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλανοδικαῖωνα καλούμενον, ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τὸν τάφον: καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας ἰέναι καθέστηκεν ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον. ἐσίασι δὲ πρὶν μὲν ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν συμβαλοῦντες δρομέας, μεσοῦσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ πένταθλον καὶ ὅσα βαρέα ἄθλα ὀνομάζουσιν.

[24.1] XXIV. One of the two ways from the gymnasium leads to the market-place, and to what is called the Umpires' Room; it is above the grave of Achilles, and by it the umpires are wont to go to the gymnasium. They enter before sunrise to match the runners, and at midday for the pentathlum and for such contests as are called heavy.

[2] ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ τοῖς Ἑλλείοις οὐ κατὰ τὰς Ἰωνῶν καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων, τρόπῳ δὲ πεποιήται τῷ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ στοαῖς τε ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διεστώσαις καὶ ἀγυαῖς δι' αὐτῶν. ὄνομα δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν Ἰππόδρομος, καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοὺς ἵππους παιδεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τῶν στοῶν δὲ ἡ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐργασίας ἐστὶ τῆς Δωρίου, διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μοίρας τρεῖς οἱ κίονες: ἐν ταύτῃ διημερεῖουσιν τὰ πολλὰ οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι.

[24.2] The market-place of Elis is not after the fashion of the cities of Ionia and of the Greek cities near Ionia; it is built in the older manner, with porticoes

separated from each other and with streets through them. The modern name of the market-place is Hippodromus, and the natives train their horses there. Of the porticoes the southern is in the Doric style, and it is divided by the pillars into three parts. In it the umpires generally spend the day.

[3] ποιοῦνται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ βωμοὺς τῷ Δίῃ, καὶ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οἱ βωμοὶ πληθὺς οὐ πολλοί: καταλύονται γὰρ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἅτε αὐτοσχεδίως οἰκοδομοῦμενοι. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στοᾶν ἰόντι ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς στοᾶς ὁ Ἑλλανοδικαίων: ἀγυιὰ δὲ ἡ διείργουσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔστιν αὐτόν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ἑλλανοδικαίῳ οἰκοῦσι δέκα ἐφεξῆς μῆνας οἱ αἰρεθέντες ἑλλανοδικεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ὅσα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα σφᾶς δεῖ ποιεῖν διδάσκονται.

[24.3] At the pillars they also cause altars to be made to Zeus, and in the open market-place are the altars, in number not many; for, their construction being improvised, they are without difficulty taken to pieces. As you enter the market-place at this portico the Umpires' Room is on your left, parallel to the end of the portico. What separates it from the market-place is a street. In this Umpires' Room dwell for ten consecutive months the umpires elect, who are instructed by the Guardians of the Law as to their duties at the festival.

[4] τῇ στοᾷ δὲ ἔνθα οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι διημερεῖουσιν ἔστιν ἐγγὺς ἄλλη στοά: τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀγυιὰ μία. ταύτην ὀνομάζουσι Κορκυραϊκὴν οἱ Ἥλείοι: ναυσὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν σφετέραν Κορκυραίους ἐλθόντας * * * ἐλάσαι μοῖραν τῆς λείας λέγοντες λαβεῖν τε ἐκ τῆς Κορκυραίων πολλαπλάσια καὶ οἰκοδομήσασθαι τὴν στοᾶν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῆς δεκάτης.

[24.4] Near to the portico where the umpires pass the day is another portico, between the two being one street. The Eleans call it the Corcyrean, because, they say, the Corcyreans landed in their country and carried off part of the booty, but they themselves took many times as much booty from the land of the Corcyreans, and built the portico from the tithe of the spoils.

[5] ἔστι δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς στοᾶς Δώριος καὶ διπλῇ, τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὺς κίονας, τῇ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔχουσα: κατὰ μέσον δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ κίονες, ἀλλὰ τοῖχος ὁ ταύτῃ τὸν ὄροφον ἀνέχων ἐστίν, ἀνάκεινται δὲ καὶ εἰκόνες ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ. κατὰ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς τὸ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστηκε Πύρρωνος τοῦ Πιστοκράτους εἰκὼν, σοφιστοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἐς βέβαιον ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καταστάντος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μνημα τῷ Πύρρῳ οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ Ἥλείων ἄστεως: Πέτρα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγεται δὲ ὡς ἡ Πέτρα δῆμος εἴη τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

[24.5] The portico is in the Doric style and double, having its pillars both on the side towards the market-place and on the side away from it. Down the center of it the roof is supported, not by pillars, but by a wall, beside which on either side have been dedicated statues. On the side of the portico towards the market-place stands a statue of Pyrrhon, son of Pistocrates, a sophist who never brought himself to make a definite admission on any matter. The tomb

also of Pyrrhon is not far from the town of the Eleans. The name of the place is Petra, and it is said that Petra was a township in ancient times.

[6] Ἡλείους δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκεσίου: σημαίνει δ' ἂν τὸ ὄνομα οὐδέν τι ἄλλοιον ἢ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλεξίκακος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ἐτέρῳθι δὲ Ἡλίῳ πεποιήται καὶ Σελήνῃ λίθου τὰ ἄγάλματα, καὶ τῆς μὲν κέρατα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τοῦ δὲ αἰ ἀκτῖνες ἀνέχουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Χάρισιν ἱερὸν καὶ ξόανα ἐπίχρυσα τὰ ἐς ἐσθῆτα, πρόσωπα δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ πόδες λίθου λευκοῦ: ἔχουσι δὲ ἢ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥόδον, ἀστράγαλον δὲ ἢ μέση, καὶ ἢ τρίτῃ κλῶνα οὐ μέγαν μυρσίνης.

[24.6] The most notable things that the Eleans have in the open part of the market-place are a temple and image of Apollo Healer. The meaning of the name would appear to be exactly the same as that of Averter of Evil, the name current among the Athenians. In another part are the stone images of the sun and of the moon; from the head of the moon project horns, from the head of the sun, his rays. There is also a sanctuary to the Graces; the images are of wood, with their clothes gilded, while their faces, hands and feet are of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the middle one a die, and the third a small branch of myrtle.

[7] ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε εἰκάζοι τις ἂν τὰ εἰρημένα, ῥόδον μὲν καὶ μυρσίνην Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὰ εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖα τῷ ἐς Ἄδωνιν λόγῳ, Χάριτας δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ μάλιστα φίλας εἶναι θεῶν: ἀστράγαλον δὲ μειρακίων τε καὶ παρθένων, οἷς ἄχαρι οὐδέν πω πρόσεστιν ἐκ γήρως, τούτων εἶναι τὸν ἀστράγαλον παίγιον. τῶν Χαρίτων δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἔρωτος: ἔστηκε δὲ ἐπὶ βάθρου τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

[24.7] The reason for their holding these things may be guessed to be this. The rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite and connected with the story of Adonis, while the Graces are of all deities the nearest related to Aphrodite. As for the die, it is the plaything of youths and maidens, who have nothing of the ugliness of old age. On the right of the Graces is an image of Love, standing on the same pedestal.

[8] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Σιληνοῦ ναὸς ἐνταῦθα, ἰδίᾳ τῷ Σιληνῷ καὶ οὐχ ὁμοῦ Διονύσῳ πεποιημένος: Μέθη δὲ οἶνον ἐν ἐκπώματι αὐτῷ δίδωσι. θνητὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ γένος τῶν Σιληνῶν εἰκάσαι τις ἂν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις αὐτῶν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων χώρα Σιληνοῦ μνημα καὶ ἄλλου Σιληνοῦ Περγαμηνοῖς ἐστιν.

[24.8] Here there is also a temple of Silenus, which is sacred to Silenus alone, and not to him in common with Dionysus. Drunkenness is offering him wine in a cup. That the Silenuses are a mortal race you may infer especially from their graves, for there is a tomb of a Silenus in the land of the Hebrews, and of another at Pergamus.

[9] Ἡλείων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε εἶδον, ναοῦ σχῆμα: ἐστὶ δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν, καὶ τοῖχοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, τὸν ὄροφον δὲ δρυὸς ἀνέχουσιν εἰργασμένοι

κίονες. τοῦτο εἶναι μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μνῆμα, ὅτου δὲ οὐ μνημονεύουσιν: εἰ δὲ ὁ γέρων ὄντινα ἡρόμην εἶπεν ἀληθῆ λόγον, Ὁξύλῳ τοῦτο ἂν μνῆμα εἴη.

[24.9] In the market-place of Elis I saw something else, a low structure in the form of a temple. It has no walls, the roof being supported by pillars made of oak. The natives agree that it is a tomb, but they do not remember whose it is. If the old man I asked spoke the truth, it would be the tomb of Oxylus.

[10] πεποιήται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν οἴκημα ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα καλουμέναις, ἔνθα τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

ἔχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ναὸς ἀρχαῖος στοαῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περίστυλος, ὁ δὲ ὄροφος κατερρήκε τῷ ναῷ καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο: βασιλεῦσι δὲ ἀνεῖται Ῥωμαίοις.

[24.10] There is also in the market-place a building for the women called the Sixteen, where they weave the robe for Hera.

Adjoining the market-place is an old temple surrounded by pillars; the roof has fallen down, and I found no image in the temple. It is dedicated to the Roman emperors.

25. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ὀπίσω τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῶν ἐκ Κορκύρας Ἀφροδίτης ναός, τὸ δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τέμενος οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ ναῷ καλοῦσιν Οὐρανίαν, ἐλέφαντος δὲ ἔστι καὶ χρυσοῦ, τέχνη Φειδίου, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ποδὶ ἐπὶ χελώνης βέβηκε: τῆς δὲ περιέχεται μὲν τὸ τέμενος θριγκῷ, κρηπὶς δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους πεποιήται καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ τράγῳ κάθεται χαλκῷ: Σκόπα τοῦτο ἔργον, Ἀφροδίτην δὲ Πάνδημον ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χελώνῃ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν τράγον παρήμι τοῖς θέλουσιν εἰκάζειν.

[25.1] XXV. Behind the portico built from the spoils of Corcyra is a temple of Aphrodite, the precinct being in the open, not far from the temple. The goddess in the temple they call Heavenly; she is of ivory and gold, the work of Pheidias, and she stands with one foot upon a tortoise. The precinct of the other Aphrodite is surrounded by a wall, and within the precinct has been made a basement, upon which sits a bronze image of Aphrodite upon a bronze he-goat. It is a work of Scopas, and the Aphrodite is named Common. The meaning of the tortoise and of the he-goat I leave to those who care to guess.

[2] ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἰδίου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός — ἔστι γὰρ δὴ Ἥλειος καὶ Ἰδίου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός — ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐφείται πέρα γε τοῦ ἱερομένου. ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνον τιμᾶσιν Ἰδὴν Ἥλαιοι κατὰ αἰτίαν τήνδε. Ἡρακλεῖ στρατιὰν ἄγοντι ἐπὶ Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι, παρεῖναι οἱ καὶ Ἀθηναῖν συνεργὸν λέγουσιν: ἀφικέσθαι οὖν καὶ Πυλίοις τὸν Ἰδὴν συμμαχήσοντα τῇ ἀπεχθείᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ Πύλῳ τιμάς.

[25.2] The sacred enclosure of Hades and its temple (for the Eleans have these among their possessions) are opened once every year, but not even on this occasion is anybody permitted to enter except the priest. The following is the reason why the Eleans worship Hades; they are the only men we know of so to do. It is said that, when Heracles was leading an expedition against Pylus in Elis, Athena was one of his allies. Now among those who came to fight on the side of the Pylians was Hades, who was the foe of Heracles but was worshipped at Pylus.

[3] ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον τῷ λόγῳ μάρτυρα ποιήσαντα ἐν Ἰλιάδι “τλῆ δ’ Αἰδης ἐν τοῖσι πελώριος ὠκὺν οἰστόν,

εὐτέ μιν αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο

ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν:

“Hom. II 5.395-397 ἐὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον Ποσειδῶν τῷ Ὀμήρου λόγῳ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπικούρος ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἅπο τοῦ εἰκότος οὐδὲ Ἀιδὴν εἶη δόξη γε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιητοῦ Πυλίοις ἀμῦναι. Ἥλαιοι δ’ οὖν ὡς σφίσι τε εὖνῳ καὶ ἀπεχθανομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐποιήσαντο τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ: ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ ἀνοίγειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ νομίζουσιν, ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἅπαξ ἢ κάθοδος ἢ ἐς τοῦ Ἀΐδου γίνεται.

[25.3] Homer is quoted in support of the story, who says in the Iliad:—

And among them huge Hades suffered a wound from a swift arrow,
When the same man, the son of aegis-bearing Zeus,
Hit him in Pylus among the dead, and gave him over to pains. Hom. II.
5.395-397

If in the expedition of Agamemnon and Menelaus against Troy Poseidon was according to Homer an ally of the Greeks, it cannot be unnatural for the same poet to hold that Hades helped the Pylians. At any rate it was in the belief that the god was their friend but the enemy of Heracles that the Eleans made the sanctuary for him. The reason why they are wont to open it only once each year is, I suppose, because men too go down only once to Hades.

[4] τοῖς δὲ Ἥλαιοις καὶ Τύχης ἐστὶν τὸ ἱερὸν: ἐν στοᾷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεγέθει μέγα ἄγαλμα ἀνάκειται, ξόανον ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν προσώπου καὶ χειρῶν τε ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν, ταῦτα δὲ οἷ ἐστι λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἔχει τιμᾶς καὶ ὁ Σωσίπολις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς Τύχης, ἐν οἰκῇματι οὐ μεγάλῳ: κατὰ δὲ ὄψιν ὄνειρατος γραφῇ μεμιμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, παῖς μὲν ἡλικίαν, ἀμπέχεται δὲ χλαμύδα ποικίλην ὑπὸ ἀστέρων, τῇ χειρὶ δὲ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τὸ κέρας τῆς Ἀμαλθείας.

[25.4] The Eleans have also a sanctuary of Fortune. In a portico of the sanctuary has been dedicated a colossal image, made of gilded wood except the face, hands and feet, which are of white marble. Here Sosipolis too is worshipped in a small shrine on the left of the sanctuary of Fortune. The god is painted

according to his appearance in a dream: in age a boy, wrapped in a star-spangled robe, and in one hand holding the horn of Amaltheia.

[5] καθότι δὲ Ἡλείων ἡ πόλις πληθύνει μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀνδριάς σφισιν ἀνδρὸς οὐ μείζων μεγάλου χαλκοῦς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια τὸν τε ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιπλέκων τῷ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐπὶ δόρατι ἡρτισμένος· ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐρεᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ λίνου τε καὶ βύσσου περιβάλλουσι.

[25.5] In the most thickly-populated part of Elis is a statue of bronze no taller than a tall man; it represents a beardless youth with his legs crossed, leaning with both hands upon a spear. They cast about it a garment of wool, one of flax and one of fine linen.

[6] τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐλέγετο εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, ἔχειν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ Σαμικῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ τιμᾶς· μετακομισθὲν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἥλιν τιμῆς μὲν καὶ ἐς πλεονέκει ἡκει, Σατράπην δὲ καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶνα ὄνομα αὐτῷ τίθενται, μετὰ τὴν Πατρέων προσοίκησιν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σατράπου διδαχθέντες· Κορύβαντός τε ἐπὶ κλήσις ὁ Σατράπης ἐστί.

[25.6] This image was said to be of Poseidon, and to have been worshipped in ancient times at Samicum in Triphylia. Transferred to Elis it received still greater honor, but the Eleans call it Satrap and not Poseidon, having learned the name Satrap, which is a surname of Corybas, after the enlargement of Patrae.

26. θέατρον δὲ ἀρχαῖον, μεταξὺ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ θέατρον τε καὶ ἱερόν ἐστι Διονύσου· τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους, θεῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Διόνυσον σέβουσιν Ἡλεῖοι καὶ τὸν θεόν σφισιν ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐς τῶν Θυῶν τὴν ἑορτὴν λέγουσιν. ἀπέχει μὲν γε τῆς πόλεως ὅσον τε ὀκτὼ στάδια ἔνθα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι Θυῖα ὀνομάζοντες· λέβητας δὲ ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς ἐς οἶκημα ἐσκομίσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς κατατίθενται κενούς, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, εἰ τύχοιεν ἐπιδημοῦντες· σφραγίδας δὲ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ἦ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐπιβάλλουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τὰ τε

[26.1] XXVI. Between the market-place and the Menius is an old theater and a shrine of Dionysus. The image is the work of Praxiteles. Of the gods the Eleans worship Dionysus with the greatest reverence, and they assert that the god attends their festival, the Thyia. The place where they hold the festival they name the Thyia is about eight stades from the city. Three pots are brought into the building by the priests and set down empty in the presence of the citizens and of any strangers who may chance to be in the country. The doors of the building are sealed by the priests themselves and by any others who may be so inclined.

[2] σημεῖα ἐπιγινῶναι πάρεστί σφισι καὶ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ οἶκημα εὐρίσκουσιν οἶνον πεπλησμένους τοὺς λέβητας. ταῦτα Ἡλείων τε οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ἄνδρες,

σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ξένοι κατώμνυντο ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐπεὶ αὐτός γε οὐκ ἐς καιρὸν ἀφικόμεν τῆς ἑορτῆς· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἄνδριοι παρὰ ἔτος σφίσιν ἐς τοῦ Διονύσου τὴν ἑορτὴν ρεῖν οἶνον αὐτόματον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. εἰ πιστεύειν χρή ταῦτα Ἑλλήσιν, εἰ ἀποδέχοιτο ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ γε τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσα Αἰθίοπες οἱ ὑπὲρ Σύνης ἐς τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν τράπεζαν λέγουσιν.

[26.2] On the morrow they are allowed to examine the seals, and on going into the building they find the pots filled with wine. I did not myself arrive at the time of the festival, but the most respected Elean citizens, and with them strangers also, swore that what I have said is the truth. The Andrians too assert that every other year at their feast of Dionysus wine flows of its own accord from the sanctuary. If the Greeks are to be believed in these matters, one might with equal reason accept what the Ethiopians above Syene say about the table of the sun.

[3] ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἥλειῳ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ. εἶναι μὲν δὴ Φειδίου φασὶν αὐτήν, πεποιῆται δὲ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει, ὅτι οὗτοι προχειρότατα ἔχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες· δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἑργάνης ἱερὸς ὁ ὄρνις νομίζεσθαι.

[26.3] On the Acropolis of the Eleans is a sanctuary of Athena. The image is of ivory and gold. They say that the goddess is the work of Pheidias. On her helmet is an image of a cock, this bird being very ready to fight. The bird might also be considered as sacred to Athena the worker.

CYLLENE

[4] Κυλλήνη δὲ σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσιν Ἥλιδος καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκε, κεῖται δὲ τετραμμένη τε πρὸς Σικελίαν καὶ ὄρμον παρεχομένη ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον· ἐπίνειον δὲ οὕσα Ἥλειῳ ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκάδος τὸ ὄνομα εἴληφε. Κυλλήνης δὲ ἐν μὲν Ἥλειῳ καταλόγῳ λόγον οὐδένα Ὅμηρος ἐποιήσατο, ἐν δὲ ἔπεισι τοῖς ὕστερον δεδήλωκεν ὥς πόλισμα οὕσαν καὶ τὴν Κυλλήνην ἐπίσταται:

[26.4] Cyllene is one hundred and twenty stades distant from Elis; it faces Sicily and affords ships a suitable anchorage. It is the port of Elis, and received its name from a man of Arcadia. Homer does not mention Cyllene in the list of the Eleans, but in a later part of the poem he has shown that Cyllene was one of the towns he knew.

[5] “Πουλυδάμας δ' ὦτον Κυλλήνιον ἐξενάριζεν,

Φυλείδew ἔταρον, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸν Ἑπειῶν.

“θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ· τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃν οἱ ταύτη περισσῶς σέβουσιν, ὀρθὸν ἐστὶν αἰδοῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου.

[26.5]

Pulydamas stripped Otus of Cyllene,

Comrade of Phyleides and ruler of the great-souled Epeans. Hom. Il. 15.518

In Cyllene is a sanctuary of Asclepius, and one of Aphrodite. But the image of Hermes, most devoutly worshipped by the inhabitants, is merely the male member upright on the pedestal.

ON SILK

[6] ἡ δὲ Ἥλειά χώρα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐς καρποὺς καὶ τὴν βύσσον οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκτρέφειν ἀγαθή. τὴν μὲν δὴ κανναβίδα καὶ λίνον καὶ τὴν βύσσον σπείρουσιν ὅσοις ἡ γῆ τρέφειν ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδειος· οἱ μίτοι δέ, ἀφ' ὧν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ποιοῦσιν οἱ Σῆρες, ἀπὸ οὐδενὸς φλοιοῦ, τρόπον δὲ ἕτερον γίνονται τοιόνδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ ζωύφιόν σφισιν, ὃν σῆρα καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῶν Σηρῶν ἄλλο ποῦ τι καὶ οὐ σῆρ ὀνομάζεται:

[26.6] The land of Elis is fruitful, being especially suited to the growth of fine flax. Now while hemp and flax, both the ordinary and the fine variety, are sown by those whose soil is suited to grow it, the threads from which the Seres make the dresses are produced from no bark, but in a different way as follows. There is in the land of the Seres an insect which the Greeks call ser, though the Seres themselves give it another name.

[7] μέγεθος μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ διπλάσιον ἢ κανθάρων ὁ μέγιστος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἴκασται τοῖς ἀράχλαις, οἱ ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροισιν ὑφαίνουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πόδας ἄριθμόν ὀκτὼ κατὰ ταυτὰ ἔχει τοῖς ἀράχλαις. ταῦτα τὰ ζῶα τρέφουσιν οἱ Σῆρες οἴκους κατασκευασάμενοι χειμῶνός τε καὶ θέρους ὥρα ἐπιτηδείους· τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν ζώων κλῶσμα εὐρίσκεται λεπτὸν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν περιειλιγμένον.

[26.7] Its size is twice that of the largest beetle, but in other respects it is like the spiders that spin under trees, and furthermore it has, like the spider, eight feet. These creatures are reared by the Seres, who build them houses adapted for winter and for summer. The product of the creatures, a clue of fine thread, is found rolled round their feet.

[8] τρέφουσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσαρα ἔτη παρέχοντες τροφήν σφισιν ἔλνμον, πέμπτῳ δὲ — οὐ γὰρ πρόσω βιωσόμενα ἴσασι — κάλαμον διδόνασιν ἐσθίειν χλωρόν· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡδίστη τροφή πασῶν τῶ ζώῳ, καὶ ἐμφορηθὲν τοῦ καλάμου ῥήγνυταί τε ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς καὶ ἀποθανόντος οὕτω τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρπεδόνης εὐρίσκουσιν ἔνδον. γινώσκεται δὲ ἡ Σηρία νῆσος ἐν μυχῷ θαλάσσης κειμένη τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς.

[26.8] They keep them for four years, feeding them on millet, but in the fifth year, knowing that they have no longer to live, they give them green reed to eat. This of all foods the creature likes best; so it stuffs itself with the reed till it bursts with surfeit, and after it has thus died they find inside it the greater part of the thread. Seria is known to be an island lying in a recess of the Red Sea.

[9] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὥς οὐχ ἡ Ἐρυθρά, ποταμὸς δὲ ὃν Σῆρα ὀνομάζουσιν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ποῖων νῆσον αὐτήν, ὥσπερ καὶ Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου

καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ μιᾷ περιέχεσθαι θαλάσσης· τοιαύτην ἐτέραν καὶ τὴν Σηρίαν νῆσον εἶναι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν γένους αὐτοὶ τέ εἰσιν οἱ Σῆρες καὶ ὅσοι τὰς προσεχεῖς αὐτῇ νέμονται νήσους, Ἄβασαν καὶ Σακαίαν· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ Αἰθιοπας, Σκύθας δὲ ἀναμειγμένους Ἰνδοῖς φασὶν εἶναι.

[26.9] But I have heard that it is not the Red Sea, but a river called Ser, that makes this island, just as in Egypt the Delta is surrounded by the Nile and by no sea. Such another island is Seria said to be. These Seres themselves are of Aethiopian race, as are the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, Abasa and Sacaea. Some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians but a mongrel race of Scythians and Indians.

THE RIVER LARISUS

[10] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀχαΐαν ἰόντι ἐξ Ἑλίδος ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν εἰσι Λάρισον, καὶ Ἑλείοις ὄροι πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς τῆς χώρας ὃ ποταμὸς ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὃ Λάρισος· τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα ἄκρα σφίσι πρὸς θαλάσση ὄρος ἦν ὃ Ἄραξος.

[26.10] Such are the accounts that are given. As you go from Elis to Achaia you come after one hundred and fifty-seven stades to the river Larisus, and in modern days this river forms the boundary between Elis and Achaia, though of old the boundary was Cape Araxus on the coast.

BOOK VII.

Ἀχαικά

BOOK VII

ACHAEANS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἠλείας μέση καὶ Σικυωνίας, καθήκουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑω θάλασσαν, Ἀχαιᾶν δὲ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων, αὐτὴ τε Αἰγιαλὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐκαλοῦντο Αἰγιαλεῖς, λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Σικυωνίων ἀπὸ Αἰγιαλέως βασιλεύσαντος ἐν τῇ νῦν Σικυωνίᾳ, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασιν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας, εἶναι γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς αἰγιαλόν.

[1.1] I. The land between Elis and Sicyonia, reaching down to the eastern sea, is now called Achaia after the inhabitants, but of old was called Aegialus and those who lived in it Aegialians. According to the Sicyonians the name is derived from Aegialeus, who was king in what is now Sicyonia; others say that it is from the land, the greater part of which is coast (aigialos).

[2] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος Ἑλλήνος Ξοῦθον οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος παῖδες διώκουσιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας, ἐπενεγκόντες αἰτίαν ὥς ἰδία χρήματα ὑφελόμενος ἔχοι τῶν πατρώων: ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας φυγὼν θυγατέρα Ἐρεχθέως ἠξιώθη λαβεῖν καὶ παῖδας Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Ἴωνα ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐρεχθέως τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ δικαστὴς Ξοῦθος ἐγένετο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ — ἔγνω γὰρ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κέκροπα βασιλέα εἶναι — οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως παῖδες

ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτόν:

[1.2] Later on, after the death of Hellen, Xuthus was expelled from Thessaly by the rest of the sons of Hellen, who charged him with having appropriated some of the ancestral property. But he fled to Athens, where he was deemed worthy to wed the daughter of Erechtheus, by whom he had sons, Achaeus and Ion. On the death of Erechtheus Xuthus was appointed judge to decide which of his sons should succeed him. He decided that Cecrops, the eldest of them, should be king, and was accordingly banished from the land by the rest of the sons of Erechtheus.

[3] ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ οἰκήσαντι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγένετο ἐνταῦθα ἡ τελευτὴ, τῶν δὲ οἱ παίδων Ἀχαιὸς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγιαλοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπικούρους κατήλθεν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν καὶ ἔσχε τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχήν, Ἴωνι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγιαλεῖς στρατιὰν καὶ ἐπὶ Σελινούντα τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀθροίζοντι ἀγγέλους ἔπεμπεν ὁ Σελινούς, τὴν θυγατέρα Ἐλίκην, ἥ μόνη οἱ παῖς ἦν, γυναῖκα αὐτῷ διδοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν Ἴωνα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ παῖδα ποιούμενος.

[1.3] He reached Aegialus, made his home there, and there died. Of his sons, Achaeus with the assistance of allies from Aegialus and Athens returned to

Thessaly and recovered the throne of his fathers: Ion, while gathering an army against the Aegialians and Selinus their king, received a message from Selinus, who offered to give him in marriage Helice, his only child, as well as to adopt him as his son and successor.

[4] καί πως ταῦτα τῷ Ἴωνι ἐγένετο οὐκ ἄπο γνώμης, καί τῶν Αἰγιαλέων τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἴων ἔσχεν ἀποθανόντος Σελινούντος, καί Ἐλίκην τε ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὤκισεν ἐν τῷ Αἰγιαλῷ πόλιν καί τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσεν Ἴωνας ἀφ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο οὐ μεταβολὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος, προσθήκη δέ σφισιν ἐγένετο: Αἰγιαλεῖς γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντο Ἴωνες. τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον διέμεινεν ὄνομα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς: Ὀμήρῳ γοῦν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν μετὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐξήρκεσε τὸ ἀρχαῖον δηλῶσαι τῆς γῆς ὄνομα: “Αἰγιαλὸν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἐλίκην εὐρεῖαν.

“Hom. Il 2.575

[1.4] It so happened that the proposal found favour with Ion, and on the death of Selinus he became king of the Aegialians. He called the city he founded in Aegialus Helice after his wife, and called the inhabitants Ionians after himself. This, however, was not a change of name, but an addition to it, for the folk were named Aegialian Ionians. The original name clung to the land even longer than to the people; for at any rate in the list of the allies of Agamemnon, Homer is content to mention the ancient name of the land: Throughout all Aegialus and about wide Helice. Hom. Il. 2.575

[5] τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἴωνος βασιλείας πολεμησάντων Ἀθηναίοις Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνα ἐπαγαγομένων ἐπὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸ χρεὼν ἐπιλαμβάνει, καὶ Ἴωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημα τῷ Ποταμίων ἐστίν: οἱ δὲ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἴωνος τὸ Ἴώνων ἔσχον κράτος, ἐς ὃ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. τοῖς δὲ Ἀχαιοῖς τῆνικαῦτα ὑπῆρξε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Ἀργεὺς ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξεληλάσθαι:

[1.5] At that time in the reign of Ion the Eleusinians made war on the Athenians, and these having invited Ion to be their leader in the war, he met his death in Attica, his tomb being in the deme of Potamus. The descendants of Ion became rulers of the Ionians, until they themselves as well as the people were expelled by the Achaeans. The Achaeans at that time had themselves been expelled from Lacedaemon and Argos by the Dorians.

[6] τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἴωνα καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, ὅποσα ἐπράχθη σφίσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐπέξεισιν αὐτίκα ὁ λόγος μοι προδιηγησαμένῳ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμόνα οἰκοῦσι καὶ Ἀργος πρὸ τῆς τῶν Δωριέων καθόδου μόνους Πελοποννησίων ὑπῆρξεν Ἀχαιοῖς καλεῖσθαι. Ἀρχανδρος Ἀχαιοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιτέλης ἐς Ἀργος ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐγένοντο Δαναοῦ γαμβροί, καὶ Αὐτομάτην μὲν Ἀρχιτέλης, Σκαιὰν δὲ ἔλαβεν Ἀρχανδρος. δηλοῦσι δὲ ἐν Ἀργεὶ καταμείναντες οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῷδε: Μετανάστην γὰρ τῷ παιδί ὄνομα ἔθετο Ἀρχανδρος.

[1.6] The history of the Ionians in relation to the Achaeans I will give as soon as

I have explained the reason why the inhabitants of Lacedaemon and Argos were the only Peloponnesians to be called Achaeans before the return of the Dorians. Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, came from Phthiotis to Argos, and after their arrival became sons-in-law of Danaus, Architeles marrying Automate and Archander Scaea. A very clear proof that they settled in Argos is the fact that Archander named his son Metanastes (Settler).

[7] δυνηθέντων δὲ ἐν τε Ἀργεὶ καὶ Λακεδαίμονι τῶν Ἀχαιοῦ παίδων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξενίκησεν Ἀχαιοὺς κληθῆναι: τοῦτο μὲν σφισιν ὄνομα ἦν ἐν κοινῷ, Δαναοὶ δὲ Ἀργείοις ἰδίᾳ. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκπεπωκότες ἔκ τε Ἀργούς καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο Ἴωσιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ὀρέστου γενέσθαι σύνοικοί σφισιν ἄνευ πολέμου: τῶν δὲ Ἴωνων τοὺς βασιλέας ὑπῆει δέος, μὴ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναμιχθέντων αὐτοῖς Τισαμενὸν ἐν κοινῷ βασιλέα ἔλονται κατὰ τε ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ γένους δόξαν.

[1.7] When the sons of Achaeus came to power in Argos and Lacedaemon, the inhabitants of these towns came to be called Achaeans. The name Achaeans was common to them; the Argives had the special name of Danai. On the occasion referred to, being expelled by the Dorians from Argos and Lacedaemon, the Achaeans themselves and their king Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, sent heralds to the Ionians, offering to settle among them without warfare. But the kings of the Ionians were afraid that, if the Achaeans united with them, Tisamenus would be chosen king of the combined people because of his manliness and noble lineage.

[8] Ἴωνων δὲ οὐ προσεμένων τοὺς Ἀχαιῶν λόγους ἀλλὰ ἐπεξελθόντων σὺν ὅπλοις, Τισαμενὸς μὲν ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Ἴωνας δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ κρατήσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν καταπεφυγότας ἐς Ἑλίκην καὶ ὕστερον ἀφιασιν ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους. Τισαμενοῦ δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Ἑλικῇ θαψάντων, ὕστερον χρόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς σφισιν ἀνειπόντος χρηστηρίου κομίζουσι τὰ ὅσα ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι αὐτῷ τάφος, ἐνθα τὰ δεῖπνα Λακεδαιμονίους ἐστὶ τὰ Φειδίτια καλούμενα.

[1.8] The Ionians rejected the proposal of the Achaeans and came out to fight them; in the battle Tisamenus was killed, the Ionians were overcome by the Achaeans, fled to Helice, where they were besieged, and afterwards were allowed to depart under a truce. The body of Tisamenus was buried in Helice by the Achaeans, but afterwards at the command of the Delphic oracle the Lacedaemonians carried his bones to Sparta, and in my own day his grave still existed in the place where the Lacedaemonians take the dinner called Pheiditia.

[9] Ἴωνας δὲ ἀφικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μέλανθος Ἀνδροπόμπου συνοίκους ἐξεδέξαντο Ἴωνός τε δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ ἔργων ἃ ἔπραξε πολεμαρχῶν Ἀθηναίους: λέγεται δὲ ὡς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ποιοῦμενοι τοὺς Δωριέας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἐθέλωσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἰσχύος μᾶλλον

οικείας ἔνεκα ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας συνοίκους σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο.

[1.9] The Ionians went to Attica, and they were allowed to settle there by the Athenians and their king Melanthus, the son of Andropompus, I suppose for the sake of Ion and his achievements when he was commander-in-chief of the Athenians. Another account is that the Athenians suspected that the Dorians would not keep their hands off them, and received the Ionians to strengthen themselves rather than for any good-will they felt towards the Ionians.

COLONIZATION OF MILETOS, HISTORY

2. ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Μέδων καὶ Νειλεὺς πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐστασίασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νειλεὺς ἀνέζεσθαι βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν ἕτερον ἦν τῶν ποδῶν χωλός· δόξαν δὲ σφισιν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἢ Πυθία βασιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων. οὕτω δὲ ὁ Νειλεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐς ἀποικίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστόν σφισιν ἦσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ Ἴωνες.

[2.1] II. A few years afterwards Medon and Neileus, the oldest of the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about the rule, and Neileus refused to allow Medon to rule over him, because he was lame in one foot. The disputants agreed to refer the matter to the Delphic oracle, and the Pythian priestess gave the kingdom of Athens to Medon. So Neileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus set out to found a colony, taking with them any Athenian who wished to go with them, but the greatest number of their company was composed of Ionians.

[2] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρίτος δὴ οὗτος στόλος ὑπὸ βασιλεῦσιν ἀλλοίοις ὄχλοις τε ἀλλοίοις ἐστάλησαν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιότατα Ἰόλαος Θηβαῖος, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὁ Ἡρακλέους, Ἀθηναίους ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ Θεσπιδῶσιν ἡγήσατο· γενεᾷ δὲ μιᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἴωνες, Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Μινύας τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκ Λήμνου Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος Θηβαῖος ἡγάγεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θήρα τούτου, πρότερον δὲ ὀνομαζομένην Καλλίστην.

[2.2] This was the third expedition sent out from Greece under kings of a race different from that of the common folk. The earliest was when Iolaus of Thebes, the nephew of Heracles, led the Athenians and Thespians to Sardinia. One generation before the Ionians set sail from Athens, the Lacedaemonians and Minyans who had been expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians were led by the Theban Theras, the son of Autesion, to the island now called after him, but formerly named Calliste.

[3] τρίτον δὲ τότε οἱ Κόδρου παῖδες ἐπετάχθησαν Ἴωσιν ἄρχοντες, οὐδὲν σφισι γένους τοῦ Ἴωνος μετόν, ἀλλὰ Μεσσηνιοὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τὰ πρὸς Κόδρου καὶ Μελάνθου, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὄντες τὰ πρὸς μητρός. Ἴωσι δὲ τοῦ στόλου μετασχόντες ἦσαν οἶδε Ἑλλήνων, Θηβαῖοι τε οἱ ὁμοῦ Φιλῶτα γεγονότι

ἀπογόνῳ Πηνέλεω καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι Μινύαι συγγενεῖα τῶν Κόδρου παίδων:

[2.3] The third occasion was the expedition to which I have referred, when the sons of Codrus were appointed leaders of the Ionians, although they were not related to them, but were, through Codrus and Melanthus, Messenians of Pylus, and, on their mother's side, Athenians. Those who shared in the expedition of the Ionians were the following among the Greeks: some Thebans under Philotas, a descendant of Peneleus; Minyans of Orchomenus, because they were related to the sons of Codrus.

[4] μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Φωκεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Δελφῶν καὶ Ἄβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. τοῖς δὲ Φωκεῦσι Φιλογένης καὶ Δάμων οἱ Εὐκτήμενος Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς τε διδῶσιν ἐς τὸν πλοῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες: ὥς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατήραν, ἐπ' ἄλλην ἐτρέποντο ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλεων, Νειλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ μοῖρα ἐς Μίλητον.

[2.4] There also took part all the Phocians except the Delphians, and with them Abantes from Euboea. Ships for the voyage were given to the Phocians by Philogenes and Damon, Athenians and sons of Euctemon, who themselves led the colony. When they landed in Asia they divided, the different parties attacking the different cities on the coast, and Neileus with his party made for Miletus.

MILETOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[5] Μιλήσιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τοιάδε τὰ ἀρχαιότατά σφισιν εἶναι λέγουσιν: ἐπὶ γενεὰς μὲν δύο Ἀνακτορίαν καλεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν Ἀνακτός τε αὐτόχθονος καὶ Ἀστερίου βασιλευόντος τοῦ Ἀνακτος, Μιλήτου δὲ κατάραντος στόλῳ Κρητῶν ἥ τε γῆ τὸ ὄνομα μετέβαλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μιλήτου καὶ ἡ πόλις. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐκ Κρήτης ὁ Μίλητος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς Μίνω τὸν Εὐρώπης φεύγοντες, οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες οἱ πρότερον νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν σύνοικοι τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγένοντο:

[2.5] The Milesians themselves give the following account of their earliest history. For two generations, they say, their land was called Anactoria, during the reigns of Anax, an aboriginal, and of Asterius his son; but when Miletus landed with an army of Cretans both the land and the city changed their name to Miletus. Miletus and his men came from Crete, fleeing from Minos, the son of Europa; the Carians, the former inhabitants of the land, united with the Cretans. But to resume.

[6] τότε δὲ ὥς ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἀρχαίων Μιλησίων οἱ Ἴωνες, τὸ μὲν γένος πᾶν τὸ ἄρσεν ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν ὅσοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλίσκομένης ἐκδιδράσκουσι, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἐκείνων γαμοῦσι.

τοῦ δὲ Νειλέως ὁ τάφος ἰόντων ἐς Διδύμους ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις τοῦ Απόλλωνος καὶ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰώνων ἐσοίκησιν, πολλῷ δὲ πρεσβύτερα ἔτι ἢ κατὰ Ἴωνας τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν ἐστίν.

[2.6] When the Ionians had overcome the ancient Milesians they killed every male, except those who escaped at the capture of the city, but the wives of the Milesians and their daughters they married.

The grave of Neileus is on the left of the road, not far from the gate, as you go to Didymi.

EPHESOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

The sanctuary of Apollo at Didymi, and his oracle, are earlier than the immigration of the Ionians, while the cult of Ephesian Artemis is far more ancient still than their coming.

[7] οὐ μὴν πάντα γε τὰ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἐπύθετο ἔμοι δοκεῖν Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνας τὸ ἱερὸν ἔφη τοῦτο ἰδρύσασθαι στρατευομένας ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησέα. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναικες ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ, ἅτε ἐπιστάμεναι τε ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ ἡνίκα Ἡρακλέα ἔφυγον, αἱ δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα, ἱκέτιδες ἐνταῦθα ἐλθοῦσαι: οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων γε ἰδρύθη, Κόρησος δὲ αὐτόχθων καὶ Ἐφεσος — Καῦστρου δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν Ἐφεσον παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσιν — , οὗτοι τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσιν οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφέσου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τῇ πόλει.

[2.7] Pindar, however, it seems to me, did not learn everything about the goddess, for he says that this sanctuary was founded by the Amazons during their campaign against Athens and Theseus. It is a fact that the women from the Thermodon, as they knew the sanctuary from of old, sacrificed to the Ephesian goddess both on this occasion and when they had fled from Heracles; some of them earlier still, when they had fled from Dionysus, having come to the sanctuary as suppliants. However, it was not by the Amazons that the sanctuary was founded, but by Coresus, an aboriginal, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been a son of the river Cayster, and from Ephesus the city received its name.

[8] Λέλεγες δὲ τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα καὶ Λυδῶν τὸ πολὺ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἦσαν: ὧκουν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλλοι τε ἱκεσίας ἔνεκα καὶ γυναικες τοῦ Ἀμαζόνων γένους. Ἄνδροκλος δὲ ὁ Κόδρου — οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπεδέδεικτο Ἰώνων τῶν ἐς Ἐφεσον πλευσάντων βασιλεύς — Λέλεγας μὲν καὶ Λυδοὺς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας: τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκοῦσι δεῖμα ἦν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ Ἰωσιν ὄρκους δόντες καὶ ἀνά μέρος παρ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἐκτὸς ἦσαν πολέμου. ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ Σάμον Ἄνδροκλος Σαμίου, καὶ ἔσχον Ἐφέσιοι χρόνον τινὰ Σάμον καὶ τὰς προσεχεῖς νήσους:

[2.8] The inhabitants of the land were partly Leleges, a branch of the Carians, but the greater number were Lydians. In addition there were others who dwelt around the sanctuary for the sake of its protection, and these included some women of the race of the Amazons.

COLONIZATION OF EPHESOS, HISTORY

But Androclus the son of Codrus (for he it was who was appointed king of the Ionians who sailed against Ephesus) expelled from the land the Leleges and Lydians who occupied the upper city. Those, however, who dwelt around the sanctuary had nothing to fear; they exchanged oaths of friendship with the Ionians and escaped warfare. Androclus also took Samos from the Samians, and for a time the Ephesians held Samos and the adjacent islands.

[9] Σαμίων δὲ ἤδη κατεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα Πριηνεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κᾶρας ὁ Ἄνδροκλος, καὶ νικῶντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἀνελόμενοι τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου τὸν νεκρὸν ἔθαψαν τῆς σφετέρας ἔνθα δείκνυται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τὸ μνήμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνήτιδας· ἐπίθημα δὲ τῷ μνήματι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὠπλισμένος.

[2.9] But after that the Samians had returned to their own land, Androclus helped the people of Priene against the Carians. The Greek army was victorious, but Androclus was killed in the battle. The Ephesians carried off his body and buried it in their own land, at the spot where his tomb is pointed out at the present day, on the road leading from the sanctuary past the Olympieum to the Magnesian gate. On the tomb is a statue of an armed man.

COLONIZATION OF MYUS & PRIENE, HISTORY

[10] οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οἱ Μυοῦντα ἐσοικισάμενοι καὶ Πριήνην, Κᾶρας μὲν καὶ οὗτοι τὰς πόλεις ἀφείλοντο· οἰκισταὶ δὲ Μυοῦντος μὲν Κυάρητος ἐγένετο ὁ Κόδρου, Πριηνεῖς δὲ Ἴωσιν ἀναμεμιγμένοι Θηβαῖοι Φιλώταν τε τὸν ἀπόγονον Πηνέλεω καὶ Αἵπυτον Νειλέως παῖδα ἔσχον οἰκιστάς. Πριηνεῖς μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Ταβούτου τε τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἰέρωνος ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχωρίου κακωθέντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ὁμῶς τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας· Μυοῦντος δὲ οἱ οἰκῆτορες ἐπὶ τύχῃ τοιαύδε ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν.

[2.10] The Ionians who settled at Myus and Priene, they too took the cities from Carians. The founder of Myus was Cyaretus the son of Codrus, but the people of Priene, half Theban and half Ionian, had as their founders Philotas, the descendant of Peneleus, and Aepytus, the son of Neileus. The people of Priene, although they suffered much at the hands of Tabutes the Persian and afterwards at the hands of Hiero, a native, yet down to the present day are accounted Ionians. The people of Myus left their city on account of the following accident.

[11] κατὰ τὴν Μουσίαν χώραν θαλάσσης κόλπος ἐσεῖχεν οὐ μέγας· τοῦτον λίμνην ὁ ποταμὸς ἐποίησεν ὁ Μαϊάνδρος, ἀποτεμόμενος τὸν ἔσπλουν τῇ ἰλῷ· ὥς δὲ ἐνόστησε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ οὐκέτι ἦν θάλασσα, οἱ κώνωπες ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἐγίνοντο ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, ἐς ὃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνάγκασαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ ἐς Μίλητον Μουσῖοι τά τε ἄλλα ἀγώγιμα καὶ τῶν θεῶν φερόμενοι τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ ἦν κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐν Μυοῦντι ὅτι μὴ Διονύσου ναδὸς λίθου λευκοῦ· Μουσίοις δέ γε κατέλαβεν εὐκότα καὶ Ἀταρνεΐτας παθεῖν τοὺς ὑπὸ Περγάμῳ.

[2.11] A small inlet of the sea used to run into their land. This inlet the river Maeander turned into a lake, by blocking up the entrance with mud. When the water, ceasing to be sea, became fresh, gnats in vast swarms bred in the lake until the inhabitants were forced to leave the city. They departed for Miletus, taking with them the images of the gods and their other movables, and on my visit I found nothing in Myus except a white marble temple of Dionysus. A similar fate to that of Myus happened to the people of Atarneus, under Mount Pergamus.

COLOPHON, MYTHICAL HISTORY

3. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκ παλαιοτάτου γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν: ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι τὴν γῆν Καρῶν ἀφικέσθαι φασὶν ἐς αὐτὴν πρῶτους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κρη̑τας, Ῥάκιον καὶ ὅσον εἶπετο ἄλλο τῷ Ῥακίῳ καὶ ὅσον ἔτι πλῆθος, ἔχον τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ναυσὶν ἰσχυόν: τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐνέμοντο ἔτι οἱ Κᾶρες. Θερσάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πολυνεϊκοῦ καὶ Ἀργείων ἐλόντων Θήβας καὶ ἄλλοι τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ ἡ Μαντῶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Δελφούς: Τειρεσίαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ.

[3.1] III. The people of Colophon suppose that the sanctuary at Clarus, and the oracle, were founded in the remotest antiquity. They assert that while the Carians still held the land, the first Greeks to arrive were Cretans under Rhacius, who was followed by a great crowd also; these occupied the shore and were strong in ships, but the greater part of the country continued in the possession of the Carians. When Thebes was taken by Thersander, the son of Polyneices, and the Argives, among the prisoners brought to Apollo at Delphi was Manto. Her father Teiresias had died on the way, in Haliartia,

[2] ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ σφᾶς ἐς ἀποικίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, περαιοῦνται ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν Κλάρων ἐγένοντο, ἐπεξίασιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Κρη̑τες μετὰ ὅπλων καὶ ἀνάγουσιν ὡς τὸν Ῥάκιον: ὁ δὲ — μανθάνει γὰρ παρὰ τῆς Μαντοῦς οἵτινές τε ἀνθρώπων ὄντες καὶ κατὰ αἰτίαν ἦντινα ἤκουσι — λαμβάνει μὲν γυναῖκα τὴν Μαντῶ, ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῇ συνοίκους. Μόψος δὲ ὁ Ῥακίου καὶ Μαντοῦς καὶ τὸ παράπαν τοὺς Κᾶρας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

[3.2] and when the god had sent them out to found a colony, they crossed in ships to Asia, but as they came to Clarus, the Cretans came against them armed and carried them away to Rhacius. But he, learning from Manto who they were and why they were come, took Manto to wife, and allowed the people with her to inhabit the land. Mopsus, the son of Rhacius and of Manto, drove the Carians from the country altogether.

COLONIZATION OF COLOPHON, HISTORY

[3] Ἴωνες δὲ ὄρκους ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κολοφῶνι Ἕλληνας συνεπολιτεύοντο, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες πλέον: βασιλείαν δὲ Ἰόνων ἡγεμόνες

Δαμασίχθων λαμβάνει καὶ Πρόμηθος Κόδρου παῖδες. Πρόμηθος δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Δαμασίχθωνα ἀποκτείνας ἔφυγεν εἰς Νάξον, καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν αὐτόθι ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ, τὸν νεκρὸν δὲ οἵκαδε ἀπαχθέντα κατεδέξαντο οἱ Δαμασίχθονοι παῖδες· καὶ ἔνθα ὁ τοῦ Προμήθου τάφος, Πολυτειχίδες ὀνομά ἐστι τῷ χωρίῳ.

[3.3] The Ionians swore an oath to the Greeks in Colophon, and lived with them in one city on equal terms, but the kingship was taken by the Ionian leaders, Damasichthon and Promethus, sons of Codrus. Afterwards Promethus killed his brother Damasichthon and fled to Naxos, where he died, but his body was carried home and received by the sons of Damasichthon. The name of the place where Damasichthon is buried is called Polyteichides.

[4] Κολοφωνίοις δὲ ὅπως μὲν τὴν πόλιν συνέπεσεν ἐρημωθῆναι, προεδίλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ εἰς Λυσίμαχον· ἐμαχέσαντο δὲ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι Κολοφώνιοι τῶν ἀνοικισθέντων εἰς Ἑφῆσον μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Κολοφώνων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Σμυρναίων ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος ἰόντι εἰς Κλάρον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ.

[3.4] How it befell that Colophon was laid waste I have already related in my account of Lysimachus. Of those who were transported to Ephesus only the people of Colophon fought against Lysimachus and the Macedonians. The grave of those Colophonians and Smyrnaeans who fell in the battle is on the left of the road as you go to Clarus.

COLONIZATION OF LEBEDUS, HISTORY

[5] Λεβεδίοις δὲ ἐποίησε μὲν Λυσίμαχος ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ συντέλεια εἰς μέγεθος τῇ Ἑφέσῳ γένοιτο· χώρα δὲ σφισιν ἔς τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων καὶ λουτρὰ παρέχεται θερμὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἥδιστα. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν Λέβεδον ἐνέμοντο οἱ Κᾶρες, εἰς ὃ Ἀνδραίμων σφᾶς ὁ Κόδρου καὶ Ἴωνες ἐλαύνουσι. τῷ δὲ Ἀνδραίμονι ὁ τάφος ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἰόντι ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, διαβάντι τὸν Καλάοντα ποταμὸν.

[3.5] The city of Lebedus was razed to the ground by Lysimachus, simply in order that the population of Ephesus might be increased. The land around Lebedus is a happy one; in particular its hot baths are more numerous and more pleasant than any others on the coast. Originally Lebedus also was inhabited by the Carians, until they were driven out by Andraemon the son of Codrus and the Ionians. The grave of Andraemon is on the left of the road as you go from Colophon, when you have crossed the river Calaon.

COLONIZATION OF TEOS, HISTORY

[6] Τέων δὲ ὄκουν μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι Μινύαι σὺν Αῥάμαντι εἰς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντες· λέγεται δὲ ὁ Αῥάμας οὗτος ἀπόγονος Αῥάμαντος εἶναι τοῦ Αἰόλου. ἀναμειγμένοι μὲν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν οἱ Κᾶρες· ἐσήγαγε δὲ Ἴωνας εἰς τὴν Τέων Ἀποικὸς ἀπόγονος Μελάνθου τέταρτος, ὃς τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς Τηίοις νεώτερον ἐβούλευσεν οὐδέν. ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ

πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἀφίκοντο ἄνδρες· ἡγοῦντο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀττικοῦ Δάμασος καὶ Νάοκλος Κόδρου παῖδες, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν Γέρης Βοιωτός· καὶ σφᾶς συναμφοτέρους ὃ τε Ἄποικος καὶ οἱ Τήιοι συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο.

[3.6] Teos used to be inhabited by Minyans of Orchomenus, who came to it with Athamas. This Athamas is said to have been a descendant of Athamas the son of Aeolus. Here too there was a Carian element combined with the Greek, while Ionians were introduced into Teos by Apoecus, a great-grandchild of Melanthus, who showed no hostility either to the Orchomenians or to the Teians. A few years later there came men from Athens and from Boeotia; the Attic contingent was under Damasus and Naoclus, the sons of Codrus, while the Boeotians were led by Geres, a Boeotian. Both parties were received by Apoecus and the Teians as fellow-settlers.

ERYTHRAE, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[7] Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν Ἐρύθρῳ τῷ Ῥαδαμάνθου φασιν ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ οἰκιστὴν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐρυθρον· ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Κρησὶ Λυκίων καὶ Καρῶν τε καὶ Παμφύλων, Λυκίων μὲν κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Κρητῶν — καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἰσιν ἐκ Κρήτης, οἱ Σαρπηδόνη ὁμοῦ ἔφυγον — , Καρῶν δὲ κατὰ φιλίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ πρὸς Μίνῳ, Παμφύλων δὲ ὅτι γένους μέτεστιν Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ τούτοις — εἰσὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ Πάμφυλοι τῶν μετὰ ἄλῳσιν Ἰλίου πλανηθέντων σὺν Κάλχαντι — , τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐχόντων Ἐρυθράς, Κλέοπος ὁ Κόδρου συλλέξας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ὅσους δὴ παρὰ ἐκάστῳ ἐπεισήγαγεν Ἐρυθραίοις συνοίκους.

[3.7] The Erythraeans say that they came originally from Crete with Erythrus the son of Rhadamanthus, and that this Erythrus was the founder of their city. Along with the Cretans there dwelt in the city Lycians, Carians and Pamphylians; Lycians because of their kinship with the Cretans, as they came of old from Crete, having fled along with Sarpedon; Carians because of their ancient friendship with Minos; Pamphylians because they too belong to the Greek race, being among those who after the taking of Troy wandered with Calchas.

COLONIZATION OF ERYTHRAE, HISTORY

The peoples I have enumerated occupied Erythrae when Cleopus the son of Codrus gathered men from all the cities of Ionia, so many from each, and introduced them as settlers among the Erythraeans.

COLONIZATION OF CLAZOMENAE & PHOCAEA, HISTORY

[8] Κλαζομενίους δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ἰωνας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ᾔκουντο αἱ πόλεις· Ἰώνων δὲ ἀφικομένων μοῖρα ἐξ αὐτῶν πλανωμένη μετεπέμψατο ἡγεμόνα παρὰ Κολοφωνίων Πάρφορον, καὶ πόλιν κτίσαντες ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ τὴν μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐπανιόντες δὲ ἐς Ἰωνίαν Σκύππιον

τῆς Κολοφωνίας ἔκτισαν.

[3.8] The cities of Clazomenae and Phocaea were not inhabited before the Ionians came to Asia. When the Ionians arrived, a wandering division of them sent for a leader, Parphorus, from the Colophonians, and founded under Mount Ida a city which shortly afterwards they abandoned, and returning to Ionia they founded Scyppium in the Colophonian territory.

[9] ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐκουσίως καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κολοφωνίας, οὕτω γῆν τε ἔσχον, ἦν καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, καὶ κατεσκευάσαντο ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Κλαζομενὰς πόλιν· ἐς δὲ τὴν νῆσον διέβησαν δὴ κατὰ τὸ Περσῶν δέος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἔμελλεν ὁ Φιλίππου χερρόνησον Κλαζομενὰς ἐργάσεσθαι χώματι ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου. τούτων τῶν Κλαζομενίων τὸ πολὺ οὐκ Ἴωνες, Κλεωναῖοι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ Φλιοῦντος, ὅσοι Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατελθόντων ἐξέλιπον τὰς πόλεις·

[3.9] They left of their own free-will Colophonian territory also, and so occupied the land which they still hold, and built on the mainland the city of Clazomenae. Later they crossed over to the island through their fear of the Persians. But in course of time Alexander the son of Philip was destined to make Clazomenae a peninsula by a mole from the mainland to the island. Of these Clazomenians the greater part were not Ionians, but Cleonaeans and Phliasiens, who abandoned their cities when the Dorians had returned to Peloponnesus.

[10] οἱ δὲ Φωκαεῖς γένος μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθέν εἰσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Παρνασσῷ καλουμένης καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Φωκίδος, οἱ Φιλογένει καὶ Δάμῳ ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. τὴν χώραν δὲ οὐ πολέμῳ, κατὰ δὲ ὁμολογίαν λαμβάνουσι παρὰ Κυμαίων· Ἴωνων δὲ οὐ δεχομένων σφᾶς ἐς Πανιώνιον πρὶν ἢ τοῦ γένους βασιλέας τοῦ Κοδριδῶν λάβωσιν, οὕτω παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ ἐκ Τέῳ Δεοίτην καὶ Πέρικλον λαμβάνουσι καὶ Ἄβαρτον.

[3.10] The Phocaeans are by birth from the land under Parnassus still called Phocis, who crossed to Asia with the Athenians Philogenes and Damon. Their land they took from the Cymaeans, not by war but by agreement. When the Ionians would not admit them to the Ionian confederacy until they accepted kings of the race of the Codridae, they accepted Deoetes, Periclus and Abartus from Erythrae and from Teos.

SAMOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

4. αἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις εἰσὶν Ἴωνων πόλεις Σάμος ἡ ὑπὲρ Μυκάλης καὶ Χίος ἡ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Μίμαντος. Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὥς Φοῖνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεῦειν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων Λελέγων· Ἀγκαῖος δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου Σαμίαν γενέσθαι Περίλαον καὶ Ἐνουδον καὶ Σάμον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Παρθενόπην, Παρθενόπης δὲ τῆς

Ἀγκαίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκομήδην γενέσθαι.

[4.1] IV. The cities of the Ionians on the islands are Samos over against Mycale and Chios opposite Mimas. Asius, the son of Amphiptolemus, a Samian, says in his epic that there were born to Phoenix Astypalaea and Europa, whose mother was Perimede, the daughter of Oeneus; that Astypalaea had by Poseidon a son Ancaeus, who reigned over those called Leleges; that Ancaeus took to wife Samia, the daughter of the river Maeander, and begat Perilaus, Enudus, Samus, Alitherses and a daughter Parthenope; and that Parthenope had a son Lycomedes by Apollo.

COLONIZATION OF SAMOS, HISTORY

[2] Ἄσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐδήλωσε: τότε δὲ οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες ἀνάγκη πλέον ἐδέξαντο ἢ εὐνοία συνοίκους Ἴωνας. ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἴωσι Προκλῆς ὁ Πιτυρέως, αὐτὸς τε Ἐπιδαύριος καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἦν τὸ πολὺ ἄγων, οἱ ὑπὸ Δηιφόντου καὶ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν: τούτῳ τῷ Προκλεῖ γένος ἦν ἀπὸ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου. Ἄνδροκλος δὲ καὶ Ἐφέσιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Λεώγορον τὸν Προκλέους, βασιλεύοντα μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐν Σάμῳ, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου Σαμίους: αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπέφερον μετὰ Καρῶν σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύειν Ἴωσι.

[4.2] Thus far Asius in his poem. But on the occasion to which I refer the inhabitants of the island received the Ionians as settlers more of necessity than through good.will. The leader of the Ionians was Procles, the son of Pityreus, Epidaurian himself like the greater part of his followers, who had been expelled from Epidauria by Deiphontes and the Argives. This Procles was descended from Ion, son of Xuthus. But the Ephesians under Androclus made war on Leogorus, the son of Procles, who reigned in Samos after his father, and after conquering them in a battle drove the Samians out of their island, accusing them of conspiring with the Carians against the Ionians.

[3] Σαμίων δὲ τῶν φευγόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ νῆσον ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῆς ἐνοικήσεως Σαμοθράκην τὴν νῆσον καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Δαρδανίας: οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Λεωγόρῳ περὶ Ἀναίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ πέραν βαλόμενοι τεῖχος, δέκα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τοὺς τε Ἐφεσίους ἐκβάλλουσι καὶ ἀνέσώσαντο τὴν νῆσον.

[4.3] The Samians fled and some of them made their home in an island near Thrace, and as a result of their settling there the name of the island was changed from Dardania to Samothrace. Others with Leogorus threw a wall round Anaea on the mainland opposite Samos, and ten years after crossed over, expelled the Ephesians and reoccupied the island.

SAMOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[4] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας εἰσὶν οἱ ἰδρύσασθαι φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλέοντας, ἐπάγεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ Ἀργους: Σάμιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τεχθῆναι νομίζουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν θεὸν παρὰ τῷ Ἰμβράσῳ ποταμῷ καὶ ὑπὸ

τῇ λύγῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι πεφυκυία. εἶναι δ' οὖν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον ὃ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἂν τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι τεκμαίροιο: ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρὸς ἔργον Αἰγινήτου Σμίλιδος τοῦ Εὐκλείδου. οὗτος ὁ Σμῖλῖς ἐστὶν ἡλικίαν κατὰ Δαίδαλον, δόξης δὲ οὐκ ἔς τὸ ἴσον ἀφίκετο:

[4.4] Some say that the sanctuary of Hera in Samos was established by those who sailed in the Argo, and that these brought the image from Argos. But the Samians themselves hold that the goddess was born in the island by the side of the river Imbrasus under the withy that even in my time grew in the Heraeum. That this sanctuary is very old might be inferred especially by considering the image; for it is the work of an Aeginetan, Smilis, the son of Eucleides. This Smilis was a contemporary of Daedalus, though of less repute.

[5] Δαιδάλῳ μὲν γὰρ γένους τε Ἀθήνησιν ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῶν καλουμένων Μητιονιδῶν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς πλάνης τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπιφανέστερος ἐγένετο ἐς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους. ἀποκτείνας μὲν ἀδελφῆς παῖδα καὶ ἐπιστάμενος τὰ οἴκοι νόμιμα ἐκουσίως παρὰ Μίνῳ ἔφυγεν ἐς

Κρήτην, καὶ αὐτῷ τε ἀγάλματα Μίνῳ καὶ τοῦ Μίνῳ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐποίησε, καθότι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐδήλωσε:

[4.5] Daedalus belonged to the royal Athenian clan called the Metionidae, and he was rather famous among all men not only for his art but also for his wandering and his misfortunes. For he killed his sister's son, and knowing the customs of his city he went into exile of his own accord to Minos in Crete. There he made images for Minos and for the daughters of Minos, as Homer sets forth in the Iliad

[6] καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνῳ καὶ ἐς δεσμωτήριον ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδὶ ἐμβληθεὶς ἐκδιδράσκει τε ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ ἐς Ἴνυκον Σικελῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται παρὰ Κώκαλον, καὶ πολέμου παρέσχε τοῖς Σικελοῖς αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς Κρήτας, ὅτι ἐξαιτοῦντος Μίνῳ μὴ πρόοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ Κώκαλος: καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωκάλου τῶν θυγατέρων ἐσπουδάσθη κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, ὥς καὶ θάνατον τῷ Μίνῳ βουλευῖναι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς χάριν Δαιδάλου.

[4.6] but being condemned by Minos on some charge he was thrown into prison along with his son. He escaped from Crete and came to Cocalus at Incycus, a city of Sicily. Thereby he became the cause of war between Sicilians and Cretans, because when Minos demanded him back, Cocalus refused to give him up. He was so much admired by the daughters of Cocalus for his artistic skill that to please him these women actually plotted against Minos to put him to death.

[7] δὴλὰ τε ὥς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀφίκετο τοῦ Δαιδάλου τὸ ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Σμῖλῖς, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ Σαμίους καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλειαν, παρ' ἄλλους γε οὐδένας φανερός ἐστιν ἀποδημίης: ἐς τούτους δὲ ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν οὗτος.

[4.7] It is plain that the renown of Daedalus spread over all Sicily and even over the greater part of Italy. But as for Smilis, it is not clear that he visited any places save Samos and Elis. But to these he did travel, and he it was who made the image of Hera in Samos.

CHIOS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[8] * * Ἴωνι δὲ τῷ ποιήσαντι τραγωδίαν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τοιάδε εἰρημένα, Ποσειδῶνα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔρημον οὖσαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νύμφη τε ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ὠδῖνας τῆς νύμφης χιόνα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Ποσειδῶνα τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα θέσθαι Χίον· συγγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτέρα νύμφη, καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Ἄγγελόν τε καὶ Μέλανα· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ καὶ Οἰνοπίωνα ἐς τὴν Χίον κατάραι ναυσὶν ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Τάλον καὶ Εὐάνθην καὶ Μέλανα καὶ Σάλαγόν τε καὶ Ἀθάμαντα.

[4.8] . . . Ion the tragic poet says in his history that Poseidon came to the island when it was uninhabited; that there he had intercourse with a nymph, and that when she was in her pains there was a fall of snow (chion), and that accordingly Poseidon called his son Chios. Ion also says that Poseidon had intercourse with another nymph, by whom he had Agelus and Melas; that in course of time Oenopion too sailed with a fleet from Crete to Chios, accompanied by his sons Talus, Euanthes, Melas, Salagus and Athamas.

[9] ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Κᾶρες ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνοπίωνος βασιλείας καὶ Ἄβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. Οἰνοπίωνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἔλαβεν ὕστερον Ἀμφικλος τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐξ Ἰστιαίας ὁ Ἀμφικλος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν. Ἐκτὼρ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφίκλου τετάρτη γενεᾷ — βασιλείαν γὰρ ἔσχε καὶ οὗτος — ἐπολέμησεν Ἀβάντων καὶ Καρῶν τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, τοὺς δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ὑποσπόνδους.

[4.9] Carians too came to the island, in the reign of Oenopion, and Abantes from Euboea. Oenopion and his sons were succeeded by Amphiclus, who because of an oracle from Delphi came from Histiaea in Euboea. Three generations from Amphiclus, Hector, who also had made himself king, made war on those Abantes and Carians who lived in the island, slew some in battle, and forced others to surrender and depart.

[10] γενομένης δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίοις, ἀφικέσθαι τῆνικαῦτα ἐς μνήμην Ἐκτορι ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἴωσι δέοι συνθύειν ἐς Πανιώνιον· τρίποδα δὲ ἄθλον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθία παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ φησι τοῦ Ἰώνων. τοσαῦτα εἰρηκότα ἐς Χίους Ἴωνα εὕρισκον· οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἶρηκε, καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν Χίοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας.

[4.10] When the Chians were rid of war, it occurred to Hector that they ought to unite with the Ionians in sacrificing at Panionium. It is said that the Ionian confederacy gave him a tripod as a prize for valor. Such was the account of

the Chians that I found given by Ion. However, he gives no reason why the Chians are classed with the Ionians.

COLONIZATION OF SMYRNA, HISTORY

5. Σμύρναν δὲ ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν οὗσαν Αἰολέων καὶ οἰκουμένην τῆς χώρας, καθ' ἣ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι πόλιν ἦν καλοῦσιν ἀρχαίαν, Ἴωνες ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ὀρμηθέντες ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Αἰολεῖς ἔσχον· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἴωνες μετέδοσαν Σμυρναίοις τοῦ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ συλλόγου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς κατ' ὄψιν ὀνείρατος:

[5.1] V. Smyrna, one of the twelve Aeolian cities, built on that site which even now they call the old city, was seized by Ionians who set out from Colophon and displaced the Aeolians; subsequently, however, the Ionians allowed the Smyrnaeans to take their place in the general assembly at Panionium. The modern city was founded by Alexander, the son of Philip, in accordance with a vision in a dream.

[2] Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ θηρεύοντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Πάγῳ, ὡς ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς Νεμέσεων λέγουσιν ἱερόν, καὶ πηγῇ τε ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ πλατάνῳ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πεφυκυῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ καθεύδοντι κελεύειν φασὶν αὐτῷ τὰς Νεμέσεις ἐπιφανείσας πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐς αὐτὴν Σμυρναίους ἀναστήσαντα ἐκ τῆς προτέρας:

[5.2] It is said that Alexander was hunting on Mount Pagus, and that after the hunt was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeses, and found there a spring and a plane-tree in front of the sanctuary, growing over the water. While he slept under the plane-tree it is said that the Nemeses appeared and bade him found a city there and to remove into it the Smyrnaeans from the old city.

[3] ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν ἐς Κλάρων θεωροὺς οἱ Σμυρναῖοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἐρησομένους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός: "τρὶς μάκαρες κείνοι καὶ τετράκις ἄνδρες ἔσονται,

οἱ Πάγον οἰκήσουσι πέρην ἱεροῦ Μέλητος.

"οὕτω μετῴκισαντο ἐθελονταὶ καὶ δύο Νεμέσεις νομίζουσιν ἀντὶ μιᾶς καὶ μητέρα αὐταῖς φασὶν εἶναι Νύκτα, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι γε τῇ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι θεῷ πατέρα λέγουσιν εἶναι Ὠκεανόν.

[5.3] So the Smyrnaeans sent ambassadors to Clarus to make inquiries about the circumstance, and the god made answer:—

Thrice, yes, four times blest will those men be
Who shall dwell in Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they migrated of their own free will, and believe now in two Nemeses instead of one, saying that their mother is Night, while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess in Rhamnus is Ocean.

[4] Ἰῶσι δὲ ἔχει μὲν ἐπιτηδειότατα ὥρων κράσεως ἢ χώρα, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ οἷα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἐφεσίας μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ πλούτῳ, δύο δὲ οὐκ ἐξειργασμένα Ἀπόλλωνος, τό τε ἐν Βραγχίδαις τῆς Μιλησίας καὶ ἐν Κλάρῳ τῇ Κολοφωνίων. δύο δὲ ἄλλους ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ναοὺς ἐπέλαβεν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κατακαυθῆναι, τὸν τε ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· θαῦμα δὲ ὅμως ἦσαν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς λελυμασμένοι.

[5.4] The land of the Ionians has the finest possible climate, and sanctuaries such as are to be found nowhere else. First because of its size and wealth is that of the Ephesian goddess, and then come two unfinished sanctuaries of Apollo, the one in Branchidae, in Milesian territory, and the one at Clarus in the land of the Colophonians. Besides these, two temples in Ionia were burnt down by the Persians, the one of Hera in Samos and that of Athena at Phocaea. Damaged though they are by fire, I found them a wonder.

[5] ἡσθεῖς δ' ἂν καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ τῷ ἐν Πριήνῃ ναῷ, τοῦτ' αὖ μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἔνεκα, Ἡρακλείῳ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς κατὰ ἀρχαιότητα· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὔτε τοῖς καλουμένοις Αἰγιναίοις οὔτε τῶν Ἀττικῶν τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις ἐμπερές, εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο, ἀκριβῶς ἐστὶν Αἰγύπτιον. σχεδία γὰρ ἦν ξύλων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ Τύρου τῆς Φοινίκης ἐξέπλευσε· καθ' ἣντινα δὲ αἰτίαν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι λέγουσιν.

[5.5] You would be delighted too with the sanctuary of Heracles at Erythrae and with the temple of Athena at Priene, the latter because of its image and the former on account of its age. The image is like neither the Aeginetan, as they are called, nor yet the most ancient Attic images; it is absolutely Egyptian, if ever there was such. There was a wooden raft, on which the god set out from Tyre in Phoenicia. The reason for this we are not told even by the Erythraeans themselves.

[6] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίκετο ἡ σχεδία τὴν Ἰόνων, φασὶν αὐτὴν ὀρμίσασθαι πρὸς ἄκρα καλουμένη Μεσάτη· ἡ δὲ ἔστι μὲν τῆς ἡπείρου, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρυθραίων λιμένος ἐς νῆσον τὴν Χίῳ πλέουσι τοῦτό ἐστι μεσαιτάτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ σχεδία κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἔσχεν, ἐνταῦθα πολὺν μὲν οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι πόνον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ ἔσχον οἱ Χῖοι ποιοῦμενοι σπουδὴν παρὰ σφᾶς καταγαγεῖν ἐκάτεροι τὸ ἄγαλμα·

[5.6] They say that when the raft reached the Ionian sea it came to rest at the cape called Mesate (Middle) which is on the mainland, just midway between the harbor of the Erythraeans and the island of Chios. When the raft rested off the cape the Erythraeans made great efforts, and the Chians no less, both being keen to land the image on their own shores.

[7] τέλος δὲ Ἐρυθραῖος ἄνθρωπος, ὃ βίος μὲν ἦν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης γεγωνῶς καὶ ἄγρας ἰχθύων, διέφθαρτο δὲ ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Φορμίων ἦν, οὗτος ὁ ἀλιεὺς εἶδεν ὄψιν ὀνειράτος ὥς τὰς Ἐρυθραίων γυναικας

ἀποκείρασθαι δέοι τὰς κόμας καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ἄνδρας πλεξαμένους κάλον ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν σχεδίαν παρὰ σφᾶς κατὰζειν. αἱ μὲν δὴ ἄσται τῶν γυναικῶν οὐδαμῶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ὀνειράτι ἐβούλοντο:

[5.7] At last a man of Erythrae (his name was Phormio) who gained a living by the sea and by catching fish, but had lost his sight through disease, saw a vision in a dream to the effect that the women of Erythrae must cut off their locks, and in this way the men would, with a rope woven from the hair, tow the raft to their shores. The women of the citizens absolutely refused to obey the dream;

[8] ὁπόσαι δὲ τοῦ Θρακίου γένους ἐδούλευον καὶ οὐσαις σφίσιν ἐλευθέραις ἦν ἐνταῦθα βίος, ἀποκεῖραι παρέχουσιν αὐτάς: καὶ οὕτως οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι τὴν σχεδίαν κατέλκουσιν. ἔσοδός τε δὴ ταῖς Θράσσαις ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειόν ἐστι γυναικῶν μόναις, καὶ τὸ καλῶδιον τὸ ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι φυλάσσουσι: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀλίεα οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἀναβλέψαι τε καὶ ὄρᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου φασίν.

[5.8] but the Thracian women, both the slaves and the free who lived there, offered themselves to be shorn. And so the men of Erythrae towed the raft ashore. Accordingly no women except Thracian women are allowed within the sanctuary of Heracles, and the hair rope is still kept by the natives. The same people say that the fisherman recovered his sight and retained it for the rest of his life.

[9] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ξύλου μεγέθει μέγα καθήμενόν τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἡλακάτην ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πόλον: τοῦτο Ἐνδοίου τέχνην καὶ ἄλλοις ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀρῶντες ἔνδον τοῦ ἀγάλματος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς Χάρισι τε καὶ Ὠραις, αἱ πρὶν ἐσελθεῖν ἐστήκασιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ Σμυρναίοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ μεταξὺ Κορυφῆς τε ὄρους καὶ θαλάσσης ἀμιγυῶς ὕδατι ἀλλοίῳ.

[5.9] There is also in Erythrae a temple of Athena Polias and a huge wooden image of her sitting on a throne; she holds a distaff in either hand and wears a firmament on her head. That this image is the work of Endoeus we inferred, among other signs, from the workmanship, and especially from the white marble images of Graces and Seasons that stand in the open before the entrance. A sanctuary too of Asclepius was made by the Smyrnaeans in my time between Mount Coryphe and a sea into which no other water flows.

[10] ἡ δὲ Ἰωνία παρὲς τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος κράσεως παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλα ἐς συγγραφὴν, ἡ μὲν γε Ἐφεσία χώρα τὸν τε Κέγχριον ποταμὸν καὶ τοῦ Πίονος τοῦ ὄρους τὴν φύσιν καὶ πηγὴν τὴν Ἀλιταίαν: ἐν δὲ τῇ Μιλησίᾳ πηγὴ τέ ἐστι Βιβλῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐς τῆς Βιβλίδος τὸν ἔρωτα ἀδουσιν: ἐν δὲ τῇ Κολοφωνίων ἄλσος τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, δένδρα μελίας, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἄλσους Ἄλης ποταμὸς ψυχρότατος τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ.

[5.10] Ionia has other things to record besides its sanctuaries and its climate. There is, for instance, in the land of the Ephesians the river Cenchrius, the strange mountain of Pion and the spring Halitaea. The land of Miletus has the spring Biblis, of whose love the poets have sung. In the land of Colophon is the grove of Apollo, of ash-trees, and not far from the grove is the river Ales, the coldest river in Ionia.

[11] Λεβεδίους δὲ τὰ λουτρὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ θαῦμα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφέλεια γίνεται: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τηίοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ λουτρὰ τῇ Μακρίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐν πέτρᾳ χηραμῷ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν πλούτου πεποιημένα. Κλαζομενίοις δὲ λουτρά ἐστιν — ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀγαμέμνων ἔχει τιμᾶς — καὶ ἄντρον μητρός σφισι Πύρρου καλούμενον, καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ λέγουσι τῷ ποιμένι:

[5.11] In the land of Lebedus are baths, which are both wonderful and useful. Teos, too, has baths at Cape Macria, some in the clefts of the rock, filled by the tide, others made to display wealth. The Clazomenians have baths (incidentally they worship Agamemnon) and a cave called the cave of the mother of Pyrrhus; they tell a legend about Pyrrhus the shepherd.

[12] Ἐρυθραίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν χώρα Χαλκίς, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τῶν φυλῶν σφισιν ἡ τρίτη τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος κατατείνουσα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἄκρα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ λουτρὰ θαλάσσια, μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λουτρῶν ὠφέλιμα ἀνθρώποις. Σμυρναίοις δὲ ποταμὸς Μέλῃς ὕδωρ ἐστὶ κάλλιστον καὶ σπήλαιον ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς, ἔνθα Ὀμηρον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐπη λέγουσι:

[5.12] The Erythraeans have a district called Calchis, from which their third tribe takes its name, and in Calchis is a cape stretching into the sea, and on it are sea baths, the most useful baths in Ionia. The Smyrnaeans have the river Meles, with its lovely water, and at its springs is the grotto, where they say that Homer composed his poems.

[13] Χίοις δὲ ὁ τοῦ Οἰνοπίωνος τάφος θεᾶν τε παρέχεται καὶ τινας καὶ λόγους ἐς τοῦ Οἰνοπίωνος τὰ ἔργα: Σαμίοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ Παδίνης καὶ Λεοντίχου μνημᾶ ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ ἔρωτος ἀνιωμένοις εὐχεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θαύματα πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐ πολλῷ τινι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀποδεόντά ἐστιν:

[5.13] One of the sights of Chios is the grave of Oenopion, about whose exploits they tell certain legends. The Samians have on the road to the Heraeum the tomb of Rhadine and Leontichus, and those who are crossed in love are wont to go to the tomb and pray. Ionia, in fact, is a land of wonders that are but little inferior to those of Greece.

THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE, HISTORY

6. τότε δὲ ἀπεληλυθότων Ἰώνων τὴν τε γῆν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Ἰώνων διελάγχανον

καὶ ἐσφικίζοντο ἐς τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ δύο τε καὶ δέκα ἦσαν ἀριθμόν, ὅποσαι γε καὶ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γνῶριμοι, Δύμη μὲν πρὸς Ἥλιδος πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ὠλενος καὶ Φαραὶ καὶ Τρίτεια καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Αἶγιον καὶ Κερύνεια καὶ Βοῦρα, ἐπὶ ταύταις δὲ Ἑλίκη καὶ Αἰγαί τε καὶ Αἶγεια καὶ Πελλήνη πρὸς τῆς Σικυωνίας ἐσχάτη: ἐς ταύτας οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐσφικίζοντο πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἴωνων οἰκουμένας.

[6.1] VI. When the Ionians were gone the Achaeans divided their land among themselves and settled in their cities. These were twelve in number, at least such as were known to all the Greek world; Dyme, the nearest to Elis, after it Olenus, Pharae, Triteia, Rhypes, Aegium, Ceryneia, Bura, Helice also and Aegae, Aegeira and Pellene, the last city on the side of Sicyonia. In them, which had previously been inhabited by Ionians, settled the Achaeans and their princes.

[2] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔχοντες κράτος οἱ τε Τισαμενοῦ παῖδες Δαίμενης καὶ Σπάρτων καὶ Τέλλης τε καὶ Λεοντομένης: Κομήτης δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Τισαμενοῦ παίδων πρότερον ἔτι διεβεβήκει ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. οὗτοί τε δὴ τῆνικαῦτα ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδυνάστευον καὶ Δαμασίας ὁ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, τοῖς Τισαμενοῦ παισὶν ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός. ἴσχυον δὲ ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος Πρευγένης καὶ ὁ υἱός, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Πατρεὺς: καὶ σφισιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐδόθη κτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρέως ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει.

[6.2] Those who held the greatest power among the Achaeans were the sons of Tisamenus, Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes; his eldest son, Cometes, had already crossed with a fleet to Asia. These then at the time held sway among the Achaeans along with Damasias, the son of Penthilus, the son of Orestes, who on his father's side was cousin to the sons of Tisamenus. Equally powerful with the chiefs already mentioned were two Achaeans from Lacedaemon, Preuges and his son, whose name was Patreus. The Achaeans allowed them to found a city in their territory, and to it was given the name Patrae from Patreus.

[3] τὰ δὲ ἐς πόλεμον τοιάδε ἦν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐς Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεῖαν Ἀγαμέμνωνος Λακεδαιμόνα ἔτι καὶ Ἄργος οἰκοῦντες μεγίστη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ μοῖρα ἦσαν: κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ξέρξου καὶ Μήδων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁδὸν οὔτε Λεωνίδα τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς ἐς Θερμοπύλας εἰσὶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ δῆλοι μετεσχηκότες οὔτε Ἀθηναίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσαντες, οὐδὲ σφᾶς κατάλογος συμμάχων ἔχει Λακωνικὸς ἢ Ἀττικὸς.

[6.3] The wars of the Achaeans were as follow. In the expedition of Agamemnon to Troy they furnished, while still dwelling in Lacedaemon and Argos, the largest contingent in the Greek army. When the Persians under Xerxes attacked Greece the Achaeans it is clear had no part in the advance of Leonidas to Thermopylae, nor in the naval actions fought by the Athenians

with Themistocles off Euboea and at Salamis, and they are not included in the Laconian or in the Attic list of allies.

[4] ὑστέρησαν δὲ καὶ ἔργου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσι: δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετὴν ἂν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς γεγράφθαι. δοκεῖν δέ μοι τὰς πατρίδας τε ὑπολειφθέντες ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἔσωζον καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Τροίαν Λακεδαιμονίους Δωριεῖς ἀπηξίουον σφίσιν ἡγεῖσθαι. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνὰ χρόνον: Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον καταστάντων ὕστερον, ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἦσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρόθυμοι Πατρεῦσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἦσσαν εἶχον γνώμην.

[6.4] They were absent from the action at Plataea, for otherwise the Achaeans would surely have had their name inscribed on the offering of the Greeks at Olympia. My view is that they stayed at home to guard their several fatherlands, while because of the Trojan war they scorned to be led by Dorians of Lacedaemon. This became plain in course of time. For when later on the Lacedaemonians began the war with the Athenians, the Achaeans were eager for the alliance with Patrae, and were no less well disposed towards Athens.

[5] πολέμων δὲ τῶν πολεμηθέντων ὕστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησι κοινοῦ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φιλίππου τε ἐναντία καὶ Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ μετέσχον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Λαμίᾳ καλούμενον πόλεμον οὗ φασιν ἐκστρατεύσασθαι, οὐ γάρ πω μετὰ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀνεννηνοχέειν τὸ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς: ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Πατρεῦσιν ἐξηγητὴς τὸν παλαιστὴν Χίλωνα Ἀχαιῶν μόνον μετασχεῖν ἔφασκε τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ περὶ Λάμιαν.

[6.5] Of the wars waged afterwards by the confederate Greeks, the Achaeans took part in the battle of Chaeroneia against the Macedonians under Philip, but they say that they did not march out into Thessaly to what is called the Lamian war, for they had not yet recovered from the reverse in Boeotia. The local guide at Patrae used to say that the wrestler Chilon was the only Achaean who took part in the action at Lamia.

[6] οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα αὐτὸς Λυδὸν Ἀδραστον ἰδίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Λυδῶν ἀμύναντα Ἑλλησι: τοῦ δὲ Ἀδράστου τούτου χαλκῆν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Λυδοὶ πρὸ ἱεροῦ Περσικῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ἔγραψαν ἐπίγραμμα ὡς τελευτήσειεν ὁ Ἀδραστος ἐναντίον Λεοννάτῳ μαχόμενος ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων.

[6.6] I myself know that Adrastus, a Lydian, helped the Greeks as a private individual, although the Lydian commonwealth held aloof. A likeness of this Adrastus in bronze was dedicated in front of the sanctuary of Persian Artemis by the Lydians, who wrote an inscription to the effect that Adrastus died fighting for the Greeks against Leonnatus.

[7] ἡ δὲ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν ἔξοδος καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως παρώφθη Πελοποννησίοις: ἅτε γὰρ πλοῖα οὐκ ἐχόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, δεινὸν ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἥλπιζον, εἰ τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς κατὰ Λέχαιον ἀποτείχισειαν ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν ἐπὶ

Κεγχρέαις θάλασσαν.

[6.7] The march to Thermopylae against the army of the Gauls was left alone by all the Peloponnesians alike; for, as the barbarians had no ships, the Peloponnesians anticipated no danger from the Gauls, if only they walled off the Corinthian Isthmus from the sea at Lechaenum to the other sea at Cenchreae.

[8] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Πελοποννησίων ἦν τότε ἀπάντων βούλευμα: ἐπεὶ δὲ Γαλάται ναυσὶν ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον διαβέβηκεσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐνταῦθα εἶχεν οὕτω τὰ Ἑλλήνων. προεστήκεσαν κατ' ἰσχὺν οὐδένες ἔτι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ: Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις παῖσμα καὶ ἅμα οἱ τε Ἀρκάδες συνεληλυθότες ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ παροικοῦντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν προτέραν ἔτι εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκώλυνον:

[6.8] This was the policy of all the Peloponnesians at this time. But when the Gauls had somehow crossed in ships to Asia, the condition of the Greeks was as follows. No Greek state was preeminent in strength. For the Lacedaemonians were still prevented from recovering their former prosperity by the reverse at Leuctra combined with the union of the Arcadians at Megalopolis and the settlement of Messenians on their border.

[9] Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡρήμωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς καταχθέντας ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου μηδὲ σώζειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀξιόχρεως εἶναι: Ἀθηναίους δὲ εὖνοια μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τῶν ἔργων μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε τῶν ὕστερον, ἀναπαύσασθαι δὲ οὐ ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδόνων πολέμου παρῆν αὐτοῖς.

[6.9] Thebes had been brought so low by Alexander that when, a few years later, Cassander brought back her people, they were too weak even to hold their own. The Athenians had indeed the goodwill of Greece, especially for their later exploits, but they never found it possible to recover from the Macedonian war.

7. Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐ τασσομένων τηνικαῦτα ἔτι ἐν κοινῷ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐκάστων κατὰ σφᾶς συνισταμένων, οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλιστα ἴσχυον: τυράννων τε γὰρ πλὴν Πελλήνης αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα ἀπείρως ἐσχίκεσαν αἱ τε ἐκ πολέμων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου συμφορὰ τῆς λοιμώδους οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτο Ἀχαιοῖς ἐφ' ὅσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγένοντο Ἕλλησι. συνέδριόν τε οὖν Ἀχαϊκὸν καλούμενον καὶ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου βουλευμάτων τε ἦν Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τὰ ἔργα.

[7.1] VII. When the Greeks no longer took concerted action, but each state acted for itself alone, the Achaeans enjoyed their greatest power. For except Pellene no Achaean city had at any time suffered from tyranny, while the disasters of war and of pestilence touched Achaia less than any other part of Greece. So we have what was called the Achaean League, and the Achaeans had a concerted policy and carried out concerted actions.

[2] ἀθροίζεσθαι δὲ ἐς Αἰγίον σφισιν ἔδοξεν: αὕτη γὰρ μετὰ Ἑλίκην

ἐπικλυσθεῖσαν πόλεων ἐν Ἀχαΐα τῶν ἄλλων δόξῃ προεῖχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἴσχυεν ἐν τῷ τότε. Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Σικυῶνιοι συνεδρίου πρῶτοι τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετέσχον, μετὰ δὲ Σικυωνίους ἐσήεσαν ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπισχόντες· τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκτὸς οἰκοῦντας τοῦ ἰσθοῦ συντελεῖν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔπειθεν, ὅτι ἐς πλεόν ἰσχύος προῖον ἐώρων αἰεὶ τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν.

[7.2] As a place of assembly they resolved to have Aegium, for, after Helice had been swallowed up by the sea, Aegium from of old surpassed in reputation the other cities of Achaia, while at the time it enjoyed great power. Of the remaining Greeks the Sicyonians were the first to join the Achaean League, and after the Sicyonians there entered it yet other Peloponnesians, some forthwith and others after an interval. Some too who lived outside the Isthmus were persuaded to join the Achaean League by its unbroken growth in power.

[3] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων μόνοι διάφοροί τε Ἀχαιοῖς τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐπῆγον. Πελλήνην μὲν γε Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν Ἄγις εἷλεν ὁ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεύων ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐξέπεσεν αὐτίκα ἐκ Πελλήνης ὑπὸ Ἀράτου καὶ Σικυωνίων· Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου, βασιλεὺς οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας, ἀντικαθημένους Ἄρατον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς πρὸς Δύμη παρὰ πολὺ τε ἐκράτησεν ἐλθόντας ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ὕστερον Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συνέθετο εἰρήνην.

[7.3] Alone among the Greeks the Lacedaemonians were the bitter enemies of the Achaeans and openly carried on war against them. Pellene, a city of the Achaeans, was captured by Agis, the son of Eudamidas, who was king at Sparta; but he was immediately driven out by the Sicyonians under Aratus. Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, king of the other royal house, won a decisive victory at Dyme over the Sicyonians under Aratus, who attacked him, and afterwards concluded a peace with the Achaeans and Antigonus.

[4] Ἀντίγονος δὲ οὗτος τηνικαῦτα ἀρχὴν τὴν Μακεδόνων εἶχεν, ἐπιτροπεύων Φίλιππον τὸν Δημητρίου παῖδα ἔτι ἡλικίαν ὄντα· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τῷ Φιλίπῳ καὶ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ συνώκει. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ποιησάμενος ὁ Κλεομένης σπονδὰς καὶ αὐτίκα παραβὰς ὅσα ὤμοσεν ἡνδραποδίστατο Ἀρκάδων Μεγάλην πόλιν· Λακεδαιμονίοις τε τὸ ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πταῖσμα πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἀντίγονον Κλεομένους ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιτορκίας τῆς ἐκείνου συνέβη. Κλεομένους μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐθις ἐν λόγοις τοῖς Ἀρκαδιοῖς ἀφιζόμεθα ἐς μνήμην·

[7.4] This Antigonus at the time ruled over the Macedonians, being the guardian of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was still a boy. He was also a cousin of Philip, whose mother he had taken to wife. With this Antigonus then and the Achaeans Cleomenes made peace, and immediately broke all the oaths he had sworn by reducing to slavery Megalopolis, the city of the Arcadians. Because of Cleomenes and his treachery the Lacedaemonians

suffered the reverse at Sellasia, where they were defeated by the Achaeans under Antigonos. In my account of Arcadia I shall again have occasion to mention Cleomenes.

[5] Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν, ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐς ἄνδρας, παρὰ ἐκόντος Ἀντιγόνου λαβὼν φόβον τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἐνεποίησε, τὰ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, προγόνου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ δεσπότου, τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς θεραπείαν ὅσοις πατρίδας ἄρεστά ἦν ἐπ' οἰκείοις προδιδόναι κέρδεσι. προπίνειν δὲ παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ἐπὶ δεξιότητι καὶ φιλία κύλικας οὐκ οἶνου, φαρμάκων δὲ ἐς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώποις, ἃ δὴ ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμύντου Φίλιππος οὐδ' ἐπενόησεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀρχὴν, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ Δημητρίου τὰ φάρμακα τόλμημα ἦν ἐλαφρότατον.

[7.5] When Philip, the son of Demetrius, reached man's estate, and Antigonos without reluctance handed over the sovereignty of the Macedonians, he struck fear into the hearts of all the Greeks. He copied Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was not his ancestor but really his master, especially by flattering those who were willing to betray their country for their private advantage. At banquets he would give the right hand of friendship offering cups filled not with wine but with deadly poison, a thing which I believe never entered the head of Philip the son of Amyntas, but poisoning sat very lightly on the conscience of Philip the son of Demetrius.

[6] κατεῖχε δὲ καὶ τρεῖς πόλεις φρουραῖς ὀρμητήρια εἶναι οἱ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ὠνόμαζε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπεροψίας κλεῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς πόλεις ταύτας· ἐπὶ μὲν γε Πελοποννήσῳ Κόρινθος καὶ ἡ Κορινθίων ἀκρόπολις ἐτετείχιστο, ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτοῖς τε καὶ Φωκεῦσι Χαλκὶς ἡ πρὸς τῷ Εὐρίπῳ, κατὰ δὲ Θεσσαλῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνους Μαγνησίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Πήλιον κατεῖχεν ὁ Φίλιππος. μάλιστα δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν ἐπιστρατείας τε συνεχέσιν ἐπίεξε καὶ ληστῶν καταδρομαῖς·

[7.6] He also occupied with garrisons three towns to be used as bases against Greece, and in his insolent contempt for the Greek people he called these cities the keys of Greece. To watch Peloponnesus Corinth was fortified with its citadel; to watch Euboea, the Boeotians and the Phocians, Chalcis on the Euripus; against the Thessalians themselves and the Aetolian people Philip occupied Magnesia at the foot of Mount Pelium. The Athenians especially and the Aetolians he harried with continual attacks and raids of bandits.

[7] ἐμνημόνευσε δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ, ὅσοι τε Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων ἐναντία Φιλίππου συνήραντο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας τῶν συμμάχων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἐπικουρίαν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν κατέφευγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπεπόμφεσαν καὶ οὐ πολλῷ τινι ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ μὲν ἐπικουρήσοντας Αἰτωλοῖς ἐναντία Φιλίππου, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ μᾶλλον τι ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πραγμάτων:

[7.7] Already, in my account of Attica I have described the alliances of Greeks

and barbarians with the Athenians against Philip, and how the weakness of their allies urged the Athenians to seek help from Rome. A short time before, the Romans had sent a force ostensibly to help the Aetolians against Philip, but really more to spy on the condition of Macedonia.

[8] τότε δὲ ἀποστέλλουσιν Ἀθηναίοις στρατιάν τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα Ὀτίλιον· τοῦτο γάρ οἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἦν τὸ ἐκδηλότατον, ἐπεὶ καλοῦνται γε οὐ πατρόθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ ταῦτά Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρία ὅποτε ὀλίγιστα καὶ ἔτι πλεονα ὀνόματα ἐκάστω τίθενται. τῷ δὲ Ὀτίλιῳ προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπείργειν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Αἰτωλικοῦ τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον.

[7.8] At the appeal of Athens the Romans despatched an army under Otilius, to give him the name by which he was best known. For the Romans differ from the Greeks in their being called, not by the names of their fathers, but by three names at least, if not more, given to each man. Otilius had received orders from the Romans to protect Athenians and Aetolians from war with Philip.

[9] Ὀτίλιος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς πράγμασι κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐχρῆτο, τάδε δὲ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα· Εὐβοέων γὰρ Ἑστίασαν πόλιν καὶ Ἀντίκυραν τὴν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ἐλὼν, ὑπηκόους κατ' ἀνάγκην οὔσας Φιλίππου, ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους. καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἐπύθετο ἡ βουλὴ, ἀποστέλλουσιν Ὀτίλιῳ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς Φλαμίνιον.

[7.9] Otilius carried out his orders up to a point, but displeased the Romans in certain of his acts. Hestiaea in Euboea and Anticyra in Phocis, which had been compelled to submit to Philip, he utterly destroyed. It was, I think, for this reason that the senate, when they heard the news, sent Flaminius to succeed Otilius in his command.

8. τότε δὲ ἦκων ὁ Φλαμίνιος Ἑρέτριάν τε διήρπασε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας Μακεδόνων μάχῃ νικήσας, καὶ αὐθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Κόρινθον κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Φιλίππου φρουρᾷ αὐτός τε προσεκάθητο πολιορκῶν καὶ παρὰ Ἀχαιοὺς ἅμα ἀποστέλλων ἐπήγγελλέ σφισιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς Κόρινθον στρατιᾷ, συμμάχους τε ἀξιοθησομένους καλεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἅμα εὐνοία τῇ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

[8.1] VIII. On his arrival Flaminius sacked Eretria, defeating the Macedonians who were defending it. He then marched against Corinth, which was held by Philip with a garrison, and sat down to besiege it, while at the same time he sent to the Achaeans and bade them come to Corinth with an army, if they desired to be called allies of Rome and at the same time to show their goodwill to Greece.

[2] Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἐποιοῦντο μὲν μεγάλως καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν αἰτία Φλαμίνιον καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Ὀτίλιον, οἱ μετεχειρίσαντο ὡμῶς οὕτω πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας καὶ ἀρχαίας, ἀναμαρτήτους τε οὔσας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀρχομένας· προεωρῶντο δὲ καὶ ὥς ἀντὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων Ῥωμαῖοι σφίσι τε ἤκοιεν καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ δεσπόται

προστάττειν. ῥηθέντων δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πολλῶν καὶ ἐναντίων ἀλλήλοις, τέλος οἱ εὖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνίκησαν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ Φλαμινίῳ Κόρινθον συνεπολιόρκησαν.

[8.2] But the Achaeans greatly blamed Flamininus himself, and Otilius before him, for their savage treatment of ancient Greek cities which had done the Romans no harm, and were subject to the Macedonians against their will. They foresaw too that the Romans were coming to impose their domination both on Achaeans and on the rest of Greece, merely in fact to take the place of Philip and the Macedonians. At the meeting of the League many opposite views were put forward, but at last the Roman party prevailed, and the Achaeans joined Flamininus in besieging Corinth.

[3] Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἐλευθερωθέντες μετέσχον αὐτίκα συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν, μετασχόντες καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε Ἄρατος καὶ Σικυώνιοι φρουρὰν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξήλασαν καὶ ἀπέκτειναν Περσαῖον ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου ταχθέντα ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου σύμμαχοί τε ὠνομάζοντο Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐς τὰ πάντα ἦσαν πρόθυμοι· καὶ σφισιν εἶποντο μὲν ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, μετέσχον δὲ καὶ στρατείας ἐς Αἰτωλοῦς, τρίτα δὲ ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Ἀντιόχου καὶ Σύρων.

[8.3] On being delivered from the Macedonians the Corinthians at once joined the Achaean League; they had joined it on a previous occasion, when the Sicyonians under Aratus drove all the garrison out of Acrocorinth, killing Persaeus, who had been placed in command of the garrison by Antigonus. Hereafter the Achaeans were called allies of the Romans, and in all respects right zealous allies they proved themselves to be. They followed the Romans to Macedonia against Philip; they took part in the campaign against the Aetolians; thirdly they fought side by side with the Romans against the Syrians under Antiochus.

[4] ὅσα μὲν δὴ Ἀχαιοὶ Μακεδόσιν ἢ στρατιᾷ τῇ Σύρων ἐναντία ἐτάξαντο, φιλία τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔπραξαν· ἐς δὲ Αἰτωλοῦς ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφισιν ἦν οἰκεῖα ἐγκλήματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Νάβιδος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τυραννὶς

κατελέλυτο, ἐς πλείστην ὁμότητα ἀνδρὸς ἀφικομένου, τὰ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτίκα ἐνεπεπτώκει·

[8.4] All that the Achaeans did against the Macedonians or the host of the Syrians they did because of their friendship to the Romans; but against the Aetolians they had a long standing private quarrel to settle. When the tyranny of Nabis in Sparta was put down, a tyranny marked by extreme ferocity, the affairs of Lacedaemon at once caught the attention of the Achaeans.

[5] καὶ σφᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τοῦτον ἐς σύλλογον ὑπάγονται τὸν Ἀχαϊκὸν καὶ δίκας τε ἐδίκαζόν σφισιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Σπάρτης καταβάλλουσιν ἐς ἑδαφος, οἰκοδομηθέντα μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ αὐτοσχεδίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τε τῆς Δημητρίου καὶ ὕστερον τῆς Πύρρου καὶ

Ἡπειρωτῶν στρατείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς Νάβιδος καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ὀχυρωθέντα. τὰ τε οὖν τεῖχη τῆς Σπάρτης οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθεῖλον καὶ τὰ ἐς μελέτην τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν Λυκούργου νόμων καταλύσαντες ἐπέταξαν τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἐφήβοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν.

[8.5] At this time the Achaeans brought the Lacedaemonians into the Achaean confederacy, exacted from them the strictest justice, and razed the walls of Sparta to the ground. These had been built at haphazard at the time of the invasion of Demetrius, and afterwards of the Epeirots under Pyrrhus, but under the tyranny of Nabis they had been strengthened to the greatest possible degree of safety. So the Achaeans destroyed the walls of Sparta, and also repealed the laws of Lycurgus that dealt with the training of the youths, at the same time ordering the youths to be trained after the Achaean method.

[6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐπέξεισιν αὐτοῖς μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἅτε μεγάλως τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον καὶ ὅσοι σὺν Μετέλλῳ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἦκον ἐκ Ῥώμης. ἀφίκοντο δὲ οὗτοι Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι πόλεμον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπάξοντες ἅτε εἰρήνης πρότερον ἔτι Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμομοσμένης, ὅποσα δὲ ἢ Θεσσαλοῖς ἢ τῶν ἐξ Ἡλείρου τισὶν ἐγκλήματα ἦν ἐς Φίλιππον, ταῦτα ἦκον οἱ ὁμοῦ Μετέλλῳ κρινοῦντες.

[8.6] I shall treat of this more fully in my account of Arcadia. The Lacedaemonians, deeply offended by the ordinances of the Achaeans, fled to Metellus and the other commissioners who had come from Rome. They had come, not at all to bring war upon Philip and the Macedonians, as peace had already been made between Philip and the Romans, but to judge the charges brought against Philip by the Thessalians and certain Epeirots.

[7] ἔργῳ μὲν δὴ Φίλιππος τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ Μακεδόνων ἀκμὴ καθήρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων — μαχεσάμενος γὰρ Φλαμίνιου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐναντία Φίλιππος ἐν Κυνὸς καλουμέναις κεφαλαῖς ἐν λόγοις τὸ ἦττον ἠνέγκατο, ἀλλ' ἅτε δὴ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀγωνισάμενος αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ἐκρατήθη τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς στρατιᾶς τε ἦν ἦγεν ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ὅσας εἶλεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολέμῳ παραστησάμενος, ἐξήγαγεν ἐξ ἀπασῶν τὰς φρουρὰς κατὰ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους —

[8.7] In actual fact Philip himself and the Macedonian ascendancy had been put down by the Romans; Philip fighting against the Romans under Flamininus was worsted at the place called Dog's Heads, where in spite of his desperate efforts Philip was so severely defeated in the encounter that he lost the greater part of his army and agreed with the Romans to evacuate all the cities in Greece that he had captured and forced to submit.

[8] κατὰ μέντοι τοῦ λόγου τὸ εὐπρεπὲς παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὐρητο εἰρήνην δεήσει τε παντοίαις καὶ δαπάναις χρημάτων μεγάλαις. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μακεδόνας δύναμιν τε, ἦν ἐπὶ Φιλίππου περιεβάλοντο τοῦ Ἀμύντου, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ ὑστέρου τὰ πράγματά σφισιν ἐφθάρη, Σίβυλλα οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ προεθέσπισεν:

ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ χρησθέντα:

[8.8] By prayers of all sorts, however, and by vast expenditure he secured from the Romans a nominal peace. The history of Macedonia, the power she won under Philip the son of Amyntas, and her fall under the later Philip, were foretold by the inspired Sibyl. This was her oracle:—

[9] “αὐχοῦντες βασιλεῦσι Μακεδόνες Ἀργεάδῃσιν,

ὁμῖν κοιρανέων ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῆμα Φίλιππος.

ἦτοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεσιν λαοῖσι τ’ ἄνακτας

θήσει: ὁ δ’ ὀπλότερος τιμὴν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσει,

δημηθεὶς ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπ’ ἀνδράσιν ἡφίοις τε.

“Ρωμαῖοί τε δὴ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν νεμόμενοι τῆς Εὐρώπης καθεῦλον τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντων Ἄτταλος τῆς ἐκ Περγάμου συλληχθείσης ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἔτι ἐκ Μυσίας στρατιᾶς: πρὸς δὲ ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον μᾶλλον τι ἢ Μυσία τέτραπται.

[8.9]

Ye Macedonians, boasting of your Argive kings,
To you the reign of a Philip will be both good and evil.
The first will make you kings over cities and peoples;
The younger will lose all the honor,
Defeated by men from west and east.

Now those who destroyed the Macedonian empire were the Romans, dwelling in the west of Europe, and among the allies fighting on their side was Attalus . . . who also commanded the army from Mysia, a land lying under the rising sun.

9. τότε δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ πρεσβείᾳ μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν Λακεδαιμονίων ἦρεσε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἡξίουσιν συγκαλέσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἵνα ἐν κοινῷ διδάξωσιν αὐτοὺς ἡπιώτερον μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἀπεκρίναντο μήτε ἐκείνοις Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς σύλλογον μήτε ἄλλῳ συνάξειν, ὅστις μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι ἐφ’ ὅτῳ ποιεῖται τὴν πρόσοδον παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ἔχει δόγμα. Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν περιυβρίσθαι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥώμην, πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἀληθῆ καταγγόρουν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

[9.1] IX. On the occasion to which I referred Metellus and the other commissioners resolved not to overlook the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and asked the officers of the League to summon the Achaeans to a meeting, so that they might receive all together instructions to be gentler in their treatment of Lacedaemon. The officers replied that they would call a meeting of the Achaeans neither for them nor for anyone else who had not a decree of the Roman senate approving the proposal for which the assembly

was to be held. Metellus and his colleagues, thinking that the conduct of the Achaeans was very insolent, on their arrival at Rome made before the senate many accusations against the Achaeans, not all of which were true.

[2] τούτων δὲ πλείονα ἐνεκάλουν Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀρεὺς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδας, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ δόκιμοι τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐ δίκαιοι: γενομένους γὰρ ὑπὸ Νάβιδος φυγάδας ὑπεδέξαντο αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ἀποθανόντος Νάβιδος παρὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ δήμου κατάγουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. τότε οὖν ἀναβεβηκότες καὶ οὗτοι παρὰ τὴν βουλὴν προθυμότερα ἐνέκειντο Ἀχαιοῖς: Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ σφισιν ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ θάνατον ζημίαν.

[9.2] More accusations still against the Achaeans were made by Areus and Alcibiadas, Lacedaemonians of great distinction at Sparta but ungrateful to the Achaeans. For the Achaeans gave them a welcome when exiled by Nabis, and on the tyrant's death restored them to Sparta against the will of the Lacedaemonian people. On this occasion, therefore, they too arose and attacked the Achaeans with great vehemence before the senate; accordingly, the Achaeans, at a meeting of their League, passed sentence of death upon them.

[3] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἡ βουλὴ πέμπουσιν ἄλλους τε ἄνδρας καὶ Ἄππιον Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὀρίσαι. Ἄππιος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἔμελλον μὲν οὐδὲ ὀφθέντες Ἀχαιοῖς ἔσσεσθαι καθ' ἡδονήν, οἱ Ἀρέα καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδαν ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐπῆγοντο ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀχαιοῖς ἐχθίστους: ἐλύπησαν δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν ἐπελθόντες σὺν ὀργῇ μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο ἢ πειθοῖ τοὺς λόγους.

[9.3] The Roman senate sent Appius and other commissioners to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. The mere sight of Appius and his colleagues was sure to be displeasing to the Achaeans, for they brought with them Areus and Alcibiadas, detested by the Achaeans at that time beyond all other men. The commissioners vexed the Achaeans yet more when they came to the assembly and delivered speeches more angry than conciliatory.

[4] Λυκόρτας δὲ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, οὔτε ἀξιώματι οὐδενὸς Ἀρκάδων ὕστερος καὶ τι καὶ φρόνημα κατὰ φιλίαν προσειληφώς τὴν Φιλοποίμενος, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δίκαια καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ μέμψιν τινὰ ὑπέτεινεν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Ἄππιος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Λυκόρταν λέγοντα ἐποιοῦντο ἐν χλευασμῷ καὶ Ἀρέως ἀποψηφίζονται καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδα μηδὲν ἀδίκημα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς εἶναι, Λακεδαιμονίοις τε ἀποστεῖλαι πρέσβεις ἐφιασιν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐναντία ἐφίεντες ἢ Ῥωμαίοις συγκεείμενα ἦν καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς: Ἀχαιῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶρητο ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν ἀπιέναι πρέσβεις, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἀπειρήτο μὴ πρεσβεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετεῖχον.

[9.4] But Lycortas of Megalopolis, than whom no man was more highly

esteemed among the Arcadians, and whose friendship with Philopoemen had given him something of his spirit, set forth the case for the Achaeans in a speech suggesting that the Romans were somewhat to blame. But Appius and his colleagues greeted the speech of Lycortas with jeers, acquitted Areus and Alcibiadas of any offence against the Achaeans, and permitted the Lacedaemonians to send an embassy to Rome. Such permission was a contravention of the agreement between the Romans and the Achaeans, which allowed the Achaeans as a body to send a deputation to the Roman senate but forbade any city of the Achaean League to send a deputation privately.

[5] ἀντιπρεσβευσαμένων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ λόγων ῥηθέντων ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐθις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις γενέσθαι καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς δικαστάς, Ἄππιον καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ πρότερον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν κατάγουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ ὅσων πρὸ κρίσεως ἀπελθόντων κατέγνωστο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀδικεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις τιμήματα ἔλυσαν· καὶ συντελείας μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν οὐκ ἀφίαισι, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ ξενικά σφισι διδόασιν εἶναι δικαστήρια, ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα, λαμβάνειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ ὑπέχειν τὰς κρίσεις. εἰτερίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐθις Σπαρτιάταις ὁ κύκλος τοῦ ἄστεως.

[9.5] A deputation of the Achaeans was sent to oppose the Lacedaemonians, and after speeches had been delivered by both sides before the senate, the Romans again despatched the same commissioners, Appius and his former colleagues in Greece, to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. This commission restored to Sparta those whom the Achaeans had exiled, and they remitted the penalties inflicted by the Achaeans on those who had fled before their trial and had been condemned in their absence. The Lacedaemonian connection with the Achaean League was not broken, but foreign courts were established to deal with capital charges; all other charges were to be submitted for judgment to the Achaean League. The circuit of the city walls was restored by the Spartans right from the foundations.

[6] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ οἱ κατελθόντες, βουλευόντες παντοῖα ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοῖς, λυπήσιν σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε μάλιστα ἥλιπον. Μεσσηνίους τοὺς Φιλοποίμενι θανάτου συναιτίους γενέσθαι νομισθέντας καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεπωκότας, τούτους τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀναβῆναι πείθουσιν ἐς Ῥώμην· σὺν δὲ σφισιν ἀνεληλυθότες καὶ αὐτοὶ γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπρασσον κάθοδον. ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Ἀπίου Λακεδαιμονίοις συμπροθυμουμένου μεγάλως, Ἀχαιοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ παντὶ ἀντιβαίνοντος, ἐμελλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς φεύγουσι τὰ βουλευόμενα ἐς δέον χωρήσειν· γράμματά τε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τε Ἀθήνας κατεπέμπετο καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν κατάγειν σφᾶς Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα.

[9.6] The restored Lacedaemonian exiles carried on various intrigues against the Achaeans, hoping to vex them most by the following plot. They persuaded to

go up to Rome the exiles of the Achaeans, along with the Messenians who had been held to be involved in the death of Philopoemen and banished on that account by the Achaeans. Going up with them to Rome they intrigued for the restoration of the exiles. As Appius was a zealous supporter of the Lacedaemonians and opposed the Achaeans in everything, the plans of the Messenian and Achaean exiles were bound to enjoy an easy success. Despatches were at once sent by the senate to Athens and Aetolia, with instructions to bring back the Messenians and Achaeans to their homes.

[7] τοῦτο Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠνίασεν, ὥς οὔτε ἄλλως πάσχοντας δίκαια ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀνωφελὲς προὔπηγμένων σφίσιν ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Αἰτωλῶν ἐναντία καὶ αὐθις Ἀντιόχου στρατεύσαντες χάριτι τῇ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐγίνοντο ὕστεροι φυγάδων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ καθαρῶν χειρας: ὁμως δὲ εἴκειν σφίσιν ἐδόκει.

[9.7] This caused the greatest vexation to the Achaeans. They bethought themselves of the injustice they had suffered at the hands of the Romans, and how all their services had proved of no avail; to please the Romans they had made war against Philip, against the Aetolians and afterwards against Antiochus, and after all there was preferred before them a band of exiles, whose hands were stained with blood. Nevertheless, they decided to give way.

10. τότε μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐπράχθη: τολμημάτων δὲ τὸ ἀνοσιώτατον, τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἄνδρας προδίδοναι πολίτας ἐπὶ οἰκείους κέρδεσιν, ἔμελλε καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς κακῶν ἄρξειν, οὔποτε ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου παντὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκλιπόν. ἐπὶ μὲν γε Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου βασιλεύοντος Περσῶν Ἴωσι τὰ πράγματα ἐφθάρη Σαμίων πλὴν ενός τε καὶ δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἄλλων τριηράρχων τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἰώνων προδόντων:

[10.1] X. Such were the events that took place on this occasion. The most impious of all crimes, the betrayal for private gain of fatherland and fellow-citizens, was destined to be the beginning of woes for the Achaeans as for others, for it has never been absent from Greece since the birth of time. In the reign of Dareius, the son of Hystaspes, the king of Persia, the cause of the Ionians was ruined because all the Samian captains except eleven betrayed the Ionian fleet.

[2] μετὰ δὲ Ἴωνας κεχειρωμένους ἠνδραποδίσαντο καὶ Ἑρέτρια Μῆδοι, προδόται δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες μάλιστα ἐν Ἑρετρία Φίλαγρος Κυνέου καὶ Εὐφορβος Ἀλκιμάχου. Ξέρξη δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλαύνοντι Θεσσαλία τε δι' Ἀλεῦδαδου προεδόθη, Θήβας δὲ Ἀτταγῖνος καὶ Τιμηγενίδας προδιδόασι φερόμενοι τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Θήβαις. Πελοποννησίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πολεμησάντων Ξενίας Ἥλεϊος ἐπεχείρησεν Ἥλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀγίδι προδοῦναι, οἱ τε Λυσάνδρου καλούμενοι ξένοι χρόνον

[10.2] After reducing Ionia the Persians enslaved Eretria also, the most famous citizens turning traitors, Philagrus, the son of Cyneas, and Euphorbus, the son of Alcimachua. When Xerxes invaded Greece, Thessaly was betrayed by

Alaeudes, and Thebes by Attaginus and Timegenidas, who were the foremost citizen of Thebes. After the Peloponnesian war, Xenias of Elis attempted to betray Elis to the Lacedaemonians under Agis,

[3] οὐδένα ἀνέσαν πατρίδας ἐγχειρίζοντες Λυσάνδρῳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἀμύντου Λακεδαίμονα πόλεων μόνην οὐ προδοθεῖσαν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν εὖροι τις ἄν· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ προδοσίας μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ νόσου πρότερον τῆς λοιμώδους ἐφθάρησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Φιλίππου παρέσχεν ἡ εὐτυχία μικρὰ ἀνδρῶν προδοτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου προσδεηθῆναι.

[10.3] and the so-called “friends” of Lysander at no time relaxed their efforts to hand over their countries to him. In the reign of Philip, the son of Amyntas, Lacedaemon is the only Greek city to be found that was not betrayed; the other cities in Greece were ruined more by treachery than they had been previously by the plague. Alexander, the son of Philip, was so favoured by fortune that he had little need worth mentioning of traitors.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐν Λαμῖα πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Ἑλλήσιν, Ἀντίπατρος μὲν, ἅτε διαβῆναι ποιούμενος σπουδὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεμον, ἐβούλετο εἰρήνην ἐν τάχει συντίθεσθαι, καὶ οἱ διέφερον οὐδὲν εἰ Ἀθήνας τε ἐλευθέραν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα ἀφήσει· Δημάδης δὲ καὶ ὅσον προδοτῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἄλλο ἦν, ἀναπειθουσιν Ἀντίπατρον μηδὲν ἐς Ἑλλήνας φρονῆσαι φιλάνθρωπον, ἐκφοβήσαντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων τὸν δῆμον ἐς τε Ἀθήνας καὶ πόλεων τῶν ἄλλων τὰς πολλὰς ἐγένοντο αἵτιοι Μακεδόνων ἐσαχθῆναι φρουράς.

[10.4] But when the Greeks suffered defeat at Lamia, Antipater, in his eagerness to cross over to the war in Asia, wished to patch up a peace quickly, and it mattered nothing to him if he left free Athens and the whole of Greece. But Demades and the other traitors at Athens persuaded Antipater to have no kindly thoughts towards the Greeks, and by frightening the Athenian people were the cause of Macedonian garrisons being brought into Athens and most other cities.

[5] βεβαιῶ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τὸν λόγον· Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἐγένοντο Φιλίππου κατήκοοι, ἀλόντων μὲν σφισι δισχιλίων, ὥς ἐκρατήθησαν, παρὰ τὸ ἔργον, χιλίων δὲ φονευθέντων· ἐν Λαμῖᾳ δὲ περὶ διακοσίους πεσόντων καὶ οὐ πλέον τι, Μακεδόσιν ἐδουλώθησαν. οὕτω μὲν οὐποτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέλειπον οἱ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ νοσήσαντες· Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιὸς Καλλικράτης τηνικαῦτα ἐς ἅπαν ἐποίει Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχείριους. ἀρχὴ δὲ σφισιν ἐγίνετο κακῶν Περσεὺς καὶ ἡ Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴ καταλυθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

[10.5] My statement is confirmed by the following fact. The Athenians after the disaster in Boeotia did not become subjects of Philip, although they lost two thousand prisoners in the action and one thousand killed. But when about two hundred at most fell at Lamia they were enslaved by the Lacedaemonians. So

the plague of treachery never failed to afflict Greece, and it was an Achaean, Callicrates, who at the time I speak of made the Achaeans completely subject to Rome. But the beginning of their troubles proved to be Perseus and the destruction by the Romans of the Macedonian empire.

[6] Περσεῖ τῷ Φιλίππου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἄγοντι εἰρήνην κατὰ συνθήκας, ἃς ὁ πατήρ οἱ Φίλιππος ἐποιήσατο, ἐπῆλθεν ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ ἐπὶ τε Σαπαίους καὶ Σαπαίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀβρούπολιν στράτευμα ἀγαγὼν ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ὄντας· Σαπαίων δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν ἰάμβῳ μνήμην ἔσχε.

[10.6] Perseus, the son of Philip, who was at peace with Rome in accordance with a treaty his father Philip had made, resolved to break the oaths, and leading an army against the Sapaean and their king Abrupolis, allies of the Romans, made their country desolate. These Sapaean Archilochus mentions in an iambic line.

[7] Μακεδόνων δὲ καὶ Περσέως κεχειρωμένων πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ ἐς Σαπαίους ἀδίκημα, ἄνδρες τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς δέκα ἐπέμφθησαν καταστησόμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδεύοντες Ῥωμαίοις τὰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἦκοντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπῆρχετο ὁ Καλλικράτης οὔτε ἔργον τῶν ἐς τὴν κολακείαν οὔτε λόγον οὐδένα ἐς αὐτοὺς παριεῖς· ἓνα δὲ τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα οὐδαμῶς ἐς δικαιοσύνην πρόθυμον, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα προσεποιήσατο ὁ Καλλικράτης ἐς τοσοῦτον ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἔπεισεν.

[10.7] The Macedonians and Perseus were conquered because of this wrong done to the Sapaean, and afterwards ten Roman senators were sent to arrange the affairs of Macedonia in the best interests of the Romans. When they came to Greece, Callicrates curried favour with them, no form of flattery, whether in word or in deed, being too gross for him to use. One member of the commission, a most dishonorable man, Callicrates so captivated that he actually persuaded him to attend the meeting of the Achaean League.

[8] ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν σύλλογον ἐσῆλθεν, ἔλεγεν ὡς πολεμοῦντι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Περσεῖ χρήματα οἱ δυνατάτατοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παράσχοιεν, συνάraito δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα· ἐκέλευσεν οὖν καταγνῶναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς θάνατον· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καταγνοῖεν, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὀνόματα ἐρεῖν ἔφασκε τῶν ἀνδρῶν. λέγειν τε δὴ ἐδόκει παντάπασιν ἄδικα καὶ αὐτὸν ἠξιοῦν οἱ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον ἐληλυθότες ἦδη, εἰ Περσεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀχαιῶν τινες ἔπραξαν, ὀνομαστὶ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου μνησθῆναι, πρότερον δὲ οὐ σφᾶς καταγινώσκειν εἰκὸς εἶναι.

[10.8] When he entered the assembly he declared that while Perseus was at war with Rome the most influential Achaeans, besides helping him generally, had supplied him with money. So he required the Achaeans to condemn them to death. After their condemnation, he said, he would himself disclose the names of the culprits. His words were regarded as absolutely unfair, and the members present demanded that, if certain Achaeans had sided with Perseus, their individual names should be mentioned, it being unreasonable to condemn

them before this was done.

[9] ἔνθα δὴ ὡς ἡλέγγετο ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς οἱ ἐστρατηγηκότες Ἀχαιῶν ἐνέχονται πάντες τῇ αἰτίᾳ: πάντας γὰρ φρονῆσαι τὰ Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Περσέως. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ διδασκαλίᾳ Καλλικράτους: ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ξένων — ἦν δὲ ὁ Ξένων οὗτος οὐκ ἐλαχίστου λόγου παρὰ Ἀχαιοῖς—οὕτως ἔφη 'κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει ταύτην: ἐστρατήγησα μὲν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐγώ, ἀδικίας δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους οὔτε εὐνοίας μοι μέτεστιν ἐς Περσέα: καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐθέλω μὲν ἐν συνεδρίῳ τῷ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐθέλω δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέχειν κρίσιν.' ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ συνειδότος ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἀγαθοῦ:

[10.9] Thereupon the Roman, as he was getting the worst of the argument, brazenly asserted that every Achaeian who had held the office of general was included in his accusation, since one and all had favoured the cause of the Macedonians and Perseus. This he said at the bidding of Callicrates. After him rose Xenon, a man of great repute among the Achaeians, and said "The truth about this accusation is as follows. I myself have served the Achaeians as their general, but I am guilty neither of treachery to Rome nor of friendship to Perseus. I am therefore ready to submit to trial either before the Achaeian diet or before the Romans themselves." This frank speech was prompted by a clear conscience,

[10] ὁ δὲ ἐπελάβετο αὐτίκα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῆς προφάσεως, καὶ ὁπόσοις Καλλικράτης ἐπῆγεν αἰτίαν Περσεῖ σφᾶς φρονῆσαι τὰ αὐτά, ἀνέπεμπεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρίσιν τῷ Ῥωμαίων ὑφέζοντα. ὁ μὴ πω κατειλήφει πρότερον Ἑλληνας: οὐδὲ γὰρ παρὰ Μακεδόνων οἱ ἰσχύσαντες μέγιστον, Φίλιππος Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας σφίσιν Ἑλλήνων ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐβίασαντο ἀποσταλῆναι, διδόναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἀμφικτύουσιν εἶων λόγον.

[10.10] but the Roman at once grasped the pretext, and sent for trial before the Roman court all those whom Callicrates accused of supporting Perseus. Never before had Greeks been so treated, for not even the most powerful of the Macedonians, Philip, the son of Amyntas, and Alexander, despatched by force to Macedonia the Greeks who were opposed to them, but allowed them to plead their case before the Amphictyons.

[11] τότε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὄντινα καὶ ἀναίτιον Καλλικράτης ἐθελήσειεν αἰτιάσασθαι, ἀνάγεσθαι πάντα τινὰ ἐκεκύρωτο ἐς Ῥώμην: καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ χιλίους οἱ ἀναχθέντες. τούτους ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προκατεγνώσθαι νομίζοντες ἕς τε Τυρσηνίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐκεῖ διέπεμψαν πόλεις, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρεσβείας τε καὶ ἱκεσίας ἐπιτεμπόντων λόγον ἐποιοῦντο οὐδένα.

[10.11] But on this occasion it was decided to send up to Rome every one of the Achaeian people, however innocent, whom Callicrates chose to accuse. They amounted to over a thousand men. The Romans, holding that all these had

already been condemned by the Achaeans, distributed them throughout Etruria and its cities, and though the Achaeans sent embassy after embassy to plead on behalf of the men, no notice was taken of the petitions.

[12] ἐπτακαιδεκάτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει τριακοσίους ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσονας, οἳ μόνοι περὶ Ἰταλίαν Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐλείποντο, ἀφιᾶσιν, ἀποχρώντως κολασθῆναι σφᾶς ἡγούμενοι. ὅσοι δὲ ἀποδράντες ὄχοντο ἢ εὐθὺς ἡνίκα ἀνήγοντο ἐς Ῥώμην ἢ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αἷς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέμφθησαν, πρόφασις οὐδεμία ἦν τούτους ἀλόντας μὴ ὑποσχεῖν δίκην.

[10.12] Sixteen years later, when the number of Achaeans in Italy was reduced to three hundred at most, the Romans set them free, considering that their punishment was sufficient. But those who ran away, either at once when they were being brought up to Rome, or later on from the cities to which the Romans sent them, were saved from punishment by no defence if they were recaptured.

11. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὖθις ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καταπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα: ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἦν Γάλλος, ἀπέσταλτο δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης γενέσθαι δικαστῆς. οὗτος ὁ Γάλλος ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἔπραξεν ὑπερήφανα, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους τὸ παράπαν ἔθετο ἐν χλευασίᾳ:

[11.1] XI. The Romans again despatched a senator to Greece. His name was Gallus, and his instructions were to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives in the case of a disputed piece of territory. This Gallus on many occasions behaved towards the Greek race with great arrogance, both in word and deed, while he made a complete mock of the Lacedaemonians and Argives.

[2] πόλεσι γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡκούσαις ἀξιώματος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄρων τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν παλαιότερα ἐς οὐκ ἀφανῆ πόλεμον καὶ ἔργα οὕτως ἀφειδῆ προαχθείσαις, κριθείσαις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον παρὰ δικαστῇ κοινῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Ἀμύντου, αὐτὸς μὲν σφισιν ὁ Γάλλος ἀπηξίωσε δικαστῆς καταστῆναι, Καλλικράτει δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνδρὶ ἀλάστορι ἐπιτρέπει τὴν κρίσιν.

[11.2] These states had reached the highest degree of renown, and in a famous war of old had poured out their blood like water because of a dispute about boundaries, while later Philip, the son of Amyntas, had acted as arbitrator to settle their differences; yet now Gallus disdained to arbitrate in person, and entrusted the decision to Callicrates, the most abominable wretch in all Greece.

[3] ἀφίκοντο δὲ ὥς τὸν Γάλλον καὶ Αἰτωλῶν οἱ Πλευρῶνα οἰκοῦντες, συντελείας τῆς ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐθέλοντες ἄφεσιν εὔρασθαι: καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπετράπη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλλου πρεσβείαν ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀποστεῖλαι, ἐπετράπη δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀποστῆναι. προσεπεστάλη δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ Γάλλῳ πόλεις ὁπόσας ἐστὶν οἷός τε ὥς

πλείστας ἀφεῖναι συλλόγου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν.

[11.3] There also came to Gallus the Aetolians living at Pleuron, who wished to detach themselves from the Achaean confederacy. Gallus allowed them to send on their own an embassy to Rome, and the Romans allowed them to secede from the Achaean League. The senate also commissioned Gallus to separate from the Achaean confederacy as many states as he could.

[4] ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐποίει, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἀνάγκη πλεόν ἢ ἐκουσίως διαρπάζουσιν Ὠρωπὸν ὑπήκοόν σφισιν οὔσαν: πενίας γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον Ἀθηναῖοι τηνικαῦτα ἦκον ἅτε ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων πολέμῳ πιεσθέντες μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων. καταφεύγουσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν οἱ Ὠρώπιοι: καὶ δόξαντες παθεῖν οὐ δίκαια, καὶ ἐπεστάλη Σικυωνίοις ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιβάλλειν σφᾶς Ἀθηναίους ἐς Ὠρωπίους ζημίαν κατὰ τῆς βλάβης ἣς ἤρξαν τὴν ἀξίαν.

[11.4] While he was carrying out his instructions, the Athenian populace sacked Oropus, a state subject to them. The act was one of necessity rather than of free-will, as the Athenians at the time suffered the direst poverty, because the Macedonian war had crushed them more than any other Greeks. So the Oropians appealed to the Roman senate. It decided that an injustice had been committed, and instructed the Sicyonians to inflict a fine on the Athenians commensurate with the unprovoked harm done by them to Oropus.

[5] Σικυώνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀφικομένοις ἐς καιρὸν τῆς κρίσεως Ἀθηναίους ζημίαν πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἐπιβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἡ βουλὴ δεηθείσιν Ἀθηναίους ἀφήσι πλὴν τάλαντων ἑκατὸν τὴν ἄλλην ζημίαν: ἐξέτισαν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ δώροις ὑπελθόντες Ὠρωπίους ὑπάγονται σφᾶς ἐς ὁμολογίαν φρουρὰν τε Ἀθηναίων ἐσελθεῖν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν καὶ ὁμήρους λαβεῖν παρὰ Ὠρωπίων Ἀθηναίους: ἦν δὲ αὖθις ἐς Ἀθηναίους γένηται ἔγκλημα Ὠρωπίοις, τὴν φρουρὰν τότε ἀπάγειν παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ ὀπίσω τοὺς ὁμήρους.

[11.5] When the Athenians did not appear in time for the trial, the Sicyonians inflicted on them a fine of five hundred talents, which the Roman senate on the appeal of the Athenians remitted with the exception of one hundred talents. Not even this reduced fine did the Athenians pay, but by promises and bribes they beguiled the Oropians into an agreement that an Athenian garrison should enter Oropus, and that the Athenians should take hostages from the Oropians. If in the future the Oropians should have any complaint to make against the Athenians, then the Athenians were to withdraw their garrison from Oropus and give the hostages back again.

[6] χρόνος τε δὴ οὐ πολὺς ὁ μεταξὺ ἦνυστο, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀδικοῦσιν ἄνδρες Ὠρωπίους. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέστελλον ὁμήρους τε ἀπαιτήσοντας καὶ φρουρὰν σφισιν ἐξάγειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ἐροῦντας: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα ἔφασαν ποιήσειν, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ οὐ τοῦ

Ἀθηναίων δήμου τὸ ἀμάρτημα εἶναι: τοὺς μέντοι αὐτὰ εἰργασμένους ἐπηγγέλλοντο ὑφέξειν δίκην.

[11.6] After no long interval the Oropians were wronged by certain of the garrison. They accordingly despatched envoys to Athens to ask for the restoration of their hostages and to request that the garrison be withdrawn according to the agreement. The Athenians refused to do either of these things, saying that the blame lay, not with the Athenian people, but with the men of the garrison. They promised, however, that the culprits should be brought to account.

[7] οἱ δὲ Ὠρώπιοι καταφεύγοντες ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἐδέοντο τιμωρῆσαι σφισιν: Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ἤρεσκε μὴ τιμωρεῖν φιλία τε καὶ αἰδοῖ τῇ Ἀθηναίων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ὠρώπιοι Μεναλκίδα, Λακεδαιμονίῳ μὲν γένος, στρατηγοῦντι δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀχαιῶν, ὑπισχνοῦνται δέκα ταλάντων δόσιν, ἣν σφισιν ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀχαιοὺς ἄγῃ: ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων μεταδώσειν Καλλικράτει τὸ ἥμισυ ὑπισχνεῖτο, ἰσχύοντι διὰ φιλίαν τὴν Ρωμαίων ἐν Ἀχαιοῖς μέγιστον.

[11.7] The Oropians then appealed to the Achaeans for aid, but these refused to give it out of friendship and respect for the Athenians. Thereupon the Oropians promised Menalcidas, a Lacedaemonian who was then general of the Achaeans, a gift of ten talents if he would induce the Achaeans to help them. Menalcidas promised half of the money to Callicrates, who on account of his friendship with the Romans had most influence among the Achaeans.

[8] προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Καλλικράτους πρὸς τὴν Μεναλκίδου γνώμην ἐκεκύρωτο κατὰ Ἀθηναίων ἀμύνειν Ὠρωπίοις. καὶ τις ἐξαγγέλλει ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: οἱ δὲ ὥς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχεν ἐς τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἐλθόντες καὶ αὐθις κατασύραντες εἴ τι ἐν ταῖς προτέραις παρεῖτο σφισιν ἀρπαγαῖς, ἀπάγουσι τὴν φρουράν. Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ὑστερήσαντας τῆς βοηθείας Μεναλκίδας μὲν καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπειθον: ἀνθισταμένων δὲ ἄλλων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα.

[11.8] Callicrates was persuaded to adopt the plan of Menalcidas, and it was decided to help the Oropians against the Athenians. News of this was brought to the Athenians, who, with all the speed each could, came to Oropus, again dragged away anything they had overlooked in the previous raids, and brought away the garrison. As the Achaeans were too late to render help, Menalcidas and Callicrates urged them to invade Attica. But they met with opposition, especially from Lacedaemon, and the army withdrew.

12. Ὠρώπιοι δὲ καὶ ὠφελείας σφίσιν οὐ γενομένης τῆς παρὰ Ἀχαιῶν, ὅμως ὑπὸ Μεναλκίδα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεπράχθησαν: ὁ δὲ ὥς τὸ δωροδόκημα εἶχεν ἐν χειρὶ, ἐποιεῖτο συμφορὰν εἰ καὶ Καλλικράτει μεταδώσει τῶν λημμάτων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀναβολαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις ἐχρῆτο ἐς τὴν δόσιν, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐτόλμησεν ἀποστερεῖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως.

[12.1] XII. Though the Oropians had received no help from the Achaeans, nevertheless Menalcidas extorted the money from them. But when he had the bribe in his hands, he began to think it hard luck that he had to share his gains with Callicrates. At first he had recourse to procrastination and deceit about payment, but shortly he plucked up courage and flatly refused to give anything.

[2] βεβαιοὶ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ὡς ἄρ' ἦν καὶ πῦρ ἐς πλεόν ἄλλου πυρὸς καῖον καὶ λύκος ἀγριώτερος λύκων ἄλλων καὶ ὠκύτερος ἰέραξ ἰέρακος πέτεσθαι, εἶγε καὶ Καλλικράτην ἀνοσιώτατον τῶν τότε Μεναλκίδας μὲν ὑπερῆρεν ἀπιστία, Καλλικράτην, ὃς ἐλάσσων παντοίου λήμματος καὶ ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ οἰκείῳ κέρδει πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀπηχθημένος παυσάμενον μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς Μεναλκίδα ἐδίωκεν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς θανάτου δίκην: πρεσβεῦσαι τε γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν ἐναντία ἔφασκεν αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενέσθαι πρόθυμον ἐξελέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν.

[12.2] It confirms the truth of the proverb that one fire burns more fiercely than another, one wolf is more savage than other wolves, one hawk swifter than another, that Menalcidas outdid in treachery Callicrates, the worst rascal of his time, one who could never resist a bribe of any kind. He fell foul of the Athenians without gaining anything, and, when Menalcidas laid down his office, accused him before the Achaeans on a capital charge. He said that Menalcidas, when on an embassy to Rome, had worked against the Achaeans and had done all he could to separate Sparta from the Achaean League.

[3] ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἀφικνεῖτο ἐς πᾶν ὁ Μεναλκίδας κινδύνου, μεταδίδωσι τάλαντα τρία τῶν ἐξ Ὡρωποῦ Μεγαλοπολίτη Δαίῳ. ἐγεγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχῆς διάδοχος τῆς Ἀχαιῶν ὁ Δάιος: τότε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λήμματος προθυμούμενος ἔμελλε Μεναλκίδα καὶ ἀκόντων Ἀχαιῶν σωτηρίαν παρέξειν. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἀφέσει τοῦ Μεναλκίδα ἰδίᾳ τε ἕκαστος καὶ ἐν κοινῷ Δάιον ἐποιοῦντο ἐν αἰτίᾳ: Δάιος δὲ σφᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων μετῆγεν ἐς πραγμάτων ἐλπίδα μειζόνων, προφάσει χρώμενος τοιᾷδε ἐς τὴν ἀπάτην.

[12.3] Thereupon, as the danger he ran was extreme, Menalcidas gave three of the talents he received from Oropus to Diaeus of Megalopolis, who had succeeded him as general of the Achaeans, and on this occasion was so active, because of the bribe, that he succeeded in saving Menalcidas in spite of the opposition of the Achaeans. The Achaeans, individually and as a body, held Diaeus responsible for the acquittal of Menalcidas, but he distracted their attention from the charges made against him by directing it towards more ambitious hopes, using to deceive them the following pretext.

[4] Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν: καταφεύγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ἡ βουλή δικάζεσθαι τὰ ἄλλα πλὴν ψυχῆς ἐν συνεδρίῳ τῷ Ἀχαιῶν. ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο: Δάιος δὲ οὐ τὸν ὄντα ἔλεγεν Ἀχαιοῖς λόγον, ψυχαγωγῶν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων σφίσιν ἐφεῖσθαι βουλῆς καὶ θάνατον ἀνδρὸς καταγνῶναι τῶν ἐκ

Σπάρτης.

[12.4] The Lacedaemonians appealed to the Roman senate about a disputed territory, and the senate replied to the appeal by decreeing that all except capital cases should be under the jurisdiction of the Achaean League. Such was the senate's answer, but Diaeus did not tell the Achaeans the truth, but cajoled them by the declaration that the Roman senate had committed to them the right to condemn a Spartan to death.

[5] οἱ μὲν δὴ δικάζειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡξίουσιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔτε ἀληθῆ συνεχώρουν Δίαιον λέγειν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἤθελον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἀντελαμβάνοντο αὐθις ἄλλου λόγου, πόλεις ὅσαι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς μηδεμίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς καθεστηκέναι κυρίαν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἰδίᾳ πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν.

[12.5] So the Achaeans claimed the right to try a Lacedaemonian on a capital charge, but the Lacedaemonians would not admit that Diaeus spoke the truth, and wished to refer the point to the Roman senate. But the Achaeans seized another pretext, that no state belonging to the Achaean League had the right to send an embassy on its own to the Roman senate, but only in conjunction with the rest of the League.

[6] πόλεμός τε δὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων τούτων Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρχετο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνιέντες οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς εἶναι πρεσβεΐαις ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν Δίαιον λόγοις. αἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ αἱ πόλεις ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐ σφισιν ἔξοδον ἐπαγγέλλοντος στρατηγοῦ παρακούειν εἶναι νόμον· Δίαιος γὰρ ἦρχε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἔφασκεν οὐ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τοῖς δὲ ταράσσουσιν αὐτὴν πολεμήσων ἀφίξεσθαι.

[12.6] These disputes were the cause of a war between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and the former, realizing that they were not a match for their opponents, sent envoys to their cities and entered into personal negotiations with Diaeus. The cities all made the same reply, that it was unlawful to turn a deaf ear to their general when he proclaimed a campaign; for Diaeus, who was in command of the Achaeans, declared that he would march to make war, not on Sparta but on those that were troubling her.

[7] ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν γερόντων ὁπόσους ἡγοῖτο ἀδικεῖν, ἐσπέμπει σφίσι τεσσάρων ὀνόματα ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἴκοσι πρωτευόντων τὰ πάντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ. ἐνταῦθα Ἀγασισθένης ἐνίκησε γνώμῃ δοκίμου καὶ τὰ πρότερα ὄντος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς παραινέσεως ταύτης προελθόντος καὶ ἐς πλεον δόξης· ὃς τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐθελοντάς φεύγειν μηδὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἐργάσασθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ πόλεμον, φυγόντας δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην καταχθῆσεσθαι σφᾶς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐφασκεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

[12.7] When the Spartan senate inquired how many he considered were guilty, he reported to them the names of twenty-four citizens of the very front rank in

Sparta. Thereupon was carried a motion of Agasisthenes, whose advice on this occasion enhanced the already great reputation he enjoyed. He bade the twenty-four to go into voluntary exile from Lacedaemon, instead of bringing war upon Sparta by remaining where they were; if they exiled themselves to Rome, he declared, they would before long be restored to their country by the Romans.

[8] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες ὑπήγοντο ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐς δικαστήριον τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἦσαν κατεγνωσμένοι: ἀπεστάλησαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν Καλλικράτης ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ Δίαιος τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀντιδικήσοντας ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Καλλικράτης τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, οὐδὲ οἶδα εἰ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ὠφέλησεν ἄν τι Ἀχαιοὺς ἢ κακῶν σφισιν ἐγένετο μειζόνων ἀρχή: Δίαιος δὲ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν Μεναλκίδα καταστάς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε, τὰ δὲ ἤκουσεν οὐ σὺν κόσμῳ.

[12.8] So they departed, underwent a nominal trial at Sparta, and were condemned to death. The Achaeans on their side despatched to Rome Callicrates and Diaeus to oppose the exiles from Sparta before the senate. Callicrates died of disease on the journey, and even if he had reached Rome I do not know that he would have been of any assistance to the Achaeans – perhaps he would have been the cause of greater troubles. The debate between Diaeus and Menalcidas before the senate was marked by fluency rather than by decency on either side.

[9] καὶ σφισιν ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ βουλή ἀποστέλλειν πρέσβεις, οἱ κρινοῦσιν ὅσα Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς διάφορα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Ῥώμης πρέσβεσι σχολαιτέρα πῶς ἐγένετο ἡ ὁδός, ὥστε ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπῆρχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Διαίῳ τε Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Μεναλκίδα Λακεδαιμονίους: τοὺς μὲν δὴ παρήγεν ὁ Δίαιος ὥς τὰ πάντα ἔπεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς εἰσιν ἐγνωσμένοι, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ὁ Μεναλκίδας ἡπάτα παντελῶς τοῦ συνεδρεῦειν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὺς ἀπηλλάχθαι.

[12.9] The answer of the senate to their remarks was that they were sending envoys to settle the disputes between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. The journey of the envoys from Rome proved rather slow, giving Diaeus a fresh opportunity of deceiving the Achaeans and Menalcidas of deceiving the Lacedaemonians. Diaeus misled the Achaeans into the belief that the Roman senate had decreed the complete subjection to them of the Lacedaemonians; Menalcidas deceived the Lacedaemonians into thinking that the Romans had entirely freed them from the Achaean League.

13. αὐθις οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥρμηντο Ἀχαιοὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἠθροίζετο ὑπὸ Δαμοκρίτου στρατηγεῖν τηνικαῦτα Ἀχαιῶν ἡρημένου. περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀφίκετο ἐς Μακεδονίαν στρατιά τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Μέτελλος, Ἀνδρίσκῳ τῷ Περσέῳ τοῦ Φιλίππου πολεμήσαντες ἀφεστηκότι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμος ἔμελλεν ὡς ῥᾶστα κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον Ῥωμαίοις

κριθήσεσθαι:

[13.1] XIII. So the result of the debate was that the Achaeans again came near to actual war with the Lacedaemonians, and Damocritus, who had been elected general of the Achaeans at this time, proceeded to mobilize an army against Sparta. But about this time there arrived in Macedonia a Roman force under Metellus, whose object was to put down the rebellion of Andriscus, the son of Perseus, the son of Philip. The war in Macedonia, it turned out, was easily decided in favour of the Romans,

[2] Μέτελλος δὲ ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπεσταλμένους βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράγματα ἐκέλευε, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦς τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὅπλα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην μὴ ἐπιφέρειν σφίσιν ἀπαγορεύοντας, τὴν δὲ ἐκ Ῥώμης παρουσίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν προερούοντας μένειν, οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἀπεσταλμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις δικασταὶ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς γενέσθαι.

[13.2] but Metellus urged the envoys, sent by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Asia, to parley with the chiefs of the Achaeans before making the crossing. They were to order them not to attack Sparta, but to await the arrival from Rome of the envoys sent for the purpose of arbitrating between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans.

[3] οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα Δαμοκρίτῳ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπήγγελλον ἐφθακόσιν ἔξοδον ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα πεποιῆσθαι καὶ — ἐώρων γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τὴν παραίνεσιν ἀνθεστηκότα τὰ Ἀχαιῶν — ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπὸ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσχύος ἔλαβον μὲν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπεξῆλθον ἀμυνοῦντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ, βιασθέντες δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ, ὅσον μὲν ἐς χιλίους οἱ ἡλικία μάλιστα αὐτῶν καὶ τόλμαις ἀκμάζοντες πίπτουσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατιωτικόν, ὥς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχεν, ἔφευγον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

[13.3] They delivered their instructions to the Achaeans under Damocritus when these had already begun a campaign against Lacedaemon, and so, realizing that the Achaeans were set against their advice, proceeded on their way to Asia. The Lacedaemonians, with a spirit greater than their strength, took up arms, and sallied forth to defend their country. But they were soon crushed; a thousand of their bravest youths fell in the battle, and the rest of the soldiery fled towards the city with all the haste they could.

[4] εἰ δὲ ὁ Δαμοκρίτος προθυμίαν ἐποιήσατο, τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἐσδραμεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἂν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Σπάρτης εἰς Σπάρτην: νῦν δὲ αὐτίκα τε ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ ἐχρήτο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα καταδρομαῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ἀρπαγαῖς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἢ συντόνῳ πολιορκίᾳ.

[13.4] If Damocritus had made a vigorous effort, the Achaeans could have dashed into the walls of Sparta along with the fugitives from the field of

battle. As it was, he at once recalled the Achaeans from the pursuit, and confined his future operations to raids and plunder, instead of prosecuting the siege with energy.

[5] Δαμοκρίτω μὲν οὖν ἀπαγαγόντι ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ζημίαν πεντήκοντα ἄτε ἀνδρὶ προδότῃ τάλαντα, καὶ — οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐκτίσαι — φεύγων ὄχρετο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου: Δίαιος δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μετὰ Δαμόκριτον στρατηγεῖν ἡρημένος ἀποστέιλαντι αὐθις Μετέλλῳ πρέσβεις ὁμολόγησε μηδένα ἐπάξειν Λακεδαιμονίοις πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ ἔστ' ἂν ἦκωσιν ἐκ Πώμης, ἀναμενεῖν τοὺς διαλλακτάς.

[13.5] So Damocritus withdrew his army, and the Achaeans sentenced him to pay a fine of fifty talents for his treachery. Being unable to pay, he left the Peloponnesus and went into exile. Diaeus, who was elected general after Damocritus, agreed, when Metellus sent another embassy, to involve the Lacedaemonians in no war, but to await the arrival of the arbitrators from Rome.

[6] στρατήγημα δὲ ἄλλο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους παρεῦρε τοιόνδε: τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Σπάρτης πολιίσματα ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγάγετο εὐνοίαν, ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ φρουράς, ὀρμητήρια ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀχαιοῖς εἶναι.

[13.6] But he invented another trick to embarrass the Lacedaemonians. He induced the towns around Sparta to be friendly to the Achaeans, and even introduced garrisons into them, to be Achaean bases against Sparta.

[7] Μεναλκίδας δὲ ἦρητο μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία Διαιῷ στρατηγεῖν: ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν πᾶσαν πολέμου παρασκευὴν καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀσθενῶς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς σφισιν ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας, ἴδιας ὅμως τὰς σπονδὰς ὑπερβῆναι καὶ πόλισμα Ἰασον ἐλὼν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐπόρθησεν, ἐν ὅροις μὲν χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς, Ἀχαιῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε ὑπήκοον.

[13.7] The Lacedaemonians elected Menalcidas to be their general against Diaeus, and although they were utterly unprepared for war, being especially ill-provided with money, while in addition their land had remained unsown, he nevertheless dared to break the truce, and took by assault and sacked Iasus, a town on the borders of Laconia, but at that time subject to the Achaeans.

[8] ἐξεγείρας δὲ αὐθις Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς πόλεμον ἐν ἐγκλήμασί τε ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ — οὐ γὰρ τινα ἐκ τοῦ προσδοκωμένου κινδύνου Λακεδαιμονίοις σωτηρίαν εὔρισκεν — ἀφίησιν ἐκουσίως τὴν ψυχὴν πίων φάρμακον. καὶ Μεκαλκίδα μὲν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ἄρξαντι ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νῶ τότε μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥς ἂν ὁ ἀμαθέστατος στρατηγός, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὥς ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἀδικώτατος.

[13.8] Having again stirred up war between Lacedaemonians and Achaeans he incurred blame at the hands of his countrymen, and, failing to find a way of escape for the Lacedaemonians from the peril that threatened them, he took

his own life by poison. Such was the end of Menalcidas. At the time he was in command of the Lacedaemonians, and previously he had commanded the Achaeans. In the former office he proved a most stupid general, in the latter an unparalleled villain.

14. ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Λακεδαιμονίοις δικασταὶ καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ὀρέστης· ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔχοντας τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ Δίαιον ἐκάλει παρ' αὐτόν. ἀφικομένοις δὲ ἔνθα ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς ἐσφικισμένος, ἀπεγύμνου τὸν πάντα σφίσιν ἤδη λόγον, ὡς δίκαια ἡγοῖτο ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλή μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους τελεῖν ἐς τὸ Αἰακὸν μήτε αὐτὴν Κόρινθον, ἀφεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Ἡράκλειαν τὴν πρὸς Οἴτῃ καὶ

Ὀρχομενίους Ἀρκάδας συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν· γένους τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετεῖναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰς πόλεις προσχωρῆσαι ταύτας πρὸς τὸ Αἰακόν.

[14.1] XIV. There also arrived in Greece the envoys despatched from Rome to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, among them being Orestes. He invited to visit him the magistrates in each of the Greek cities, along with Diaeus. When they arrived at his lodging, he proceeded to disclose to them the whole story, that the Roman senate decreed that neither the Lacedaemonians nor yet Corinth itself should belong to the Achaean League, and that Argos, Heracleia by Mount Oeta and the Arcadian Orchomenus should be released from the Achaean confederacy. For they were not, he said, related at all to the Achaeans, and but late-comers to the League.

[2] ταῦτα Ὀρέστου λέγοντος οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲ τὸν πάντα ὑπομείναντες ἀκοῦσαι λόγον ἔθεον ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἐκάλουν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν· οἱ δὲ ὡς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα ἐπύθοντο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, αὐτίκα ἐτρέποντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας οἱ Κόρινθω τότε ἔτυχον ἐπιδημοῦντες, συνήρπαζον δὲ πάντα τινὰ καὶ ὃν Λακεδαιμόνιον σαφῶς ὄντα ἠπίσταντο καὶ ὅτῳ κούρᾳ ἢ ὑποδημάτων ἔνεκα ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσθῇτι ἢ κατ' ὄνομα προσγένειτο ὑπόνοια· τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ καταφυγεῖν ἔνθα Ὀρέστης ᾔκει φθάνοντας ὁμῶς καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐβιάζοντο ἔλκειν.

[14.2] The magistrates of the Achaeans did not wait for Orestes to conclude, but while he was yet speaking ran out of the house and summoned the Achaeans to an assembly. When the Achaeans heard the decision of the Romans, they at once turned against the Spartans who happened to be then residing in Corinth, and arrested every one, not only those whom they knew for certain to be Lacedaemonians, but also all those they suspected to be such from the cut of their hair, or because of their shoes, their clothes or even their names. Some of them, who succeeded in taking refuge in the lodging of Orestes, they actually attempted even from there to drag away by force.

[3] Ὀρέστης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς τε τόλμης ἐπέχειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπειρῶντο καὶ ἐκέλευον μεμνησθαι σφᾶς ὡς ἀδικημάτων καὶ ὕβρεως ἄρχουσιν ἐς

Ῥωμαίους. ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλαῖς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσους εἶχον συνειληφότες, κατατίθενται σφᾶς ἐς δεσμοκτήριον, τοὺς ξένους δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διακρίνοντες ἠφίεσαν. ἀποστέλλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἄλλους τε Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ Θεαρίδαν: ὥς δὲ ἀπῆλθον, ἐντυχόντες κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον Ῥωμαίων πρέσβειν ἐπὶ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὕστερον ἢ Ὀρέστης ἀπεσταλμένοις, ὀπίσω καὶ αὐτοὶ τρέπονται.

[14.3] Orestes and his colleagues tried to check their violence, reminding them that they were committing unprovoked acts of criminal insolence against the Romans. A few days afterwards the Achaeans shut up in prison the Lacedaemonians they held under arrest, but separated from them the foreigners and let them go. They also despatched to Rome Thearidas, with certain other members of the Achaean government. These set out, but meeting on the journey the Roman envoys who had been sent after Orestes to deal with the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, they too turned back.

[4] Διαίφ δὲ ἐξήκοντος τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς στρατηγεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἡρέθη Κριτόλαος. τοῦτον δριμύς καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸν Κριτόλαον πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔρωσ ἔσχε: καὶ — ἔτυχον γὰρ τότε ἤδη οἱ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦκοντες τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν δικάσαι — ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐν Τεγέα τῇ Ἀρκάδων τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐς λόγους ὁ Κριτόλαος, ἀθροῖσαι δὲ Ἀχαιούς σφισιν ἐς κοινὸν σύλλογον οὐδαμῶς ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ ἐς μὲν ἐπήκοον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεμπεν ἀγγέλους κελεύων τοὺς συνέδρους καλεῖν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς συνέδροις ἐπέστελλεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπολείπεσθαι σφᾶς τοῦ συλλόγου.

[14.4] When the time came for Diaeus to relinquish his office, Critolaus was elected general by the Achaeans. This Critolaus was seized with a keen but utterly unthinking passion to make war against the Romans. The envoys from the Romans had by this time already arrived to adjudicate on the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and Critolaus had a conference with them at Tegea in Arcadia, being most unwilling to summon the Achaeans to meet them in a general assembly. However, in the hearing of the Romans he sent messengers with instructions to summon the deputies to the assembly, but privately he sent orders to the deputies of the various cities to absent themselves from the meeting.

[5] ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκοντο οἱ συνεδρεύσοντες, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κριτόλαος μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀπάτῃ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χρώμενος, ὃς ἄλλην ἐκέλευεν ἀναμένειν αὐτοὺς Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον, ἐς μῆνα ἐσομένην ἔκτον: αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ διαλέξεσθαι σφισιν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔφασκε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπεὶ ἀπατῶμενοι συνῆκαν, ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐς Ῥώμην: Κριτόλαος δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον Ἀχαιούς ἀθροίσας ἀνέπεισε μὲν ἐπιφέρειν ὅπλα ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην, ἀνέπεισε δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος πόλεμον ἄρασθαι.

[14.5] When the deputies did not attend, Critolaus showed very clearly how he was hoodwinking the Romans. He urged them to wait for another meeting of

the Achaeans, to take place five months later, declaring that he would not confer with them without the general assembly of the Achaeans. When the envoys realized that they were being deceived, they departed for Rome but Critolaus summoned a meeting of the Achaeans at Corinth, and persuaded them both to take up arms against Sparta and also to declare war openly on Rome.

[6] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄνδρα βασιλέα καὶ πόλιν ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον καὶ μὴ εὐτυχῆσαι συνέβη φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἔκ του δαιμόνων ἢ τοῖς πολεμήσασι ποιεῖ τὸ ἔγκλημα: θρασύτης δὲ ἢ μετὰ ἀσθενείας μανία ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτυχία καλοῖτο. ὁ δὴ καὶ Κριτόλαον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἔβλαψε. παρώξυνε δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς Πυθέας βοιωταρχῶν τηνικαῦτα ἐν Θήβαις, καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεπιλήψεσθαι προθύμως ἐπηγγέλλοντο τοῦ πολέμου:

[14.6] For a king or state to undertake a war and be unlucky is due to the jealousy of some divinity rather than to the fault of the combatants; but audacity combined with weakness should be called madness rather than ill-luck. But it was such a combination that overthrew Critolaus and the Achaeans. The Achaeans were also encouraged by Pytheas, who at that time was Boeotarch at Thebes, and the Thebans promised to give enthusiastic support in the war.

[7] ἐάλωκεσαν δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρώτην δίκην Μετέλλου δικάζοντος Φωκεῦσιν ἐκτίσαι ζημίαν, ὅτι ἐσέβαλον σὺν ὅπλοις ἐς γῆν τὴν Φωκίδα, δευτέραν Εὐβοεῦσιν, ἐδήωσαν γὰρ καὶ Εὐβοέων τὴν χώραν, τρίτην δὲ Ἀμφισσεῦσι, τεμόντες καὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ ἀκμὴν σίτου.

[14.7] The Thebans had been sentenced, at the first ruling given by Metellus, to pay a fine for invading the territory of Phocis with an armed force; at the second to compensate the Euboeans for laying waste Euboea; at the third to compensate the people of Amphissa for ravaging their territory when the corn was ripe for harvest.

15. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν διδαχθέντες οὕς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ Μέτελλος ἐπέστελλεν, ἀδικεῖν Ἀχαιῶν κατέγνωσαν: καὶ ἦν γὰρ Μόμμιος σφισιν ὑπάτος τότε ἡρμημένος, τοῦτον ναῦς τε καὶ στρατιὰν πεζὴν ἐκέλευον ἐπ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἄγειν. Μέτελλος δὲ παραντίκα ἐπέπυστο ὥς Μόμμιος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀφίκοιτο: καὶ ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν, εἰ ἐπιθéis αὐτὸς πέρας τῷ πολέμῳ φανῇ πρὶν ἢ Μόμμιον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίχθαι.

[15.1] XV. The Romans, learning the news from the envoys sent to Greece and from the despatches of Metellus, decided that the Achaeans were in the wrong, and they ordered Mummius, the consul elected for that year, to lead a fleet with a land force against them. As soon as Metellus learned that Mummius and his army were coming to fight the Achaeans, he was full of enthusiasm to bring the war to a conclusion without help before Mummius reached Greece.

[2] ἀγγέλους οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπέστελλεν, ἀφιέναι κελεύων σφᾶς συντελείας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πόλεις ἄλλας ὀπόσας εἴρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ προτέρου σφίσιν ἀπειθείας οὐδεμίαν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπισχνεῖτο ὀργὴν γενήσεσθαι. ἅμα τε δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεκηρυκεύετο καὶ ἤλαυνεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὸν στρατόν, διὰ Θεσσαλίας τὴν πορείαν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν ποιοῦμενος κόλπον. Κριτόλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ λόγον μὲν φέροντα ἐς σύμβασιν προσίεντο οὐδένα, Ἡράκλειαν δὲ προσεκάθηντο πολιορκοῦντες οὐ βουλομένους ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν συντελεῖν.

[15.2] So he despatched envoys to the Achaeans, bidding them release from the League the Lacedaemonians and the other states mentioned in the order of the Romans, promising that the Romans would entirely forgive them for their disobedience on the previous occasion. While making these proposals for peace he marched from Macedonia through Thessaly and along the gulf of Lamia. But Critolaus and the Achaeans would listen to no suggestions for an agreement, and sat down to besiege Heracleia, which refused to join the Achaean League.

[3] τότε δὲ ὡς παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κριτόλαος Μέτελλον καὶ Ῥωμαίους διαβεβηκέναι τὸν Σπερχειόν, ἀπέφευγεν ἐς Σκάρφειαν τὴν Λοκρῶν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τὸ Ἡρακλείας τε μεταξὺ καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τάξας ἐτόλμησεν ὑπομῆναι Μέτελλον· ἀλλὰ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκετο δέιματος ὡς μηδὲ αὐτὸ ποιήσασθαι τὸ χωρίον πρὸς ἀμείνωνος ἐλπίδος, ἔνθα ἦν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ἐς Μήδους, ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ἐς Γαλάτας οὐδὲν ἀφανέστερα ἐκείνων τολμήματα.

[15.3] Then, when Critolaus was informed by his scouts that the Romans under Metellus had crossed the Spercheius, he fled to Scarpheia in Locris, without daring even to draw up the Achaeans in the pass between Heracleia and Thermopylae, and to await Metellus there. To such a depth of terror did he sink that brighter hopes were not suggested even by the spot itself, the site of the Lacedaemonian effort to save Greece, and of the no less glorious exploit of the Athenians against the Gauls.

[4] ὑποφεύγοντας δὲ Κριτόλαον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς αἰροῦσιν ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Σκαρφείας οἱ ὁμοῦ τῷ Μετέλλῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τε πλῆθει πολλοὺς καὶ ἔλαβον ζῶντας ὅσον χιλίους. Κριτόλαος δὲ οὔτε ὥφθη ζῶν μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὔτε ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὐρέθη· εἰ δὲ ἐτόλμησε τῆς πρὸς τῇ Οἴτῃ θαλάσσης ἐς ταύτης καταδύναι τὸ τέλμα, παντάπασιν ἔμελλεν ἄγνωστός τε καὶ ἄπυστος οἰχῆσθαι κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ.

[15.4] Critolaus and the Achaeans took to flight, but at a short distance from Scarpheia they were overtaken by the men of Metellus, who killed many and took about a thousand prisoners. Critolaus was neither seen alive after the battle nor found among the dead. If he dared to plunge into the marsh of the sea at the foot of Mount Oeta he must inevitably have sunk into the depths without leaving a trace to tell the tale.

[5] ἐς μὲν οὖν τὴν Κριτολάου τελευτὴν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν εἰκάζειν· Ἀρκάδων δὲ ἐξεστρατευμένοι λογάδες χίλιοι, οἱ Κριτολάῳ τοῦ ἔργου μετέσχον, προῆλθον μὲν ἄχρι Ἑλατείας τῆς Φωκέων καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ συγγένειαν δὴ τινα παλαιὰν ἐδέχθησαν· ὡς δὲ τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἢ Κριτολάου συμφορὰ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἀπηγγέλλετο, ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλατείας κελεύουσι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας.

[15.5] So the end of Critolaus offers a wide field for conjecture. A thousand

picked troops of Arcadia, who had joined Critolaus in his enterprise, took the field and advanced as far as Elateia in Phocis, into which city they were received by the inhabitants on the ground of some supposed ancient connection between them. But when the Phocians heard of the disaster to Critolaus and the Achaeans, they ordered the Arcadians to depart from Elateia.

[6] ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω σφίσιν ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Μέτελλος καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐπιφαίνονται: ἔνθα δὴ ἐπελάμβανε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐκ θεῶν δίκη τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, οἱ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἀγωνιζομένους ἐγκαταλιπόντες Ἑλλήνας τότε ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

[15.6] As they were retreating to the Peloponnesus the Romans under Metellus fell upon them near Chaeroneia. It was then that the vengeance of the Greek gods overtook the Arcadians, who were slain by the Romans on the very spot on which they had deserted from the Greeks who were struggling at Chaeroneia against the Macedonians under Philip.

[7] Ἀχαιοὶς δὲ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος παρῆει Δίαιος: καὶ δούλους τε ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἤφει, τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Ἀθηναίων βούλευμα τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μιμούμενος, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν συνέλεγε καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ: ἐγένετο δέ, ἀναμεμιγμένων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκετῶν, τὸ ἄθροισθὲν ἐς ἑξακοσίους μὲν μάλιστα ἄριθμὸν ἵππεις, τὸ δὲ ὀπλιτεῦον τετρακισχίλιοι τε καὶ μύριοι.

[15.7] Diaeus once more came forward to command the Achaean army. He proceeded to set free slaves, following the example of Miltiades and the Athenians before the battle of Marathon, and enlisted from the cities of the Achaeans and Arcadians those who were of military age. The muster, including the slaves, amounted roughly to six hundred cavalry and fourteen thousand foot.

[8] ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δίαιος ἐς ἅπαν ἀφίκετο ἀνοίας, ὃς Κριτόλαον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπιστάμενος παρασκευὴν κακῶς οὕτως ἀγωνισαμένην πρὸς Μέτελλον ἀπέλεξεν αὐτὸς ὅσον τετρακισχιλίους: καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔταξεν Ἀλκαμένην. ἀπεστέλλοντο δὲ ἐς Μέγαρα φρουρά τε εἶναι Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἄστεως καί, ἣν Μέτελλος ἐπὶ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦ πρόσω σφᾶς κωλύειν.

[15.8] And here Diaeus sank into utter folly. Although he knew that Critolaus and the whole force of Achaia had put up such a poor fight against Metellus, he nevertheless detached about four thousand, put them under the command of Alcamenes, and despatched them to Megara to garrison the city, and to stay the advance of Metellus and the Romans, should they march that way.

[9] Μέτελλος δὲ ὥς οἱ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν λογάδες κατέστρωντο οἱ Ἀρκάδων, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας: Ἡράκλειάν τε γὰρ ἐπολιόρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἀγῶνος τοῦ πρὸς Σκάρφειαν

μετεσχίκεσαν. τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἐκλελοιπότες πᾶσα ἡλικία τὴν πόλιν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ ἐς τῶν ὄρων τὰ ἄκρα ἀνέφευγον.

[15.9] When the picked Arcadian troops had been overthrown near Chaeroneia, Metellus moved his army and marched against Thebes, for the Thebans had joined the Achaeans in investing Heracleia, and had taken part in the engagement of Scarpheia. Then the inhabitants, of both sexes and of all ages, abandoned the city and wandered about Boeotia, or took refuge on the tops of the mountains.

[10] Μέτελλος δὲ οὔτε ἱερὰ ἐμπιπρᾶναι θεῶν οὔτε οἰκοδομήματα καθαιρεῖν εἶα, Θηβαίων τε τῶν ἄλλων μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲνα μήτε αἰρεῖν φεύγοντα ἀπηγόρευε: Πυθέαν δὲ ἦν ἔλωσιν, ἀνάγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὥς αὐτόν: ἐξεύρητό τε δὴ αὐτίκα ὁ Πυθέας καὶ ἀναχθεῖς δίκην εἶχεν. ὥς δὲ πλησίον Μεγάρων ἐγένετο ὁ στρατός, οὔτε ὑπέμειναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκαμένην καὶ αὐτίκα ἐς Κόρινθον παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ὄχοντο φεύγοντες.

[15.10] But Metellus would not allow either the burning of sanctuaries of the gods or the destruction of buildings, and he forbade his men to kill any Theban or take prisoner any fugitive. If, however, Pytheas should be caught, he was to be brought before him. Pytheas was discovered immediately, brought before Metellus and punished. When the army approached Megara, Alcamenes and his men did not face it, but straightway fled to the camp of the Achaeans at Corinth.

[11] καὶ Μεγαρεῖς μὲν παραδιδόασιν ἁμαχεὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν, Μέτελλος δὲ ὥς ἀφίκετο παρὰ τὸν ἰσθμόν, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο καὶ τότε Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμολογίας προκαλούμενος: ἰσχυρὸς γάρ τις ἐνέκειτο αὐτῷ πόθος τὰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἀχαιῶν κατεργασθῆναι δι' αὐτοῦ.

τούτῳ μὲν ταῦτα ἐσπευκότε Δίαιος ἦναντιοῦτο ὑπὸ ἀγνωμοσύνης:

[15.11] The Megarians surrendered their city to the Romans without a blow, and when Metellus came to the Isthmus he again made overtures to the Achaeans for an agreed peace. For he was possessed of a strong desire to settle by himself the affairs of both Macedonia and Achaia. His efforts, however, were thwarted by the senselessness of Diaeus.

16. Μόμμιος δὲ Ὁρέστην ἅμα ἀγόμενος, τὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων διαφορᾷ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθόντα, ἀφίκετο μὲν περὶ ὀρθρον ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμα, ἀποπέμψας δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν Μέτελλον καὶ ὅσον εἶπετο ἐκεῖνῳ, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀθροισθῆναι παρασκευήν. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἱππικὸν μὲν πεντακόσιοί τε καὶ τρισχίλιοι, τοῦ πεζοῦ δὲ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο ἐς μυριάδας δύο προσόντων καὶ τούτοις τρισχιλίων: ἐπῆλθον δὲ καὶ τοξόται Κρήτες καὶ ἐκ Περγάμου τῆς ὑπὲρ Καΐκου Φιλοποίμην στρατιώτας ἄγων παρὰ Ἀττάλου.

[16.1] XVI. Mummius, bringing with him Orestes, the commissioner sent earlier to deal with the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans,

reached the Roman army at early dawn, and sending Metellus and his forces to Macedonia, himself waited at the Isthmus for his whole force to assemble. There came three thousand five hundred cavalry, while the infantry amounted to twenty-three thousand. They were joined by a company of Cretan archers and by Philopoemen, at the head of some troops sent by Attalus from Pergamus on the Caicus.

[2] Μόμμιος μὲν δὴ τῶν τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας τινὰς καὶ τὰ ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπωτέρω δύο τε καὶ δέκα ἔταξε σταδίοις, πρὸ τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι στρατεύματος φυλακὴν: Ἀχαιοὶ δέ, ἐχόντων ἀφυλακτότερον ὑπὸ φρονήματος τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς ἐπὶ φυλακῆς αὐτοῖς τῆς πρώτης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φονεύουσι, πλείονας δὲ ἔτι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεῖρξαν, καὶ ἀσπίδας ὅσον τε πεντακοσίας εἶλον. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἐπήρθησαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἔξοδον πρότερον πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἄρχειν μάχης:

[16.2] Certain of the Italian troops along with the auxiliaries were stationed by Mummius twelve stades away, to be an outpost for the whole army. The contempt of the Romans made them keep a careless look-out, and the Achaeans, attacking them in the first watch, killed some, drove yet more back to the camp, and took some five hundred shields. Puffed up with this success the Achaeans marched out to battle before the Romans began their attack.

[3] ὥς δὲ ἀντεπῆγε καὶ ὁ Μόμμιος, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἵππικὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ταχθέντες αὐτίκα ὄχοντο φεύγοντες, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου μηδὲ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον ὑπομείναντες: ὁ δὲ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱπέων τῇ τροπῇ, δεξάμενοι δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βιαζόμενοι τε τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἀπαγορεύοντες τοῖς τραύμασιν ὅμως ἀντεῖχον ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, πρὶν γε δὴ Ῥωμαίων λογάδες χίλιοι προσπεσόντες κατὰ τὰ πλάγια ἐς τελέαν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς φυγὴν κατέστησαν.

[16.3] But when Mummius advanced to meet them, the Achaean horse at once took to flight, without waiting for even the first charge of the Roman cavalry. The infantry were depressed at the rout of their horse, but nevertheless received the onslaught of the Roman men-at-arms; overwhelmed by numbers and faint with their wounds they offered a spirited resistance, until a thousand picked Romans fell upon their flank and utterly routed them.

[4] εἰ δὲ ἐτόλμησεν ἐσδραμεῖν μετὰ τὴν μάχην Δίαιος ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι τῷ τείχει τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, κἂν εὔρασθαι τι παρὰ Μομμίου οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐδυνήθησαν, ἐς πολιορκίαν καὶ τριβὴν πολέμου καταστάντες: νῦν δὲ ἀρχομένων ἔτι ἐνδιδόναι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐθὺς Μεγάλῃς πόλεως ἔφευγεν ὁ Δίαιος, οὐδέν τι γενόμενος ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ὅμοιος ἢ καὶ Καλλίστρατος ὁ Ἐμπέδου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

[16.4] If after the battle Diaeus had boldly thrown himself into Corinth and received the fugitives within the walls, the Achaeans might have been able to get favorable terms from Mummius, by putting him to the trouble of a protracted siege. As it was, when the Achaeans were but beginning to yield,

Diaeus fled straight for Megalopolis, his conduct towards the Achaeans showing a marked contrast to that of Callistratus, the son of Empedus, towards the Athenians.

[5] τοῦτῳ γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἵππαρχήσαντι ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στόλου μετεσχέκεσαν ἀπώλλυντο πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τότε τῷ Ἀσινάρῳ, τοῦτῳ τότε τῷ Καλλιστράτῳ παρέστη τόλμα διεκπαῖσαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄγοντι τοὺς ἱππέας· ὥς δὲ τὸ πολὺ ἀπέσωσεν αὐτῶν ἐς Κατάνην, ἀνέστρεφεν ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ὁδὸν ἐς Συρακούσας, διαρπάζοντας δὲ ἔτι εὐρὼν τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον καταβάλλει τε ὅσον πέντε ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ τραύματα ἐπικάيرا αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἵππος λαβόντες ἀφίᾳσι τὴν ψυχὴν.

[16.5] This man commanded some cavalry in Sicily, and when the Athenians and their partners in the expedition were being massacred at the river Asinarus, he courageously cut a way through the enemy at the head of his horsemen. He brought most of them safe to Catana, and then returned by the same way back to Syracuse. Finding the enemy still plundering the Athenian camp, he cut down some five of them, and then both he and his horse received mortal wounds and died.

[6] οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν

Ἀθηναίοις καὶ αὐτῷ κτώμενος περιεποίησέ τε ὧν ἤρχε καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως· Δίαιος δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπολωλεκῶς Μεγαλοπολίταις κακῶν τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἤκεν ἄγγελος, ἀποκτείνας δὲ αὐτοχειρὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ γένοιτο αἰχμάλωτος, τελευτᾷ πῶν φάρμακον, εὐκυῖαν μὲν παρασχόμενος Μενελκίδα τὴν ἐς χρήματα πλεονεξίαν, εὐκυῖαν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν θάνατον δειλίαν.

[16.6] So he won glory for the Athenians and for himself, by saving the men under his command and seeking his own death. But Diaeus having ruined the Achaeans came to tell the tidings of disaster to the people of Megalopolis, killed his wife with his own hand, just to save her from being taken prisoner, and then committed suicide by drinking poison. He may be compared to Menalcidas for his avarice, and proved equally like him in the cowardice of his death.

[7] Ἀχαιῶν δὲ οἱ ἐς Κόρινθον ἀποσωθέντες μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπεδίδρασκον ὑπὸ νύκτα εὐθύς· ἀπεδίδρασκον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν Κορινθίων οἱ πολλοί. Μόμμιος δὲ τὸ μὲν παραντίκα, ἀναπεπταμένων ὁμῶς τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπέιχεν ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον παρελθεῖν, ὑποκαθῆσθαι τινα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ὑποπτεύων ἐνέδραν· τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἤρει τε κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἔκαιε Κόρινθον.

[16.7] As soon as night fell, the Achaeans who had escaped to Corinth after the battle fled from the city, and there fled with them most of the Corinthians themselves. At first Mummius hesitated to enter Corinth, although the gates were open, as he suspected that an ambush had been laid within the walls. But on the third day after the battle he proceeded to storm Corinth and to set it on

fire.

[8] τῶν δὲ ἐγκαταληφθέντων τὸ μὲν πολὺ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φονεύουσι, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἀπέδοτο Μόμμιος· ἀπέδοτο δὲ καὶ οἰκέτας, ὅσοι τῶν ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφεθέντων καὶ μαχεσαμένων μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν μὴ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἔργον ἐτεθήκεσαν. ἀναθημάτων δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου τὰ μὲν μάλιστα ἀνήκοντα ἐς θαῦμα ἀνήγετο, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνοις οὐχ ὁμοίου λόγου Φιλοποίμενι ὁ Μόμμιος τῷ παρ' Ἀττάλου στρατηγῷ δίδωσι· καὶ ἦν Περγαμνοῖς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι λάφυρα Κορίνθια.

[16.8] The majority of those found in it were put to the sword by the Romans, but the women and children Mummius sold into slavery. He also sold all the slaves who had been set free, had fought on the side of the Achaeans, and had not fallen at once on the field of battle. The most admired votive offerings and works of art were carried off by Mummius; those of less account he gave to Philopoemen, the general sent by Attalus; even in my day there were Corinthian spoils at Pergamus.

[9] πόλεων δέ, ὅσαι Ῥωμαίων ἐναντία ἐπολέμησαν, τείχη μὲν ὁ Μόμμιος κατέλυε καὶ ὅπλα ἀφηρεῖτο πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμβούλους ἀποσταλῆναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων· ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυε, καθίστα δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς· καὶ φόρος τε ἐτάχθη τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες ἐκωλύοντο ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι· συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος τὰ ἐκάστων, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἢ Βοιωτοῖς ἢ ἐτέρωθί που τῆς Ἑλλάδος, κατελέλυτο ὁμοίως πάντα.

[16.9] The walls of all the cities that had made war against Rome Mummius demolished, disarming the inhabitants, even before assistant commissioners were despatched from Rome, and when these did arrive, he proceeded to put down democracies and to establish governments based on a property qualification. Tribute was imposed on Greece, and those with property were forbidden to acquire possessions in a foreign country. Racial confederacies, whether of Achaeans, or Phocians, or Boeotians, or of any other Greek people, were one and all put down.

[10] ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἔλεον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἐκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι, ἀφῆκαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοις ἐπιβεβλήκει Μόμμιος ζημίαν· Βοιωτοὺς τε γὰρ Ἡρακλεώταις καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις διακόσια ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτίσαι. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄφεςιν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὗροντο Ἕλληνες, ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀπεστέλλετο· καλοῦσι δὲ οὐχ Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ Ἀχαιᾶς ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνας δι' Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προεσθηκότων. ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος τέλος Ἀντιθέου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ἐξηκοστῇ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, ἦν ἐνίκα Διόδωρος Σικυώνιος.

[16.10] A few years later the Romans took pity on Greece, restored the various old racial confederacies, with the right to acquire property in a foreign

country, and remitted the fines imposed by Mummius. For he had ordered the Boeotians to pay a hundred talents to the people of Heracleia and Euboea, and the Achaeans to pay two hundred to the Lacedaemonians. Although the Romans granted the Greeks remission of these payments, yet down to my day a Roman governor has been sent to the country. The Romans call him the Governor, not of Greece, but of Achaia, because the cause of the subjection of Greece was the Achaeans, at that time at the head of the Greek nation. This war came to an end when Antitheus was archon at Athens, in the hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, at which Diodorus of Sicily was victorious.

17. ἐς ἅπαν δὲ ἀσθενείας τότε μάλιστα κατήλθεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, λυμανθεῖσα κατὰ μέρη καὶ διαπορθηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. Ἄργος μὲν, ἐς πλείστον ἀφικομένην δυνάμειος πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων, ὁμοῦ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Δωριέας ἐπέλιπε τὸ ἐκ τῆς τύχης εὐμενές:

[17.1] XVII. It was at this time that Greece was struck with universal and utter prostration, although parts of it from the beginning had suffered ruin and devastation at the hand of heaven. Argos, a city that reached the zenith of its power in the days of the heroes, as they are called, was deserted by its good fortune at the Dorian revolution.

[2] τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀττικόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου καὶ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους ἀνενεγκόν τε καὶ αὐθις ἀνανηξάμενον, ἔτεσιν ἔμελλεν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἢ Μακεδόνων ἀκμῇ καθαιρήσιν: κατέσκηψε δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ ἐς τὰς Βοιωτίας Θήβας τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μήνιμα. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ αὐθις ὁ Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος ἐγένετο: ὅτε δὲ καὶ μόγις, ἅτε ἐκ δένδρου λελωβημένου καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ πλείονα, ἀνεβλάστησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸ Ἀχαικόν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἡ κακία τῶν στρατηγησάντων ἐκόλουσεν ἔτι αὐξανόμενον.

[17.2] The people of Attica, reviving after the Peloponnesian war and the plague, raised themselves again only to be struck down a few years later by the ascendancy of Macedonia. From Macedonia the wrath of Alexander swooped like a thunderbolt on Thebes of Boeotia. The Lacedaemonians suffered injury through Epaminondas of Thebes and again through the war with the Achaeans. And when painfully, like a shoot from a mutilated and mostly withered trunk, the Achaean power sprang up, it was cut short, while still growing, by the cowardice of its generals.

[3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐς Νέρωνα ἡ βασιλεία περιήλθεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὁ Νέρων ἀφίησιν ἀπάντων, ἀλλαγὴν πρὸς δῆμον ποιησάμενος τὸν Ῥωμαίων: Σαρδῶ γὰρ τὴν νῆσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐδαίμονα ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος σφίσιν ἀντέδωκεν. ἀπιδόντι οὖν ἐς τοῦτό μοι τοῦ Νέρωνος τὸ ἔργον ὀρθότατα εἰρηκεῖν Πλάτων ἐφαίνετο ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ὅποσα ἀδικήματα μεγέθει καὶ τολμήματι ἐστὶν ὑπερηκότα, οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων, ψυχῆς δὲ γενναίας ὑπὸ ἀτόπου παιδείας διεφθαρμένης.

[17.3] At a later time, when the Roman imperial power devolved upon Nero, he

gave to the Roman people the very prosperous island of Sardinia in exchange for Greece, and then bestowed upon the latter complete freedom. When I considered this act of Nero it struck me how true is the remark of Plato, the son of Ariston, who says that the greatest and most daring crimes are committed, not by ordinary men, but by a noble soul ruined by a perverted education.

[4] οὐ μὴν Ἑλλησί γε ἐξεγένετο ὄνασθαι τοῦ δώρου: Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ μετὰ Νέρωνα ἄρξαντος ἐς ἐμφύλιον στάσιν προήχθησαν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποτελεῖς τε αὐθις ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἶναι φόρων καὶ ἀκούειν ἐκέλευσεν ἡγεμόνος, ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

[17.4] The Greeks, however, were not to profit by the gift. For in the reign of Vespasian, the next emperor after Nero, they became embroiled in a civil war; Vespasian ordered that they should again pay tribute and be subject to a governor, saying that the Greek people had forgotten how to be free.

DYME

[5] τάδε μὲν οὕτω συμβάντα εὕρισκον: Ἀχαιοὶς δὲ ὄροι καὶ Ἥλείοις τῆς χώρας ποταμός τε Λάρισος καὶ Αθηνᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ναός ἐστι Λαρισαίας, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις Δύμη σταδίους ὅσον τε τριάκοντα ἀπέχει τοῦ Λαρίσου. ταύτην Φίλιππος ὁ Δημητρίου πολεμῶν μόνην τῶν Ἀχαικῶν ἔσχεν ὑπήκοον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αἰτία ταύτῃ Σουλπίκιος, ἡγεμὼν καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαίων, ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάσαι τὴν Δύμην: Αὐγουστος δὲ ὕστερον καὶ προσένειμεν αὐτὴν Πατρεῦσιν.

[17.5] To resume after my researches into Achaean history. The boundary between Achaia and Elis is the river Larisus, and by the river is a temple of Larisaeian Athena; about thirty stades distant from the Larisus is Dyme, an Achaean city. This was the only Achaean city that in his wars Philip the son of Demetrius made subject to him, and for this reason Sulpicius, another Roman governor, handed over Dyme to be sacked by his soldiery. Afterwards Augustus annexed it to Patrae.

[6] ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότερα Πάλεια: ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι Ἰόνων ὀνομά οἱ μετέθεντο τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, σαφῶς δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας Δύμης εἴτε ἀπὸ Δύμαντος τοῦ Αἰγυμίου. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ Οἰβώτα οὐ προαχθεῖν ἂν τις ἐς ἀλογίαν. Οἰβώτα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Δυμαίῳ, σταδίου μὲν ἀνελομένῳ νίκην Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτη, εἰκόνοιο δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ περὶ τὴν ὀδοηκοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀξιωθέντι, ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγον:

[17.6] Its more ancient name was Paleia, but the Ionians changed this to its modern name while they still occupied the city; I am uncertain whether they named it after Dyme, a native woman, or after Dymas, the son of Aegimius. But nobody is likely to be led into a fallacy by the inscription on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia. Oebotas was a man of Dyme, who won the foot-race at

the sixth Festival and was honored, because of a Delphic oracle, with a statue erected in the eightieth Olympiad. On it is an inscription which says:—

[7] “Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὃδ’ Ἀχαιὸς

πατρίδα Πάλειαν θῆκ’ ὀνομαστοτέραν.

“τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ἄν τι ἀλογίαν παραστήσειεν, εἰ Πάλειαν ἀλλὰ μὴ Δύμην τὸ ἐπίγραμμα καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν: τὰ γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα ὀνόματα ἐς ποίησιν ἐπάγεσθαι τῶν ὑστέρων καθεστηκός ἐστιν Ἑλλήσι, καὶ Ἀμφιάραόν τε καὶ Ἀδραστον Φορωνεΐδας καὶ Ἐρεχθεΐδην ἐπονομάζουσι τὸν Θησεά.

[17.7]

This Oebotas, an Achaean, the son of Oenias, by winning the foot-race, Added to the renown of his fatherland Paleia.

This inscription should mislead nobody, although it calls the city Paleia and not Dyme. For it is the custom of Greek poets to use ancient names instead of more modern ones, just as they surname Amphiarauus and Adrastus Phoronids, and Theseus an Erechthid.

[8] ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως ἐστὶ τοῦ Δυμαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Σωστράτου: μειράκιον δὲ ἦν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, γενέσθαι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐρώμενόν φασιν αὐτόν, καὶ — ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ τὸν Σώστρατον Ἡρακλέους ἔτι ὄντος μετὰ ἀνθρώπων — οὕτως οἱ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τό τε μνημα αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ποιήσαντα καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν δοῦναι. ἐπίθημα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι στήλη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπειργασμένος: ἐλέγετο δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ἐναγίζουσι τῷ Σωστράτῳ.

[17.8] A little before the city of Dyme there is, on the right of the road, the grave of Sostratus. He was a native youth, loved they say by Heracles, who outliving Sostratus made him his tomb and gave him some hair from his head as a primal offering. Even today there is a slab on the top of the mound, with a figure of Heracles in relief. I was told that the natives also sacrifice to Sostratus as to a hero.

[9] Δυμαίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερόν σφισι Δινδυμήνῃ μητρὶ καὶ Ἄττῃ πεποιημένον. Ἄττης δὲ ὅστις ἦν, οὐδὲν οἶός τε ἦν ἀπόρρητον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμησιάνακτι μὲν τῷ τὰ ἐλεγεία γράψαντι πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ὡς υἱός τε ἦν Κалаοῦ Φρυγὸς καὶ ὡς οὐ τεκνοποιὸς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τεχθεῖη: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠὔξητο, μετόκησεν ἐς Λυδῖαν τῷ Ἑρμησιάνακτος λόγῳ καὶ Λυδοῖς ὄργια ἐτέλει Μητρός, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἤκων παρ’ αὐτῇ τιμῆς ὡς Δία αὐτῇ νεμεσήσαντα ὕν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιπέμψαι τῶν Λυδῶν.

[17.9] The people of Dyme have a temple of Athena with an extremely ancient image; they have as well a sanctuary built for the Dindymenian mother and Attis. As to Attis, I could learn no secret about him, but Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, says in a poem that he was the son of Galauus the Phrygian, and

that he was a eunuch from birth. The account of Hermesianax goes on to say that, on growing up, Attis migrated to Lydia and celebrated for the Lydians the orgies of the Mother; that he rose to such honor with her that Zeus, being wroth at it, sent a boar to destroy the tillage of the Lydians.

[10] ἐνταῦθα ἄλλοι τε τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄττης ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕος· καὶ τι ἐπόμενον τούτοις Γαλατῶν δρῶσιν οἱ Πεσσινοῦντα ἔχοντες, ὕων οὐχ ἀπτόμενοι. νομίζουσὶ γε μὴν οὐχ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄττην, ἀλλὰ ἐπιχώριός ἐστιν ἄλλος σφίσιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, Δία ὑπνωμένον ἀφεῖναι σπέρμα ἐς γῆν, τὴν δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀνεῖναι δαίμονα διπλᾶ ἔχοντα αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἀνδρός, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν γυναικός· ὄνομα δὲ Ἄγδιστιν αὐτῷ τίθενται. θεοὶ δὲ Ἄγδιστιν δέισαντες τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ τὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀποκόπτουσιν.

[17.10] Then certain Lydians, with Attis himself, were killed by the boar, and it is consistent with this that the Gauls who inhabit Pessinus abstain from pork. But the current view about Attis is different, the local legend about him being this. Zeus, it is said, let fall in his sleep seed upon the ground, which in course of time sent up a demon, with two sexual organs, male and female. They call the demon Agdistis. But the gods, fearing Agdistis, cut off the male organ.

[11] ὥς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφῦσα ἀμυγδαλὴ εἶχεν ὥραϊον τὸν καρπὸν, θυγατέρα τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ λαβεῖν φασὶ τοῦ καρποῦ· ἐσθεμένης δὲ ἐς τὸν κόλπον καρπὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτίκα ἀφανής, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκύει· τεκούσης δὲ τράγος περιεῖπε τὸν παῖδα ἐκκείμενον. ὥς δὲ αὐξανομένῳ κάλλους οἱ μετὴν πλέον ἢ κατὰ εἶδος ἀνθρώπου, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωσ ἔσχεν Ἄγδιστιν. αὐξηθέντα δὲ Ἄττην ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Πεσσινοῦντα οἱ προσήκοντες συνοικήσοντα τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρί·

[17.11] There grew up from it an almond-tree with its fruit ripe, and a daughter of the river Sangarius, they say, took of the fruit and laid it in her bosom, when it at once disappeared, but she was with child. A boy was born, and exposed, but was tended by a he-goat. As he grew up his beauty was more than human, and Agdistis fell in love with him. When he had grown up, Attis was sent by his relatives to Pessinus, that he might wed the king's daughter.

[12] ὕμέναιος δὲ ἦδeto καὶ Ἄγδιστις ἐφίσταται καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀπέκοψε μανεῖς ὁ Ἄττης, ἀπέκοψε δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ διδούς· Ἄγδιστιν δὲ μετάνοια ἔσχεν οἷα Ἄττην ἔδρασε, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Διὸς εὗρετο μῆτε σῆπessθαι τι Ἄττη τοῦ σώματος μῆτε τήκεσθαι. τάδε μὲν ἐς Ἄττην τὰ γνωριμώτατα:

[17.12] The marriage-song was being sung, when Agdistis appeared, and Attis went mad and cut off his genitals, as also did he who was giving him his daughter in marriage. But Agdistis repented of what he had done to Attis, and persuaded Zeus to grant that the body of Attis should neither rot at all nor decay.

[13] ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Δυμαίᾳ καὶ τοῦ δρομέως Οἰβώτα τάφος ἐστί· τούτῳ τῷ Οἰβώτᾳ νικήσαντι Ὀλύμπια Ἀχαιῶν πρώτῳ γέρας οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον παρ'

αὐτῶν ἐγένετο εὖρασθαι: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατάρας ὁ Οἰβώτας ἐποιήσατο μηδενὶ Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ — ἦν γάρ τις θεῶν ᾧ τοῦ Οἰβώτα τελεῖσθαι τὰς κατάρας οὐκ ἀμελὲς ἦν — διδάσκονταί ποτε οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν στεφάνου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἡμάρτανον, διδάσκονται δὲ ἀποστείλαντες ἐς Δελφοῦς:

[17.13] These are the most popular forms of the legend of Attis. In the territory of Dyme is also the grave of Oebotas the runner. Although this Oebotas was the first Achaean to win an Olympic victory, he yet received from them no special prize. Wherefore Oebotas pronounced a curse that no Achaean in future should win an Olympic victory. There must have been some god who was careful that the curse of Oebotas should be fulfilled, but the Achaeans by sending to Delphi at last learned why it was that they had been failing to win the Olympic crown.

[14] οὕτω καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν σφισι τοῦ Οἰβώτα ποιήσασι καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀναθεῖσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Σώστρατος Πελληνεὺς σταδίου νίκην ἔσχεν ἐν παισί. διαμένει δὲ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐναγίζειν τῷ Οἰβώτῃ, καὶ ἦν κρατήσωσιν, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανοῦν τοῦ Οἰβώτα τὴν εἰκόνα.

[17.14] So they dedicated the statue of Oebotas at Olympia and honored him in other ways, and then Sostratus of Pellene won the footrace for boys. It is still to-day a custom for the Achaeans who are going to compete at Olympia to sacrifice to Oebotas as to a hero, and, if they are successful, to place a wreath on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia.

OLENUS

18. σταδίους δὲ ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα προελθόντι ἐκ Δύμης ποταμὸς Πείρος ἐς θάλατταν κάτεισι, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις ποτὲ Ὀλενος ᾠκεῖτο παρὰ τῷ Πείρῳ. ὅποσοι δὲ ἐς Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πεποιήκασιν, ἔστιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστά σφισι δεῖγματα τοῦ λόγου Δεξαμενὸς ὁ ἐν Ὀλένῳ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁποῖων Ἡρακλῆς παρ' αὐτῷ ξενίων ἔτυχε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἦν πόλισμα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μικρὸν ἢ Ὀλενος, μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ μου καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἐς Εὐρυτίωνα Κένταυρον ὑπὸ Ἑρμησιάνακτος πεποιημένον: ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας φασὶ τὴν Ὀλενον καὶ ἐς Πειράς τε καὶ ἐς Εὐρυτεῖας ἀποχωρήσαι.

[18.1] XVIII. Some forty stades from Dyme the river Peirus flows down into the sea; on the Peirus once stood the Achaean city of Olenus. The poets who have sung of Heracles and his labours have found a favorite subject in Dexamenus, king of Olenus, and the entertainment Heracles received at his court. That Olenus was from the beginning a small town I find confirmed in an elegiac poem composed by Hermesianax about Eurytion the Centaur. In course of time, it is said, the inhabitants, owing to their weakness, left Olenus and migrated to Peirae and Euryteiae.

[2] τοῦ δὲ Πείρου ποταμοῦ περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ἀφέστηκε σταδίους Πατρέων ἢ πόλις· οὐ πόρρω δὲ αὐτῆς ποταμὸς Γλαῦκος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς θάλασσαν. Πατρέων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντές φασιν Εὐμήλον αὐτόχθονα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, βασιλεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐ πολλῶν. Τριπτολέμου δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφικομένου τὸν τε καρπὸν λαμβάνει τὸν ἡμερον καὶ οἰκίσαι διδαχθεὶς πόλιν Ἀρόην ὠνόμασεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ τῆς γῆς.

[18.2] About eighty stades from the river Peirus is the city of Patrae. Not far from Patrae the river Glaucus flows into the sea. The historians of ancient Patrae say that it was an aboriginal, Eumelus, who first settled in the land, and that he was king over but a few subjects. But when Triptolemus came from Attica, he received from him cultivated corn, and, learning how to found a city, named it Aroe from the tilling of the soil.

[3] ὥς δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον ἐτράπετο ὁ Τριπτόλεμος, ἐνταῦθα Ἀνθείαν παῖδα Εὐμήλου τοὺς δράκοντάς φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄρμα ζεύξαντα ἐθελῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸν σπεῖραι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν ἐκπεσόντα τοῦ ἄρματος, Τριπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Εὐμήλος Ἀνθειαν πόλιν οἰκίζουσιν ἐν κοινῷ, τοῦ Εὐμήλου παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον.

[18.3] It is said that Triptolemus once fell asleep, and that then Antheias, the son of Eumelus, yoked the dragons to the car of Triptolemus and tried to sow the seed himself. But Antheias fell off the car and was killed, and so Triptolemus and Eumelus together founded a city, and called it Antheia after the son of Eumelus.

[4] ὥκισθη δὲ καὶ τρίτη μεταξὺ Ἀνθείας καὶ Ἀρόης Μεσάτις πόλις. ὅποσα δὲ οἱ Πατρεῖς περὶ Διονύσου λέγουσι, τραφῆναι τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Μεσάτει καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ Τιτάνων εἰς παντοῖον ἀφικέσθαι κίνδυνον, οὐκ ἐναντιούμενος τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν τῆς Μεσάτεως τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς σφισιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρήμι.

[18.4] Between Antheia and Aroe was founded a third city, called Mesatis. The stories told of Dionysus by the people of Patrae, that he was reared in Mesatis and incurred there all sort of perils through the plots of the Titans, I will not contradict, but will leave it to the people of Patrae to explain the name Mesatis as they choose.

[5] Ἀχαιῶν δὲ ὕστερον ἐκβαλόντων Ἴωνας, Πατρεὺς ὁ Πρευγένους τοῦ Ἀγήνορος εἰς μὲν Ἀνθειαν καὶ εἰς Μεσάτιν μὴ ἐνοικίξεσθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀπέειπε, περίβολον δὲ τείχους πρὸς τῇ Ἀρόῃ βαλλόμενος μείζονα, ἵνα ἐντός οἱ τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἡ Ἀρόῃ γένηται, ὄνομα ἔθετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πάτρας τῇ πόλει. Ἀγήνωρ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Πρευγένους Ἀρέως παῖς ἦν τοῦ Ἄμπυκος, ὁ δὲ Ἄμπυξ Πελίου τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τοῦ Δηρείτου τοῦ Ἀρπάλου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα τοῦ Λακεδαίμονος.

[18.5] When afterwards the Achaeans had driven out the Ionians, Patreus, the son of Preuges, the son of Agenor, forbade the Achaeans to settle in

Antheia and Mesatis, but built at Aroe a wall of greater circumference so as to include Aroe within it, and named the city Patrae after himself. Agenor, the father of Preuges, was the son of Areus, the son of Ampyx, and Ampyx was a son of Pelias, the son of Aeginetes, the son of Dereites, the son of Harpalus, the son of Amyclas, the son of Lacedaemon.

PATRAE, HISTORY

[6] Πατρεῖ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς προγόνους ὑπάρχοντα ἦν: ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον Πατρεῖς διέβησαν ἐς Αἰτωλίαν Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι κατὰ φιλίαν τὴν Αἰτωλῶν, τὸν πόλεμόν σφισι τὸν πρὸς Γαλάτας συνδιοίσοντες. προσπταίσαντες δ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις λόγου μειζόνως καὶ ὑπὸ πενίας ἅμα οἱ πολλοὶ πιεζόμενοι Πάτρας μὲν πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐκλείπουσιν: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ χώραν ὑπὸ φιλεργίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν καὶ πολίσματα παρὲς αὐτὰς Πάτρας τοσάδε ἄλλα ᾤκησαν, Μεσάτιν καὶ Ἀνθειαν καὶ Βολίνην καὶ Ἀργυρᾶν τε καὶ Ἄρβαν.

[18.6] Such was the genealogy of Patreus. In course of time the people of Patrae on their own account crossed into Aetolia; they did this out of friendship for the Aetolians, to help them in their war with the Gauls, and no other Achaeans joined them. But suffering unspeakable disasters in the fighting, and most of them being also crushed by poverty, all with the exception of a few left Patrae, and scattered, owing to their love of agriculture, up and down the country, dwelling in, besides Patrae, the following towns: Mesatis, Antheia, Bolina, Argyra and Arba.

[7] Αὐγουστος δὲ ἢ τοῦ παράπλου νομίζων κεῖσθαι καλῶς τὰς Πάτρας ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν ἐπανήγαγεν αὐθις ἐκ τῶν πολισμάτων τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰς Πάτρας, προσσυνέκισε δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ἐκ Ῥυπῶν, καταβαλὼν ἐς ἔδαφος Ῥύπας: καὶ ἔδωκε μὲν ἐλευθέρους Ἀχαιῶν μόνοις τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν εἶναι, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα γέρα σφίσιν, ὅποσα τοῖς ἀποίκους νέμειν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι.

[18.7] But Augustus, for some reason, perhaps because he thought that Patrae was a convenient port of call, brought back again to Patrae the men from the other towns, and united with them the Achaeans also from Rhypes, which town he razed to the ground. He granted freedom to the Patraeans, and to no other Achaeans; and he granted also all the other privileges that the Romans are accustomed to bestow on their colonists.

PATRAE

[8] Πατρεῦσι δὲ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ πόλει Λαφρίας ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος: ξενικὸν μὲν τῇ θεᾷ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐσηγμένον δὲ ἐτέρωθεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Καλυδῶνος γὰρ καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου βασιλείᾳ ἐρημωθείσης διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀκτίου συνοικίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικόν, οὕτω τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Λαφρίας οἱ Πατρεῖς ἔσχον.

[18.8] On the acropolis of Patrae is a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. The surname of the goddess is a foreign one, and her image too was brought in

from elsewhere. For after Calydon with the rest of Aetolia had been laid waste by the Emperor Augustus in order that the Aetolian people might be incorporated into Nicopolis above Actium, the people of Patrae thus secured the image of Laphria.

CULT OF ARTEMIS LAPHRIA

[9] ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγάλματα ἔκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν κομισθῆναι, Πατρεῦσι δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος λαφύρων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Λαφρίας ἔδωκε τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ Πατρέων εἶχε τιμάς. γενέσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν τῇ θεῷ Λαφρίαν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Φωκέως φασί: Λάφριον γὰρ τὸν Κασταλίου τοῦ Δελφοῦ Καλυδωνίοις ιδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ μῆνιμα τὸ

[18.9] Most of the images out of Aetolia and from Acarnania were brought by Augustus' orders to Nicopolis, but to Patrae he gave, with other spoils from Calydon, the image of Laphria, which even in my time was still worshipped on the acropolis of Patrae. It is said that the goddess was surnamed Laphria after a man of Phocis, because the ancient image of Artemis was set up at Calydon by Laphrius, the son of Castalius, the son of Delphus.

[10] ἐς Οἰνέα ἀνὰ χρόνον τοῖς Καλυδωνίοις ἐλαφρότερον γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ αἰτίαν τῇ θεῷ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι ταύτην. τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος θηρεύουσά ἐστιν, ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιήται, Ναυπάκτιοι δὲ Μέναιχμος καὶ Σοῖδας εἰργάσαντο: τεκμαίρονται σφᾶς Κανάχου τοῦ Σικυωνίου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος οὐ πολλῷ γενέσθαι τινὶ ἡλικίαν ὑστέρους.

[18.10] Others say that the wrath of Artemis against Oeneus weighed as time went on more lightly (elaphroteron) on the Calydonians, and they believe that this was why the goddess received her surname. The image represents her in the guise of a huntress; it is made of ivory and gold, and the artists were Menaechmus and Soldas of Naupactus, who, it is inferred, lived not much later than Canachus of Sicyon and Callon of Aegina.

[11] ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ Λάφρια ἑορτὴν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι οἱ Πατρεῖς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐν ᾗ τρόπος ἐπιχώριος θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. περὶ μὲν τὸν βωμὸν ἐν κύκλῳ ξύλα ἰστᾶσιν ἔτι χλωρὰ καὶ ἐς ἑκκαίδεκα ἑκαστον πῆχεις: ἐντὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ αὐτότατά σφισι τῶν ξύλων κεῖται. μηχανῶνται δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ ἄνοδον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν λειοτέραν, ἐπιφέροντες γῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοὺς ἀναβασμούς.

[18.11] Every year too the people of Patrae celebrate the festival Laphria in honor of their Artemis, and at it they employ a method of sacrifice peculiar to the place. Round the altar in a circle they set up logs of wood still green, each of them sixteen cubits long. On the altar within the circle is placed the driest of their wood. Just before the time of the festival they construct a smooth

ascent to the altar, piling earth upon the altar steps.

[12] πρῶτα μὲν δὴ πομπὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι πομπεύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος ὀχεῖται τελευταία τῆς πομπῆς ἐπὶ ἐλάφων ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα ἐζευγμένων: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη δρᾶν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν νομίζουσι, δημοσίᾳ τε ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἱ ἰδιῶται φιλοτίμως ἔχουσιν. ἐσβάλλουσι γὰρ ζῶντας ἐς τὸν βωμὸν ὄρνιθας τε τοὺς ἐδωδίμους καὶ ἱερεῖα ὁμοίως ἅπαντα, ἔτι δὲ ὕς ἀγρίους καὶ ἐλάφους τε καὶ δορκάδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λύκων καὶ ἄρκτων σκύμνους, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλεια τῶν θηρίων: κατατιθέασι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ δένδρων καρπὸν τῶν ἡμέρων.

[18.12] The festival begins with a most splendid procession in honor of Artemis, and the maiden officiating as priestess rides last in the procession upon a car yoked to deer. It is, however, not till the next day that the sacrifice is offered, and the festival is not only a state function but also quite a popular general holiday. For the people throw alive upon the altar edible birds and every kind of victim as well; there are wild boars, deer and gazelles; some bring wolf-cubs or bear-cubs, others the full-grown beasts. They also place upon the altar fruit of cultivated trees.

[13] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πῦρ ἐνιᾷσιν ἐς τὰ ξύλα. ἐνταῦθα πού καὶ ἄρκτον καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐθεασάμην τῶν ζώων, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ὀρμὴν τοῦ πυρὸς βιαζόμενα ἐς τὸ ἐκτός, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκφεύγοντα ὑπὸ ἰσχύος: ταῦτα οἱ ἐμβαλόντες ἐπανάγουσιν αὐθις ἐς τὴν πυράν. τρωθῆναι δὲ οὐδένα ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων μνημονεύουσιν.

[18.13] Next they set fire to the wood. At this point I have seen some of the beasts, including a bear, forcing their way outside at the first rush of the flames, some of them actually escaping by their strength. But those who threw them in drag them back again to the pyre. It is not remembered that anybody has ever been wounded by the beasts.

CULT OF ARTEMIS TRICLARIA

19. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τοῦ ναοῦ τε τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ πεποιημένον μνημα Εὐρυπύλου. τὰ δὲ ὅστις τε ὦν καὶ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, δηλώσει μοι καὶ ταῦτα ὁ λόγος προδηγησαμένῳ πρότερον ὅποια ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐρυπύλου τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἦν τὰ παρόντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ἰώνων τοῖς Ἀρόην καὶ Ἀνθειαν καὶ Μεσάτιν οἰκοῦσιν ἦν ἐν κοινῷ τέμενος καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος Τρικλαρίας ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ ἑορτὴν οἱ Ἴωνες αὐτῇ καὶ παννυχίδα ἤγον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ἱερωσύνην δὲ εἶχε τῆς θεοῦ παρθένος, ἐς ὃ ἀποστέλλεσθαι παρὰ ἀνδρα ἔμελλε.

[19.1] XIX. Between the temple of Laphria and the altar stands the tomb of Eurypylus. Who he was and for what reason he came to this land I shall set forth presently; but I must first describe what the condition of affairs was at his arrival. The Ionians who lived in Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis had in common a precinct and a temple of Artemis surnamed Triclaria, and in her

honor the Ionians used to celebrate every year a festival and an all-night vigil. The priesthood of the goddess was held by a maiden until the time came for her to be sent to a husband.

[2] λέγουσιν οὖν συμβῆναι ποτε ὡς ἱερᾶσθαι μὲν τῆς θεοῦ Κομαιθῶ τὸ εἶδος καλλίστην παρθένον, τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρῶντα Μελάνιππον, τὰ τε ἄλλα τοὺς ἡλικιώτας καὶ ὄψεως εὐπρεπεῖα μάλιστα ὑπερηρκότα. ὡς δὲ ὁ Μελάνιππος ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῦ ἔρωτος ὑπηγάγετο τὴν παρθένον, ἐμνᾶτο αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἔπεται δὲ πῶς τῷ γήρᾳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐναντιοῦσθαι νέοις καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοὺς ἐρῶντας τὸ ἀνάλγητον, ὅπου καὶ Μελάνιππος τότε ἐθέλοντι ἐθέλουσαν ἄγεσθαι Κομαιθῶ οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γονέων οὔτε παρὰ τῶν Κομαιθοῦς ἡμερον ἀπῆντησεν οὐδέν.

[19.2] Now the story is that once upon a time it happened that the priestess of the goddess was Comaetho, a most beautiful maiden, who had a lover called Melanippus, who was far better and handsomer than his fellows. When Melanippus had won the love of the maiden, he asked the father for his daughter's hand. It is somehow a characteristic of old age to oppose the young in most things, and especially is it insensible to the desires of lovers. So Melanippus found it; although both he and Comaetho were eager to wed, he met with nothing but harshness from both his own parents and from those of his lover.

[3] ἐπέδειξε δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τε δὴ ἄλλων καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μελανίππου παθήμασιν, ὡς μέτεστιν ἔρωτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων συγγέαι νόμιμα καὶ ἀνατρέψαι θεῶν τιμάς, ὅπου καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ Κομαιθῶ καὶ Μελάνιππος καὶ ἐξέπλησαν τοῦ ἔρωτος τὴν ὁρμήν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔμελλον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἴσα καὶ θαλάμῳ χρῆσθαι: τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους αὐτίκα ἐξ Ἀρτέμιδος μήνιμα ἔφθειρε, τῆς τε γῆς καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀποδιδούσης καὶ νόσοι σφίσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν θάνατοι πλείονες ἢ τὰ πρότερα ἐγίνοντο.

[19.3] The history of Melanippus, like that of many others, proved that love is apt both to break the laws of men and to desecrate the worship of the gods, seeing that this pair had their fill of the passion of love in the sanctuary of Artemis. And hereafter also were they to use the sanctuary as a bridal-chamber. Forthwith the wrath of Artemis began to destroy the inhabitants; the earth yielded no harvest, and strange diseases occurred of an unusually fatal character.

[4] καταφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἤλεγχεν ἡ Πυθία Μελάνιππον καὶ Κομαιθῶ: καὶ ἐκείνους τε αὐτοὺς μάντευμα ἀφίκετο θῦσαι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος παρθένον καὶ παῖδα οἱ τὸ εἶδος εἶεν κάλλιστοι τῇ θεῷ θύειν. ταύτης μὲν δὴ τῆς θυσίας ἕνεκα ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Τρικλαρίας Ἀμείλιχος ἐκλήθη:

[19.4] When they appealed to the oracle at Delphi the Pythian priestess accused Melanippus and Comaetho. The oracle ordered that they themselves should be sacrificed to Artemis, and that every year a sacrifice should be made to the

goddess of the fairest youth and the fairest maiden. Because of this sacrifice the river flowing by the sanctuary of Triclararia was called Ameilichus (relentless). Previously the river had no name.

[5] τέως δὲ ὄνομα εἶχεν οὐδέν. παίδων δὲ καὶ παρθένων ὁπόσοι μὲν ἐς τὴν θεὸν οὐδὲν εἰργασμένοι Μελανίππου καὶ Κομαιθοῦς ἔνεκα ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοὶ τε οἰκτρότατα καὶ οἱ προσήκοντές σφισιν ἔπασχον, Μελάνιππον δὲ καὶ Κομαιθῶ συμφορᾶς ἐκτὸς γενέσθαι τίθεμαι: μόνον γὰρ δὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἀντάξιον κατορθῶσαι τινα ἐρασθέντα.

[19.5] The innocent youths and maidens who perished because of Melanippus and Comaetho suffered a piteous fate, as did also their relatives; but the pair, I hold, were exempt from suffering, for the one thing that is worth a man's life is to be successful in love.

[6] παύσασθαι δὲ οὕτω λέγονται θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνθρώπους. ἐκέχρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερον ἔτι ἐκ Δελφῶν ὡς βασιλεὺς ξένος παραγενόμενός σφισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ξενικὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος δαίμονα, τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν τῆς Τρικλαρίας παύσει. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Εὐρύπυλος ὁ Εὐαίμονος λαμβάνει λάρνακα: Διονύσου δὲ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῇ λάρνακι, ἔργον μὲν ὥς φασιν Ἡφαίστου, δῶρον δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐδόθη Δαρδάνῳ.

[19.6] The sacrifice to Artemis of human beings is said to have ceased in this way. An oracle had been given from Delphi to the Patraeans even before this, to the effect that a strange king would come to the land, bringing with him a strange divinity, and this king would put an end to the sacrifice to Triclararia. When Troy was captured, and the Greeks divided the spoils, Eurypylos the son of Euaemon got a chest. In it was an image of Dionysus, the work, so they say, of Hephaestus, and given as a gift by Zeus to Dardanus.

[7] λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι λόγοι δύο ἐς αὐτήν, ὡς ὅτε ἔφυγεν Αἰνείας, ἀπολίπει ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα: οἱ δὲ ῥιφήναι φασιν αὐτήν ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρας συμφορὰν τῷ εὐρόντι Ἑλλήνων. ἤνοιξε δ' οὖν ὁ Εὐρύπυλος τὴν λάρνακα καὶ εἶδε τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ αὐτίκα ἦν ἔκφρων μετὰ τὴν θεάν: τὰ μὲν δὴ πλείονα ἐμαίνετο, ὀλιγάκις δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ. ἅτε δὲ οὕτω διακείμενος οὐκ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε Κίρραν καὶ ἐς τὸν ταύτη κόλπον: ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρᾶτο ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου.

[19.7] But there are two other accounts of it. One is that this chest was left by Aeneas when he fled; the other that it was thrown away by Cassandra to be a curse to the Greek who found it. Be this as it may, Eurypylos opened the chest, saw the image, and forthwith on seeing it went mad. He continued to be insane for the greater part of the time, with rare lucid intervals. Being in this condition he did not proceed on his voyage to Thessaly, but made for the town and gulf of Cirrha. Going up to Delphi he inquired of the oracle about his illness.

[8] καὶ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι μάντευμα, ἔνθα ἂν ἐπιτύχη θύουσιν ἀνθρώποις

θυσίαν ξένην, ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσασθαι τε τὴν λάρνακα καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄνεμος τὰς ναῦς τοῦ Εὐρυπύλου κατήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἀρόῃ θάλασσαν: ἐκβὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν καταλαμβάνει παῖδα καὶ παρθένον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Τρικλαρίας ἡγμένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς συνήσειν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν: ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἐς μνήμην καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦ χρησμοῦ, βασιλέα τε ἰδόντες ὃν οὐπὼ πρότερον ἐωράκεσαν καὶ ἐς τὴν λάρνακα ὑπενόησαν ὥς εἴη τις ἐν αὐτῇ θεός.

[19.8] They say that the oracle given him was to the effect that where he should come across a people offering a strange sacrifice, there he was to set down the chest and make his home. Now the ships of Eurypylus were carried down by the wind to the sea off Aroe. On landing he came across a youth and a maiden who had been brought to the altar of Triclaria. So Eurypylus found it easy to understand about the sacrifice, while the people of the place remembered their oracle seeing a king whom they had never seen before, they also suspected that the chest had some god inside it.

[9] καὶ οὕτω τῷ Εὐρυπύλῳ τε ἡ νόσος καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπαύσθη, τό τε ὄνομα ἐτέθη τὸ νῦν τῷ ποταμῷ Μείλιχος. ἔγραψαν δὲ ἤδη τινὲς οὐ τῷ Θεσσαλῷ συμβάντα Εὐρυπύλῳ τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλὰ Εὐρύπυλον Δεξαμενοῦ παῖδα τοῦ ἐν Ὠλένῳ βασιλεύσαντος ἐθέλουσιν ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ στρατεῦσαντα ἐς Ἴλιον λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὴν λάρνακα: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰρήκασι καὶ οὗτοι.

[19.9] And so the malady of Eurypylus and the sacrifice of these people came to an end, and the river was given its present name Meilichus. Certain writers have said that the events I have related happened not to the Thessalian Eurypylus, but to Eurypylus the son of Dexamenus who was king in Olenus, holding that this man joined Heracles in his campaign against Troy and received the chest from Heracles. The rest of their story is the same as mine.

[10] ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε Ἡρακλέα ἀγνοῆσαι τὰ ἐς τὴν λάρνακα εἰ δὴ τοιαῦτα ἦν πείθομαι οὔτε τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιστάμενος δοκεῖ μοί ποτε ἂν δοῦναι δῶρον συμμαχήσαντι ἀνδρί: οὔτε μὴν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἄλλον τινὰ ἢ τὸν Εὐαίμονος ἔχουσιν Εὐρύπυλον ἐν μνήμῃ, καὶ οἱ καὶ ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπειδὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγωσι.

[19.10] But I cannot bring myself to believe that Heracles did not know the facts about the chest, if they were as described, nor, if he were aware of them, do I think that he would ever have given it to an ally as a gift. Further, the people of Patrae have no tradition of a Eurypylus save the son of Euaemon, and to him every year they sacrifice as to a hero, when they celebrate the festival in honor of Dionysus.

20. τῷ θεῷ δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς τῆς λάρνακος ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰσυμνήτης, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα θεραπεύοντες ἐννέα τέ εἰσιν ἄνδρες, οὓς ἂν ἐκ πάντων ὁ δῆμος προέλῃται κατ' ἀξίωμα, καὶ ἴσαι γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσι. μιᾷ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς φέρει τὴν λάρνακα ὁ ἱερεὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ νῦξ γέρας

τοῦτο εἴληφε, καταβαίνουσι δὲ καὶ ὁπόσοι δὴ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδες ἐπὶ τὸν Μείλιχον ἀστάχυσιν ἐστεφανωμένοι τὰς κεφαλὰς· ἐκόσμου δὲ οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οὗς ἄγοιεν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσοντες.

[20.1] XX. The surname of the god inside the chest is Aesymnetes (Dictator), and his chief attendants are nine men, elected by the people from all the citizens for their reputation, and women equal in number to the men. On one night of the festival the priest carries the chest outside. Now this is a privilege that this night has received, and there go down to the river Meilichus a certain number of the native children, wearing on their heads garlands of corn-ears. It was in this way that they used to array of old those whom they led to be sacrificed to Artemis.

[2] τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν στεφάνους μὲν τῶν ἀσταχύων ἀποτίθενται παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, λουσάμενοι δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ αὐθις στεφάνους ἐπιθέμενοι κισσοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἴασι τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου. ταῦτα μὲν σφισιν οὕτω δρᾶν καθέστηκε, τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Παναχαῖδος· ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ.

[20.2] But at the present day they lay aside the garlands of corn-ears by the goddess, and after bathing in the river and putting on fresh garlands, this time made of ivy, they go to the sanctuary of the Dictator.

PATRAE CONT.

This then is their established ritual, and within the precincts of Laphria is a temple of Athena surnamed Panachaeon. The image is of ivory and gold.

[3] ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν Μητρὸς Δινδυμῆνης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἑρμῆος ἔχει τιμὰς. τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνουσι· τὸ δὲ τῆς Μητρὸς λίθου πεποιήται. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ναὸς Ὀλυμπίου, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἐστῶσα Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τὸν θρόνον, τῆς τε Ἥρας ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πέραν ἱερὸν τε Ἀπόλλωνος πεποιήται καὶ Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, γυμνὸς ἐσθῆτος· ὑποδήματα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ποδὶ ἐπὶ κρανίου βέβηκε βοός.

[20.3] On the way to the lower city there is a sanctuary of the Dindymenian Mother, and in it Attis too is worshipped. Of him they have no image to show; that of the Mother is of stone. In the marketplace is a temple of Olympian Zeus; the god himself is on a throne with Athena standing by it. Beyond the Olympian is an image of Hera and a sanctuary of Apollo. The god is of bronze, and naked. On his feet are sandals, and one foot stands upon the skull of an ox.

[4] βουσί γὰρ χαίρειν μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀλκαῖός τε ἐδήλωσεν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἑρμῆν, γράψας ὥς ὁ Ἑρμῆς βοὺς ὑφέλοιτο τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἢ Ἀλκαῖον γενέσθαι πεποιημένα ἦν Ὀμήρῳ βοὺς Ἀπόλλωνα Λαομέδοντος ἐπὶ μισθῷ νέμειν· Ποσειδῶνι περιέθηκεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι τὰ ἔπη,

[20.4] That Apollo takes great pleasure in oxen is shown by Alcaeus in his hymn to Hermes, who writes how Hermes stole cows of Apollo, and even before Alcaeus was born Homer made Apollo tend cows of Laomedon for a wage. In the Iliad he puts these verses in the mouth of Poseidon: —

[5] “ἦτοι ἐγὼ Τρώεσσι πόλιν πέρι τεῖχος ἔδειμα,

εὐρύ τε καὶ μάλα καλόν, ἴν’ ἄρρηκτος πόλις εἴη:

Φοῖβε, σὺ δ’ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς βουκολέεσκες.

“Hom. Il. 21.446-448 τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ κρανίον τοῦ βοῦς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε ἂν τις εἰκάσειε πεποιῆσθαι: ἔστι δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀγαλμὰ τε Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Πατρώως τάφος.

[20.5]

Verily I built a wall for the Trojans about their city,

A wide wall and very beautiful, that the city might be impregnable;

And thou, Phoebus, didst tend the shambling cows with crumpled horns.

Hom. Il. 21.446-448

This, it may be conjectured, is the reason for the ox skull. On the market-place, in the open, is an image of Athena with the grave of Patreus in front of it.

[6] ἔχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ Ὠιδεῖον, καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται θέας ἄξιος: ἐποιήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἤμυναν Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι. κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τὸ Ὠιδεῖον ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι: τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερῆρκε κατασκευήν, ἀνὴρ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδης ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρείθη τὸ Ὠιδεῖον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξείργαστό μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἢ ὑπῆρκετο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος.

[20.6] Next to the market-place is the Music Hall, where has been dedicated an Apollo well worth seeing. It was made from the spoils taken when alone of the Achaeans the people of Patrae helped the Aetolians against the army of the Gauls. The Music Hall is in every way the finest in Greece, except, of course, the one at Athens. This is unrivalled in size and magnificence, and was built by Herodes, an Athenian, in memory of his dead wife. The reason why I omitted to mention this Music Hall in my history of Attica is that my account of the Athenians was finished before Herodes began the building.

[7] ἐν Πάτραις δὲ ἰόντι ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἧ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πύλη κατὰ τὴν ἐξόδον ἐστὶ ταύτην, καὶ ἐπιθήματα ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι, Πατρεὺς τε καὶ Πρευγένης καὶ Ἀθερίων, οἱ Πατρώως ἡλικίαν παιδὸς ἔχοντος καὶ αὐτοὶ παιδὲς εἰσι. τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἄντικρυς κατὰ ταύτην τὴν διέξοδον τέμενός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ναὸς Λιμνάτιδος.

[20.7] As you leave the market-place of Patrae, where the sanctuary of Apollo

is, at this exit is a gate, upon which stand gilt statues, Patreus, Preuges, and Atherion; the two latter are represented as boys, because Patreus is a boy in age. Opposite the marketplace by this exit is a precinct and temple of Artemis, the Lady of the Lake.

[8] ἐχόντων δὲ ἤδη Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Ἄργος Δωριέων, ὑφελέσθαι Πρευγένην τῆς Λιμνάτιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος λέγουσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐγγχειρήματος τῶν δούλων τὸν εὐνούστατον. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔχουσιν ἐν Μεσόᾳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρευγένους ἐς τοῦτο ἐκομίσθη τὸ χωρίον: ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ Λιμνάτιδι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγωσι, τῆς θεοῦ τις τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐκ Μεσόας ἔρχεται τὸ ξόανον κομίζων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει.

[20.8] When the Dorians were now in possession of Lacedaemon and Argos, it is said that Preuges, in obedience to a dream, stole from Sparta the image of our Lady of the Lake, and that he had as partner in his exploit the most devoted of his slaves. The image from Lacedaemon is usually kept at Mesoa, because it was to this place that it was originally brought by Preuges. But when the festival of our Lady is being held, one of the slaves of the goddess comes from Mesoa bringing the ancient wooden image to the precinct in the city.

[9] τούτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν ἱερά: πεποιήται δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, ἀλλὰ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν στοῶν ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, πλὴν ἐσθῆτος, λίθου τὰ ἄλλα: Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐλέφαντος εἵργασται καὶ χρυσοῦ. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ Πρευγένους μνημᾶ ἐστίν: ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ Πρευγένει κατὰ ἔτος, ὡσαύτω; δὲ καὶ Πατρεῖ, τὴν ἑορτὴν τῇ Λιμνάτιδι ἄγοντες. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Νεμέσεως ναὸς καὶ ἑτερός ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης: μεγέθει μεγάλα λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα.

[20.9] Near this precinct the people of Patrae have other sanctuaries. These are not in the open, but there is an entrance to them through the porticoes. The image of Asclepius, save for the drapery, is of stone; Athena is made of ivory and gold. Before the sanctuary of Athena is the tomb of Preuges. Every year they sacrifice to Preuges as to a hero, and likewise to Patreus also, when the festival of our Lady is being held. Not far from the theater is a temple of Nemesis, and another of Aphrodite. The images are colossal and of white marble.

CULT OF DIONYSUS CALYDONIUS

21. καὶ Διονύσου κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Καλυδωνίου: μετεκομίσθη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ Καλυδῶνος. ὅτε δὲ ὤκειτο ἔτι Καλυδῶν, ἄλλοι τε Καλυδωνίων ἐγένοντο ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ Κόρεσος, ὃν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα ἐπέλαβεν ἄδικα ἐξ ἔρωτος παθεῖν. ἦρα μὲν Καλλιρόης παρθένου: ὅποσον δὲ ἐς Καλλιρόην ἔρωτος Κορέσῳ μετῆν, τοσοῦτο εἶχεν ἀπεχθείας ἐς αὐτὸν ἢ παρθένος.

[21.1] XXI. In this part of the city is also a sanctuary of Dionysus surnamed Calydonian, for the image of Dionysus too was brought from Calydon. When Calydon was still inhabited, among the Calydonians who became priests of the god was Coresus, who more than any other man suffered cruel wrongs because of love. He was in love with Callirhoe, a maiden. But the love of Coresus for Callirhoe was equalled by the maiden's hatred of him.

[2] ὥς δὲ τοῦ Κορέσου δεήσεις τε ποιουμένου πάσας καὶ δώρων ὑποσχέσεις παντοίας οὐκ ἐνετρέπετο ἡ γνώμη τῆς παρθένου, ἐκομίζετο ἰκέτης ἤδη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα. ὁ δὲ ἤκουσέ τε εὐχομένου τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ οἱ Καλυδῶνιοι τὸ παραντίκα ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μέθης ἐγίνοντο ἔκφρονες καὶ ἡ τελευταία σφᾶς παραπλήγας ἐπελάμβανε. καταφεύγουσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ: τοῖς γὰρ τὴν ἡπειρον ταύτην οἰκοῦσι, τοῖς τε Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ τοῖς προσχώροις αὐτῶν Ἀκαρναῖσι καὶ Ἠπειρώταις, αἱ πέλειαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δρυὸς μαντεύματα μετέχειν μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο ἀληθείας.

[21.2] When the maiden refused to change her mind, in spite of the many prayers and promises of Coresus, he then went as a suppliant to the image of Dionysus. The god listened to the prayer of his priest, and the Calydonians at once became raving as though through drink, and they were still out of their minds when death overtook them. So they appealed to the oracle at Dodona. For the inhabitants of this part of the mainland, the Aetolians and their Acarnanian and Epeiroi neighbors, considered that the truest oracles were the doves and the responses from the oak.

[3] τότε δὲ τὰ χρησθέντα ἐκ Δωδώνης Διονύσου μὲν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸ μήνιμα, ἔσεσθαι δὲ οὐ πρότερον λύσιν πρὶν ἢ θύσῃ τῷ Διονύσῳ Κόρεσος ἢ αὐτὴν Καλλιρόην ἢ τὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἀντ' ἐκείνης τολμήσαντα. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς σωτηρίαν εὐρίσκετο ἡ παρθένος, δεύτερα ἐπὶ τοὺς θρεψαμένους καταφεύγει: ἀμαρτάνουσα δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν ἔτι ἢ αὐτὴν φονεῦεσθαι.

[21.3] On this occasion the oracles from Dodona declared that it was the wrath of Dionysus that caused the plague, which would not cease until Coresus sacrificed to Dionysus either Callirhoe herself or one who had the courage to die in her stead. When the maiden could find no means of escape, she next appealed to her foster parents. These too failing her, there was no other way except for her to be put to the sword.

[4] προεξεργασθέντων δὲ ὅποσα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἄλλα ἐκ Δωδώνης μεμαντευμένα ἦν, ἡ μὲν ἱερείου τρόπον ἤκτο ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, Κόρεσος δὲ ἐφειστήκει μὲν τῇ θυσίᾳ, τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι εἷζας καὶ οὐ τῷ θυμῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ Καλλιρόης διεργάζεται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπέδειξεν ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἴσμεν διατεθεῖς ἐς ἔρωτα ἀπλαστότητα:

[21.4] When everything had been prepared for the sacrifice according to the oracle from Dodona, the maiden was led like a victim to the altar. Coresus stood ready to sacrifice, when, his resentment giving way to love, he slew himself in place of Callirhoe. He thus proved in deed that his love was more

genuine than that of any other man we know.

[5] Καλλιρόη τε ὥς Κόρεσσον τεθνεῶτα εἶδεν, μετέπεσε τῇ παιδί ἢ γνώμη, καὶ — ἐσῆι γὰρ αὐτὴν Κορέσου τε ἔλεος καὶ ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν εἵργασται αἰδῶς — ἀπέσφαξέ τε αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πηγὴν, τοῦ λιμένος ἢ ἐν Καλυδωνί ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνης οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι Καλλιρόην τὴν πηγὴν καλοῦσι.

[21.5] When Callirhoe saw Goresus lying dead, the maiden repented. Overcome by pity for Goresus, and by shame at her conduct towards him, she cut her throat at the spring in Galydon not far from the harbor, and later generations call the spring Callirhoe after her.

PATRAE CONT.

[6] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἐγγὺς πεποιῆται Πατρεῦσι γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τέμενος. Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματα, ἴσοι τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίσμασι καὶ ὁμώνυμοι: Μεσατεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἀνθεὺς τε καὶ Ἀροεὺς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα. ταῦτα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ Διονύσου τῇ ἐορτῇ κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσση τῆς πόλεως ἐρχομένοις ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ.

[21.6] Near to the theater there is a precinct sacred to a native lady. Here are images of Dionysus, equal in number to the ancient cities, and named after them Mesateus, Antheus and Aroeus. These images at the festival of Dionysus they bring into the sanctuary of the Dictator. This sanctuary is on the right of the road from the market-place to the sea-quarter of the city.

[7] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου κατωτέρω ἰόντι ἄλλο ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου: καλεῖται μὲν Σωτηρίας, ιδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποφυγόντα φασὶ τὴν μανίαν Εὐρύπυλον. πρὸς δὲ τῷ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνός τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ὀρθὸν λίθου. Ποσειδῶνι δὲ παρέξ ἢ ὅποσα ὀνόματα ποιηταῖς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐς ἐπῶν κόσμον καὶ ἰδία σφίσιν ἐπιχώρια ὄντα ἕκαστοι τίθενται, τοσαῖδε ἐς ἅπαντας γεγόνασιν ἐπικλήσεις αὐτῷ, Πελαγαῖος καὶ Ἀσφάλιός τε καὶ Ἴππιος.

[21.7] As you go lower down from the Dictator there is another sanctuary with an image of stone. It is called the sanctuary of Recovery, and the story is that it was originally founded by Eurypylus on being cured of his madness. At the harbor is a temple of Poseidon with a standing image of stone. Besides the names given by poets to Poseidon to adorn their verses, and in addition to his local names, all men give him the following surnames – Marine, Giver of Safety, God of Horses.

[8] ὀνομάσθαι δὲ Ἴππιον τὸν θεὸν πείθοιτο μὲν ἂν τις καὶ ἐπ’ αἰτίαις ἄλλαις: ἐγὼ δὲ εὐρετὴν ἵπικῆς ὄντα ἀπὸ τούτου σχεῖν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἰκάζω. Ὅμηρος μὲν γε ἐν ἵππων ἄθλοις Μενελάῳ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πρόκλησιν περιέθηκεν ὄρκου: Ἴππων ἀπάμενος, γαιήοχον ἐννοσίγαιον

ὄμνυθι μηδὲν ἐκὼν τὸ ἐμὸν δόλω ἄρμα πεδῆσαι.

“Hom. II 23.584-585

[21.8] Various reasons could be plausibly assigned for the last of these surnames having been given to the god, but my own conjecture is that he got this name as the inventor of horsemanship. Homer, at any rate, when describing the chariot-race, puts into the mouth of Menelaus a challenge to swear an oath by this god:—

Touch the horses, and swear by the earth-holder, earth-shaker,
That thou didst not intentionally, through guile, obstruct my chariot. Hom. II. 23.584-585

[9] Πάμφως δέ, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησεν, εἰναί φησι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἵππων τε δωτῆρα νεῶν τ' ἰθυκρηδέμενων.

“Pamphos, work unknown οὐτὼ διὰ τὴν ἱππικὴν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ ἐτέρας προφάσεως τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν.

[9] Pamphos also, who composed for the Athenians the most ancient of their hymns, says that Poseidon is:—

Giver of horses and of ships with sails set. Pamphos, work unknown

So it is from horsemanship that he has acquired his name, and not for any other reason.

[10] ἐν Πάτραις δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερά ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης: τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων γενεᾷ πρότερον ἢ κατ' ἐμὲ ἀλιεῖς ἄνδρες ἀνεῖλκυσαν ἐν δικτύῳ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα τοῦ λιμένος ἐγγυτάτῳ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἄρεως, τὸ δὲ Απόλλωνος: καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἧς καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι δὲ ἐστὶ τέμενος, λίθου μὲν πρόσωπον καὶ ἄκραι χεῖρες καὶ πόδες, ξύλου δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ εἵργασται.

[21.10] In Patrae, not far from that of Poseidon, are sanctuaries of Aphrodite. One of the two images was drawn up by fishermen in a net a generation before my time. There are also quite near to the harbor two images of bronze, one of Ares and the other of Poseidon. The image of Aphrodite, whose precinct too is by the harbor, has its face, hands and feet of stone, while the rest of the figure is made of wood.

[11] ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ ἄλσος ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ, δρόμους τε ἐπιτηδευοτάτους καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα δίαιταν ἡδεῖαν ὥρα παρεχόμενον θερινῇ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἄλσει καὶ ναοὶ θεῶν, Απόλλωνος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης: πεποιήται λίθου καὶ τούτοις τὰ ἀγάλματα. τοῦ δὲ ἄλσους ἱερὸν ἔχεται Δῆμητρος: αὕτη μὲν καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐστᾶσι, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Γῆς ἐστὶ καθήμενον.

[21.11] They have also a grove by the sea, affording in summer weather very agreeable walks and a pleasant means generally of passing the time. In this grove are also two temples of divinities, one of Apollo, the other of

Aphrodite. The images of these too are made of stone. Next to the grove is a sanctuary of Demeter; she and her daughter are standing, but the image of Earth is seated.

[12] πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶ πηγή: ταύτης τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ναοῦ λίθων ἀνέστηκεν αἵμασιά, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐκτὸς κάθοδος ἐς αὐτὴν πεποίηται. μαντεῖον δὲ ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶν ἀψευδές, οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ παντί γε πράγματι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν καμνόντων. κάτοπτρον καλωδίῳ τῶν λεπτῶν δήσαντες καθιᾶσι, σταθμώμενοι μὴ πρόσω καθικέσθαι τῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπιψαῦσαι τοῦ ὕδατος τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ κατόπτρου. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν εὐξάμενοι τῇ θεῇ καὶ θυμιάσαντες ἐς τὸ κάτοπτρον βλέπουσι: τὸ δὲ σφισι τὸν νοσοῦντα ἤτοι ζῶντα ἢ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐπιδείκνυσι.

[21.12] Before the sanctuary of Demeter is a spring. On the side of this towards the temple stands a wall of stones, while on the outer side has been made a descent to the spring. Here there is an infallible oracle, not indeed for everything, but only in the case of sick folk. They tie a mirror to a fine cord and let it down, judging the distance so that it does not sink deep into the spring, but just far enough to touch the water with its rim. Then they pray to the goddess and burn incense, after which they look into the mirror, which shows them the patient either alive or dead.

[13] τούτῳ μὲν τῷ ὕδατι ἐς τοσοῦτο μέτεστιν ἀληθείας, Κυανεῶν δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λυκίᾳ πλησιαιτάτα χρηστήριον Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Θυρξέως: παρέχεται δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κυανέαις ἔσω ἐνιδόντα τινὰ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν ὁμοίως πάντα ὅποσα θέλει θεάσασθαι. ἐν Πάτραις δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἄλσει καὶ ἱερὰ δύο ἐστὶ Σαράπιδος: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ πεποίηται μνῆμα Αἰγύπτου τοῦ Βήλου. φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀρόην οἱ Πατρεῖς φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς τε ἐς τοὺς παῖδας παθήμασι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτὸ πεφρικότα τοῦ Ἄργους καὶ ἐς πλεόν τοῦ Δαναοῦ δέϊματι.

[21.13] This water partakes to this extent of truth, but close to Cyaneae by Lycia, where there is an oracle of Apollo Thyrxus, the water shows to him who looks into the spring all the things that he wants to behold. By the grove in Patrae are also two sanctuaries of Serapis. In one is the tomb of Aegyptus, the son of Belus. He is said by the people of Patrae to have fled to Aroe because of the misfortunes of his children and because he shuddered at the mere name of Argos, and even more through dread of Danaus.

[14] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Πατρεῦσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ: τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν πολῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς αἰ ἐπὶ Μεσάτιν ἄγουσιν.

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς Πάτραις ἀριθμὸν μὲν καὶ ἐς δις τῶν ἀνδρῶν: Ἀφροδίτης δέ, εἵπερ ἄλλαις γυναῖξί, μέτεστι καὶ ταύταις. βίος δὲ αὐτῶν ταῖς πολλαῖς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς βύσσου τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι φυομένης: κεκρυφάλους τε γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὑφαίνουσι τὴν ἄλλην.

[21.14] There is also at Patrae a sanctuary of Asclepius. This sanctuary is beyond the acropolis near the gate leading to Mesatis. The women of Patrae

outnumber the men by two to one. These women are amongst the most charming in the world. Most of them gain a livelihood from the fine flax that grows in Elis, weaving from it nets for the head as well as dresses.

PHARAE

22. Φαραὶ δέ, Ἀχαιῶν πόλις, τελοῦσι μὲν ἐς Πάτρας δόντος Αὐγούστου, ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς Φαρὰς Πατρέων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως στάδιοι πενήκοντά εἰσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω πρὸς ἡπειρον περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. ποταμὸς δὲ ρεῖ πλησίον Φαρῶν Πίερος, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὅς καὶ τὰ Ὀλένου παρέξεισιν ἐρείττια, ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση καλούμενος Πεῖρος. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλατάνων ἐστὶν ἄλσος, κοῦλαί τε ὑπὸ παλαιότητος αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ ἥκουσαι μεγέθους ἐς τοσοῦτο ὥστε καὶ ἐστιῶνται τῶν χηραμῶν ἐντός, καὶ ὁπόσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ᾗ, καὶ ἐγκαθεύδουσι.

[22.1] XXII. Pharae, a city of the Achaeans, belongs to Patrae, having been given to it by Augustus. The road from the city of Patrae to Pharae is a hundred and fifty stades, while Pharae is about seventy stades inland from the coast. Near to Pharae runs the river Pierus, which in my opinion is the same as the one flowing past the ruins of Olenus, called by the men of the coast the Peirus. Near the river is a grove of plane-trees, most of which are hollow through age, and so huge that they actually feast in the holes, and those who have a mind to do so sleep there as well.

[2] περίβολος δὲ ἀγορᾶς μέγας κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἀρχαιότερόν ἐστιν ἐν Φαραῖς, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔχον καὶ γένεια: ἐστηκεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ παρέχεται μὲν τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα, μεγέθει δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν, ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὸ Μεσσήνιον Σιμύλον: καλεῖται μὲν δὴ Ἀγοραῖος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρηστήριον καθέστηκε. κεῖται δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐστία, λίθου καὶ αὐτή, μολίβδῳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέχονται λύχνοι χαλκοῖ.

[22.2] The market-place of Pharae is of wide extent after the ancient fashion, and in the middle of it is an image of Hermes, made of stone and bearded. Standing right on the earth, it is of square shape, and of no great size. On it is an inscription, saying that it was dedicated by Simylus the Messenian. It is called Hermes of the Market, and by it is established an oracle. In front of the image is placed a hearth, which also is of stone, and to the hearth bronze lamps are fastened with lead.

[3] ἀφικόμενος οὖν περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ τῷ θεῷ χρώμενος λιβανωτόν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας θυμῷ καὶ ἐμπλήσας τοὺς λύχνους ἐλαίου καὶ ἐξάσας τίθησιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐν δεξιᾷ νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον — καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα — καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πρὸς τὸ οὗς τὸν θεὸν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐκάστω τὸ ἐρώτημά ἐστι. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἅπεισιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπιφραζάμενος τὰ ὦτα: προελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέσχεεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὠτων, καὶ ἤστινος ἂν ἐπακούσῃ φωνῆς, μάντευμα ἡγεῖται.

[22.3] Coming at eventide, the inquirer of the god, having burnt incense upon the hearth, filled the lamps with oil and lighted them, puts on the altar on the right of the image a local coin, called a “copper,” and asks in the ear of the god the particular question he wishes to put to him. After that he stops his ears and leaves the marketplace. On coming outside he takes his hands from his ears, and whatever utterance he hears he considers oracular.

[4] τοιαύτη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις ἑτέρα περὶ τοῦ Ἄπιδος τὸ ἱερὸν μαντεία καθέστηκεν: ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ: Ἑρμοῦ νᾶμα μὲν τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα, τοὺς δὲ ἰχθῦς οὐχ αἰροῦσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀνάθημα εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ νομίζοντες. ἐστήκασιν δὲ ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀγάλματος τετράγωνοι λίθοι τριάκοντα μάλιστα ἀριθμόν: τούτους σέβουσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς, ἐκάστῳ θεοῦ τινὸς ὄνομα ἐπιλέγοντες. τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι.

[22.4] There is a similar method of divination practised at the sanctuary of Apis in Egypt. At Pharae there is also a water sacred to Hermes. The name of the spring is Hermes’ stream, and the fish in it are not caught, being considered sacred to the god. Quite close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number. These the people of Pharae adore, calling each by the name of some god. At a more remote period all the Greeks alike worshipped uncarved stones instead of images of the gods.

[5] Φαρεῦσι δὲ ὅσον πέντε σταδίου καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἄλσος Διοσκοῦρων. δάφναι μάλιστα ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκάσι, ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἀγάλματα: κομισθῆναι δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι φασιν ἐς Ῥώμην τὰ ἀγάλματα. ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει βωμὸς λίθων λογάδων ἐστί. πυθέσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον εἰ ὁ Φάρης ὁ Φυλοδαμείας τῆς Δαναοῦ σφισιν ἢ ὁμώνυμος ἐκεῖνῳ τις ἐγένετο οἰκιστής.

[22.5] About fifteen stades from Pharae is a grove of the Dioscuri. The trees in it are chiefly laurels; I saw in it neither temple nor images, the latter, according to the natives, having been carried away to Rome. In the grove at Pharae is an altar of unshaped stones. I could not discover whether the founder of Pharae was Phares, son of Phylodameia, daughter of Danaïs, or someone else with the same name.

TRITEIA

[6] Τρίτεια δέ, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ αὕτη πόλις, ἐν μεσογαίῳ μὲν ὥκισται, τελοῦσι δὲ ἐς Πάτρας καὶ αὐτοὶ βασιλέως δόντος: στάδιοι δὲ ἐς Τρίτειαν εἴκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατὸν εἰσιν ἐκ Φαρῶν. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, μνημᾶ ἐστὶ λευκοῦ λίθου, θέας καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἄξιον καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς αἱ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου, τέχνη Νικίου: θρόνος τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ γυνὴ νέα καὶ εἶδους εὖ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, θεράπαινα δὲ αὐτῇ προσέστηκε σκιάδιον φέρουσα:

[22.6] Triteia, also a city of Achaia, is situated inland, but like Pharae belongs to Patrae, having been annexed by the emperor. The distance to Triteia from

Pharae is a hundred and twenty stades. Before you enter the city is a tomb of white marble, well worth seeing, especially for the paintings on the grave, the work of Nicias. There is an ivory chair on which is a young and beautiful woman, by whose side is a handmaid carrying a sunshade. There is also a young man, who is standing.

[7] καὶ νεανίσκος ὀρθὸς οὐκ ἔχων πω γένειά ἐστι χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκῶς καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπὶ τῷ χιτῶνι φοινικῆν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἰκέτης ἀκόντια ἔχων ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγει κύνας ἐπιτηδεΐας θηρεύουσιν ἀνθρώποις. πυθέσθαι μὲν δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶχομεν· ταφῆναι δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν κοινῷ παρίστατο ἅπασιν εἰκάζειν.

[22.7] He is too young for a beard, and wears a tunic with a purple cloak over it. By his side is a servant carrying javelins and leading hounds. I could not discover their names, but anyone can conjecture that here man and wife share a common grave.

[8] Τριτεΐας δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ μὲν Κελβίδαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ἀφικόμενον δὲ ἐκ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικοῖς· οἱ δὲ ὡς Ἄρης συγγένοιτο Τριτεΐα θυγατρὶ Τρίτωνος, ἱεῖρασθαι δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν παρθένον, Μελάνιππον δὲ παῖδα Ἄρεως καὶ Τριτεΐας οἰκίσαι τε ὡς ἠϋξήθη τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός.

[22.8] The founder of Triteia is said by some to have been Celbidas, who came from Cumae in the country of the Opici. Others say that Ares mated with Triteia the daughter of Triton, that this maiden was priestess to Athena, and that Melanippus, the son of Ares and Triteia, founded the city when he grew up, naming it after his mother.

[9] ἐν Τριτεΐᾳ δὲ ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν καλουμένων Μεγίστων θεῶν, ἀγάλματα δὲ σφισι πηλοῦ πεποιημένα· τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν, οὐδέν τι ἀλλοίως ἢ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ δρῶσιν Ἑλλήνες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναός, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα λίθου τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐς Ῥώμην, καθὰ οἱ Τριταιεῖς λέγουσιν, ἐκομίσθη. θύειν δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἄρει καὶ τῇ Τριτεΐᾳ νομίζουσιν.

[22.9] In Triteia is a sanctuary of the gods called Almighty, and their images are made of clay. In honor of these every year they celebrate a festival, exactly the same sort of festival as the Greeks hold in honor of Dionysus. There is also a temple of Athena, and the modern image is of stone. The ancient image, as the folk of Triteia say, was carried to Rome. The people here are accustomed to sacrifice both to Ares and to Triteia.

AEGIUM TO PATRAE COAST

[10] αἶδε μὲν οὖν θαλάσσης τέ εἰσιν ἀπωτέρω πόλεις καὶ ἡπειρώτιδες βεβαίως· πλέοντι δὲ ἐς Αἴγιον ἐκ Πατρῶν ἄκρα πρῶτόν ἐστιν ὀνομαζομένη Ῥίον, σταδίου δὲ Πατρῶν πεντήκοντα ἀπέχουσα, λιμὴν δὲ ὁ Πάνορμος σταδίους πέντε καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς ἄκρας. τοσοῦτους δὲ ἀφέστηκεν ἐτέρους ἀπὸ Πανόρμου τὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καλούμενον τεῖχος. ἐς δὲ λιμένα Ἐρινεὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶς τείχους παράπλους ἐνενήκοντά εἰσι στάδιοι, ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἐς Αἴγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ

Ἐρινεοῦ: ὁδὸς δὲ ἡ περὶ σταδίου τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀποδεῖ τὸν εἰρημένον.

[22.10] These cities are at some distance from the sea and completely inland. As you sail to Aegium from Patrae you come first to the cape called Rhium, fifty stades from Patrae, the harbor of Panormus being fifteen stades farther from the cape. It is another fifteen stades from Panormus to what is known as the Fort of Athena. From the Fort of Athena to the harbor of Erineus is a coastal voyage of ninety stades, and from Erineus to Aegium is sixty. But the land route is about forty stades less than the number here given.

RIVERS MEILICHUS & CHARADRUS

[11] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Πατρέων ἄστεως ποταμός τε ὁ Μείλιχος καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Τρικλαρίας ἐν ᾧ ἐστίν, ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μείλικου ποταμός ἐστὶν ἄλλος: ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ποταμῷ Χάραδρος, ὥρα δὲ ἥρος πίνοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ βοσκήματα ὀφείλει τίκτειν ἄρρενα ὡς τὰ πλείω συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οἱ νομεῖς ἐτέρωσε αὐτὰ τῆς χώρας μεθιστάσι πλήν γε δὴ τὰς βοῦς: ταύτας δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, διότι καὶ πρὸς θυσίας οἱ ταῦροί σφισι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιτηδειότεροι θηλειῶν βοῶν εἰσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσι τὸ θῆλυ ἐπὶ πλέον τετίμηται.

[22.11] Not far from the city of Patrae is the river Meilichus, and the sanctuary of Triclaria, which no longer has an image. This is on the right. Advancing from the Meilichus you come to another river, the name of which is the Charadrus. The flocks and herds that drink of this river in spring are bound to have male young ones for the most part, and for this reason the herdsmen remove all except the cows to another part of the country. The cows they leave behind by the river, because for sacrifices and for agriculture bulls are more suitable than cows, but in the case of other cattle the females are preferred.

ARGYRA

23. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χάραδρον ἐρείπια οὐκ ἐπιφανῆ πόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀργυρᾶς, καὶ πηγὴ τε Ἀργυρᾶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου καὶ Σέλεμνος ποταμός κατιῶν ἐς θάλασσαν. λόγος δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς αὐτόν ἐστι, Σέλεμνον μειράκιον ὥραϊον ποιμαίνειν ἐνταῦθα, Ἀργυρᾶν δὲ εἶναι μὲν τῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ νυμφῶν, ἐρασθεῖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν Σελέμνου φοιτᾶν τε ὡς αὐτόν φασιν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνιοῦσαν, καὶ καθεῦδεν παρ' αὐτῷ:

[23.1] XXIII. After the Charadrus you come to some ruins, not at all remarkable, of the city Argyra, to the spring Argyra, on the right of the high road, and to the river Selemnus going down to the sea. The local legend about Selemnus is that he was a handsome lad who used to feed his flocks here. Argyra, they say, was a sea-nymph, who fell in love with Selemnus and used to come up out of the sea to visit him, sleeping by his side.

[2] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον οὔτε ὥραϊος ἔτι ἐφαίνετο Σέλεμνος οὔτε ὡς αὐτὸν φοιτήσειν ἔμελλεν ἡ νύμφη, Σέλεμνον δὲ μονωθέντα Ἀργυρᾶς καὶ

τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐποίησεν Ἀφροδίτη ποταμόν. λέγω δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Πατρῶν λεγόμενα. καὶ — ἦρα γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ γενόμενος Ἀργυρᾶς, καθότι ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ λόγος Ἀρεθούσης ἔτι ἐρᾶν αὐτόν — δωρεῖται καὶ τῷδε Ἀφροδίτῃ Σέλεμνον:

[23.2] After no long while Selemnus no longer seemed so handsome, and the nymph would not visit him. So Selemnus, deserted by Argyra, died of love, and Aphrodite turned him into a river. This is what the people of Patrae say. As Selemnus continued to love Argyra even when he was turned into water, just as Alpheius in the legend continued to love Arethusa, Aphrodite bestowed on him a further gift, by blotting out the memory of Argyra.

[3] ἐς λήθην ἄγει τὸν ποταμόν Ἀργυρᾶς. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγον, τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σελέμνου σύμφορον καὶ ἀνδράσιν εἶναι καὶ γυναιξιν ἐς ἔρωτος ἴαμα, λουομένοις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ λήθην ἔρωτος γίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μέτεστιν ἀληθείας τῷ λόγῳ, τιμιώτερον χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σελέμνου.

[23.3] I heard too another tale about the water, how that it is a useful remedy for both men and women when in love; if they wash in the river they forget their passion. If there is any truth in the story the water of the Selemnus is of more value to mankind than great wealth.

BOLINA

[4] ἀπωτέρω δὲ Ἀργυρᾶς ποταμός ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενος Βολινᾶιος, καὶ πόλις ποτὲ ὤκειτο πρὸς αὐτῷ Βολίνα. παρθένου δὲ ἐρασθῆναι Βολίνης Ἀπόλλωνα, τὴν δὲ φεύγουσαν ἐς τὴν ταύτη φασὶν ἀφεῖναι θάλασσαν αὐτήν, καὶ ἀθάνατον γενέσθαι χάριτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἄκρα τε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχει, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ λέγεται λόγος ὡς Κρόνος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνταῦθα ἔρριψε τὸ δρέπανον, ὃ τὸν πατέρα Οὐρανὸν ἐλυμήνατο: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν Δρέπανον ὀνομάζουσιν. ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον Ῥυπῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια: σταδίους δὲ Αἶγιον περὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥυπῶν.

[23.4] At some distance from Argyra is a river named Bolinaeus, and by it once stood a city Bolina. Apollo, says a legend, fell in love with a maiden called Bolina, who fleeing to the sea here threw herself into it, and by the favour of Apollo became an immortal. Next to it a cape juts out into the sea, and of it is told a story how Cronus threw into the sea here the sickle with which he mutilated his father Uranus. For this reason they call the cape Drepanum. Beyond the high road are the ruins of Rhypes. Aegium is about thirty stades distant from Rhypes.

AEGIUM

[5] Αἰγίου δὲ τὴν χώραν διέξεισι μὲν ποταμός Φοῖνιξ, διέξεισι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Μειγανίτας, ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέοντες. στοὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πλησίον ἐποιήθη Στράτωνι ἀθλητῇ, Ὀλυμπιασιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης ἀνελομένῳ νίκας. αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐποιήθη: Αἰγιεῦσι

δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἡ Εἰλείθυια ἐς ἄκρους ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοῦς πόδας ὑφάσματι κεκάλυπται λεπτῷ, ξόανον πλὴν προσώπου τε καὶ χειρῶν ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν, ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ

[23.5] The territory of Aegium is crossed by a river Phoenix, and by another called Meiganitas, both of which flow into the sea. A portico near the city was made for Straton, an athlete who won at Olympia on the same day victories in the pancratium and in wrestling. The portico was built that this man might exercise himself in it. At Aegium is an ancient sanctuary of Eileithyia, and her image is covered from head to foot with finely-woven drapery; it is of wood except the face, hands and feet,

[6] Πεντελησίου λίθου πεποιήται: καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾶδα. Εἰλειθυία δὲ εἰκάσαι τις ἂν εἶναι δᾶδας, ὅτι γυναιξιν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἰσιν αἱ ὠδίνες: ἔχουεν δ' ἂν λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε αἱ δᾶδες, ὅτι Εἰλειθυία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐς φῶς ἄγουσα τοὺς παῖδας. ἔργον δὲ τοῦ Μεσσηνίου Δαμοφῶντος ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα.

[23.6] which are made of Pentelic marble. One hand is stretched out straight; the other holds up a torch. One might conjecture that torches are an attribute of Eileithyia because the pangs of women are just like fire. The torches might also be explained by the fact that it is Eileithyia who brings children to the light. The image is a work of Damophon the Messenian.

[7] τῆς δὲ Εἰλειθυίας οὐ μακρὰν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστὶ τέμενος καὶ ἀγάλματα Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ: ἱαμβεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τὸν Μεσσηνίου Δαμοφῶντα εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φησίν. ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκετο ἀνὴρ μοι Σιδόνιος, ὃς ἐγνωκέναι τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἔφασκε Φοίνικας καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα Ἑλλήνων βέλτιον καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ πατέρα μὲν σφᾶς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπιφημίζειν, θνητὴν δὲ γυναῖκα οὐδεμίαν μητέρα:

[23.7] Not far from Eileithyia is a precinct of Asclepius, with images of him and of Health. An iambic line on the pedestal says that the artist was Damophon the Messenian. In this sanctuary of Asclepius a man of Sidon entered upon an argument with me. He declared that the Phoenicians had better notions about the gods than the Greeks, giving as an instance that to Asclepius they assign Apollo as father, but no mortal woman as his mother.

[8] Ἀσκληπιὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀέρα γένει τε ἀνθρώπων εἶναι καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ζῴοις ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ὑγίειαν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἥλιον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὀρθότατα Ἀσκληπιῷ πατέρα ἐπονομάζεσθαι, ὅτι ἐς τὸ ἀρμόζον ταῖς ὥραις ποιούμενος ὁ ἥλιος τὸν δρόμον μεταδίδωσι καὶ τῷ ἀέρι ὑγείας. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα, οὐδὲν δέ τι Φοινίκων μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἔφην τὸν λόγον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Τιτάνῃ τῆς Σικυωνίων τὸ αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὑγείαν τε ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ ἱ παιδί ἦν δῆλα ὡς τὸν ἡλιακὸν δρόμον ἐπὶ γῆς ὑγίειαν ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώποις.

[23.8] Asclepius, he went on, is air, bringing health to mankind and to all animals likewise; Apollo is the sun, and most rightly is he named the father of

Asclepius, because the sun, by adapting his course to the seasons, imparts to the air its healthfulness. I replied that I accepted his statements, but that the argument was as much Greek as Phoenician for at Titane in Sicyonia the same image is called both Health and . . . thus clearly showing that it is the course of the sun that brings health to mankind.

[9] Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τε ναὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἄλσος. Ἀθηνᾶς μὲν δὴ δύο ἀγάλματα λευκοῦ λίθου: τῆς δὲ Ἥρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ὅτι μὴ γυναιξίν, ἣ ἂν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχη, ἄλλω γε δὴ οὐδενὶ ἔστι θεάσασθαι. Διονύσου δὲ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ πεποιήται σφίσις ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα, οὐκ ἔχων πῶ γένεια. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλήσιν Σωτήρος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τέμενος καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐσελθόντων ἐν ἄριστερᾷ, χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔχον πῶ γένεια ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαιότερον εἶναι μοι.

[23.9] At Aegium you find a temple of Athena and a grove of Hera. Of Athena there are two images of white marble; the image of Hera may be seen by nobody except the woman who happens to hold the office of priestess to the goddess. Near the theater they have a sanctuary of Dionysus with an image of the god as a beardless youth. There is also in the market-place a precinct of Zeus surnamed Saviour, with two images, both of bronze, on the left as you go in; the one without a beard seemed to me the more ancient.

[10] ἐν δὲ οἰκίῳ κατευθὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ, χαλκοῦ καὶ ταῦτα, ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, ἐστὶ δὲ Ζεὺς τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ: θεοὺς δὲ σφᾶς καλοῦσιν ἐξ Ἀργούς, ὥς μὲν ὁ Ἀργείων ἔχει λόγος, ὅτι ἐποιήθησαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀργείων, ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Αἰγίεις, παρακαταθήκη σφίσις ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐδόθη τὰ ἀγάλματα.

[23.10] In a building right in front of the entrance are images, of bronze like the others, representing Poseidon, Heracles, Zeus and Athena. They are called gods from Argos. The Argives say it is because they were made in Argos; the people of Aegium themselves say that the images were deposited by the Argives with them on trust.

[11] καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τάδε ἔτι προσταχθῆναι φασιν, ἐκάστη τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἡμέρα θύειν: αὐτοὶ δὲ σόφισμα εὐρόντες θύειν μὲν πλεῖστα ὅσα, κατεωχουμένοις δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν κοινῷ ἀνάλωμα οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰ γίνεσθαι: τέλος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ἀναλούμενα ἀπαιτεῖν: τοὺς δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν ἐκτίσαι — καταλιπεῖν σφίσις αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀγάλματα.

[23.11] They say further that they were ordered to sacrifice each day to the images. But bethinking themselves of a trick they sacrificed a vast number of animals, but the victims they ate up at public feasts, so that they were not put to any expense. At last the Argives asked for the images to be returned, whereupon the people of Aegium asked for the cost of the sacrifices. As the Argives had not the means to pay, they left the images at Aegium.

24. Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν κοινῷ,

ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, τοξευούση δὲ εἰκασται, καὶ Ταλθυβίου τοῦ κήρυκος τάφος· κέχωσται δὲ τῷ Ταλθυβίῳ καὶ ἄλλο μνήμα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐναγίζουσιν ἀμφοτέραι.

[24.1] XXIV. By the market-place at Aegium is a temple shared by Apollo and Artemis in common; and in the market-place there is a sanctuary of Artemis, who is represented in the act of shooting an arrow, and also the grave of Talthybius the herald. There is also at Sparta a barrow serving as a tomb to Talthybius, and both cities sacrifice to him as to a hero.

[2] πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίῳ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Ποσειδῶνος, Κόρης τε πεποιήται τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τέταρτον Ὀμαγυρίῳ Δίι. ἐνταῦθα Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἔστι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματα· Ὀμαγύριος δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶς, ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἤθροισεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀξίους, μεθέζοντας ἐν κοινῷ βουλῆς καθ' ὅντινα χρὴ τρόπον ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν Πριάμου στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀγαμέμνωνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔστιν ἐς ἔπαινον καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀκολουθήσασι καὶ οὐδεμιᾷς ἐπελθούσης ὕστερον στρατιᾷς τὴν τε Ἴλιον ἐπόρθησε καὶ ὅσαι περίοικοι πόλεις ἦσαν.

[24.2] By the sea at Aegium is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and after it one of Poseidon; there is also one of the Maiden, daughter of Demeter, and one to Zeus Homagyrus (Assembler). Here are images of Zeus, of Aphrodite and of Athena. The surname Assembler was given to Zeus because in this place Agamemnon assembled the most eminent men in Greece, in order that they might consult together how to make war on the empire of Priam. Among the claims of Agamemnon to renown is that he destroyed Troy and the cities around her with the forces that followed him originally, without any later reinforcements.

[3] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαιᾷς ἔστι Δήμητρος. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ αἰγιαλός, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ Αἰγιεῦσιν ἔστι τὰ εἰρημένα, ὕδωρ ἄφθονον θεάσασθαι τε καὶ πιεῖν ἐκ πηγῆς ἡδύ. ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ Σωτηρίας ἱερὸν. ἰδεῖν μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν ἱερωμένων ἔστι, δρῶσι δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα: λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ πέμματα ἐπιχώρια ἀφιᾶσιν ἐς θάλασσαν, πέμπειν δὲ τῇ ἐν Συρακούσαις Ἀρεθούσῃ φασὶν αὐτά.

[24.3] Adjoining Zeus the Assembler is a sanctuary of Demeter Panachaeac. The beach, on which the people of Aegium have the sanctuaries I have mentioned, affords a plentiful supply of water from a spring; it is pleasing both to the eye and to the taste. They have also a sanctuary of Safety. Her image may be seen by none but the priests, and the following ritual is performed. They take cakes of the district from the goddess and throw them into the sea, saying that they send them to Arethusa at Syracuse.

[4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἰγιεῦσιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα, Ζεὺς τε ἡλικίαν παῖς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔχων πω γένεια, Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἱερεῖς αἰρετοὶ γίνονται, καὶ ἐκάτερα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις μένει τοῦ ἱερωμένου. τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα προεκέκριτο ἐκ τῶν

παίδων ιερᾶσθαι τῷ Διὶ ὁ νικῶν κάλλει: ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῷ γενεῖων ἐς ἄλλον παῖδα ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μετῇ τιμή. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐνομίζετο: ἐς δὲ Αἶγιον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἀθροίζεται, καθότι ἐς Θερμοπύλας τε καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες.

[24.4] There are at Aegium other images made of bronze, Zeus as a boy and Heracles as a beardless youth, the work of Ageladas of Argos. Priests are elected for them every year, and each of the two images remains at the house of the priest. In a more remote age there was chosen to be priest for Zeus from the boys he who won the prize for beauty. When his beard began to grow the honor for beauty passed to another boy. Such were the customs. Even in my time the Achaean assembly still meets at Aegium, just as the Amphictyons do at Thermopylae and at Delphi.

HELICE

[5] ἰόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Σελινοῦς τε ποταμὸς καὶ ἀπωτέρω τεσσαράκοντα Αἰγίου σταδίοις ἐπὶ θαλάσση χωρίον ἐστὶν Ἑλίκη. ἐνταῦθα ὄκητο Ἑλίκη πόλις καὶ Ἴωσιν ἱερὸν ἀγιάτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίου. διαμεμένηκε δέ σφισι, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας, σέβεσθαι Ποσειδῶνα Ἑλικώνιον: καὶ Μιλησίοις τε ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν Βιβλίδα Ποσειδῶνος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν Ἑλικωνίου βωμὸς καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Τέῳ περίβολός τε καὶ βωμός ἐστι τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ θέας ἄξιος.

[24.5] Going on further you come to the river Selinus, and forty stades away from Aegium is a place on the sea called Helice. Here used to be situated a city Helice, where the Ionians had a very holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon. Their worship of Heliconian Poseidon has remained, even after their expulsion by the Achaeans to Athens, and subsequently from Athens to the coasts of Asia. At Miletus too on the way to the spring Biblis there is before the city an altar of Heliconian Poseidon, and in Teos likewise the Heliconian has a precinct and an altar, well worth seeing.

[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Ἑλίκην καὶ τὸν Ἑλικώνιον Ποσειδῶνα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀχαιοὶς τοῖς ἐνταῦθα, ἱκέτας ἄνδρας ἀποστήσασιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἀποκτεῖναισιν, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε τὸ μῆνιμα ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἀλλὰ σεισμὸς ἐς τὴν χώραν σφίσιν αὐτίκα κατασκήψας τῶν τε οἰκοδομημάτων τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἔδαφος ἀφανὲς ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐποίησε.

[24.6] There are also passages in Homer referring to Helice and the Heliconian Poseidon. But later on the Achaeans of the place removed some suppliants from the sanctuary and killed them.

EARTHQUAKES OF HELICE, HISTORY

But the wrath of Poseidon visited them without delay; an earthquake promptly struck their land and swallowed up, without leaving a trace for posterity to

see, both the buildings and the very site on which the city stood.

[7] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐπὶ τοῖς σεισμοῖς, ὅσοι μεγέθει τε ὑπερήρκασι καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον διυκνοῦνται τῆς γῆς, προσημαίνειν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν εἴωθεν — ἢ γὰρ ἐπομβρίαί συνεχεῖς ἢ αὐχμοὶ πρὸ τῶν σεισμῶν συμβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ χρόνον πλείονα, καὶ ὁ ἄηρ παρὰ τὴν ἐκάστοτε τοῦ ἔτους ὥραν χειμῶνός τε γίνεται καυματωδέστερος καὶ ἐν θέρει μετὰ ἀγλύος μᾶλλον ὁ κύκλος παρέχεται τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν χροάν παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἥτοι ἐς τὸ ἐρυθρότερον ἢ καὶ ἡσυχῇ ῥέπουσαν ἐς τὸ μελάντερον:

[24.7] Warnings, usually the same in all cases, are wont to be sent by the god before violent and far-reaching earthquakes. Either continuous storms of rain or else continuous droughts occur before earthquakes for an unusual length of time, and the weather is unseasonable. In winter it turns too hot, and in summer along with a tendency to haze the orb of the sun presents an unusual color, slightly inclining to red or else to black.

[8] τῶν τε ὑδάτων ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπιλείπουσιν αἱ πηγαί, καὶ ἀνέμων ἔστιν οἷς ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβολαὶ περιτρέπουσαι τὰ δένδρα, καὶ που καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ διαδρομαὶ σὺν πολλῇ τῇ φλογί, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀστέρων ὥφθη σχήματα οὔτε ἐγνωσμένα ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον καὶ μεγάλην τοῖς ὀρώσιν ἐμποιοῦντα ἐκπληξιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω πνευμάτων ὑπήγησις ἰσχυρά, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βιαίοις τῶν σεισμῶν ἐθέλει προενδείκνυσθαι:

[24.8] Springs of water generally dry up; blasts of wind sometimes swoop upon the land and overturn the trees; occasionally great flames dart across the sky; the shapes of stars too appear such as have never been witnessed before, producing consternation in those that witness them; furthermore there is a violent rumbling of winds beneath the earth – these and many other warnings is the god wont to send before violent earthquakes occur.

[9] — τῆς δὲ κινήσεως αὐτῆς καθέστηκεν οὐχ εἷς τρόπος, ἀλλ' οἱ φροντίσαντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐκείνων διδασκόμενοι ἰδέας καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τοσάσδε ἐπὶ τοῖς σεισμοῖς. ἡπιώτατος μὲν ἔστιν αὐτῶν, ἣν δὴ ἐν κακῷ γε τοσούτῳ ῥαστώνῃ ἐνεῖναι τίνα ἡγησώμεθα, ἐπειδὰν ὁμοῦ τῇ κινήσει τῇ ἀρξαμένη τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τῇ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τροπῇ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἀντιστᾶσα ἐναντία κινήσις ἐξεγείρῃ τὰ ἤδη τραπέντα, — καὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἰδέᾳ

[24.9] The shock itself is not of one fixed type, but the original inquirers into such matters and their pupils have been able to discover the following forms of earthquake. The mildest form – that is, if such a calamity admits of mitigation – is when there coincides with the original shock, which levels the buildings with the ground, a shock in the opposite direction, counteracting the first and raising up the buildings already knocked over.

[10] τοῦ σεισμοῦ κίονας ὁρᾷν ἔστιν ἀνορθουμένους οἱ ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν ἐς ἅπαν ἐκριφῆναι, καὶ ὅποσα διέστη τοίχων συνερχόμενα ἐς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς: δοκοὶ δέ, ὅσας ἐκτὸς ὀλισθεῖν ἐποίησεν ἡ κίνησις, ἐπανίασιν αὐθις ἐς τὰς ἔδρας:

ὥσάυτως δὲ καὶ ὀχετῶν κατασκευῆς καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἐπὶ ὕδατος ῥοαῖς προάγει, καὶ τούτων συνδεῖ τὰ διεσπασμένα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπων τεκτόνων: — ὁ δὲ δὴ δευτέρος τῶν σεισμῶν ἀπώλειάν τε τῶν ἐτοιμοτέρων φέρει καί, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν βάλη τὴν ὁρμήν, ἀνέκλινεν αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν μηχανήμασιν ὁμοίως.

[24.10] In this form of earthquake pillars may be seen righting themselves which have been almost entirely uprooted, split walls coming together to their original position; beams, dislocated by the shock, go back to their places, and likewise channels, and such-like means of furthering the flow of water, have their cracks cemented better than they could be by human craftsmen. Now the second form of earthquake brings destruction to anything liable to it, and it throws over at once, as it were by a battering-ram, whatever meets the force of its impact.

[11] τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλεθριώτατον τοιῶδέ τι ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάζειν, τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πνεῦμα εἰ συνεχεῖ πυρετῷ πυκνότερόν τε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἄνω τῆς βίας ὥθοιτο: τοῦτο δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ τε τοῦ σώματος ἐπισημαίνει καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπὸ ἐκάτερον μάλιστα τὸν καρπὸν. κατὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν εἴτ' εὐθὺ ὑποδύεσθαι τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ θεμέλια ἀναπάλλειν φασὶν αὐτόν, καθότι καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν σφαλάκων ἐκ μυχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀναπέμπεται: μόνη τε ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις οὐδὲ τοῦ οἰκισθῆναί ποτε ὑπολείπει σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γῇ.

[24.11] The most destructive kind of earthquake the experts are wont to liken to the symptoms of a man suffering from a non-intermittent fever, the breathing of such a patient being rapid and laboured. There are symptoms of this to be found in many parts of the body, especially at each wrist. In the same way, they say, the earthquake dives directly under buildings and shakes up their foundations, just as molehills come up from the bowels of the earth. It is this sort of shock alone that leaves no trace on the ground that men ever dwelt there.

[12] τότε δὲ ιδέαν μὲν αὐτήν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑλικῇ τοῦ σεισμοῦ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀνακινούσαν, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλλο πῆμα τοιόνδε οἱ ἐπιγενέσθαι φασὶν ὥρα χειμῶνος. ἐπῆλθε γάρ σφισιν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὴν Ἑλικὴν περιέλαβεν ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέσχεν ὁ κλύδων ὥς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων σύνοπτα εἶναι μόνον. σείσαντος δὲ ἐξαίφνης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ σεισμῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναδραμούσης, καθεῖλκυσε αὐτανδρον τὸ κῦμα τὴν Ἑλικήν.

[24.12] This was the type of earthquake, they say, that on the occasion referred to levelled Helice to the ground, and that it was accompanied by another disaster in the season of winter. The sea flooded a great part of the land, and covered up the whole of Helice all round. Moreover, the tide was so deep in the grove of Poseidon that only the tops of the trees remained visible. What with the sudden earthquake, and the invasion of the sea that accompanied it, the tidal wave swallowed up Helice and every man in it.

[13] τοιοῦτό γε δὴ κατέλαβεν, καὶ ἕτερον τὴν ἰδέαν, ἐν Σιπύλῳ πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι: ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἡ ἰδέα κατεάγη τοῦ ὄρους, ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐρρῦη, καὶ λίμνη τε ὀνομαζομένη Σαλόη τὸ χάσμα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐρείπια πόλεως δῆλα ἦν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέκρυσεν αὐτὰ τοῦ χειμάρρου. σύνοπτα δὲ καὶ Ἑλικῆς ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια, οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε ὁμοίως, ἅτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλμης λελυμασμένα.

[24.13] A similar fate, though different in type, came upon a city on Mount Sipylus, so that it vanished into a chasm. The mountain split, water welled up from the fissure, and the chasm became a lake called Saloe. The ruins of the city were to be seen in the lake, until the water of the torrent hid them from view. The ruins of Helice too are visible, but not so plainly now as they were once, because they are corroded by the salt water.

25. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μήνιμα πάρεστι μὲν τοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλικὴν, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις διδαχθῆναι πολλοῖς ὥς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητον: φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς παραινῶν ὁ ἐν Δωδώνῃ νέμειν ἐς ἱκέτας αἰδῶ. Ἀθηναίους γὰρ ἐπὶ ἡλικίας μάλιστα τῆς Ἀφειδαντος ἀφίκετο παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὸς τὰ ἔπη τάδε: “φράζο δ’ Ἄρειόν τε πάγον βωμούς τε θυώδεις

Εὐμενίδων, ὅθι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίους σ’ ἱκετεῦσαι

δοῦρι πιεζομένους. τοὺς μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρῳ,

μηδ’ ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν: ἱκέται δ’ ἱεροὶ τε καὶ ἀγνοί.

“

[25.1] XXV. The disaster that befell Helice is but one of the many proofs that the wrath of the God of Suppliants is inexorable. The god at Dodona too manifestly advises us to respect suppliants. For about the time of Apheidas the Athenians received from Zeus of Dodona the following verses:—

Consider the Areopagus, and the smoking altars

Of the Eumenides, where the Lacedaemonians are to be thy suppliants,

When hard-pressed in war. Kill them not with the sword,

And wrong not suppliants. For suppliants are sacred and holy.

[2] ταῦτα Ἕλλησιν ἦλθεν ἐς μνήμην, ὅτε ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι, τότε Κόδρου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄλλος στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθοντο τοῦ Κόδρου τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ ὄντινα ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τρόπον: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι νίκην ἔτι σφίσι κατὰ τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα ἠλπίζον: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἄνδρες γενόμενοι μὲν ἐντὸς τείχους λανθάνουσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί, ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα τοὺς τε ἑαυτῶν ἀπεληλυθότας αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἀθροιζομένων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν αἱ Σεμναὶ καλοῦνται τοὺς βωμούς.

[25.2] The Greeks were reminded of these words when Peloponnesians arrived at Athens at the time when the Athenian king was Codrus, the son of

Melanthus. Now the rest of the Peloponnesian army, on learning of the death of Codrus and of the manner of it, departed from Attica, the oracle from Delphi making them despair of success in the future; but certain Lacedaemonians, who got unnoticed within the walls in the night, perceived at daybreak that their friends had gone, and when the Athenians gathered against them, they took refuge in the Areopagus at the altars of the goddesses called August.

[3] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τότε μὲν διδόασι τοῖς ἰκέταις ἀπελθεῖν ἀζημίους, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς διέφθειραν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰκέτας τῶν Κύλωνι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατελιφότεων· καὶ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἀποκτείναντες ἐνομίσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐναγεῖς τῆς θεοῦ. Λακεδαιμονίοις δέ, ἀποκτείνασι καὶ τούτοις ἄνδρας ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταπεφευγότας τὸ ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐσείσθη σφίσιν ἡ πόλις συνεχεῖ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ τῷ σεισμῷ, ὥστε οἰκίαν μηδεμίαν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀντισχεῖν.

[25.3] On this occasion the Athenians allowed the suppliants to go away unharmed, but subsequently the magistrates themselves put to death the suppliants of Athena, when Cylon and his supporters had seized the Acropolis. So the slayers themselves and also their descendants were regarded as accursed to the goddess. The Lacedaemonians too put to death men who had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum. Presently their city was shaken by an earthquake so continuous and violent that no house in Lacedaemon could resist it.

[4] ἐγένετο δὲ τῆς Ἑλικῆς ἀπώλεια Ἀστείου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἔτι ἄρχοντος, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἣν Δάμων Θούριος ἐνίκα τὸ πρῶτον. Ἑλικαέων δὲ οὐκέτι ὄντων νέμονται τὴν χώραν οἱ Αἰγίεις.

[25.4] The destruction of Helice occurred while Asteius was still archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and first Olympiad, whereat Damon of Thurii was victorious for the first time. As none of the people of Helice were left alive, the land is occupied by the people of Aegium.

CERYNEIA

[5] μετὰ δὲ Ἑλικὴν ἀποτραπήσῃ τε ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς δεξιὰν καὶ ἤξεις ἐς πόλισμα Κερύνειαν· ὥκισται δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐν ὄρει, καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄνομα ἡ δυνάστης ἐπιχώριος ἢ ὁ Κερυνίτης ποταμὸς πεποίηκεν, ὃς ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ ὄρους Κερυνείας ῥέων Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ταύτῃ παρέξεισι. παρὰ τούτους σύνοικοι Μυκηναῖοι κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος. Μυκηναίοις μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἁλῶναι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων, ἐτετείχιστο γὰρ κατὰ ταῦτα

[25.5] After Helice you will turn from the sea to the right and you will come to the town of Ceryneia. It is built on a mountain above the high road, and its name was given to it either by a native potentate or by the river Cerynites, which, flowing from Arcadia and Mount Ceryneia, passes through this part of

Achaia. To this part came as settlers Mycenaean from Argolis because of a catastrophe. Though the Argives could not take the wall of Mycenae by storm,

[6] τῷ ἐν Τίρυνθι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυκλώπων καλουμένων, κατὰ ἀνάγκην δὲ ἐκλείπουσι Μυκηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλειπόντων σφᾶς τῶν σιτίων, καὶ ἄλλοι μὲν τινες ἐς Κλεωνὰς ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, τοῦ δήμου δὲ πλεον μὲν ἡμισυ ἐς Μακεδονίαν καταφεύγουσι παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, ᾧ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐπίστευσεν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἀπαγγέλλαι: ὁ δὲ ἄλλος δῆμος ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν Κερύνειαν, καὶ δυνατωτέρα τε ἢ Κερύνεια οἰκητόρων πλήθει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένετο ἐπιφανεστέρα διὰ τὴν συνοίκησιν τῶν Μυκηναίων.

[25.6] built as it was like the wall of Tiryns by the Cyclopes, as they are called, yet the Mycenaean were forced to leave their city through lack of provisions. Some of them departed for Cleonae, but more than half of the population took refuge with Alexander in Macedonia, to whom Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, entrusted the message to be given to the Athenians. The rest of the population came to Ceryneia, and the addition of the Mycenaean made Ceryneia more powerful, through the increase of the population, and more renowned for the future.

[7] ἐν Κερυνείᾳ δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Εὐμενίδων: ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Ὅρεστην λέγουσιν. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ αἵματι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ μιάσματι ἔνοχος ἢ καὶ ἀσεβὴς ἐσέλθῃ θέλων θεάσασθαι, αὐτίκα λέγεται δείμασιν ἐκτὸς τῶν φρενῶν γίνεσθαι: καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οὐ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἢ ἔσοδος οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐστὶ. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἀγάλμασι ξύλων εἰργασμένοις * * * μέγεθός εἰσιν οὐ μεγάλοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ ἱερόν γυναικῶν εἰκόνες λίθου τέ εἰσιν εἰργασμένοι καὶ ἔχουσαι τέχνης εὖ: ἐλέγοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱέρειαι ταῖς Εὐμενίσιν αἱ γυναῖκες γενέσθαι.

[25.7] In Ceryneia is a sanctuary of the Eumenides, which they say was established by Orestes. Whosoever enters with the desire to see the sights, if he be guilty of bloodshed, defilement or impiety, is said at once to become insane with fright, and for this reason the right to enter is not given to all and sundry. The images made of wood . . . they are not very large in size, and at the entrance to the sanctuary are statues of women, made of stone and of artistic workmanship. The natives said that the women are portraits of the former priestesses of the Eumenides.

BURA

[8] ἐκ Κερυνείας δὲ ἐπανελθόντι ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον καὶ ὁδεύσαντι οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ δεύτερα ἔστιν ἐς Βοῦραν ἀποτραπέσθαι: θαλάσσης δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἡ Βοῦρα ἐν ὄρει κεῖται. τεθῆναι δὲ φασὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Βούρας, θυγατέρα δ' αὐτὴν Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξούθου καὶ Ἑλίκης εἶναι. ὅτε δὲ Ἑλίκην ἐποίησεν ἄδελγον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ θεός, τότε καὶ τὴν Βοῦραν σεισμὸς ἐπέλαβεν ἰσχυρός, ὥς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὑπολειφθῆναι τὰ ἀρχαῖα.

[25.8] On returning from Ceryneia to the high road, if you go along it for a short

distance you may turn aside again to Bura, which is situated on a mountain to the right of the sea. It is said that the name was given to the city from a woman called Bura, who was the daughter of Ion, son of Xuthus, and of Helice. When the god wiped off Helice from the face of the earth, Bura too suffered a severe earthquake, so that not even the ancient images were left in the sanctuaries.

[9] ὁπόσοι δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἀποδημοῦντες ἢ στρατείας ἔνεκα ἔτυχον ἢ κατὰ πρόφασιν ἀλλοίαν, μόνοι τε οὗτοι Βουρέων ἐλείφθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς Βούρας ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί. ναὸς ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Διονύσου τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἄλλος Εἰλειθυίας· λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργα Εὐκλείδου· καὶ τῇ Δήμητρὶ ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἰσιδι ἱερὸν.

[25.9] The only Burians to survive were those who chanced to be absent at the time, either on active service or for some other reason, and these became the second founders of Bura. There is a temple here of Demeter, one of Aphrodite and Dionysus, and a third of Eileithyia. The images are of Pentelic marble, and were made by Eucleides of Athens. There is drapery for Demeter. Isis too has a sanctuary.

[10] καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ Βούρας ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ποταμός τε Βουραϊκὸς ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ἐν σπηλαίῳ· ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν καὶ τούτου Βουραϊκός, μαντείας δὲ ἐπὶ πίνακι τε καὶ ἀστραγάλοις ἔστι λαβεῖν. εὖχεται μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ὁ τῷ θεῷ χρώμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εὐχῇ λαβὼν ἀστραγάλους — οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοι παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ κεῖνται — τέσσαρας ἀφίησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· ἐπὶ δὲ παντὶ ἀστραγάλου σχήματι γεγραμμένα ἐν πίνακι ἐπίτηδες ἐξήγησιν ἔχει τοῦ σχήματος.

[25.10] On descending from Bura towards the sea you come to a river called Buraicus, and to a small Heracles in a cave. He too is surnamed Buraicus, and here one can divine by means of a tablet and dice. He who inquires of the god offers up a prayer in front of the image, and after the prayer he takes four dice, a plentiful supply of which are placed by Heracles, and throws them upon the table. For every figure made by the dice there is an explanation expressly written on the tablet.

AEGLAE & THE RIVER CRATHIS

[11] σταδίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλίκης ὁδὸς ἢ εὐθεῖα ἐστὶ. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ποταμὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν ἀένας ἐξ ὄρους Ἀρκαδικοῦ κατερχόμενος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Κράθις καὶ ἔνθα αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῷ ὄρει· ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς Κράθιδος καὶ πρὸς Κρότωνι τῇ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς ὄνομα ἔσχηκε.

[25.11] The straight road from Helice to the Heracles is about thirty stades. Going on from the Heracles you come to the mouth of a river that descends from a mountain in Arcadia and never dries up. The river itself is called the Crathis, which is also the name of the mountain where the river has its source.

From this Crathis the river too by Crotona in Italy has been named.

[12] πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ἀχαϊκῇ Κράθιδι Ἀχαιῶν ποτε ᾤκειτο Αἰγαὶ πόλις· ἐκλειφθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας λέγουσι. τούτων δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος τῶν Αἰγῶν ἐν Ἡρας λόγοις ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, “οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλικὴν τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ’ ἀνάγουσι,

“Hom. Il. 8.203 δῆλον ὡς γέρα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐπ’ ἴσης ἐν τε Ἑλικῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς ἔχοντος.

[25.12] By the Achaean Crathis once stood Aegae, a city of the Achaeans. In course of time, it is said, it was abandoned because its people were weak. This Aegae is mentioned by Homer in Hera’s speech:—

They bring thee gifts up to Helice and to Aegae. Hom. Il. 8.203

Hence it is plain that Poseidon was equally honored at Helice and at Aegae.

[13] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀπωτέρω Κράθιδος σῆμά τε ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα εὐρήσεις ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἵπῳ παρεστῶτα, ἀμυδρὰν γραφὴν. ὁδὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου σταδίων ὅσον τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Γαῖον· Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν ὁ Γαῖος ἐπὶ κλησιν Εὐρυστέρνου, ξόανον δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον. γυνὴ δὲ ἡ αἰεὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λαμβάνουσα ἀγιστεύει μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα ἔσται πλέον ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς πείραν ἀφιγμένη. πίνουσαι δὲ αἷμα ταύρου δοκιμάζονται· ἡ δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν τύχη μὴ ἀληθεύουσα, αὐτίκα ἐκ τούτου τὴν δίκην ἔσχευ. ἦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀφίκωνται γυναῖκες ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν πλέονες, ἡ τῷ κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα προτετίμηται.

[25.13] At no great distance from the Crathis you will find a tomb on the right of the road, and on the tombstone a man standing by the side of a horse; the colors of the painting have faded. From the grave it is a journey of about thirty stades to what is called the Gaeus, a sanctuary of Earth surnamed Broad-bosomed, whose wooden image is one of the very oldest. The woman who from time to time is priestess henceforth remains chaste, and before her election must not have had intercourse with more than one man. The test applied is drinking bull’s blood. Any woman who may chance not to speak the truth is immediately punished as a result of this test. If several women compete for the priesthood, lots are cast for the honor.

AEGEIRA

26. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Αἰγειρατῶν — ὄνομα τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ τε πόλις καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον ἔχει — , ἐς οὗν τὸ ἐπίνειον Αἰγειρατῶν δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Βουραϊκὴν εἰσιν Ἡρακλέους στάδιοι. ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ μὲν δὴ Αἰγειράταις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην, ὁδὸς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπινείου δύο σταδίων καὶ δέκα ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν.

[26.1] XXVI. To the port of Aegeira, which has the same name as the city, it is seventy-two stades from the Heracles that stands on the road to Bura. The

coast town of Aegeira presents nothing worth recording; from the port to the upper city is twelve stades.

[2] Ὀμήρου δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὑπερησία ὠνόμασται: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἐγένετο Ἰώνων ἐποικούντων, ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύδε. Σικωνίων ἀφίξεσθαι στρατὸς ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς πολέμιος ἐς τὴν γῆν: οἱ δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκουν ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς Σικωνίοις εἶναι — ἀθροίζουσιν αἶγας, ὅποσαι σφίσιν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, συλλέξαντες δὲ ἔδησαν πρὸς τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δαῖδας, καὶ ὥς πρόσω νυκτὸς ἦν, ἐξάπτουσι τὰς δαῖδας.

[26.2] Homer in his poem calls the city Hyperesia. Its present name was given it while the Ionians were still dwelling there, and the reason for the name was as follows. A hostile army of Sicyonians was about to invade their territory. As they thought themselves no match for the Sicyonians, they collected all the goats they had in the country, and gathering them together they tied torches to their horns, and when the night was far advanced they set the torches alight.

[3] Σικωνῖοι δὲ — ἰέναι γὰρ συμμάχους τοῖς Ὑπερησιεῦσιν ἠλπίζον καὶ εἶναι τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικουρικοῦ πυρός — οἱ μὲν οἴκαδε ἐπανήρχοντο, Ὑπερησιεῖς δὲ τῇ τε πόλει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν μετέθεντο ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν, καὶ καθότι αὐτῶν ἡ καλλίστη καὶ ἡγουμένη τῶν ἄλλων ὤκλασεν, Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας ἐποιήσαντο ἱερὸν, τὸ σόφισμα ἐς τοὺς Σικωνίους οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός σφισιν ἐπελθεῖν νομίζοντες.

[26.3] The Sicyonians, suspecting that allies were coming to the help of the Hyperesians, and that the flames came from their fires, set off home again. The Hyperesians gave their city its present name of Aegeira from the goats (aiges), and where the most beautiful goat, which led the others, crouched, they built a sanctuary of Artemis the Huntress, believing that the trick against the Sicyonians was an inspiration of Artemis.

[4] οὐ μὴν καὶ αὐτίκα γε ἐξενίκησεν Αἰγειραν ἀντὶ Ὑπερησίας καλεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἔτι οἱ Ὠρεὸν τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἑστίασαν ἐκάλουν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ. παρείχετο δὲ ἡ Αἰγειρα ἐς συγγραφὴν ἱερὸν Διὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιου, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργον Εὐκλείδου. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε: πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκραι χεῖρες ἐλέφαντος καὶ οἱ πόδες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ξόανον χρυσῷ τε ἐπιπολῆς διηνητισμένον ἐστὶ καὶ φαρμάκοις.

[26.4] The name Aegeira, however, did not supersede Hyperesia at once, just as even in my time there were still some who called Oreus in Euboea by its ancient name of Hestiaea. The sights of Aegeira worth recording include a sanctuary of Zeus with a sitting image of Pentelic marble, the work of Eucleides the Athenian. In this sanctuary there also stands an image of Athena. The face, hands and feet are of ivory, the rest is of wood, with ornamentation of gilt work and of colors.

[5] Ἀρτέμιδός τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν: ἱερᾶται δὲ παρθένος,

ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν ἀφίκηται γάμου. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἀρχαῖον, Ἰφιγένεια ἢ Ἀγαμέμνωνος, ὥς οἱ Αἰγείρωται φασιν: εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν οὗτοι, δῆλός ἐστιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰφιγενεία ποιηθεῖς ὁ ναός.

[26.5] There is also a temple of Artemis, with an image of the modern style of workmanship. The priestess is a maiden, who holds office until she reaches the age to marry. There stands here too an ancient image, which the folk of Aegeira say is Iphigeneia, the daughter of Agamemnon. If they are correct, it is plain that the temple must have been built originally for Iphigeneia.

[6] ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον τό τε ἱερὸν αὐτὸ καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς αἰετοῖς, ἀρχαῖον δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον, γυμνός, μεγέθει μέγας: τὸν ποιήσαντα δὲ εἶχεν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰπεῖν: ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐθεάσατο, τεκμαίροιτο ἂν καὶ ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἔργον εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φλιασίου Λαφαούς.

[26.6] There is also a sanctuary of Apollo; the sanctuary itself, with the sculptures on the pediments, are very old; the wooden image of the god also is old, the figure being nude and of colossal size. None of the inhabitants could give the name of the artist, but anyone who has already seen the Heracles at Sicyon would be led to conjecture that the Apollo in Aegeira was also a work of the same artist, Laphaes the Phliasian.

[7] Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ναῷ καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐτέρωθι καὶ Ἰσίδος, λίθου καὶ ταῦτα Πεντελησίου. τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίαν σέβουσι μὲν τὰ μάλιστα, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις. θεοῦ δὲ ἦν Συρίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἐς ταύτης τὸ ἱερὸν ἐσίασιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς, ἄλλα τε ὅσα νομίζουσι προκαθαριεύσαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν.

[26.7] There are in a temple standing images of Asclepius, and elsewhere images of Serapis and of Isis, these too being of Pentelic marble. They worship most devoutly the Heavenly Goddess, but human beings must not enter her sanctuary. But into the sanctuary of the goddess they surname Syrian they enter on stated days, but they must submit beforehand to certain customary purifications, especially in the matter of diet.

[8] οἶδα καὶ οἶκημα ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ θεασάμενος: ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ οἰκίματι Τύχης, τὸ κέρας φέρουσα τὸ Ἀμαλθείας: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἔρως πτερὰ ἔχων ἐστίν, ἐθέλει δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρωτα τύχη μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ κάλλους κατορθοῦται. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν Πινδάρου τά τε ἄλλα πείθομαι τῇ ᾠδῇ καὶ Μοιρῶν τε εἶναι μίαν τὴν Τύχην καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἀδελφάς τι ἰσχύειν:

[26.8] I remember observing at Aegeira a building in which was an image of Fortune carrying the horn of Amaltheia. By her side is a winged Love, the moral of which is that even success in love depends for mankind on fortune rather than on beauty. Now I am in general agreement with Pindar's ode, and especially with his making Fortune one of the Fates, and more powerful than her sisters.

[9] ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι ἀνὴρ τε ἤδη γέρων ἴσα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ τρεῖς ἀφαιρούμεναι ψεῖλιά εἰσι καὶ ἴσοι νεανίσκοι ταῖς γυναιξί, καὶ ὁ ἐνδεδουκὼς δὲ θώρακα εἷς. τοῦτόν φασιν Ἀχαιοὶς γενομένου πολέμου μαχεσάμενον ἀνδρείοτατα Αἰγειρατῶν τελευτῆσαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἴκαδε ἀπήγγειλαν· καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα αἱ τε ἀδελφαὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος ἀποκοσμοῦνται καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐπονομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Συμπαθῆ, ἅτε ἐλεεινὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι.

[26.9] In this building at Aegeira is also an old man in the attitude of a mourner, three women taking off their bracelets, and likewise three lads, with a man wearing a breastplate. They say that in a war of the Achaeans this last man fought more bravely than any other soldier of Aegeira, but was killed. His surviving brothers carried home the news of his death, and therefore in mourning for him his sisters are discarding their ornaments, and the natives call the father Sympathes, because even in the statue he is a piteous figure.

PHELLOE

[10] ὁδὸς δὲ ἐξ Αἰγείρας εὐθεῖα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς διὰ τε ὀρῶν καὶ ἀνάντης ἐστί· μῆκος μὲν οὖν τῆς ὁδοῦ τεσσαράκοντά εἰσι στάδιοι, ἄγει δὲ ἐς Φελλόην, πόλισμα οὐκ ἐπιφανές, τοῦδὲ ὡς αἰεὶ ᾤκεῖτο καὶ Ἰόνων ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν γῆν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Φελλόην ἐς φντεῖαν ἀμπέλων ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια· καὶ ὅσα πετρῶδη τῆς χώρας, δρυὲς τέ εἰσι καὶ θηρία, ἔλαφοι καὶ ὕς ἄγριοι.

[26.10] There is a straight road from the sanctuary of Zeus at Aegeira, passing through the mountains and steep. It is forty stades long, and leads to Phelloe, an obscure town, which was not always inhabited even when the Ionians still occupied the land. The district round Phelloe is well suited for the growth of the vine; the rocky parts are covered with oaks, the home of deer and wild boars.

[11] εἰ δέ τινα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι πολισματίων ἀφθόνῳ καταρρεῖται τῷ ὕδατι, ἀριθμεῖν καὶ τὴν Φελλόην ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστίν· ἡ μὲν χαλκοῦ πεποίηται, βέλος δὲ ἐκ φαρέτρας λαμβάνουσα· τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ ὑπὸ κινναβάρεως τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶν ἐπληθισμένον. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον καταβᾶσιν ἐξ Αἰγείρας καὶ αὐθις ἐς τὰ πρόσω βαδίζουσιν ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγροτέρας, ἔνθα τὴν αἶγα ὀκλάσαι λέγουσιν.

[26.11] You may reckon Phelloe one of the towns in Greece best supplied with flowing water. There are sanctuaries of Dionysus and of Artemis. The goddess is of bronze, and is taking an arrow from her quiver. The image of Dionysus is painted with vermillion. On going down from Aegeira to the port, and walking on again, we see on the right of the road the sanctuary of the Huntress, where they say the goat crouched.

PELLENE

[12] τῆς δὲ Αἰγειρατῶν ἔχονται Πελληνεῖς· πρὸς Σικυῶνος δὲ οὗτοι καὶ μοίρας τῆς Ἀργολίδος Ἀχαιῶν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει λόγῳ

μὲν τῷ Πελληγένει ἀπὸ Πάλλαντος, τῶν Τιτάνων δὲ καὶ Πάλλαντα εἶναι
λέγουσι, δόξη δὲ τῇ Ἀργείων ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου Πέλληνος: Φόρβαντος δὲ
εἶναι τοῦ Τριόπα παῖδα αὐτὸν λέγουσιν.

[26.12] The territory of Aegeira is bounded by that of Pellene, which is the last city of Achaia in the direction of Sicyon and the Argolid. The city got its name, according to the account of the Pellenians, from Pallas, who was, they say, one of the Titans, but the Argives think it was from Pellen, an Argive. And they say that he was the son of Phorbas, the son of Triopas.

[13] Αἰγείρας δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ καὶ Πελλήνης πόλισμα ὑπήκουον Σικυωνίων Δονοῦσσα καλουμένη ἐγένετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἀνάστατος, μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι φασιν αὐτῆς ποιήσαντα ἔπος· οἳ θ' Ὑπερησὶν τε καὶ Αἰπεινὴν Δονόεσσαν:

“Hom. Il 2.573 Πεισίστρατον δέ, ἥνικα ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἄλλαχού μνημονευόμενα ἤθροϊζε, τότε αὐτὸν Πεισίστρατον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐταίρων μεταποιῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας.

[26.13] Between Aegeira and Pellene once stood a town, subject to the Sicyonians and called Donussa, which was laid waste by the Sicyonians; it is mentioned, they say, in a verse of Homer that occurs in the list of those who accompanied Agamemnon:—

And the men of Hyperesia and those of steep Donoessa. Hom. Il. 2.573

They go on to say that when Peisistratus collected the poems of Homer, which were scattered and handed down by tradition, some in one place and some in another, then either he or one of his colleagues perverted the name through ignorance.

[14] ἔστι δὲ Ἀριστοναῦται Πελληνεῦσιν ἐπίνειον. ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ Αἰγείρας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ σταδίων ἐστὶν εἴκοσιν ὁδὸς καὶ ἑκατὸν: ταύτης δὲ ἡμίσεια ἐς Πελλήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπινείου. ὄνομα δὲ Ἀριστοναύτας γενέσθαι τῷ ἐπινείῳ λέγουσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν λιμένα ὠρμίσαντο οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς.

[26.14] The port of Pellene is Aristonautae. Its distance from Aegeira on the sea is one hundred and twenty stades, and to Pellene from this port is half that distance. They say that the name of Aristonautae was given to that port because it was one of the harbors into which the Argonauts entered.

27. Πελληνεῦσι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λόφου κατὰ ἄκραν τὴν κορυφὴν ἐς ὃξὺ ἀνεστηκότος. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἀπότομον καὶ δι' αὐτό ἐστιν ἀοίκητον: τῷ δὲ χθαμαλωτέρῳ πεπόλισται σφισιν οὐ συνεχῆς ἡ πόλις, ἐς δὲ μοίρας νενεμημένη δύο ὑπὸ τῆς ἄκρας μεταξύ ἀνεχούσης. ἰόντων δὲ ἐς Πελλήνην ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐπὶ κλησὶν μὲν Δόλιος, εὐχὰς δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἔτοιμος τελέσαι: σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ τετράγωνον, γένειά τε ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλον εἰργασμένον.

[27.1] XXVII. The city of Pellene is on a hill which rises to a sharp peak at its summit. This part then is precipitous, and therefore uninhabited, but on the lower slopes they have built their city, which is not continuous, but divided

into two parts by the peak that rises up between. As you go to Pellene there is, by the roadside, an image of Hermes, who, in spite of his surname of Crafty, is ready to fulfill the prayers of men. He is of square shape and bearded, and on his head is carved a cap.

[2] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς λίθου μὲν ἐπιχωρίου ναός, ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ: Φειδίαν δὲ εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φασὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ ἀγάλματα. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄδυτον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθήκειν ἐς βάθος τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ τὸ ἄδυτον τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῷ βάθρῳ, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου νότιόν τε εἶναι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἐπιτήδειον.

[27.2] On the way to the city, close up to it, is a temple of Athena, built of local stone, but the image is of ivory and gold. They say that Pheidias made it before he made the images of Athena on the Athenian acropolis and at Plataea. The people of Pellene also say that a shrine of Athena sinks deep into the ground, that this shrine is under the pedestal of the image, and that the air from the shrine is damp, and consequently good for the ivory.

[3] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἄλσος περιφοδομημένον τείχει Σωτείας ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁμνύουσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις αὐτῇ: ἔσοδος τε πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄλλῳ γε οὐδενὶ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων. ἱερεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰσὶ κατὰ δόξαν γένους μάλιστα αἰρούμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ἄλσους τῆς Σωτείας ἱερὸν ἀπαντικρὺ Διονύσου Λαμπτήρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ κλησιν: τοῦτ' καὶ Λαμπτήρια ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ δᾶδάς τε ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζουσιν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ οἶνον κρατῆρας ἰσθᾶσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν.

[27.3] Above the temple of Athena is a grove, surrounded by a wall, of Artemis surnamed Saviour, by whom they swear their most solemn oaths. No man may enter the grove except the priests. These priests are natives, chosen chiefly because of their high birth. Opposite the grove of the Saviour is a sanctuary of Dionysus surnamed Torch. In his honor they celebrate a festival called the Feast of Torches, when they bring by night firebrands into the sanctuary, and set up bowls of wine throughout the whole city.

[4] ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Θεοξενίου Πελληνεῦσιν ἱερὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦ πεποιήται: καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελοῦσι Θεοξένια τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, τιθέντες ἀργύριον ἄθλα τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγωνίζονται τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος: τοξευούσης δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρέχεται σχῆμα. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ ἔλυτρον κρήνης ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ λουτρά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ τοὶ πίνειν πηγαὶ σφισιν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν οὐ πολλαί: τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἔνθα αἱ πηγαί, Γλυκείας ὀνομάζουσι.

[27.4] There is also at Pellene a sanctuary of Apollo, the Strangers' God, and the image is made of bronze. They hold in honor of Apollo games that they call Theoxenia, with money as the prizes of victory, the competitors being the natives. Near the sanctuary of Apollo is a temple of Artemis, the goddess

being represented in the attitude of shooting. In the market-place is built a tank, and for bathing they use rain-water, since for drinking there are a few springs beneath the city. The place where the springs are they name Glyceiae (Sweet Springs).

[5] γυμνάσιον δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐς ἐφήβων μάλιστα ἀνεῖται μελέτην: οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐγγραφῆναι πρότερον καθέστηκεν οὐδενὶ πρὶν ἂν ἐφηβεύσωσιν. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ Πελληνεὺς ἕστηκε Πρόμαχος ὁ Δρύωνος, ἀνελόμενος παγκρατίου νίκας, τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι, τρεῖς δ' Ἰσθμίων καὶ Νεμέᾳ δύο: καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ποιήσαντες οἱ Πελληνεῖς τὴν μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, λίθου ταύτην καὶ οὐ χαλκοῦ.

[27.5] There is an old gymnasium chiefly given up to the exercises of the youths. No one may be enrolled on the register of citizens before he has been on the register of youths. Here stands a man of Pellene called Promachus, the son of Dryon, who won prizes in the pancratium, one at Olympia, three at the Isthmus and two at Nemea. The Pellenians made two statues of him, dedicating one at Olympia and one in the gymnasium; the latter is of stone, not bronze.

[6] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Κορινθίου συνεστῶτος πολέμου Πελληνεῦσιν ἀποκτείνειεν ὁ Πρόμαχος πλείστους τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πουλυδάμαντος τοῦ Σκοτουςσαίου κρατήσειεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: τὸν δὲ Πουλυδάμαντα δεύτερα τότε ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀφίχθαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν ἀνασθθέντα οἴκαδε. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἡσσηθῆναι Πουλυδάμαντα οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες παρέχονται καὶ ἄλλα ἐς πίστιν καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἐπὶ τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι: ὧ τροφὲ Πουλυδάμαντος ἀνικάτου Σκοτόεσσα.

“unknown

[27.6] It is said too that when a war arose between Corinth and Pellene, Promachus killed a vast number of the enemy. It is said that he also overcame at Olympia Pulydamas of Scotusa, this being the occasion when, after his safe return home from the king of Persia, he came for the second time to compete in the Olympic games. The Thessalians, however, refuse to admit that Pulydamas was beaten; one of the pieces of evidence they bring forward is a verse about Pulydamas: —

Scotoessa, nurse of unbeaten Pulydamas. unknown

[7] Πελληνεῖς δ' οὖν Πρόμαχον τὰ μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ. Χαίρωνα δὲ δύο ἀνελόμενον πάλης νίκας Ἰσθμικὰς καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τέσσαρας οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐθέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι κατέλυσε πολιτείαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὴν ἐν Πελλάγη, δῶρον τὸ ἐπιφθονώτατον παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου λαβών, τύραννος πατρίδος τῆς αὐτοῦ καταστήναι.

[27.7] Be this as it may, the people of Pellene hold Promachus in the highest honor. But Chaeron, who carried off two prizes for wrestling at the Isthmian games and four at the Olympian, they will not even mention by name. This I

believe is because he overthrew the constitution of Pellene, and received from Alexander, the son of Philip, the most invidious of all gifts, to be set up as tyrant of one's own fatherland.

[8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Πελληγεῦσιν ἱερὸν: τοῦτο ἐν μοίρᾳ τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐλάσσονι ἐστὶν ἰδρυμένον. τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Ποσειδῖον τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότερα ἦν δῆμος, ἔρημον δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν. ἔστι μὲν δὴ τὸ Ποσειδῖον τοῦτο ὑπὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον, διαμεμένηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν νομίζεσθαι.

[27.8] Pellene has also a sanctuary of Eileithyia, which is situated in the lesser portion of the city. What is called the Poseidium in more ancient days was a township, but to-day it is uninhabited. This Poseidium is below the gymnasium, and down to the present day it has been considered sacred to Poseidon.

THE MYSAEUM & ASCLEPIUM

[9] Πελλήνης δὲ ὅσον στάδια ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει τὸ Μύσαιον, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος Μυσιάς: ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Μύσιόν φασιν ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον, ἐδέξατο δὲ οἶκῳ Δήμητρα καὶ ὁ Μύσιος λόγῳ τῷ Ἀργεῖον. ἔστι δὲ ἄλσος ἐν τῷ Μυσαίῳ, δένδρα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα, καὶ ὕδωρ ἄφθονον ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῶν. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν τῇ Δήμητρὶ ἐνταῦθα ἡμερῶν ἑπτά:

[27.9] About sixty stades distant from Pellene is the Mysaeum, a sanctuary of the Mysian Demeter. It is said that it was founded by Mysius, a man of Argos, who according to Argive tradition gave Demeter a welcome in his home. There is a grove in the Mysaeum, containing trees of every kind, and in it rises a copious supply of water from springs. Here they also celebrate a seven days' festival in honor of Demeter.

[10] τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὑπεξίστασιν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καταλειπόμενοι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες δρῶσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ὅποσα νόμος ἐστὶν αὐταῖς: ἀπελαύνονται δὲ οὐχ οἱ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὸ ἄρρεν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφικομένων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ γυναῖκες τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας οἱ ἄνδρες γέλῳτι τε ἐς ἀλλήλους χρῶνται καὶ σκώμμασιν.

[27.10] On the third day of the festival the men withdraw from the sanctuary, and the women are left to perform on that night the ritual that custom demands. Not only men are excluded, but even male dogs. On the following day the men come to the sanctuary, and the men and the women laugh and jeer at one another in turn.

[11] ἀπωτέρω δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυσαίου ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καλούμενον Κῦρος, καὶ ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνέδην ἐστί, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται. ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέρχονται τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Πελλήνην, πρὸς μὲν Αἰγείρας καλούμενος Κριός: ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα

ἀπὸ Τιτᾶνος Κριοῦ:

[27.11] At no great distance from the Mysaeum is a sanctuary of Asclepius, called Cyrus, where cures of patients are effected by the god. Here too there is a copious supply of water, and at the largest of the springs stands the image of Asclepius.

RIVERS CRIUS & SYTHAS

Rivers come down from the mountains above Pellene, the one on the side nearest Aegeira being called Crius, after, it is said, a Titan of the same name.

[12] Κριοῦς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὠνόμασται ποταμός, ὃς ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον κάτεισι. καθότι δὲ Πελληνεῦσιν ὅροι τῆς χώρας πρὸς Σικυωνίους εἰσί, κατὰ τοῦτο ποταμός σφισι Σύθας, ἔσχατος ποταμῶν τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν, ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκδίδωσι θάλασσαν.

[27.12] There is another river called Crius, which rises in Mount Sipylus and is a tributary of the Hermus. Where the territory of Pellene borders on that of Sicyon is a Pellenian river Sythas, the last of the Achaean rivers, which flows into the Sicyonian sea.

BOOK VIII.

Ἀρκαδικά

BOOK VIII.

ARCADIA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. Ἀρκάδων δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῆς Ἀργείας Τεγεᾶται τε ἔχουσι καὶ Μαντινεῖς, νέμονται δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν τὸ μεσόγαιον τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Κορίνθιοι γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ πρῶτοι: Κορινθίοις δὲ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης εἰσὶν Ἐπιδαῦριοι γείτονες: τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ Τροιζηνά τε καὶ Ἑρμιόνα ὁ κόλπος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀργολικὸς καὶ ὅσα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Ἀργείας: ταύτης δὲ ἔχονται τῆς χώρας Λακεδαιμονίων περίοικοι, τούτοις δὲ ὁμορος ἡ Μεσσηνία: καταβαίνει γὰρ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐς Μοθώνην καὶ Πύλον καὶ ἐπὶ Κυπαρισσίας.

[1.1] I. The part of Arcadia that lies next to the Argive land is occupied by Tegeans and Mantineans, who with the rest of the Arcadians inhabit the interior of the Peloponnesus. The first people within the peninsula are the Corinthians, living on the Isthmus, and their neighbors on the side sea-wards are the Epidaurians. Along Epidaurus, Troezen, and Nermion, come the Argolic Gulf and the coast of Argolis; next to Argolis come the vassals of Lacedaemon, and these border on Messenia, which comes down to the sea at Mothone, Pylus and Cyparissiae.

[2] τὰ δὲ πρὸς Λεχαίου Κορινθίοις Σικυῶνιοι προσοικοῦσιν ἔσχατοι ταύτη μοίρας τῆς Ἀργολίδος: μετὰ δὲ Σικυῶνα Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν οἰκοῦντες: τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Πελοποννήσου πέρας τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν Ἐχινάδων οἰκοῦσιν Ἥλαιοι: τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Ἥλειας κατὰ μὲν Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἰσὶν ὄροι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἀχαΐαν Δυμαίων εἰσὶν ὁμοροι.

[1.2] On the side of Lechaeum the Corinthians are bounded by the Sicyonians, who dwell in the extreme part of Argolis on this side. After Sicyon come the Achaeans who live along the coast at the other end of the Peloponnesus, opposite the Echinadian islands, dwell the Eleans. The land of Elis, on the side of Olympia and the mouth of the Alpheius, borders on Messenia; on the side of Achaia it borders on the land of Dyme.

[3] τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων καθηκόντων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Ἀρκάδες τὸ ἐντὸς οἰκοῦσιν ἀποκλειόμενοι θαλάσσης πανταχόθεν: ὅθεν σφᾶς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν ἐς Τροίαν παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος πλοῖα εἰληφότας καὶ οὐχὶ ναυσὶν οἰκείας.

[1.3] These that I have mentioned extend to the sea, but the Arcadians are shut off from the sea on every side and dwell in the interior. Hence, when they went to Troy, so Homer says, they did not sail in their own ships, but in

vessels lent by Agamemnon.

[4] φασὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ὡς Πελασγὸς γένοιτο ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ πρῶτος. εἰκὸς δὲ ἔχει τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελασγῷ μηδὲ αὐτὸν Πελασγὸν γενέσθαι μόνον· ποίῳν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἦρχεν ὁ Πελασγὸς ἀνθρώπων; μεγέθει μέντοι καὶ κατὰ ἀλκὴν καὶ κάλλος προεῖχεν ὁ Πελασγὸς καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦν, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα αἰρεθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ βασιλεῦειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. πεποιῖται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίῳ τοιαύδε ἐς αὐτόν·” Ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμοισιν ὄρεσσι

γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.

“Asius, unknown location.

[1.4] The Arcadians say that Pelasgus was the first inhabitant of this land. It is natural to suppose that others accompanied Pelasgus, and that he was not by himself; for otherwise he would have been a king without any subjects to rule over. However, in stature and in prowess, in beauty and in wisdom, Pelasgus excelled his fellows, and for this reason, I think, he was chosen to be king by them. Asius the poet says of him:—

The godlike Pelasgus on the wooded mountains

Black earth gave up, that the race of mortals might exist. Asius, unknown location.

[5] Πελασγὸς δὲ βασιλεύσας τοῦτο μὲν ποιήσασθαι καλύβας ἐπενόησεν, ὡς μὴ ῥιγοῦν τε καὶ ὕεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος ταλαιπωρεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δερμάτων τῶν οἰδῶν, οἷς καὶ νῦν περὶ τε Εὐβοίαν ἔτι χρώνται καὶ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ὁπόσοι βίου σπανίζουσιν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξευρών. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν φύλλων τὰ ἔτι χλωρὰ καὶ πόας τε καὶ ρίζας οὐδὲ ἐδωδίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλεθρίους ἐνίας

σιτουμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτων μὲν ἔπαυσεν ὁ Πελασγός·

[1.5] Pelasgus on becoming king invented huts that humans should not shiver, or be soaked by rain, or oppressed by heat. Moreover; he it was who first thought of coats of sheep-skins, such as poor folk still wear in Euboea and Phocis. He too it was who checked the habit of eating green leaves, grasses, and roots always inedible and sometimes poisonous.

[6] ὁ δὲ τὸν καρπὸν τῶν δρυῶν οὔτι που πασῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς βαλάνους τῆς φηγοῦ τροφὴν ἐξεῦρεν εἶναι. παρέμεινέ τε ἐνίοις ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τούτου ἡ δίαίτα, ὡς καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν, ἡνίκα Λακεδαιμονίοις γῆς τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἀπηγόρευεν ἄπτεσθαι, καὶ τάδε εἰπεῖν τὰ ἔπη: “πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,

οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν: ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μεγαίρω.

“Πελασγοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος γενέσθαι καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Πελασγίαν φασὶν ὄνομα.

[1.6] But he introduced as food the nuts of trees, not those of all trees but only the acorns of the edible oak. Some people have followed this diet so closely

since the time of Pelasgus that even the Pythian priestess, when she forbade the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, uttered the following verses:—

In Arcadia are many men who eat acorns,
Who will prevent you; though I do not grudge it you.

It is said that it was in the reign of Pelasgus that the land was called Pelasgia.

2. Λυκάων δὲ ὁ Πελασγοῦ τοσάδε εὗρεν ἢ ὁ πατήρ οἱ σοφώτερα: Λυκόσουράν τε γὰρ πόλιν ᾧκισεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ καὶ Δία ὠνόμασε Λυκαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε Λύκαια. οὐκέτι δὲ τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Παναθήναια τεθῆναι πρότερα ἀποφαίνομαι: τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι Ἀθήναια ὄνομα ἦν, Παναθήναια δὲ κληθῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ Θησέως, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐτέθη συνειλεγμένων ἐς μίαν ἀπάντων πόλιν.

[2.1] II. Lycaon the son of Pelasgus devised the following plans, which were more clever than those of his father. He founded the city Lycosura on Mount Lycaeus, gave to Zeus the surname Lycaeus and founded the Lycaean games. I hold that the Panathenian festival was not founded before the Lycaean. The early name for the former festival was the Athenian, which was changed to the Panathenian in the time of Theseus, because it was then established by the whole Athenian people gathered together in a single city.

[2] ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ὁ Ὀλυμπικὸς — ἐπανάγουσι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἀνωτέρω τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, Κρόνον καὶ Δία αὐτόθι παλαῖσαι λέγοντες καὶ ὡς Κούρητες δράμοιεν πρῶτοι — τούτων ἔνεκα ἐκτὸς ἔστω μοι τοῦ παρόντος λόγου. δοκῶ δὲ ἔγωγε Κέκροπι ἡλικίαν τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λυκάονι εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν, σοφία δὲ οὐχ ὁμοία σφᾶς ἐς τὸ θεῖον χρῆσασθαι.

[2.2] The Olympic games I leave out of the present account, because they are traced back to a time earlier than the human race, the story being that Cronus and Zeus wrestled there, and that the Curetes were the first to race at Olympia. My view is that Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, the king of Athens, but that they were not equally wise in matters of religion.

[3] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δία τε ὠνόμασεν Ὑπατον πρῶτος, καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχὴν, τούτων μὲν ἡξίωσεν οὐδὲν θῆσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάνους καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι: Λυκάων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς βρέφος ἠνεγκεν ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἔθυσσε τὸ βρέφος καὶ ἔσπεισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ γενέσθαι λύκον φασὶν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου.

[2.3] For Cecrops was the first to name Zeus the Supreme god, and refused to sacrifice anything that had life in it, but burnt instead on the altar the national cakes which the Athenians still call pelanoi. But Lycaon brought a human baby to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, pouring out its blood upon the altar, and according to the legend immediately after the sacrifice he was changed from a man to a wolf (Lycos).

[4] καὶ ἐμέ γε ὁ λόγος οὗτος πείθει, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνθρωποι ξένοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι θεοῖς ἦσαν ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ σφισιν ἐναργῶς ἀπῆντα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμὴ τε οὖσιν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀδικήσασιν ὡσαύτως ἡ ὀργή, ἐπεὶ τοὶ καὶ θεοὶ τότε ἐγίνοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ γέρα καὶ ἐς τὸδε ἔτι ἔχουσιν ὡς Ἀρισταῖος καὶ Βριτόμαρτις ἡ Κρητικὴ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκμίνης καὶ Ἀμφιάραος ὁ Ὀικλέους, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Κάστωρ.

[2.4] I for my part believe this story; it has been a legend among the Arcadians from of old, and it has the additional merit of probability. For the men of those days, because of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, eating at the same board; the good were openly honored by the gods, and sinners were openly visited with their wrath. Nay, in those days men were changed to gods, who down to the present day have honors paid to them – Aristaeus, Britomartis of Crete, Heracles the son of Alcmena, Amphiaraus the son of Oicles, and besides these Polydeuces and Castor.

[5] οὕτω πείθοιτο ἄν τις καὶ Λυκάονα θηρίον καὶ τὴν Ταντάλου Νιόβην γενέσθαι λίθον. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ — κακία γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤϋξετο καὶ γῆν τε ἐπενέμετο πᾶσαν καὶ πόλεις πάσας — οὔτε θεὸς ἐγίνετο οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον λόγῳ καὶ κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον, καὶ ἀδίκους τὸ μῆνιμα τὸ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὀψέ τε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐνθὲνδε ἀπόκειται.

[2.5] So one might believe that Lycaon was turned into a beast, and Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, into a stone. But at the present time, when sin has grown to such a height and has been spreading over every land and every city, no longer do men turn into gods, except in the flattering words addressed to despots, and the wrath of the gods is reserved until the sinners have departed to the next world.

[6] ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι πολλὰ μὲν πάλαι συμβάντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔτι γινόμενα ἄπιστα εἶναι πεποιθήκασιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἐψευσμένα. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ ὡς Λυκάονος ὕστερον αἰεὶ τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπου λύκος γίνοιτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διός, γίνοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον: ὁπότε δὲ εἷη λύκος, εἰ μὲν κρεῶν ἀπόσχοιτο ἀνθρωπίνων, ὕστερον ἔτει δεκάτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν αὖθις ἄνθρωπον ἐκ λύκου γίνεσθαι, γευσάμενον δὲ ἐς αἰὲ μένειν θηρίον.

[2.6] All through the ages, many events that have occurred in the past, and even some that occur to-day, have been generally discredited because of the lies built up on a foundation of fact. It is said, for instance, that ever since the time of Lycaon a man has changed into a wolf at the sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus, but that the change is not for life; if, when he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, after nine years he becomes a man again, but if he tastes human flesh he remains a beast for ever.

[7] ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Νιόβην λέγουσιν ἐν Σιπύλῳ τῷ ὄρει θέρους ὥρα κλαίειν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἤκουσα, τοῖς γρυπὶ στίγματα ὅποια καὶ ταῖς παρδάλεσιν

εἶναι, καὶ ὥς οἱ Τρίτωνες ἀνθρώπου φωνῇ φθέγγονται: οἱ δὲ καὶ φυσαὶν διὰ κόχλου τετρυπημένης φασὶν αὐτοὺς. ὁπόσοι δὲ μυθολογήμασιν ἀκούοντες ἤδονται, πεφύκασι καὶ αὐτοὶ τι ἐπιτερατεύεσθαι: καὶ οὕτω τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐλυμήναντο, συγκεραννύντες αὐτὰ ἐψευσμένοις.

[2.7] Similarly too it is said that Niobe on Mount Sipylus sheds tears in the season of summer. I have also heard that the griffins have spots like the leopard, and that the Tritons speak with human voice, though others say that they blow through a shell that has been bored. Those who like to listen to the miraculous are themselves apt to add to the marvel, and so they ruin truth by mixing it with falsehood.

3. τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ μετὰ Πελασγὸν ἔς τε πόλεων καὶ ἔς ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος ἐπέδωκεν ἡ χώρα. Νύκτιμος μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατός τε ἦν καὶ εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παῖδες τοῦ Λυκάονος πόλεις ἐνταῦθα ἔκτιζον ἔνθα ἐκάστω μάλιστα ἦν κατὰ γνώμην. Πάλλας μὲν καὶ Ὀρεσθέως καὶ Φίγαλος Παλλάντιον, Ὀρεσθέως δὲ Ὀρεσθάσιον, Φιγαλίαν δὲ οἰκίζει Φίγαλος.

[3.1] III. In the third generation after Pelasgus the land increased in the number both of its cities and of its population. For Nyctimus, who was the eldest son of Lycaon, possessed all the power, while the other sons founded cities on the sites they considered best. Thus Pallantium was founded by Pallas, Oresthasium by Orestheus and Phigalia by Phigalus.

[2] Παλλαντίου μὲν δὴ καὶ Στσίχορος ὁ Ἰμεραῖος ἐν Γηρυονίδι ἐποίησατο μνήμην: Φιγαλία δὲ καὶ Ὀρεσθάσιον ἐν χρόνῳ μεταβάλλουσι τὰ ὀνόματα, Ὀρεστέϊον τε ἀπὸ Ὀρέστου κληθεῖσα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Φιαλία ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουκολίωνος παιδὸς Φιάλου. Τραπεζεὺς δὲ καὶ Δασεάτας καὶ Μακαρεὺς καὶ Ἐλισσῶν καὶ Ἀκακός τε καὶ Θῶκνος Θωκνίαν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀκακήσιον ἔκτισεν: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀκάκου καὶ Ὀμηρος λόγῳ τῷ Ἀρκάδων ἐς Ἑρμῆν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ κλησιν:

[3.2] Pallantium is mentioned by Stesichorus of Himera in his Geryoneid. Phigalia and Oresthasium in course of time changed their names, Oresthasium to Oresteium after Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, Phigalia to Phialia after Phialus, the son of Bucolion. Cities were founded by Trapezeus also, and by Daseatas, Macareus, Helisson, Acacus and Thocnus. The last founded Thocnia, and Acacus Acacesium. It was after this Acacus, according to the Arcadian account, that Homer made a surname for Hermes.

[3] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐλισσόντος ἥ τε πόλις καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Ἐλισσῶν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐσχήκασιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μακαρία τε καὶ Δασέα καὶ Τραπεζοῦς ἀπὸ τῶν Λυκάονος ἐκλήθησαν καὶ αὗται παίδων. Ὀρχομενὸς δὲ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς Μεθυδρίου τε καλουμένης καὶ Ὀρχομενίων, οὓς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι πολυμήλους ὠνόμασεν Ὀμηρος. ὑπὸ δὲ Ὑψοῦντος καὶ * * Μελαινεαί τε ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ Ὑψοῦς, ἔτι δὲ Θυραῖον τε καὶ Αἰμονιαί: δόξη δὲ τῇ Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἡ Θυρέα ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι γῇ καὶ ὁ Θυρεάτης καλούμενος κόλπος ἀπὸ τοῦ Θυραίου τούτου τὰ ὀνόματα ἐσχήκασιν.

[3.3] Helisson has given a name to both the town and the river so called, and similarly Macaria, Dasea, and Trapezus were named after the sons of Lycaon. Orchomenus became founder of both the town called Methydrium and of Orchomenus, styled by Homer “rich in sheep.” Hypsus and . . . founded Melaeneae and Hypsus, and also Thyraeum and Haemoniae. The Arcadians are of opinion that both the Thyrea in Argolis and also the Thyrean gulf were named after this Thyraeus.

[4] Μαντινεὺς δὲ καὶ Τεγεάτης καὶ Μαίναλος, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλεων ὀνομαστοτάτην τὸ ἀρχαῖον Μαίναλον, Τεγεάτης δὲ καὶ Μαντινεὺς Τεγέαν κτίζουσι καὶ Μαντίνειαν. ὀνομάσθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Κρώμου Κρῶμοι, καὶ Χαρισία Χαρίσιον ἔχουσα οἰκιστήν, Τρικόλωνοι δὲ ἀπὸ Τρικολώνου, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Περαίθου Περαιθεῖς, Ἀσέα δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀσεάτα καὶ ἀπὸ Λυκέως Λυκόα καὶ Σουματία ἀπὸ Σουματέως· Ἀλίφηρος δὲ καὶ Ἡραιεὺς ἐπώνυμοι καὶ οὗτοι πόλεσιν εἰσιν ἀμφοτέροι.

[3.4] Maenalus founded Maenalus, which was in ancient times the most famous of the cities of Arcadia, Tegeates founded Tegea and Mantineus Mantineia. Cromi was named after Cromus, Charisia after Charisius, its founder, Tricoloni after Tricolonus, Peraethenses after Peraethus, Asea after Aseatas, Lycoa after . . . and Sumatia after Sumateus. Alipherus also and Heraeus both gave their names to cities.

[5] Οἴνωτρος δὲ ὁ τῶν παίδων νεώτατος Λυκάονι ἄρσένων Νύκτιμον τὸν ἀδελφὸν χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας αἰτήσας ἐπεραιώθη ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἡ Οἰνωτρία χώρα τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἀπὸ Οἰνώτρου βασιλεύοντος. οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς ἀποικίαν στόλος πρῶτος ἐστάλη· ἀναριθμουμένῳ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδένας πρότερον ἢ Οἴνωτρος ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν ἄλλοδαπὴν.

[3.5] But Oenotrus, the youngest of the sons of Lycaon, asked his brother Nyctimus for money and men and crossed by sea to Italy; the land of Oenotria received its name from Oenotrus who was its king. This was the first expedition despatched from Greece to found a colony, and if a man makes the most careful calculation possible he will discover that no foreigners either emigrated to another land before Oenotrus. In addition to all this male issue, Lycaon had a daughter Callisto. This Callisto (I repeat the current Greek legend) was loved by Zeus and mated with him. When Hera detected the intrigue she turned Callisto into a bear, and Artemis to please Hera shot the bear. Zeus sent Hermes with orders to save the child that Callisto bore in her womb,

[6] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ γένει παντὶ τῷ ἄρσενι θυγάτηρ Λυκάονι ἐγένετο Καλλιστώ. ταύτῃ τῇ Καλλιστῷ — λέγω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων — συνεγένετο ἐρασθεὶς Ζεὺς· Ἥρα δὲ ὥς ἐφώρασεν, ἐποίησεν ἄρκτον τὴν Καλλιστῷ, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἐς χάριν τῆς Ἥρας κατετόξευσεν αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς Ἑρμῆν πέμπει σῶσαι τὸν παῖδα οἱ προστάξας, ὃν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ εἶχεν ἡ Καλλιστώ:

[3.6] and Callisto herself he turned into the constellation known as the Great Bear, which is mentioned by Homer in the return voyage of Odysseus from Calypso:—

Gazing at the Pleiades and late-setting Bootes,

[7] Καλλιστῶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν ἀστέρας καλουμένην ἄρκτον μεγάλην, ἥς και Ὅμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσέως ἀνάπλω παρὰ Καλυψοῦς μνήμην ἔσχε: “Πληιάδας τ’ ἐσορῶντα και ὠψὲ δύνοντα Βοώτην

ἄρκτον θ’, ἣν και ἅμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν.

“Hom. Od 5.272 ἔχουσιν δ’ ἂν και ἄλλως τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἀστέρες ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ Καλλιστοῦς, ἐπεὶ τάφον γε αὐτῆς ἀποφαίνουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

[3.7] And the Bear, which they also call the Wain. Hom. Od. 5.272

But it may be that the constellation is merely named in honor of Callisto, since her grave is pointed out by the Arcadians.

4. μετὰ δὲ Νύκτιμον ἀποθανόντα Ἀρκὰς ἐξεδέξατο ὁ Καλλιστοῦς τὴν ἀρχήν: και τόν τε ἡμερον καρπὸν ἐσηγάγετο οὗτος παρὰ Τριπτολέμου και τὴν ποίησιν ἐδίδασκε τοῦ ἄρτου και ἐσθῆτα ὑφαίνεσθαι και ἄλλα, τὰ ἐς ταλασίαν μαθὼν παρὰ Δρίστα. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Ἀρκαδία τε ἀντὶ Πελασγίας ἡ χώρα και ἀντὶ Πελασγῶν Ἀρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

[4.1] IV. After the death of Nyctimus, Arcas the son of Callisto came to the throne. He introduced the cultivation of crops, which he learned from Triptolemus, and taught men to make bread, to weave clothes, and other things besides, having learned the art of spinning from Adristas. After this king the land was called Arcadia instead of Pelasgia and its inhabitants Arcadians instead of Pelasgians.

[2] συνοικῆσαι δὲ οὐ θνητῇ γυναικὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ νύμφη Δρυάδι ἔλεγον: Δρυάδας γὰρ δὴ και Ἐπιμηλιάδας, τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν Ναϊδας, και Ὅμηρος γε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Ναϊδων νυμφῶν μάλιστα ἐστὶ μνήμη. τὴν δὲ νύμφην ταύτην καλοῦσιν Ἐρατώ, και ἐκ ταύτης φασὶν Ἀρκάδι Ἀζᾶνα και Ἀφειδαντα γενέσθαι και Ἑλατον:

[4.2] His wife, according to the legend, was no mortal woman but a Dryad nymph. For they used to call some nymphs Dryads, others Epimeliads, and others Naiads, and Homer in his poetry talks mostly of Naiad nymphs. This nymph they call Erato, and by her they say that Arcas had Azan, Apheidas and Elatus. Previously he had had Autolaus, an illegitimate son.

[3] ἐγεγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἔτι Αὐτόλαος νόθος. τοῖς δὲ παισίν, ὡς ἠυξήθησαν, διένειμεν Ἀρκὰς τριχῇ τὴν χώραν, και ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀζᾶνος ἡ Ἀζανία μοῖρα ὠνομάσθη: παρὰ τούτων δὲ ἀποικισθῆναι λέγουσιν, ὅσοι περὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τὸ καλούμενον Στεῦνος και Πέγκαλαν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσιν. Ἀφειδας δὲ Τεγέαν και τὴν προσεχῇ ταύτης ἔλαχεν: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ και ποιηταὶ

καλοῦσιν Ἀφειδάντειον κληῖρον τὴν Τεγέαν.

[4.3] When his sons grew up, Arcas divided the land between them into three parts, and one district was named Azania after Azan; from Azania, it is said, settled the colonists who dwell about the cave in Phrygia called Steunos and the river Pencalas. To Apheidas fell Tegea and the land adjoining, and for this reason poets too call Tegea “the lot of Apheidas.”

[4] Ἐλατος δὲ ἔσχε τὸ ὄρος τὴν Κυλλήνην, ἔτι τότε οὐσαν ἀνώνυμον: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μετόκησεν ὁ Ἐλατος ἐς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Φωκίδα, καὶ τοῖς τε Φωκεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ὑπὸ Φλεγυῶν πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις καὶ Ἐλατείας πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστής. παῖδα δὲ Ἀζᾶνι μὲν Κλείτορα, Ἀφειδαντὶ δὲ Ἄλεον, Ἐλάτῳ δὲ φασιν εἶναι πέντε, Αἴπυτον Περέα Κυλλῆνα Ἴσχυον Στύμφηλον.

[4.4] Elatus got Mount Cyllene, which down to that time had received no name. Afterwards Elatus migrated to what is now called Phocis, helped the Phocians when hard pressed in war by the Phlegyans, and became the founder of the city Elateia. It is said that Azan had a son Cleitor, Apheidas a son Aleus, and that Elatus had five sons, Aepytus, Pereus, Cyllen, Ischys, and Stymphalus.

[5] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀζᾶνι τῷ Ἀρκάδος τελευτήσαντι ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον: εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, οὐκ οἶδα, ἱπποδρομίας δὲ ἐτέθη. Κλείτῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀζᾶνος ἐν Λυκοσώρᾳ τε ὥκει καὶ ἦν τῶν βασιλέων δυνατώτατος καὶ Κλείτορα ὥκισεν ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ πόλιν, Ἄλεος δὲ εἶχε τὴν πατρῶαν λήξιν:

[4.5] On the death of Axan, the son of Arcas, athletic contests were held for the first time; horse-races were certainly held, but I cannot speak positively about other contests. Now Cleitor the son of Azan dwelt in Lycosura, and was the most powerful of the kings, founding Cleitor, which he named after himself; Aleus held his father’s portion.

[6] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐλάτου τῶν παίδων Κυλλήνην τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Κυλλῆνος, καὶ ἀπὸ Στυμφήλου πηγὴ τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πόλις Στύμφηλος ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Ἴσχυος τοῦ Ἐλάτου πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἐδήλωσα. παῖδα δὲ Περεὶ ἄρρενα μὲν φασιν οὐδένα, Νέαιραν δὲ γενέσθαι θυγατέρα: ταύτην γυναῖκα ἔσχεν Αὐτόλυκος, οἰκῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Παρνασσῷ, λεγόμενος δὲ Ἑρμοῦ παῖς εἶναι, Δαιδαλίωνος δὲ ὦν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ.

[4.6] Of the sons of Elatus, Cyllen gave his name to Mount Cyllene, and Stymphalus gave his to the spring and to the city Stymphalus near the spring. The story of the death of Ischys, the son of Elatus, I have already told in my history of Argolis. Pereus, they say, had no male child, but only a daughter, Neaera. She married Autolycus, who lived on Mount Parnassus, and was said to be a son of Hermes, although his real father was Baedalion.

[7] Κλείτορι δὲ τῷ Ἀζᾶνος οὐ γενομένων παίδων, ἐς Αἴπυτον Ἐλάτου περιεχώρησεν ἡ Ἀρκάδων βασιλεία: τὸν δὲ Αἴπυτον ἐξελθόντα ἐς ἄγραν θηρίων μὲν τῶν ἀλκιμωτέρων οὐδέν, σῆψ δὲ οὐ προϋδόμενον ἀποκτίννυσι.

τὸν δὲ ὄφιν τοῦτον καὶ αὐτός ποτε εἶδον: κατὰ ἔχιν ἐστὶ τὸν μικρότατον, τέφρα ἐμπερής, στίγμασιν οὐ συνεχέσι πεποικιλμένος: κεφαλὴ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πλατεῖα καὶ τράχηλος στενός, γαστέρα δὲ ἔχει μείζονα καὶ οὐρὰν βραχεῖαν: βαδίζει δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ὄφιν ἕτερος ὁ κεράστης καλούμενος ἐνδιδόντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια, ὥσπερ οἱ καρκῖνοι.

[4.7] Cleitor, the son of Azan, had no children, and the sovereignty of the Arcadians devolved upon Aepytus, the son of Elatus. While out hunting, Aepytus was killed, not by any of the more powerful beasts, but by a seps that he failed to notice. This species of snake I have myself seen. It is like the smallest kind of adder, of the color of ash, with spots dotted here and there. It has a broad head and a narrow neck, a large belly and a short tail. This snake, like another called cerastes (“the horned snake”), walks with a sidelong motion, as do crabs.

[8] μετὰ δὲ Αἵπυτον ἔσχεν Ἄλεος τὴν ἀρχήν: Ἀγαμήδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Γόρτυς οἱ Στυμφήλου τέταρτον γένος ἦσαν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος, Ἄλεος δὲ τρίτον ὁ Ἀφειδαντος. Ἄλεος δὲ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀλέᾳ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠκοδόμησεν ἐν Τεγέᾳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο αὐτόθι ἡ βασιλεία: Γόρτυς δὲ ὁ Στυμφήλου πόλιν Γόρτυνα ὠκισεν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ: καλεῖται δὲ Γορτύνιος καὶ ὁ ποταμός. Ἀλέῳ δὲ ἄρσενες μὲν παῖδες Λυκοῦργός τε καὶ Ἀμφιδάμας καὶ Κηφεύς, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἐγένετο Αὔγη.

[4.8] After Aepytus Aleus came to the throne. For Agamedes and Gortys, the sons of Stymphalus, were three generations removed from Arcas, and Aleus, the son of Apheidas, two generations. Aleus built the old sanctuary in Tegea of Athena Alea, and made Tegea the capital of his kingdom. Gortys the son of Stymphalus founded the city Gortys on a river which is also called after him. The sons of Aleus were Lycurgus, Amphidamas and Cepheus; he also had a daughter Auge.

[9] ταύτῃ τῇ Αὔγῃ τῷ Ἑκαταίου λόγῳ συνεγίνετο Ἡρακλῆς, ὁπότε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν: τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐφωράθη τετοκυῖα ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἄλεος ἐσθέμενος ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδί ἐς λάρνακα ἀφίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀφίκετο ἐς Τεύθραντα δυνάστην ἄνδρα ἐν Καΐκου πεδίῳ καὶ συνώκησεν ἐρασθέντι τῷ Τεύθραντι: καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ μὲν Αὔγης μνήμα ἐν Περγάμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καΐκου, γῆς χῶμα λίθου περιεχόμενον κρηπῖδι, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπίθημα χαλκοῦ πεποιτημένον, γυνὴ γυμνή.

[4.9] Hecataeus says that this Auge used to have intercourse with Heracles when he came to Tegea. At last it was discovered that she had borne a child to Heracles, and Aleus, putting her with her infant son in a chest, sent them out to sea. She came to Teuthras, lord of the plain of the Caicus, who fell in love with her and married her. The tomb of Auge still exists at Pergamus above the Calcus; it is a mound of earth surrounded by a basement of stone and surmounted by a figure of a naked woman in bronze.

[10] μετὰ δὲ Ἄλιον τελευτήσαντα Λυκοῦργος ὁ Ἀλέου τὴν βασιλείαν πρεσβεῖα

ἔσχε: παρέσχετο δὲ ἐς μνήμην Ἀρηίθοον ἄνδρα πολεμικὸν δόλῳ καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κτείνας. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀγκαίου τε καὶ Ἐπόχου, τὸν μὲν νοσήσαντα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν, Ἀγκαῖος δὲ Ἰάσονί τε τοῦ πλοῦ μετέσχεν ἐς Κόλχους καὶ ὕστερον ὁμοῦ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Καλυδῶνι κατεργαζόμενος θηρίον ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕος.

Λυκούργος μὲν δὴ πορρωτάτῳ γήρως ἀφίκετο ἐπιδὼν τοὺς παῖδας ἀμφοτέρους τελευτήσαντας:

[4.10] After the death of Aleus Lycurgus his son got the kingdom as being the eldest; he is notorious for killing, by treachery and riot in fair fight, a warrior called Areithous. Of his two sons, Ancaeus and Epochus, the latter fell ill and died, while the former joined the expedition of Jason to Colchis; afterwards, while hunting down with Meleager the Calydonian boar, he was killed by the brute.

5. Λυκούργου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἀερόπου τοῦ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἔσχεν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου Δωριεῖς κατιόντας ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι Ὑλλῳ τῷ Ἡρακλέους Ἀχαιοὶ περὶ ἰσθμὸν τὸν Κορινθίων κρατοῦσι μάχῃ, καὶ Ἐχεμος ἀποκτίνυσιν Ὑλλον μονομαχήσαντά οἱ κατὰ πρόκλησιν. τάδε γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἰκότα εἶναι μοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ πρότερος λόγος, ἐν ᾧ βασιλεύειν τε Ἀχαιῶν τηνικαῦτα Ὀρέστην ἔγραψα καὶ Ὑλλον καὶ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος ἀποπειρᾶσαι καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον. φαίνοιτο δ' ἂν τῷ ὕστερῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ Τιμάνδρα συνοικήσασα ἢ Τυνδάρει τῷ ἀποκτείναντι Ὑλλον Ἐχέμῳ.

[5.1] V. So Lycurgus outlived both his sons, and reached an extreme old age. On his death, Echemus, son of Aeropus, son of Cepheus, son of Aleus, became king of the Arcadians. In his time the Dorians, in their attempt to return to the Peloponnesus under the leadership of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, were defeated by the Achaeans at the Isthmus of Corinth, and Echemus killed Hyllus, who had challenged him to single combat. I have come to the conclusion that this is a more probable story than the one I gave before, that on this occasion Orestes was king of the Achaeans, and that it was during his reign that Hyllus attempted to return to the Peloponnesus. If the second account be accepted, it would appear that Timandra, the daughter of Tyndareus, married Echemus, who killed Hyllus.

[2] Ἀγαπήνωρ δὲ ὁ Ἀγκαίου τοῦ Λυκούργου μετὰ Ἐχεμον βασιλεύσας ἐς Τροίαν ἡγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλόουσης ὁ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν οἰκαδε ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν ἐς Κύπρον, καὶ Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς

Ἀφροδίτης κατεσκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν: τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ.

[5.2] Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, the son of Lycurgus, who was king after Echemus, led the Arcadians to Troy. After the capture of Troy the storm that

overtook the Greeks on their return home carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus, and so Agapenor became the founder of Paphos, and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos (Old Paphos). Up to that time the goddess had been worshipped by the Cyprians in the district called Golgi.

[3] χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον Λαοδίκη γεγονυῖα ἀπὸ Ἀγαπήνορος ἔπεμψεν ἐς Τεγέα τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀλέᾳ πέπλον: τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι ἐπίγραμμα καὶ αὐτῆς Λαοδίκης ἅμα ἐδήλου τὸ γένος:”Λαοδίκης ὅδε πέπλος: ἑᾷ δ’ ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηνᾷ πατρίδ’ ἐς εὐρύχορον Κύπρου ἀπὸ ζαθέας.

“

Ἀγαπήνορος δὲ οὐκ ἀνασωθέντος οἴκαδε ἐξ Ἰλίου,

[5.3] Afterwards Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent to Tegea a robe as a gift for Athena Alea. The inscription on the offering told as well the race of Laodice:—

This is the robe of Laodice; she offered it to her Athena,
Sending it to her broad fatherland from divine Cyprus.

[4] παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰππόθους Κερκυόνος τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τοῦ Στυμφήλου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπιφανὲς συμβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βίον φασὶν οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἐν Τεγέᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν κατεστήσατο ἀλλὰ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι: Αἵπυτος δὲ ὁ Ἰππόθου μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ μαντεῖαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος μετόκησεν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐκ Μυκηνῶν.

[5.4] When Agapenor did not return home from Troy, the kingdom devolved upon Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, the son of Agamedes, the son of Stymphalus. No remarkable event is recorded of his life, except that he established as the capital of his kingdom not Tegea but Trapezus. Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, succeeded his father to the throne, and Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, in obedience to an oracle of the Delphic Apollo, moved his home from Mycenae to Arcadia.

[5] Αἰπύτω δὲ τῷ Ἰππόθου παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τολμήσαντι — ἔσοδος δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὔτε τότε ἐς αὐτὸ ἦν οὔτε ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἔστιν — , ἐς τοῦτο ἐσελθόντι τυφλωθῆναι καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς συμφορᾶς τελευτῆσαι οἱ τὸν βίον ἐγένετο.

[5.5] Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, dared to enter the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mantinea, into which no mortal was, just as no mortal today is, allowed to pass; on entering it he was struck blind, and shortly after this calamity he died.

[6] Κυψέλου δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύοντος μετὰ Αἵπυτον, ὁ Δωριέων στόλος οὐ διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθοῦς, καθὰ ἐπὶ τρεῖς τὰς πρότερον γενεάς, ναυσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον Ῥίον κάτεισιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον: πυνθανόμενός τε τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύψελος, ὄν τῶν Ἀριστομάχου παίδων οὐκ ἔχοντά πω γυναῖκα εὔρισκε, τούτῳ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδούς καὶ οἰκειωσάμενος τὸν Κρεσφόντην αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐκτὸς ἐστήκεσαν δείματος.

[5.6] Aepytyus was succeeded as king by his son Cypselus, and in his reign the Dorian expedition returned to the Peloponnesus, not, as three generations before, across the Corinthian Isthmus, but by sea to the place called Rhium. Cypselus, learning about the expedition, married his daughter to the son of Aristomachus whom he found without a wife, and so winning over Cresphontes he himself and the Arcadians had nothing at all to fear.

[7] Ὀλαίας δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, ὃς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν παῖδα Αἵπυτον, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Ἄργους Ἡρακλεΐδαι κατάγουσιν ἐς Μεσσήνην. τοῦ δὲ ἦν Βουκολίων, τοῦ δὲ Φιάλος, ὃς τὸν Λυκάονος Φίγαλον οἰκιστὴν ὄντα ἀφελόμενος τὴν τιμὴν Φιαλίαν τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει μετέθετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ· οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐς ἅπαν γε ἐξενίκησεν.

[5.7] Holaeas was the son of Cypselus, who, aided by the Heracleidae from Lacedaemon and Argos, restored to Messene his sister's son Aepytyus. Holaeas had a son Bucolion, and he a son Phialus, who robbed Phigalus, the son of Lycaon, the founder of Phigalia, of the honor of giving his name to the city; Phialus changed it to Phialia, after his own name, but the change did not win universal acceptance.

ARCADIA, HISTORY

[8] ἐπὶ δὲ Σίμου τοῦ Φιάλου βασιλεύοντος ἠφανίσθη Φιγαλεῦσιν ὑπὸ πυρὸς τῆς Μελαίνης Δήμητρος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανον· ἐσήμαινε δὲ ἄρα οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτῷ Σίμῳ τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτήν. Πόμπου δὲ ἐκδεξαμένου τοῦ Σίμου τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται κατὰ ἐμπορίαν ἐσέπλεον ναυσὶν ἐς Κυλλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑποζυγίοις τὰ φορτία ἀνῆγον παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. ἀντὶ τούτου ἐτίμησεν ὁ Πόμπος μέγας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα Αἰγινήτην τῷ παιδί ἔθετο ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰγινήτων τῇ φιλία.

[5.8] In the reign of Simus, the son of Phialus, the people of Phigalia lost by fire the ancient wooden image of Black Demeter. This loss proved to be a sign that Simus himself also was soon to meet his end. Simus was succeeded as king by Pompus his son, in whose reign the Aeginetans made trading voyages as far as Cyllene, from which place they carried their cargoes up country on pack-animals to the Arcadians. In return for this Pompus honored the Arcadians greatly, and furthermore gave the name Aeginetes to his son out of friendship for the Aeginetans.

[9] μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτην Πολυμήστῳρ ἐγένετο ὁ Αἰγινήτου βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Χάριλλος πρῶτον τότε ἐς τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐσβάλλουσι στρατιᾷ· καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ γυναῖκες ὅπλα ἐνδύσαι μάχῃ νικῶσι, καὶ τόν τε ἄλλον στρατὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Χάριλλον ζῶντα αἰροῦσι. Χαρίλλου μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ἐς πλέον μνήμην ποιησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς Τεγεατικοῖς:

[5.9] After Aeginetes his son Polymestor became king of the Arcadians, and it was then that Charillus and the Lacedaemonians for the first time invaded the

land of Tegea with an army. They were defeated in battle by the people of Tegea, who, men and women alike, flew to arms; the whole army, including Charillus himself, were taken prisoners. Charillus and his army I shall mention at greater length in my account of Tegea.

[10] Πολυμήστορι δὲ οὐ γενομένων παίδων παρέλαβεν Αἰχμῖς τὴν ἀρχήν, Βριάκα μὲν παῖς, Πολυμήστορος δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς· Αἰγινήτου γὰρ ἦν καὶ Βριάκας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Πολυμήστορος. Αἰχμιδος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγένετο ὁ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμος· τοῖς δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ὑπῆρχε μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους εὖνοια ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μεσσήνῃ.

[5.10] Polymestor had no children, and Aechmis succeeded to the throne, who was the son of Briacas, and the nephew of Polymestor. For Briacas too was a son of Aeginetes, but younger than Polymestor. After Aechmis came to the throne occurred the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians. The Arcadians had from the first been friendly to the Messenians, and on this occasion they openly fought against the Lacedaemonians on the side of Aristodemus, the king of Messenia.

[11] Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὁ Αἰχμιδος τάχα μὲν πού καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὕβρισεν· ἃ δὲ ἀνοσιώτατα ἔργων ἐς θεοὺς ἐργασάμενον οἶδα αὐτόν, ἐπέξεισί μοι ταῦτα ὁ λόγος. ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ὑμνίας ἐπὶ κλησιν. τοῦτο ἐν ὄροις μὲν ἔστιν Ὀρχομενίων, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Μαντικῇ· σέβουσιν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἀρκάδες Ὑμνίαν Ἀρτεμιν. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τῆς θεοῦ τότε ἔτι κόρη παρθένος.

[5.11] Aristocrates, the son of Aechmis, may have been guilty of outrages against the Arcadians of his most impious acts, however, against the gods I have sure knowledge, and I will proceed to relate them. There is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Hymnia, standing on the borders of Orchomenus, near the territory of Mantinea. Artemis Hymnia has been worshipped by all the Arcadians from the most remote period. At that time the office of priestess to the goddess was still always held by a girl who was a virgin.

[12] Ἀριστοκράτης δέ, ὥς οἱ πειρῶντι τὴν παρθένον ἀντέβαινεν ἀεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς, τέλος καταφυγοῦσαν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἥσχυεν. ὥς δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐξηγγέλη τὸ τόλμημα, τὸν μὲν καταλιθοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, μετεβλήθη δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ ὁ νόμος· ἀντὶ γὰρ παρθένου διδόασι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἱέρειαν γυναῖκα ὁμιλίας ἀνδρῶν ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσιν.

[5.12] The maiden persisted in resisting the advances of Aristocrates, but at last, when she had taken refuge in the sanctuary, she was outraged by him near the image of Artemis. When the crime came to be generally known, the Arcadians stoned the culprit, and also changed the rule for the future; as priestess of Artemis they now appoint, not a virgin, but a woman who has had enough of intercourse with men.

[13] τούτου δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἰκέτας, Ἰκέτα δὲ Ἀριστοκράτης ἄλλος ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ προγόνῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχεν ἐκείνῳ τελευτήν: κατελίθωσαν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, φωράσαντες δῶρα ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνων εἰληφότα καὶ Μεσσηνίοις τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ παῖσμα προδοσίαν τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους οὔσαν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀδικία καὶ τῷ γένει τῷ ἀπὸ Κυψέλου παντὶ παρέσχεν αἰτίαν πανοσθῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[5.13] This man had a son Hicetas, and Hicetas had a son Aristocrates the second, named after his grandfather and also meeting with a death like his. For he too was stoned by the Arcadians, who discovered that he had received bribes from Lacedaemon, and that the Messenian disaster at the Great Ditch was caused by the treachery of Aristocrates. This sin explains why the kingship was taken from the whole house of Cypselus.

6. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τοὺς βασιλεῖς πολυπραγμονήσαντί μοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγενεαλόγησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες: κοινῇ δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἐς μνήμην τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότατα ὁ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πόλεμος, δεύτερα δὲ ὅποσα ἀμύνοντες Μεσσηνίους Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία ἐμαχέσαντο: μέτεστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μήδους σφίσιν ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς.

[6.1] VI. I spent much care upon the history of the Arcadian kings, and the genealogy as given above was told me by the Arcadians themselves. Of their memorable achievements the oldest is the Trojan war; then comes the help they gave the Messenians in their struggle against Lacedaemon, and they also took part in the action at Plataea against the Persians.

[2] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀνάγκη πλεον καὶ οὐ μετ' εὐνοίας ἐπὶ τε Ἀθηναίους συνεστρατεύσαντο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ Ἀγησιλάου διέβησαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα αὐτοῖς τὰ Βοιωτικὰ ἠκολούθησαν. τὸ δὲ ὑποπτον τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀλλαχοῦ τε ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις παρὰ Θηβαίους αὐτίκα ἀπ' αὐτῶν μετέστησαν. Φιλίπῳ δὲ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο μετὰ Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐναντία ἐτάξαντο.

[6.2] It was compulsion rather than sympathy that made them join the Lacedaemonians in their war against Athens and in crossing over to Asia with Agesilaus; they also followed the Lacedaemonians to Leuctra in Boeotia. Their distrust of the Lacedaemonians was shown on many occasions; in particular, immediately after the Lacedaemonian reverse at Leuctra they seceded from them and joined the Thebans. Though they did not fight on the Greek side against Philip and the Macedonians at Chaeroneia, nor later in Thessaly against Antipater, yet they did not actually range themselves against the Greeks.

[3] πρὸς Γαλάτας δὲ τοῦ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις κινδύνου φασὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἕνεκα οὐ μετασχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ σφίσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κακουργοῖεν τὴν γῆν ἀπόντων τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ: συνεδρίου δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν μετέσχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες προθυμότατα

Ἑλλήνων. ὅποσα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐχὶ ἐν κοινῷ, κατὰ πόλεις δὲ ἰδίᾳ συμβεβηκότα εὔρισκον, ἀποθησόμεθα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐς τὸ οἰκεῖον τοῦ λόγου.

[6.3] It was because of the Lacedaemonians, they say, that they took no part in resisting the Gallic threat to Thermopylae; they feared that their land would be laid waste in the absence of their men of military age. As members of the Achaean League the Arcadians were more enthusiastic than any other Greeks. The fortunes of each individual city, as distinct from those of the Arcadian people as a whole, I shall reserve for their proper place in my narrative.

MELANGEIA & MT ARTEMISIUS

[4] εἰσὶν οὖν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐσβολαὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν πρὸς μὲν Ὑσιῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον ἐς τὴν Τεγεατικὴν, δύο δὲ ἄλλαι κατὰ Μαντίνειαν διὰ τε Πρίνου καλουμένης καὶ διὰ Κλίμακος. αὕτη δὲ εὐρυτέρα τέ ἐστι καὶ ἡ κάθοδος εἶχεν αὕτη βασιμίδας ποτὲ ἐμπεποιημένας; ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὴν Κλίμακα χωρίον ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Μελαγγεῖα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν τὸ πότιμον Μαντινεῦσι κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

[6.4] There is a pass into Arcadia on the Argive side in the direction of Hysiae and over Mount Parthenius into Tegean territory. There are two others on the side of Mantinea: one through what is called Prinus and one through the Ladder. The latter is the broader, and its descent had steps that were once cut into it. Crossing the Ladder you come to a place called Melangeia, from which the drinking water of the Mantineans flows down to their city.

[5] προελθόντι δὲ ἐκ τῶν Μελαγγείων, ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως στάδια ὡς ἐπὶ ἄξιον κρήνη καλουμένη Μελιαστῶν: οἱ Μελιασταὶ δὲ οὗτοι δρῶσι τὰ ὄργια τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ Διονύσου τε μέγαρον πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Μελαινίδος. ἐπὶ κλησὶν δὲ ἡ θεὸς ταύτην κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἔσχεν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὴ τὰ πάντα αἱ μίξεις ὥσπερ τοῖς κτήνεσι μεθ' ἡμέραν, τὰ πλείω δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν νυκτί.

[6.5] Farther off from Melangeia, about seven stades distant from Mantinea, there is a well called the Well of the Meliasts. These Meliasts celebrate the orgies of Dionysus. Near the well is a hall of Dionysus and a sanctuary of Black Aphrodite. This surname of the goddess is simply due to the fact that men do not, as the beasts do, have sexual intercourse always by day, but in most cases by night.

[6] ἡ δὲ ὑπολειπομένη τῶν ὁδῶν στενωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας καὶ ἄγει διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου. τούτου δὲ ἐπεμνήσθη καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς ἔχει μὲν ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου τὰς πηγάς. ὁ δὲ Ἰναχος ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν πρόεισι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρους, τοῦτό ἐστιν Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ὄρος τῆς χώρας: ἀποστρέψας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου κάτεισι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἰναχὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αἰσχύλος ποταμὸν καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖον.

[6.6] The second road is less broad than the other, and leads over Mount

Artemisius. I have already made mention of this mountain, noting that on it are a temple and image of Artemis, and also the springs of the Inachus. The river Inachus, so long as it flows by the road across the mountain, is the boundary between the territory of Argos and that of Mantinea. But when it turns away from the road the stream flows through Argolis from this point on, and for this reason Aeschylus among others calls the Inachus an Argive river.

THE UNTILLED PLAIN

7. ὑπερβαλόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου πεδίων ἐκδέχεται σε Ἀργὸν καλούμενον, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἔστι: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατερχόμενον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἄργον εἶναι τὸ πεδίων ποιεῖ, ἐκώλυέ τε οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πεδίων τοῦτο εἶναι λίμνην, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἠφανίζετο ἐς χάσμα γῆς.

[7.1] VII. After crossing into Mantinean country over Mount Artemisius you will come to a plain called the Untilled Plain, whose name well describes it, for the rain-water coming down into it from the mountains prevents the plain from being tilled; nothing indeed could prevent it from being a lake, were it not that the water disappears into a chasm in the earth.

[2] ἀφανισθὲν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἄνεισι κατὰ τὴν Δίνην: ἔστι δὲ ἡ Δίνη κατὰ τὸ Γενέθλιον καλούμενον τῆς Ἀργολίδος, ὕδωρ γλυκὺ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνερχόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ καθίεσαν ἐς τὴν Δίνην τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κεκοσμημένους χαλινοῖς, γλυκὺ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐν θαλάσσῃ δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθά τε ἀνιὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι κατὰ τὸ Χειμέριον καλούμενον.

[7.2] After disappearing here it rises again at Dine (Whirlpool). Dine is a stream of fresh water rising out of the sea by what is called Genethlium in Argolis. In olden times the Argives cast horses adorned with bridles down into Dine as an offering to Poseidon. Not only here in Argolis, but also by Cheimerium in Thesprotis, is there unmistakably fresh water rising up in the sea.

[3] θαύματος δὲ ἔτι πλέονός ἐστιν ἐν Μαιάνδρῳ ζέον ὕδωρ, τὸ μὲν ἐκ πέτρας, περιέχοντος τοῦ ρεύματος τὴν πέτραν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος ἄνεισι τοῦ ποταμοῦ. πρὸ Δικαιαρχίας δὲ τῆς Τυρσηνῶν ὕδωρ τε ἐν θαλάσῃ ζέον καὶ νῆσος δι' αὐτὸ ἐστὶ χειροποίητος, ὥς μὴδὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἄργον εἶναι ἀλλὰ σφισι λουτρὰ θερμά.

[7.3] A greater marvel still is the water that boils in the Maeander, which comes partly from a rock surrounded by the stream, and partly rises from the mud of the river. In front of Dicaearchia also, in the land of the Etruscans, there is water boiling in the sea, and an artificial island has been made through it, so that this water is not “untilled,” but serves for hot baths.

PHILIP OF MACEDON, HISTORY

[4] τοῦ δὲ Ἀργοῦ καλουμένου πεδίου Μαντινεῦσιν ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, σκηνῆς τε Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ κόμης ἐρείπια ἔχον Νεστάνης: πρὸς

ταύτη γὰρ στρατοπεδεύσασθαι τῇ Νεστάνῃ Φίλιππον λέγουσι καὶ τὴν πηγὴν αὐτόθι ὀνομάζουσιν ἐτι ἀπὸ ἐκείνου Φιλίππιον. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν Φίλιππος οἰκειωσόμενός τε Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ σφᾶς τοῦ ἄλλου διαστίσεων.

[7.4] In the territory of the Mantineans on the left of the plain called Untilled is a mountain, on which are the ruins of a camp of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and of a village called Nestane. For it is said that by this Nestane Philip made an encampment, and the spring here they still call Philippium after the king. Philip came to Arcadia to bring over the Arcadians to his side, and to separate them from the rest of the Greek people.

[5] Φίλιππον δὲ βασιλέων μὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόσι γεγόνασιν ὕστερον, τούτων μὲν πείθοιτο ἂν τις μέγιστα αὐτὸν ἔργα ἐπιδείξασθαι: στρατηγὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἂν τις φρονῶν ὀρθὰ καλέσειεν αὐτόν, ὅς γε καὶ ὄρκους θεῶν κατεπάτησεν ἀεὶ καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐνεύσατο πίστιν τε ἡτίμασε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων.

[7.5] Philip may be supposed to have accomplished exploits greater than those of any Macedonian king who reigned either before or after. But nobody of sound mind would call him a good general, for no man has so sinned by continually trampling on oaths to heaven, and by breaking treaties and dishonoring his word on every occasion.

[6] καὶ οἱ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μήνιμα ἀπήντησεν οὐκ ὀψέ, πρῶτα δὲ ὦν ἴσμεν. Φίλιππος μὲν οὐ πρόσω βιώσας ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν τὸ μάντευμα ἐξετέλεσε τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ὃ δὴ χρωμένῳ οἱ περὶ τοῦ Πέρσου γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, “ἔστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων:

“τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐδήλωσεν οὐκ ἐς τὸν Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχον Φίλιππον:

[7.6] The wrath of heaven was not late in visiting him; never in fact have we known it more speedy. When he was but forty-six years old, Philip fulfilled the oracle that it is said was given him when he inquired of Delphi about the Persians:—

The bull is crowned; the consummation is at hand; the sacrificer is ready.

Very soon afterwards events showed that this oracle pointed, not to the Persians, but to Philip himself.

[7] ἐπὶ δὲ Φιλίππῳ τελευτήσαντι Φιλίππου παῖδα νήπιον, γεγονότα δὲ ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφιδῆς Ἀττάλου, τοῦτον τὸν παῖδα ὁμοῦ τῇ μητρὶ Ὀλυμπίας ἐπὶ σκεύους χαλκοῦ πυρὸς ὑποβεβλημένου διέφθειρεν ἔλκουσα: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἀριδαῖον ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Κασσάνδρου κακῶς ἐξαμήσειν: Κασσάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης γεγόνاسι τῆς Φιλίππου, Θεσσαλονίκη δὲ ἦσαν καὶ Ἀριδαίῳ μητέρες Θεσσαλαί. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως δηλὰ ἐστίν

Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατος:

[7.7] On the death of Philip, his infant son by Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, was along with his mother dragged by Olympias on to a bronze vessel and burned to death. Afterwards Olympias killed Aridaeus also. It turned out that the god intended to mow down to destruction the family of Cassander as well. Cassander's sons were by Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip, and both Thessalonice and Aridaeus had Thessalian women for their mothers. The fate of Alexander is familiar to everybody alike.

[8] εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐς Γλαῦκον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἐποιήσατο ὁ Φίλιππος λόγον καὶ τὸ ἔπος ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἔργων ἀνεμίμησκεν αὐτόν, "ἄνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀρείων,

“οὐκ ἂν οὕτω δίχα λόγου δοκεῖ μοι θεῶν τις Ἀλεξάνδρου τε ὁμοῦ τὸν βίον καὶ ἀκμὴν τὴν Μακεδόνων σβέσαι.

[7.8] But if Philip had taken to heart the fate of the Spartan Glaucus, and at each of his acts had bethought himself of the verse:—

If a man keeps his oath his family prospers hereafter;

then, I believe, some god would not have extinguished so relentlessly the life of Alexander and, at the same time, the Macedonian supremacy.

8. τότε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ἐπεισόδιον τῷ λόγῳ: μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς Νεστάνης ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἅγιον, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄγουσιν οἱ Μαντινεῖς. καὶ κατὰ τὴν Νεστάνην ὑπόκειται μάλιστα **, μοῖρα μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Ἀργοῦ, χορὸς δὲ ὀνομάζεται Μαιρᾶς. τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ Ἀργοῦ σταδίων δέκα. ὑπερβάς δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐς ἕτερον καταβῆσθαι πεδίον: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐστὶν Ἄρνη καλουμένη κρήνη.

[8.1] VIII. So much by way of a digression. After the ruins of Nestane is a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and every year the Mantineans hold a festival in her honor. By Nestane there lies, on lower ground, about . . . itself too forming part of the Untilled Plain, and it is called the Dancing Floor of Maera. The road across the Untilled Plain is about ten stades. After crossing it you will descend, a little farther on, into another plain. On it, alongside the highway, is a well called Lamb.

[2] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιάδε ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, Ῥέα ἡνίκα Ποσειδῶνα ἔτεκε, τὸν μὲν ἐς ποιμήνην καταθέσθαι δίαταν ἐνταῦθα ἔξοντα μετὰ τῶν ἀνῶν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τὴν πηγὴν, ὅτι περὶ αὐτὴν ἐποιμαίνοντο οἱ ἄρνες: φάναι δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Κρόνον τεκεῖν ἵππον καὶ οἱ πῶλον ἵππου καταπιεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δοῦναι, καθὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διὸς λίθον ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατελιγμένον σπαργάνοις.

[8.2] The following story is told by the Arcadians. When Rhea had given birth to Poseidon, she laid him in a flock for him to live there with the lambs, and the spring too received its name just because the lambs pastured around it.

Rhea, it is said, declared to Cronus that she had given birth to a horse, and gave him a foal to swallow instead of the child, just as later she gave him in place of Zeus a stone wrapped up in swaddling clothes.

[3] τούτοις Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις ἀρχόμενος μὲν τῆς συγγραφῆς εὐηθίας ἔνεμον πλέον, ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἀρκάδων προεληλυθὼς πρόνοιαν περὶ αὐτῶν τοιάνδε ἐλάμβανον: Ἑλλήνων τοὺς νομιζομένους σοφοὺς δι' αἰνιγμάτων πάλαι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως λέγειν τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα οὖν ἐς τὸν Κρόνον σοφίαν εἶναι τινα εἵκαζον Ἑλλήνων. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἡκόντων τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρησόμεθα:

[8.3] When I began to write my history I was inclined to count these legends as foolishness, but on getting as far as Arcadia I grew to hold a more thoughtful view of them, which is this. In the days of old those Greeks who were considered wise spoke their sayings not straight out but in riddles, and so the legends about Cronus I conjectured to be one sort of Greek wisdom. In matters of divinity, therefore, I shall adopt the received tradition.

MANTINEIA

[4] Μαντινέων δὲ ἡ πόλις σταδίους μάλιστα πού δώδεκά ἐστιν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πηγῆς ταύτης. Μαντινεὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ Λυκάονος ἐτέρωθι φαίνεται οἰκίσας τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Πτόλιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες; ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Ἀντινόη Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου θυγάτηρ κατὰ μάντευμα ἀναστήσασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὅφιν — ὅποιον, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν — ἡγεμόνα ποιησαμένη τῆς ὁδοῦ: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέων τὴν νῦν ποταμὸς Ὅφιν ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν.

[8.4] The city of the Mantineans is about twelve stades farther away from this spring. Now there are plain indications that it was in another place that Mantineus the son of Lycaon founded his city, which even to-day is called Ptolis (City) by the Arcadians. From here, in obedience to an oracle, Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus, the son of Aleus, removed the inhabitants to the modern site, accepting as a guide for the pilgrimage a snake; the breed of snake is not recorded. It is for this reason that the river, which flows by the modern city, has received the name Ophis (Snake).

[5] εἰ δὲ Ὀμήρου χρὴ τεκμαιρόμενον τοῖς ἔπεσι συμβαλέσθαι γνώμην, τὸν ὅφιν τοῦτον δράκοντα εἶναι πείθεται. περὶ Φιλοκτήτου μὲν ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ ποιήσας ὡς ἀπολίποιεν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν Λήμνῳ ταλαιπωροῦντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔλκου, ἐπὶ κλησὶν δὲ οὐκ ἔθετο ὅφιν τῷ ὕδρῳ: τὸν δράκοντα δέ, ὃν ἐς τοὺς Τρῶας ἀφῆκεν ὁ ἀέτός, ἐκάλεσεν ὅφιν. οὕτω τὸ εἰκὸς ἔχει καὶ τῇ Ἀντινόῃ τὸν ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι δράκοντα.

[8.5] If we may base a conjecture on the verses of Homer, we are led to believe that this snake was a dragon. When in the list of ships he tells how the Greeks abandoned Philoctetes in Lemnos suffering from his wound, he does not style the water-serpent a snake. But the dragon that the eagle dropped among the

Trojans he does call a snake. So it is likely that Antinoe's guide also was a dragon.

MANTINEIA, HISTORY

[6] Μαντινεῖς δὲ μάχην μὲν τὴν ἐν Διπαιεῦσιν οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πολέμῳ συνέστησαν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ Ἡλείων, καὶ παραγενομένου συμμαχικοῦ σφισιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία ἐμαχέσαντο: μετέσχον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐς Σικελίαν στόλου κατὰ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν.

[8.6] The Mantineans did not fight on the side of the other Arcadians against the Lacedaemonians at Dipaea, but in the Peloponnesian war they rose with the Eleans against the Lacedaemonians, and joined in battle with them after the arrival of reinforcements from Athens. Their friendship with the Athenians led them to take part also in the Sicilian expedition.

[7] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιὰ καὶ Ἀγησίπολις ὁ Πανσανίου βασιλεὺς ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν. ὥς δὲ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέκλεισε τοὺς Μαντινέας, εἶπεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ πολιορκία κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τὸν δὲ Ὀφιν ποταμὸν ἀποστρέψας σφίσιν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ὥμῃς ὠκοδομημένον τῆς πλίνθου.

[8.7] Later on a Lacedaemonian army under Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias, invaded their territory. Agesipolis was victorious in the battle and shut up the Mantineans within their walls, capturing the city shortly after. He did not take it by storm, but turned the river Ophis against its fortifications, which were made of unburnt brick.

[8] ἐς μὲν δὴ μηχανημάτων ἐμβολὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἢ πλίνθος παρέχεται μᾶλλον ἢ ὅποσα λίθου πεποιημένα ἐστίν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατάγνυνται τε καὶ ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, ἡ δὲ πλίνθος ἐκ μηχανημάτων μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως πονεῖ, διαλύεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κηρός.

[8.8] Now against the blows of engines brick brings greater security than fortifications built of stone. For stones break and are dislodged from their fittings; brick, however, does not suffer so much from engines, but it crumbles under the action of water just as wax is melted by the sun.

[9] τοῦτο οὐκ Ἀγησίπολις τὸ στρατήγημα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Μαντινέων ἐστὶν ὁ συνεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἔτι Κίμωνι ἐξευρέθη τῷ Μιλτιάδου Βόγην πολιορκοῦντι ἄνδρα Μῆδον καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι εἶχον: Ἀγησίπολις δὲ καθεστηκὸς καὶ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐμμήσατο. ὥς δὲ εἶλε τὴν Μαντίνειαν, ὀλίγον μὲν τι κατέλιπεν οἰκεῖσθαι, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος καταβάλων αὐτῆς κατὰ κόμας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διώκισε.

[8.9] This method of demolishing the fortifications of the Mantineans was not discovered by Agesipolis. It was a stratagem invented at an earlier date by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, when he was besieging Boges and the other

Persians who were holding Eion on the Strymon. Agesipolis only copied an established custom, and one celebrated among the Greeks. After taking Mantinea, he left a small part of it inhabited, but by far the greater part he razed to the ground, settling the inhabitants in villages.

[10] Μαντινέας δὲ ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν κατὰξιν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἔμελλον Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Λεῦκτροις. κατελθόντες δὲ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο δίκαιοι: περιληφθέντες δὲ ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινοῦ πράσσοντες, οὕτω διὰ τὸ δέος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν μετεβάλλοντο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ τῆς Μαντινικῆς πρὸς Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ Θηβαίους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίων γινομένης ὁμοῦ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐτάξαντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς.

[8.10] Fate decreed that the Thebans should restore the Mantineans from the villages to their own country after the engagement at Leuctra, but when restored they proved far from grateful. They were caught treating with the Lacedaemonians and intriguing for a peace with them privately without reference to the rest of the Arcadian people. So through their fear of the Thebans they openly changed sides and joined the Lacedaemonian confederacy, and when the battle took place at Mantinea between the Lacedaemonians and the Thebans under Epaminondas, the Mantineans joined the ranks of the Lacedaemonians.

[11] τούτων δὲ ὕστερον διαφορὰ ἐγένετο Μαντινεῦσιν ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μετέστησαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικόν: καὶ Ἄγιν τὸν Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεύοντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ νικῶσιν ἀμύνοντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ, νικῶσι δὲ προσλαβόντες Ἀχαιῶν στρατιὰν καὶ Ἄρατον ἡγεμόνα ἐπ' αὐτῇ. μετέσχον δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κλεομένην τοῦ ἔργου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ συγκαθεῖλον Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν ἰσχύν. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φίλιππον τὸν Περσέως πατέρα ἔτι παῖδα ἐπιτροπεύοντος καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος ἐπιτηδείου, ἄλλα τε ἐς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ Μαντινεῦσιν ἐποιήθη καὶ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει μετέθεντο Ἀντιγόνην.

[8.11] Subsequently the Mantineans quarrelled with the Lacedaemonians, and seceded from them to the Achaean League. They defeated Agis, the son of Eudamidas, king of Sparta, in defence of their own country, with the help of an Achaean army under the leadership of Aratus. They also joined the Achaeans in their struggle against Cleomenes and helped to destroy the Lacedaemonian power. Antigonos of Macedonia, who was guardian of Philip, the father of Perseus, before he came of age, was an ardent supporter of the Achaeans, and so the Mantineans, among other honors, changed the name of their city to Antigoneia.

[12] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Αὐγούστου πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου ναυμαχίῃσιν μέλλοντος Μαντινεῖς ἐμαχέσαντο ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν συνετάχθησαν Ἀντωνίῳ, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ ἐφρόνουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Αὐγούστου. δέκα δὲ ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἐβασίλευσέ τε Ἀδριανὸς καὶ ἀφελὼν Μαντινεῦσι τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκ Μακεδονίας

ἐπακτὸν ἀπέδωκεν αὐθις Μαντίνειαν καλεῖσθαι σφισι τὴν πόλιν.

[8.12] Afterwards, when Augustus was about to fight the naval engagement off the cape of Actian Apollo, the Mantineans fought on the side of the Romans, while the rest of Arcadia joined the ranks of Antonius, for no other reason, so it seems to me, except that the Lacedaemonians favoured the cause of Augustus. Ten generations afterwards, when Hadrian became Emperor, he took away from the Mantineans the name imported from Macedonia, and gave back to their city its old name of Mantinea.

9. ἔστι δὲ Μαντινεῦσι ναὸς διπλοῦς μάλιστα που κατὰ μέσον τοίχῳ διειργόμενος: τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τέχνη δὲ Ἀλκαμένους, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν παιδῶν: Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο τρίτῃ μετὰ Ἀλκαμένην ὕστερον γενεᾷ. τούτων πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ Μοῦσαι καὶ Μαρσύας αὐλῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ ἐπείργασται στήλῃ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα:

[9.1] IX. The Mantineans possess a temple composed of two parts, being divided almost exactly at the middle by a wall. In one part of the temple is an image of Asclepius, made by Alcamenes; the other part is a sanctuary of Leto and her children, and their images were made by Praxiteles two generations after Alcamenes. On the pedestal of these are figures of Muses together with Marsyas playing the flute. Here there is a figure of Polybius, the son of Lycortas, carved in relief upon a slab, of whom I shall make fuller mention later on.

[2] καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιμνησθησόμεθα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα, Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά, τὸ μὲν Σωτῆρος Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδώτου καλουμένου: ἐπιδιδόναι γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθὰ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ ἐτέρῳθι Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱερὸν: πῦρ δὲ ἐνταῦθα καίουσιν, ποιούμενοι φροντίδα μὴ λάθῃ σφίσιν ἀποσβεσθέν. καὶ Ἥρας πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ναὸν ἔθεασάμην:

[9.2] The Mantineans have other sanctuaries also, one of Zeus Saviour, and one of Zeus Giver of Gifts, in that he gives good things to men. There is also a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, and in another place one of Demeter and the Maid. Here they keep a fire, taking anxious care not to let it go out. Near the theater I saw a temple of Hera.

[3] Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὴν τε καθημένην ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ παρεστῶσας ἐποίησεν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἥβην παῖδα Ἥρας. πρὸς δὲ τῆς Ἥρας τῷ βωμῷ καὶ Ἀρκάδος τάφος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς ἐστὶ: τὰ δὲ ὅσῳ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος

ἐπηγάγοντο ἐκ Μαϊνάλου, χρησμοῦ σφισιν ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν:

[9.3] Praxiteles made the images Hera is sitting, while Athena and Hera's daughter Hebe are standing by her side. Near the altar of Hera is the grave of Arcas, the son of Callisto. The bones of Arcas they brought from Maenalus, in obedience to an oracle delivered to them from Delphi:—

[4] “ἔστι δὲ Μαιναλίη δυσχείμερος, ἔνθα τε κεῖται

Ἀρκάς, ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ πάντες ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέονται,

οὗ τρίοδος καὶ τετράοδος καὶ πεντακέλευθος.

ἔνθα σ’ ἐγὼ κέλομαι στεῖχειν καὶ εὐφροني θυμῷ

Ἀρκάδ’ αἰραμένους κατάγειν εἰς ἄστὺ ἑραννόν:

ἔνθα τε δὴ τέμενός τε θυηλάς τ’ Ἀρκάδι τεύχειν.

“τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἔνθα ὁ τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος, καλοῦσιν Ἡλίου βωμούς.

[9.4]

Maenalia is storm-swept, where lies

Arcas, from whom all Arcadians are named,

In a place where meet three, four, even five roads;

Thither I bid you go, and with kind heart

Take up Arcas and bring him back to your lovely city.

There make Arcas a precinct and sacrifices.

This place, where the grave of Arcas is, they call Altars of the Sun.

[5] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω μνήματα προήκοντά ἐστιν ἐς δόξαν, τὸ μὲν Ἑστία καλουμένη κοινή, περιφερὲς σχῆμα ἔχουσα: Ἀντινόην δὲ αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο κεῖσθαι τὴν Κηφέως: τῷ δὲ στήλῃ τε ἐφέστηκε καὶ ἀνὴρ ἱππεὺς ἐπειργασμένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ, Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφῶντος.

[9.5] Not far from the theater are famous tombs, one called Common Hearth, round in shape, where, they told me, lies Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus. On it stands a slab, on which is carved in relief a horseman, Grylus, the son of Xenophon.

[6] τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὀπισθεν ναοῦ τε Ἀφροδίτης ἐπὶ κλησὶν Συμμαχίας ἐρείπια καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐλείπετο: τὸ δὲ ἐπιγράμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τὴν ἀναθεῖσαν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐδήλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πασέου Νικίπτην. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν κατεσκεύασαντο τοῦτο οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὑπόμνημα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα τῆς ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπ’ Ἀκτίῳ ναυμαχίας. σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀλέαν, καὶ ἱερὸν τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀλέας αὐτοῖς.

[9.6] Behind the theater I found the remains, with an image, of a temple of Aphrodite surnamed Ally. The inscription on the pedestal announced that the image was dedicated by Nicippe, the daughter of Paseas. This sanctuary was made by the Mantineans to remind posterity of their fighting on the side of the Romans at the battle of Actium. They also worship Athena Alea, of whom they have a sanctuary and an image.

[7] ἐνομήσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντίνοῦς σφίσιν εἶναι θεός: τῶν δὲ ἐν Μαντινεῖᾳ νεώτατός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Ἀντίνοῦ ναός. οὗτος ἐσπουδάσθη περισσῶς δὴ τι ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ: ἐγὼ δὲ μετ’ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἔτι αὐτὸν ὄντα οὐκ εἶδον, ἐν δὲ

ἀγάλασιν εἶδον καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς. ἔχει μὲν δὴ γέρα καὶ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Νεῖλῳ πόλις Αἰγυπτίων ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμος Ἀντίνου· τιμὰς δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ κατὰ τοιόνδε ἔσχηκε. γένος ἦν ὁ Ἀντίνους ἐκ Βιθυνίου τῆς ὑπὲρ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ· οἱ δὲ Βιθυνεῖς Ἀρκάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ Μαντινεῖς τὰ ἄνωθεν.

[9.7] Antinous too was deified by them; his temple is the newest in Mantinea. He was a great favorite of the Emperor Hadrian. I never saw him in the flesh, but I have seen images and pictures of him. He has honors in other places also, and on the Nile is an Egyptian city named after Antinous. He has won worship in Mantinea for the following reason. Antinous was by birth from Bithynium beyond the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are by descent Arcadians of Mantinea.

[8] τούτων ἔνεκα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τιμὰς, καὶ τελετὴ τε κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον καὶ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου. οἶκος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ Μαντινεῦσιν ἀγάλματα ἔχων Ἀντίνου καὶ ἐς τὰλλα θέας ἄξιος λίθων ἔνεκα οἷς κεκόσμηται καὶ ἀπιδόντι ἐς τὰς γραφάς· αἱ δὲ Ἀντίνου εἰσὶν αἱ πολλαί, Διονύσῳ μάλιστα εἰκασμένοι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ γραφῆς, ἣ τὸ ἔργον εἶχε τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαντινείᾳ, καὶ ταύτης αὐτόθι ἐστὶ μίμημα.

[9.8] For this reason the Emperor established his worship in Mantinea also; mystic rites are celebrated in his honor each year, and games every four years. There is a building in the gymnasium of Mantinea containing statues of Antinous, and remarkable for the stones with which it is adorned, and especially so for its pictures. Most of them are portraits of Antinous, who is made to look just like Dionysus. There is also a copy here of the painting in the Cerameicus which represented the engagement of the Athenians at Mantinea.

[9] Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυναικὸς τε εἰκὼν χαλκῇ — καὶ Μαντινεῖς καλοῦσι Διομένειαν Ἀρκάδος — καὶ ἡρώδην ἐστὶ Ποδάρου· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ Θηβαίους μάχῃ. γενεαῖς δὲ τρισὶν ἐμοῦ πρότερον μετέθεσαν τοῦ τάφου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς ἄνδρα ἀπόγονον μὲν ἐκείνου Ποδάρου καὶ ὁμώνυμον, γεγονότα δὲ καθ' ἡλικίαν ὡς πολιτείας ἤδη Ῥωμαίων μετεληφέναι.

[9.9] In the market-place is a bronze portrait-statue of a woman, said by the Mantineans to be Diomeneia, the daughter of Arcas, and a hero-shrine of Podares, who was killed, they say, in the battle with the Thebae under Epaminondas. Three generations ago they changed the inscription on the grave and made it apply to a descendant of this Podares with the same name, who was born late enough to have Roman citizenship.

[10] Ποδάρην δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐτίμων οἱ Μαντινεῖς, λέγοντες ὡς ἄριστος μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γένοιτο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφώντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γρύλῳ Κηφισόδωρος Μαραθώνιος, οὗτος δὲ τηνικαῦτα Ἀθηναίοις ἐτύγγανεν ἱπαρχῶν· τρίτα δὲ ἀνδραγαθίας Ποδάρη

[9.10] In my time the elder Podares was honored by the Mantineans, who said that he who proved the bravest in the battle, of themselves and of their allies, was Grylus, the son of Xenophon; next to Grylus was Cephisodorus of Marathon, who at the time commanded the Athenian horse. The third place for valor they give to Podares.

MT ALESIMUM

10. ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην εἰσὶν ἐκ Μαντινείας ὁδοί: ὅποσα δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστης αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἦν θεάς ἄξια, ἐπέξειμι καὶ ταῦτα. ἰόντι ἐς Τεγέαν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου παρὰ τοῖς Μαντινέων τείχεσι χωρίον ἐς τῶν ἵππων τὸν δρόμον καὶ οὐ πόρρω τούτου στάδιον, ἔνθα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντίνῳ τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέασιν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον, διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ὥς φασι καλούμενον τὴν Ῥέας, καὶ Δήμητρος ἅλσος ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

[10.1] X. There are roads leading from Mantinea into the rest of Arcadia, and I will go on to describe the most noteworthy objects on each of them. On the left of the highway leading to Tegea there is, beside the walls of Mantinea, a place where horses race, and not far from it is a race-course, where they celebrate the games in honor of Antinous. Above the race-course is Mount Alesium, so called from the wandering (ale) of Rhea, on which is a grove of Demeter.

[2] παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι τοῦ Ἰππίου τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ πρόσω σταδίου Μαντινείας. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο ἐγὼ τε ἀκοὴν γράφω καὶ ὅσοι μνήμην ἄλλοι περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηται. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερόν τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὠκοδομήσατο Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεύς, ἐπιστήσας τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπόπτας ἄνδρας, ὥς μήτε ἐνίδοι τις ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἀρχαῖον μήτε τῶν ἐρειπίων τι αὐτοῦ μετακινῶιτο: πέριξ δὲ ἐκέλευε τὸν ναὸν σφᾶς οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὸν καινόν. τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο Ἀγαμήδης λέγονται καὶ Τροφώνιος ποιῆσαι, δρυῶν ξύλα ἐργασάμενοι καὶ ἀρμόσαντες πρὸς ἄλληλα:

[10.2] By the foot of the mountain is the sanctuary of Horse Poseidon, not more than six stades distant from Mantinea. About this sanctuary I, like everyone else who has mentioned it, can write only what I have heard. The modern sanctuary was built by the Emperor Hadrian, who set overseers over the workmen, so that nobody might look into the old sanctuary, and none of the ruins be removed. He ordered them to build around the new temple. Originally, they say, this sanctuary was built for Poseidon by Agamedes and Trophonius, who worked oak logs and fitted them together.

[3] ἐσόδου δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ εἵργοντες ἀνθρώπους ἔρυμα μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου προεβάλλοντο οὐδέν, μίτον δὲ διατείνουσιν ἐρεοῦν, τάχα μὲν που τοῖς τότε ἄγουσι τὰ θεῖα ἐν τιμῇ δεῖμα καὶ τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες, τάχα δ' ἂν τι μετεῖη καὶ ἰσχύος τῷ μίτῳ. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Αἵπυτος ὁ Ἰππόθου μήτε πηδήσας ὑπὲρ τὸν μίτον μήτε ὑποδύς, διακόντας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν: καὶ

ποιήσας οὐχ ὅσια ἐτυφλώθη τε ἐμπεσόντος ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τοῦ κύματος καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν αὐτόν.

[10.3] They set up no barrier at the entrance to prevent men going inside; but they stretched across it a thread of wool. Perhaps they thought that even this would strike fear into the religious people of that time, and perhaps there was also some power in the thread. It is notorious that even Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, entered the sanctuary neither by jumping over the thread nor by slipping under it, but by cutting it through. For this sin he was blinded by a wave that dashed on to his eyes, and forthwith his life left him.

[4] θαλάσσης δὲ ἀναφαίνεσθαι κύμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος· εἰκότα δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσιν ἐς τὸ κύμα τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ Καρῶν οἱ Μύλασα ἔχοντες ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ καλοῦσιν Ὅσογῶα. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ σταδίους μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀφέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἢ πρὸς Φαληρῷ θάλασσα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μυλασεῦσιν ἐπίνειον σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἐκ μακροτάτων τε ἢ θάλασσα ἄνεισι καὶ ἐκφανέστατα δὴ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶμην.

[10.4] There is an old legend that a wave of sea-water rises up in the sanctuary. A like story is told by the Athenians about the wave on the Acropolis, and by the Carians living in Mylasa about the sanctuary of the god called in the native tongue Osogoa. But the sea at Phalerum is about twenty stades distant from Athens, and the port of Mylasa is eighty stades from the city. But at Mantinea the sea rises after a very long distance, and quite plainly through the divine will.

PODARES OF MANTINEIA, HISTORY

[5] πέραν δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τρόπαιόν ἐστι λίθου πεποιημένον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἄγιδος· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς μάχης. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν εἶχον οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὐτοί, στρατιάν τε ἀπὸ πάσης ἡλικίας καὶ στρατηγὸν παρεχόμενοι Ποδάρην ἀπόγονον τρίτον Ποδάρου τοῦ Θηβαίοις ἐναντία ἀγωνισαμένου, παρὴν δὲ σφισι καὶ μάντις Ἥλειος Θρασύβουλος Αἰνέου τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν — οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ νίκην τε τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι προηγόρευσε καὶ αὐτὸς σφισι τοῦ ἔργου μετέσχεν — :

[10.5] Beyond the sanctuary of Poseidon is a trophy made of stone commemorating the victory over the Lacedaemonians under Agis. The course of the battle was, it is said, after this wise. The right wing was held by the Mantineans themselves, who put into the field all of military age under the command of Podares, the grandson of the Podares who fought against the Thebans. They had with them also the Elean seer Thrasybulus, the son of Aeneas, one of the Iamids. This man foretold a victory for the Mantineans and took a personal part in the fighting.

[6] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ πᾶν τὸ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν ἐτάσσοντο, ἄρχοντες δὲ κατὰ πόλεις τε ἦσαν καὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν Λυδιάδης καὶ Λεωκύδης· Ἀράτῳ δὲ

ἐπετέτραπτο καὶ Σικυωνίοις τε καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς τὸ μέσον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγις ἐπεξέτειναν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡς τῶν ἐναντίων τῷ στρατεύματι ἀντιπαρήκειν: τὸ μέσον δὲ Ἄγις καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα εἶχον.

[10.6] On the left wing was stationed all the rest of the Arcadian army, each city under its own leader, the contingent of Megalopolis being led by Lydiades and Leocydes. The center was entrusted to Aratus, with the Sicyonians and the Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians under Agis, who with the royal staff officers were in the center, extended their line so as to make it equal in length to that of their enemies.

[7] Ἄρατος δὲ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὑπέφευγεν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατός οἷα δὴ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων: ὑποφεύγοντες δὲ ἅμα τὸ σύνταγμα σφῶν ἡρέμα ἐποίουν μνηοειδές. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγις νίκην τε ἥλπιζον καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ἐνέκειντο ἄθροοι μᾶλλον: ἐπηκολούθουν δέ σφισι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων, Ἄρατον καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν τρέψασθαι μέγα ἀγώνισμα ἡγούμενοι.

[10.7] Aratus, acting on an arrangement with the Arcadians, fell back with his command, as though the pressure of the Lacedaemonians was too severe. As they gave way they gradually made their formation crescent-shaped. The Lacedaemonians under Agis, thinking that victory was theirs, pressed in close order yet harder on Aratus and his men. They were followed by those on the wings, who thought it a great achievement to put to flight Aratus and his host.

[8] ἔλαθόν τε δὴ κατὰ νότου γενόμενοι σφισιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κυκλωθέντες τῆς τε ἄλλης στρατιᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔπεσεν Ἄγις Εὐδαμίδου. φανῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἀμύνοντά σφισιν ἔφασαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα τρόπαιον ἐποίησαντο ἀνάθημα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι.

[10.8] But the Arcadians got in their rear unperceived, and the Lacedaemonians were surrounded, losing the greater part of their army, while King Agis himself fell, the son of Eudamidas. The Mantineans affirmed that Poseidon too manifested himself in their defence, and for this reason they erected a trophy as an offering to Poseidon.

[9] πολέμῳ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φόνοις παρεῖναι θεοὺς ἐποίησαν μὲν ὅσοις τὰ ἡρώων ἐμέλησεν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθήματα, ἄδεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὡς θεοὶ σφισιν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοῦ ἔργου μετὰσχοιεν: ἐκδηλότατα δὲ ὁ Γαλατῶν στρατός ἀπώλετο ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐναργῶς ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. οὕτω καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεται οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ κράτος γενέσθαι σφίσι.

[10.9] That gods were present at war and slaughter of men has been told by the poets who have treated of the sufferings of heroes at Troy, and the Athenians relate in song how gods sided with them at Marathon and at the battle of Salamis. Very plainly the host of the Gauls was destroyed at Delphi by the

god, and manifestly by demons. So there is precedent for the story of the Mantineans that they won their victory by the aid of Poseidon.

[10] Λεωκύδους δὲ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ὁμοῦ Λυδιάδῃ στρατηγήσαντος πρόγονον ἕνατον Ἀρκεσίλαον οἰκοῦντα ἐν Λυκοσοῦρα λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ὡς ἴδοι τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς καλουμένης Δεσποίνης ἔλαφον πεπονηκυῖαν ὑπὸ γήρωος: τῇ δὲ ἐλάφῳ ταύτῃ ψάλιον τε εἶναι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ ψαλίῳ, “νεβρὸς ἐὼν ἐάλων, ὅτ’ ἐς Ἴλιον ἦν Ἀγαπήνωρ.

“οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος ἔλαφον εἶναι πολλῶ καὶ ἐλέφαντος μακροβιώτερον θηρίον:

[10.10] Arcesilaus, an ancestor, ninth in descent, of Leocydes, who with Lydiades was general of the Megalopolitans, is said by the Arcadians to have seen, when dwelling in Lycosura, the sacred deer, enfeebled with age, of the goddess called Lady. This deer, they say, had a collar round its neck, with writing on the collar:—

I was a fawn when captured, at the time when Agapenor went to Troy.

This story proves that the deer is an animal much longer-lived even than the elephant.

SEA, PHOEZON & CHARMON

11. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος χωρίον ὑποδέξεται σε δρυῶν πληρὲς, καλούμενον Πέλαγος, καὶ ἐκ Μαντινείας ἢ ἐς Τεγέαν ὁδὸς φέρει διὰ τῶν δρυῶν. Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ὄροι πρὸς Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν ὁ περιφερὴς ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ βωμός. εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐκτραπῆναι θελήσεις, σταδίους τε ἤξεις μάλιστα που πέντε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Πελίου θυγατέρων ἀφίξη τοὺς τάφους: ταύτας φασὶν οἱ Μαντινεῖς μετοικῆσαι παρὰ σφᾶς, τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀνειδὴ φευγούσας.

[11.1] XI. After the sanctuary of Poseidon you will come to a place full of oak trees, called Sea, and the road from Mantinea to Tegea leads through the oaks. The boundary between Mantinea and Tegea is the round altar on the highroad. If you will turn aside to the left from the sanctuary of Poseidon, you will reach, after going just about five stades, the graves of the daughters of Pelias. These, the Mantineans say, came to live with them when they were fleeing from the scandal at their father's death.

[2] ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀφίκετο ἡ Μήδεια ἐς Ἰωλκόν, αὐτίκα ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Πελῖᾳ, τῷ ἔργῳ μὲν συμπράσσουσα τῷ Ἰάσονι, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ ἀπεχθανομένη. ἐπαγγέλλεται τοῦ Πελίου ταῖς θυγατράσιν ὥς τὸν πατέρα αὐταῖς, ἣν ἐθέλωσιν, ἀποφανοῖ νέον ἀντὶ γέροντος παλαιοῦ: κατασφάζασα δὲ ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ κριὸν τὰ κρέα ὁμοῦ φαρμάκοις ἐν λέβητι ἤψησεν, οἷς ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐψόμενον ἄρνα ἐξήγαγε ζῶντα:

[11.2] Now when Medea reached Iolcus, she immediately began to plot against Pelias; she was really conspiring with Jason, while pretending to be at

variance with him. She promised the daughters of Pelias that, if they wished, she would restore his youth to their father, now a very old man. Having butchered in some way a ram, she boiled his flesh with drugs in a pot, by the aid of which she took out of the pot a live lamb.

[3] παραλαμβάνει τε δὴ τὸν Πελίαν κατακόψασα ἐψῆσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκομίσαντο αἱ θυγατέρες οὐδὲ ἐς ταφὴν ἔτι ἐπιτήδειον. τοῦτο ἠνάγκασε τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν μετοικῆσαι, καὶ ἀποθανούσαις τὰ μνήματα ἐχώσθη σφίσιν αὐτοῦ: ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ποιητῆς μὲν ἔθετο οὐδεῖς, ὅσα γε ἐπελεξάμεθα ἡμεῖς, Μίκων δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος Ἀστερόπειαν τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀντινόην ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν ἐπέγραψεν.

[11.3] So she took Pelias and cut him up to boil him, but what the daughters received was not enough to bury. This result forced the women to change their home to Arcadia, and after their death mounds were made there for their tombs. No poet, so far as I have read, has given them names, but the painter Micon inscribed on their portraits Asteropeia and Antinoe.

[4] χωρίον δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Φοῖζων περὶ εἰκοσί που σταδίου τῶν τάφων ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τούτων: ὁ δὲ Φοῖζων μνημᾶ ἐστὶ λίθου περιεχόμενον κρητῖδι, ἀνέχον δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς. κατὰ τοῦτο ἦ τε ὁδὸς μάλιστα στενὴ γίνεται καὶ τὸ μνημα Ἀρηιθίου λέγουσιν εἶναι, Κορυνήτου διὰ τὸ ὄπλον ἐπινομασθέντος.

[11.4] A Place called Phoezon is about twenty stades distant from these graves. Phoezon is a tomb of stone surrounded with a basement, raised only a little above the ground. At this point the road becomes very narrow, and here, they say, is the tomb of Areithous, surnamed Corynetes (Clubman) because of his weapon.

EPAMINONDAS OF SPARTA, HISTORY

[5] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Παλλάντιον ἐκ Μαντινείας ἄγουσαν προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντά που σταδίου, παρήκει κατὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ὁ τοῦ Πελάγους καλουμένου δρυμός, καὶ τὰ ἱππικὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Μαντινέων ἐνταῦθα ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία τῆς Βοιωτίας ἵππου. Ἐπαμινώνδαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν Μαντινεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ Μαχαιρίωνος Μαντινέως φασὶν ἀνδρός: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σπαρτιάτην λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα Ἐπαμινώνδαν, τίθενται δὲ Μαχαιρίωνα ὄνομα καὶ οὗτοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ.

[11.5] As you go along the road leading from Mantinea to Pallantium, at a distance of about thirty stades, the highway is skirted by the grove of what is called the Ocean, and here the cavalry of the Athenians and Mantineans fought against the Boeotian horse. Epaminondas, the Mantineans say, was killed by Machaerion, a man of Mantinea. The Lacedaemonians on their part say that a Spartan killed Epaminondas, but they too give Machaerion as the name of the man.

[6] ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔχει λόγος — ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θηβαῖοι —

τρωθῆναι τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ὑπὸ Γρύλου: παραπλήσια δέ σφισίν ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῇ τὸ ἔργον ἐχούσῃ τὸ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Μαντινεῖς Γρύλον μὲν δημοσίᾳ τε θάψαντες καὶ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἀναθέντες εἰκόνα ἐπὶ στήλης ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου τῶν συμμάχων: Μαχαιρίωνα δὲ λόγῳ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσιν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὔτε ἐν Σπάρτῃ Μαχαιρίων ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ Μαντινεῦσιν, ὅτῳ γεγόνασιν ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ τιμαί.

[11.6] The Athenian account, with which the Theban agrees, makes out that Epaminondas was wounded by Grylus. Similar is the story on the picture portraying the battle of Mantinea. All can see that the Mantineans gave Grylus a public funeral and dedicated where he fell his likeness on a slab in honor of the bravest of their allies. The Lacedaemonians also speak of Machaerion as the slayer, but actually at Sparta there is no Machaerion, nor is there at Mantinea, who has received honors for bravery.

[7] ὡς δὲ ἐτέρωτο ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας, ἐκκομίζουσιν ἔτι ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτόν: ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῷ τραύματι ἐταλαιπώρει καὶ ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους ἀφεώρα — ὀπόθεν δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτούς, ὠνόμαζον Σκοπὴν οἱ ἔπειτα — , λαβόντος δὲ ἴσον τοῦ ἀγῶνος πέρας, οὕτω τὴν χεῖρα ἀπέσχευ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος: καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφέντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθαψαν ἔνθα σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡ συμβολή.

[11.7] When Epaminondas was wounded, they carried him still living from the ranks. For a while he kept his hand to the wound in agony, with his gaze fixed on the combatants, the place from which he looked at them being called Scope (Look) by posterity. But when the combat came to an indecisive end, he took his hand away from the wound and died, being buried on the spot where the armies met.

[8] τῷ τάφῳ δὲ κίων τε ἐφέστηκε καὶ ἀσπίς ἐπ' αὐτῷ δράκοντα ἔχουσα ἐπειρασμένη: ὁ μὲν δὴ δράκων ἐθέλει σημαίνειν γένους τῶν Σπαρτῶν καλουμένων εἶναι τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν, στήλαι δὲ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι, ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχουσα Βοιωτίων, τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν τε ἀνέθηκεν Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ.

[11.8] On the grave stands a pillar, and on it is a shield with a dragon in relief. The dragon means that Epaminondas belonged to the race of those called the Sparti, while there are slabs on the tomb, one old, with a Boeotian inscription, the other dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian, who wrote the inscription on it.

[9] τὸν δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι στρατηγίας ἔνεκα εὐδοκμησάντων μάλιστα ἐπαινέσαι τις ἂν ἢ ὕστερόν γε οὐδενὸς ποιήσαιτο: Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πόλεων τε ἀξίωμα ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται φρονήματός τι ἦσαν ἔχοντες, Θηβαίους δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδας ἀθύμους τὰς γνώμας καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούειν εἰωθότας ἀπέφηνεν ἐν οὐ πολλῷ πρωτεύοντας.

[11.9] Everybody must praise Epaminondas for being the most famous Greek general, or at least consider him second to none other. For the Lacedaemonian and the Athenian leaders enjoyed the ancient reputation of their cities, while their soldiers were men of a spirit, but the Thebans, whom Epaminondas raised to the highest position, were a disheartened people, accustomed to obey others.

[10] ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ μαντεία πρότερον ἔτι ἐκ Δελφῶν πέλαγος αὐτὸν φυλάσσεσθαι: καὶ ὁ μὲν τριήρους τε μὴ ἐπιβῆναι μηδὲ ἐπὶ νεὼς φορτίδος πλεῦσαι δεῖμα εἶχε, τῷ δὲ ἄρα Πέλαγος δρυμὸν καὶ οὐ θάλασσαν προέλεγεν ὁ δαίμων. χωρία δὲ τὰ ὁμώνυμα καὶ Ἀννίβαν ὕστερον τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ πρότερον ἔτι Ἀθηναίους ἠπάτησεν.

[11.10] Epaminondas had been told before by an oracle from Delphi to beware of “ocean.” So he was afraid to step on board a man-of-war or to sail in a merchant-ship, but by “ocean” the god indicated the grove “Ocean” and not the sea. Places with the same name misled Hannibal the Carthaginian, and before him the Athenians also.

[11] Ἀννίβα γὰρ χρησμὸς ἀφίκετο παρὰ Ἄμμωνος ὡς ἀποθανὼν γῇ καλυφθήσεται τῇ Λιβύσση. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἤλπιζεν ἀρχὴν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθαιρήσειν καὶ οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπανελθὼν τελευτήσιν γῆρα τὸν βίον. Φλαμίνιου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ποιουμένου σπουδὴν ἐλεῖν ζῶντα αὐτόν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Προυσίαν ἰκέτης καὶ ἀπωσθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνεπήδα τε ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ γυμνωθέντος τοῦ ξίφους τιτρώσκεται τὸν δάκτυλον. προελθόντι δέ οἱ στάδια οὐ πολλὰ πυρετός τε ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τριταῖω συνέβη: τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα ἀπέθανε καλοῦσιν οἱ Νικομηδεῖς Λίβυσσαν.

[11.11] Hannibal received an oracle from Ammon that when he died he would be buried in Libyan earth. So he hoped to destroy the Roman empire, to return to his home in Libya, and there to die of old age. But when Flamininus the Roman was anxious to take him alive, Hannibal came to Prusias as a suppliant. Repulsed by Prusias he jumped upon his horse, but was wounded in the finger by his drawn sword. when he had proceeded only a few stades his wound caused a fever, and he died on the third day. The place where he died is called Libysa by the Nicomedians.

[12] Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δωδώνης Σικελίαν ἦλθεν οἰκίζειν, ἡ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ἡ Σικελία λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας: οἱ δὲ οὐ συμφρονήσαντες τὸ εἰρημένον ἔς τε ὑπερορίους στρατείας προήχθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν Συρακοσίων πόλεμον. ἔχει δ’ ἂν τις καὶ πλεονα τοῖς εἰρημένοις εὐοικότα ἄλλα ἐξευρεῖν.

[11.12] The Athenians received an oracle from Dodona ordering them to colonize Sicily, and Sicily is a small hill not far from Athens. But they, not understanding the order, were persuaded to undertake expeditions overseas, especially the Syracusan war. More examples could be found similar to those I have given.

12. τοῦ τάφου δὲ τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδα μάλιστα πού σταδίου μήκος Διὸς ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Χάρμωνος. Ἀρκάδων δὲ ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς εἰσὶν αἱ δρυὲς διάφοροι, καὶ τὰς μὲν πλατυφύλλους αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ φηγούς καλοῦσιν· αἱ τρίται δὲ ἀραιὸν τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ οὕτω δὴ τι παρέχονται κοῦφον, ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ ποιοῦνται σημεῖα ἀγκύραις καὶ δικτύοις· ταύτης τῆς δρυὸς τὸν φλοιὸν ἄλλοι τε Ἴωνων καὶ Ἑρμησιάναξ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσας φελλὸν ὀνομάζουσιν.

[12.1] XII. Just about a stade from the grave of Epaminondas is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Charmon. The oaks in the groves of the Arcadians are of different sorts; some of them are called “broad-leaved,” others “edible oaks.” A third kind have a porous bark, which is so light that they actually make from it floats for anchors and nets. The bark of this oak is called “cork” by the Ionians, for example by Hermesianax, the elegiac poet.

MT OSTRACINA

[2] ἐς Μεθύδριον δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐκέτι, κόμην δὲ ἐς τὸ Μεγαλοπολιτικὸν συντελοῦσαν, ἐς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Μεθύδριον ἐκ Μαντινείας ὁδός. προελθόντι δὲ σταδίους τριάκοντα πεδίον τε ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀλκιμέδων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Ὀστρακίνα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ σπήλαιον, ἐνθα ᾤκησεν Ἀλκιμέδων, ἀνὴρ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων.

[12.2] From Mantinea there is a road leading to Methydrium, which to-day is not a city, but only a village belonging to Megalopolis. Thirty stades farther is a plain called Alcimedon, and beyond the plain is Mount Ostracina, in which is a cave where dwelt Alcimedon, one of those called heroes.

[3] τούτου τοῦ Ἀλκιμέδοντος θυγατρὶ συγγενέσθαι Φιαλοῖ ὡς Φιγαλεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλέα· ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀλκιμέδων τεκοῦσαν, ἐκτίθησιν ἀπολουμένην ἐς τὸ ὄρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ὃν ἔτεκε· καλοῦσι δὲ Αἰχμαγόραν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ἀνακλαίοντος δὲ ὡς ἐξέκειτο τοῦ παιδός, κίσσα ἡ ὄρνις ἐπήκουε τε ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἀπεμιμῆτο τὰ κλάυματα·

[12.3] This man's daughter, Phialo, had connection, say the Phigalians, with Heracles. When Alcimedon realized that she had a child, he exposed her to perish on the mountain, and with her the baby boy she had borne, whom the Arcadians call Aechmagoras. On being exposed the babe began to cry, and a jay heard him wailing and began to imitate his cries.

[4] καὶ πῶς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐρχόμενος τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐπήκουσε τῆς κίσσης καὶ — ἐνόμισε γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ὄρνιθος τὸν κλαυθμόν — ἐτράπετο εὐθὺς τῆς φωνῆς· γνωρίσας δὲ αὐτὴν τε ἔλυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀνεσώσατο. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ ἡ πλησίον πηγὴ Κίσσα ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρνιθος ὀνομάζεται. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς στάδια ἀφέστηκε Πετροσάκα καλούμενον χωρίον· Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ καὶ Μαντινέων ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Πετροσάκα.

[12.4] It happened that Heracles, passing along that road, heard the jay, and,

thinking that the crying was that of a baby and not of a bird, turned straight to the voice. Recognizing Phialo he loosed her from her bonds and saved the baby. Wherefore the spring hard by is named Cissa (Jay) after the bird. Forty stades distant from the spring is the place called Petrosaca, which is the boundary between Megalopolis and Mantinea.

OLD MANTINEIA & MAERA

[5] ἐπὶ δὲ ὁδοῖς ταῖς κατειλεγμέναις δύο ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν εἰσιν ἄλλαι, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἐστὶ καλούμενον Λάδα στάδιον, ἐς ὃ ἐποιεῖτο Λάδας μελέτην δρόμου, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ γῆς χῶμα ὑψηλόν: Πηνελόπης δὲ εἶναι τάφον φασίν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ποιήσει τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ὀνομαζομένην.

[12.5] In addition to the roads mentioned there are two others, leading to Orchomenus. On one is what is called the stadium of Ladas, where Ladas practised his running, and by it a sanctuary of Artemis, and on the right of the road is a high mound of earth. It is said to be the grave of Penelope, but the account of her in the poem called Thesprotis is not in agreement with this saying.

[6] ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν γέ ἐστι τῇ ποιήσει ἐπανάκοντι ἐκ Τροίας Ὀδυσσεὶ τεκεῖν τὴν Πηνελόπην Πτολιπόρθην παῖδα: Μαντινέων δὲ ὁ ἐς αὐτὴν λόγος Πηνελόπην φησὶν ὑπ' Ὀδυσσεὶος καταγνωσθεῖσαν ὥς ἐπισπαστοὺς ἐσαγάγοιτο ἐς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ ἀποπεμφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπελθεῖν, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐς Μαντίνειαν μετοικῆσαι, καὶ οἱ τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν ἐνταῦθα συμβῆναι.

[12.6] For in it the poet says that when Odysseus returned from Troy he had a son Ptoliporthes by Penelope. But the Mantinean story about Penelope says that Odysseus convicted her of bringing paramours to his home, and being cast out by him she went away at first to Lacedaemon, but afterwards she removed from Sparta to Mantinea, where she died.

[7] τοῦ τάφου δὲ ἔχεται τούτου πεδίον οὐ μέγα, καὶ ὅρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰ ἐρείπια ἔτι Μαντινείας ἔχον τῆς ἀρχαίας: καλεῖται δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις. κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτῆς προελθόντι ὁδὸν οὐ μακρὰν Ἀλαλκομενείας ἐστὶ πηγὴ, τῆς Πτόλεως δὲ μετὰ σταδίου τριάκοντα κώμης τε ἐρείπια καλουμένης Μαιρᾶς καὶ τάφος Μαιρᾶς, εἰ δὴ ἐνταῦθα καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν ἐτάφη: Τεγεάταις γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ οὐ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεται, Μαιρὰν τὴν Ἀτλαντος παρὰ σφίσι ταφῆναι. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπόγονος τῆς Ἀτλαντος Μαιρᾶς ἑτέρα Μαιρὰ ἀφίκοιτο ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν.

[12.7] Adjoining this grave is a plain of no great size, and on the plain is a mountain whereon still stand the ruins of old Mantinea. To-day the place is called Ptolis. Advancing a little way to the north of it you come to the spring of Alalcomeneia, and thirty stades from Ptolis are the ruins of a village called Maera, with the grave of Maera, if it be really the case that Maera was buried

here and not in Tegean land. For probably the Tegeans, and not the Mantineans, are right when they say that Maera, the daughter of Atlas, was buried in their land. Perhaps, however, the Maera who came to the land of Mantinea was another, a descendant of Maera, the daughter of Atlas.

MT ANCHISIA

[8] λείπεται δὲ ἔτι τῶν ὁδῶν ἢ ἐς Ὀρχομενόν, καθ' ἣντινα Ἀγχισία τε ὄρος καὶ Ἀγχίσου μνημὰ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῖς ποσίν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐκομίζετο ἐς Σικελίαν ὁ Αἰνείας, ἔσχε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, καὶ πόλεων τε Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Ἡτιδος ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγχίσην κατὰ πρόφασιν δὴ τινα παραγενόμενον ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ αὐτόθι τοῦ βίου τῇ τελευτῇ χρησάμενον ἔθαπεν ἐνταῦθα· καὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου καλοῦσιν Ἀγχισίαν.

[12.8] There still remains the road leading to Orchomenus, on which are Mount Anchisia and the tomb of Anchises at the foot of the mountain. For when Aeneas was voyaging to Sicily, he put in with his ships to Laconia, becoming the founder of the cities Aphrodisias and Etis; his father Anchises for some reason or other came to this place and died there, where Aeneas buried him. This mountain they call Anchisia after Anchises.

[9] τούτου δὲ συντελοῦσιν ἐς πίστιν Αἰολέων οἱ Ἴλιον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχοντες, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς σφετέρας ἀποφαίνοντες μνημα Ἀγχίσου. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τῷ τάφῳ ἐρείπιά ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης ἱεροῦ, καὶ Μαντινέων ὄροι πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀγχισίαις εἰσίν.

[12.9] The probability of this story is strengthened by the fact that the Aeolians who to-day occupy Troy nowhere point out a tomb of Anchises in their own land. Near the grave of Anchises are the ruins of a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and at Anchisiae is the boundary between Mantinea and Orchomenus.

ORCHOMENUS

13. ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ὀρχομενίων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ἀγχισίων, ἐν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι τῆς Ὑμνίας Ἀρτέμιδος· μέτεστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μαντινεῦσι ** καὶ ἱέρειαν καὶ ἄνδρα ἱερέα. τούτοις οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐς τὰς μίξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγιστεύειν καθέστηκε τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα, καὶ οὔτε λουτρὰ οὔτε δίαίτα λοιπὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ σφισι καθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐς οἰκίαν παρίσιν ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου. τοιαῦτα οἶδα ἕτερα ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ οὐ πρόσω Ἐφεσίων ἐπιτηδεύοντας τοὺς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἱστιάτορας τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ γινομένους, καλουμένους δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Ἐσσηνας. τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ὑμνίᾳ καὶ εορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον.

[13.1] XIII. In the territory of Orchomenus, on the left of the road from Anchisiae, there is on the slope of the mountain the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia. The Mantineans, too, share it . . . a priestess also and a priest. It is the custom for these to live their whole lives in purity, not only sexual but in all respects, and they neither wash nor spend their lives as do ordinary people,

nor do they enter the home of a private man. I know that the “entertainers” of the Ephesian Artemis live in a similar fashion, but for a year only, the Ephesians calling them Essenes. They also hold an annual festival in honor of Artemis Hymnia.

[2] Ὀρχομενίοις δὲ ἢ προτέρα πόλις ἐπὶ ὄρους ἦν ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ, καὶ ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ τειχῶν ἐρείπια λείπεται: τὴν δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν πόλιν ὑπὸ τὸν περιβόλον οἰκοῦσι τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους. θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια πηγὴ τε, ἀφ’ ἧς ὕδρευόνται, καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά, λίθου δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει ξοράνόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος: ἱδρυται δὲ ἐν κέδρῳ μεγάλῃ, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου Κεδρεατίν.

[13.2] The former city of Orchomenus was on the peak of a mountain, and there still remain ruins of a market-place and of walls. The modern, inhabited city lies under the circuit of the old wall. Worth seeing here is a spring, from which they draw water, and there are sanctuaries of Poseidon and of Aphrodite, the images being of stone. Near the city is a wooden image of Artemis. It is set in a large cedar tree, and after the tree they call the goddess the Lady of the Cedar.

[3] σωροὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν λίθων εἰσὶ διεστηκότες ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων, ἐπενήθησαν δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ πεσοῦσιν ἀνδράσιν. οἷς τισι δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἐπολέμησαν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ Ἀρκάδων αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἐσήμαιναν οὔτε οἱ Ὀρχομένιοι μνημονεύουσιν.

[13.3] Beneath the city are heaps of stones at intervals, which were piled over men who fell in war. With what Peloponnesians, whether Arcadians or other, the war was fought, was set forth neither by inscriptions on the graves nor in Orchomenian tradition.

MT TRACHY & CAPHYA

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος Τραχύ. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ χαράδρας ῥέον κοίλῃς μεταξὺ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Τραχέος ὄρους κάτεισιν ἐς ἄλλο Ὀρχομένιον πεδίον, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο μεγέθει μὲν μέγα, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ λίμνη. ἰόντι δὲ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ σταδίους προελθόντι ὅσον τρεῖς, ἢ μὲν εὐθεῖα ἐπὶ πόλιν Καφυὰν ἄγει παρά τε αὐτὴν τὴν χαράδραν καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρὰ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον: ἢ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν διαβάντι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ διὰ τῆς χαράδρας ῥέον ὑπὸ τὸ Τραχύ ἐστὶν ὄρος.

[13.4] Opposite the city is Mount Trachy (Rough). The rain-water, flowing through a deep gully between the city and Mount Trachy, descends to another Orchomenian plain, which is very considerable in extent, but the greater part of it is a lake. As you go out of Orchomenus, after about three stades, the straight road leads you to the city Caphya, along the side of the gully and afterwards along the water of the lake on the left. The other road, after you have crossed the water flowing through the gully, goes under Mount Trachy.

[5] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην πρῶτον μὲν μνημῆα ἐστὶν Ἀριστοκράτους, ὃς βία

ποτὲ ἥσχυνε τὴν ἱερωμένην τῇ Ὑμνίᾳ θεῶ παρθένον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους τὸν τάφον πηγαί τε εἰσι καλούμεναι Τενεῖαι καὶ ἀπέχει τῶν πηγῶν στάδια ὡς ἑπτὰ Ἄμιλος χωρίον· πόλιν δὲ τὴν Ἄμιλόν ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι. κατὰ τοῦτο αὖθις τὸ χωρίον δίχα ἡ ὁδὸς τέμνεται, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Στύμφηλον, ἡ δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν αὐτῶν ἄγει.

[13.5] On this road the first thing is the tomb of Aristocrates, who once outraged the virgin priestess of the goddess Hymnia, and after the grave of Aristocrates are springs called Teneiae, and about seven stades distant from the springs is a place Amilus, which once, they say, was a city. Here the road forks again, one way leading to Stympalus, the other to Pheneus.

[6] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Φενεὸν ἐκδέξεται σε ὄρος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ συνάπτουσιν Ὀρχομενίων καὶ Φενεατῶν τε καὶ Καφυατῶν ὄροι τῆς γῆς. ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους κρημνὸς ὑψηλός· πέτραν Καφυατικὴν ὀνομάζουσι τὸν κρημνόν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ὄρους ταῖς κατειλεγμέναις πόλεσι φάραγξ τε ὑπόκειται καὶ φέρει δι' αὐτῆς ἡ ἐς Φενεὸν ὁδός· κατὰ μέσσην δὲ που μάλιστα τὴν φάραγγα ὕδωρ ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς φάραγγος Καρυαί ἐστι χωρίον.

[13.6] On the road to Pheneus you will come to a mountain. On this mountain meet the boundaries of Orchomenus, Pheneus and Caphya. Over the boundaries extends a high crag, called the Caphyatic Rock. After the boundaries of the cities I have mentioned lies a ravine, and the road to Pheneus leads through it. Just about the middle of the ravine water rises up from a spring, and at the end of the ravine is a place called Caryae.

PLAIN OF PHENEUS

14. Φενεατῶν δὲ τὸ πεδίον κεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς Καρυαῖς, πλεονάσαντος δὲ ποτε αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος κατακλυσθῆναι φασὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Φενεόν, ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν σημεῖα ἐλείπετο ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς ἃ ἐπαναβῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι. Καρυῶν δὲ στάδια πέντε ἀφέστηκεν ἢ τε Ὀρυξὶς καλουμένη καὶ ἕτερον ὄρος Σκίαθις· ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄρει βάραθρον τὸ ὕδωρ καταδεχόμενον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου.

[14.1] XIV. The plain of Pheneus lies below Caryae, and they say that once the water rose on it and flooded the ancient city of Pheneus, so that even to-day there remain on the mountains marks up to which, it is said, the water rose. Five stades distant from Caryae is a mountain called Oryxis, and another, Mount Sciathis. Under each mountain is a chasm that receives the water from the plain.

[2] τὰ δὲ βάραθρα οἱ Φενεᾶται ταῦτα φασὶν εἶναι χειροποίητα, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλέα τηνικαῦτα ἐν Φενεῷ παρὰ Λαονόμῃ τῇ Ἀμφιτρώωνος μητρὶ οἰκοῦντα· γενέσθαι γὰρ Ἀμφιτρώωνα ἐκ Λαονόμης Ἀλκαίῳ τῆς Γούνεω, γυναικὸς Φενεάτιδος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Πέλοπος Λυσιδίκης. εἰ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς Φενεάτας μετόκησε, πείθοιτο ἂν τις διωχθέντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθεῶς αὐτὸν οὐκ αὐτίκα ἐς Θήβας, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν

ἀφικέσθαι.

[14.2] These chasms according to the people of Pheneus are artificial, being made by Heracles when he lived in Pheneus with Laonome, the mother of Amphitryo, who was, it is said, the son of Alcaeus by Laonome, the daughter of Guneus, a woman of Pheneus, and not by Lysidice, the daughter of Pelops. Now if Heracles really migrated to Pheneus, one might believe that when expelled by Eurystheus from Tiryns he did not go at once to Thebes, but went first to Pheneus.

[3] διὰ μέσου δὲ ὤρυξεν Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Φενεατῶν πεδίου ἔλυτρον, ῥεῦμα εἶναι τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὀλβίῳ, ὃν τινα Ἀροάνιον Ἀρκάδων καλοῦσιν ἑτεροὶ καὶ οὐκ Ὀλβιον: μῆκος μὲν τοῦ ὀρύγματος στάδιοι πεντήκοντά εἰσι, βάθος δέ, ὅσον μὴ πεπτωκός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα καθήκει πόδας. οὐ μὴν ταύτη γε ἔτι κάτεισιν ὁ ποταμός, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀπεχώρησεν αὐθις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καταλιπὼν ἔλυτρον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἔργον.

[14.3] Heracles dug a channel through the middle of the plain of Pheneus for the river Olbuis, which some Arcadians call, not Olbuis but Aroanuis. The length of the cutting is fifty stades, its depth, where it has not fallen in, is as much as thirty feet. The river, however, no longer flows along it, but it has gone back to its old bed, having left the work of Heracles.

PHENEUS

[4] τῶν βαράθρων δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις πεποιημένων ὄρεσιν ἀπωτέρω πεντήκοντά που σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις: οἰκιστὴν δὲ οἱ Φενεᾶται λέγουσιν ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα εἶναι Φενεόν. ἔστι δὲ σφισιν ἀκρόπολις ἀπότομος πανταχόθεν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἔχουσα οὕτως, ὀλίγα δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ὠχυρώσαντο ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας. ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Τριτωνίας, ἐρείπια δὲ ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα:

[14.4] About fifty stades from the chasms made in the mountains I have mentioned is the city, founded, say the Pheneatians, by Pheneus, an aboriginal. Their acropolis is precipitous on all sides, mostly so naturally, but a few parts have been artificially strengthened, to make it more secure. On the acropolis here is a temple of Athena surnamed Tritonia, but of it I found ruins only remaining.

[5] καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ἐπωνυμίαν Ἴππιος, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ὀδυσσεὶς ἔφασκεν: ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἵππους τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸν γῆν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐπιόντα τῶν ἵππων ιδρύσασθαι μὲν ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Εὐρύππαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν θεόν, ἐνθα τῆς Φενεατικῆς χώρας εὔρε τὰς ἵππους, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἴππίου.

[14.5] There stands also a bronze Poseidon, surnamed Horse, whose image, it is said, was dedicated by Odysseus. The legend is that Odysseus lost his mares, traversed Greece in search of them, and on the site in the land of Pheneus

where he found his mares founded a sanctuary of Artemis, calling the goddess Horse-finder, and also dedicated the image of Horse Poseidon.

[6] τῷ δὲ Ὀδυσσεῖ λέγουσιν εὐρόντι τὰς ἵππους γενέσθαι οἱ κατὰ γνώμην ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Φενεατῶν ἔχειν ἵππους, καθάπερ γε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῆς Ἰθάκης ἀπαντικρὺ τρέφειν αὐτόν· καὶ μοι καὶ γράμματα οἱ Φενεᾶται παρείχοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος γεγραμμένα τῷ βάρῳ, τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως δὴ τι πρόσταγμα τοῖς ποιμαίνουσι τὰς ἵππους.

[14.6] When Odysseus found his mares he was minded, it is said, to keep horses in the land of Pheneus, just as he reared his cows, they say, on the mainland opposite Ithaca. On the base of the image the people of Pheneus pointed out to me writing, purporting to be instructions of Odysseus to those tending his mares.

[7] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἐπομένοις ἡμῖν τῷ Φενεατῶν λόγῳ εἰκὸς προσέσται, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ὀδυσσέα ἀναθεῖναι τὸ χαλκοῦν οὐκ ἔχω πείθεσθαι σφισιν· οὐ γάρ πω τότε τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα διὰ παντὸς ἠπίσταντο ἐργάσασθαι καθάπερ ἐσθῆτα ἐξυφαίνοντες. τρόπον δὲ ὅστις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰ χαλκᾶ ἐργασίας, ἔδειξεν ἤδη μοι τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Ὑπάτου Διός.

[14.7] The rest of the account of the people of Pheneus it will be reasonable to accept, but I cannot believe their statement that Odysseus dedicated the bronze image. For men had not yet learned how to make bronze images in one piece, after the manner of those weaving a garment. Their method of working bronze statues I have already described when speaking of the image of Zeus Most High in my history of the Spartans.

[8] διέχεαν δὲ χαλκὸν πρῶτοι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐχωνεύσαντο Ῥοϊκὸς τε Φιλαῖου καὶ Θεόδωρος Τηλεκλέους Σάμιοι. Θεοδώρου δὲ ἔργον ἦν καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου τῆς σμαράγδου σφραγίς, ἣν Πολυκράτης ὁ Σάμου τυραννήσας ἐφόρει τε τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ περισσῶς δὴ τι ἡγάλλετο.

[14.8] The first men to melt bronze and to cast images were the Samians Rhoecus the son of Philaeus and Theodorus the son of Telecles. Theodorus also made the emerald signet, which Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, constantly wore, being exceedingly proud of it.

[9] Φενεατῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καταβαίνοντι ἔστι μὲν στάδιον, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου μνημα Ἰφικλέους ἀδελφοῦ τε Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἰολάου πατρός. Ἰόλαον μὲν δὴ τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συγκάμνειν λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες· Ἰφικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἰολάου πατήρ, ἠνίκα ἐμαχέσατο Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς Ἡλείου τε καὶ Αὐγέα τὴν προτέραν μάχην, τότε ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἐτρώθη τῶν Ἄκτορος, καλουμένων δὲ ἀπὸ Μολίνης τῆς μητρός. καὶ ἤδη κάμνοντα κομίζουσιν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Φενεόν· ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ Φενεάτης αὐτὸν Βουφάγος καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βουφάγου γυνὴ Πρώμνη περιεῖπόν τε εὖ καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔθαψαν.

[14.9] As you go down from the acropolis of Pheneus you come to a stadium,

and on a hill stands a tomb of Iphicles, the brother of Heracles and the father of Iolaus. Iolaus, according to the Greek account, shared most of the labours of Heracles, but his father Iphicles, in the first battle fought by Heracles against the Eleans and Augeas, was wounded by the sons of Actor, who were called after their mother Moline. In a fainting condition he was carried by his relatives to Pheneus, where he was carefully nursed by Buphagus, a citizen of Pheneus, and by his wife Promne, who also buried him when he died of his wound.

[10] Ἴφικλεῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς ἥρωι, θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεᾶται μάλιστα καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἑρμαίᾳ, καὶ ναός ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ σφισι καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου: τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Εὐχεῖρ Εὐβουλίδου. ὀπισθεν δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τάφος Μυρτίλου. τοῦτον Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι τὸν Μυρτίλον λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἡνιοχεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν Οἰνομάῳ: καὶ ὁπότε ἀφίκοιτο τις μνώμενος τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὴν θυγατέρα, ὁ μὲν ἡπείγετο ὁ Μυρτίλος σὺν τέχνῃ τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὰς ἵππους, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τὸν μνηστῆρα, ὁπότε ἐγγὺς γένοιτο, κατηκόντιζεν.

[14.10] They still sacrifice to Iphicles as to a hero, and of the gods the people of Pheneus worship most Hermes, in whose honor they celebrate the games called Hermaea; they have also a temple of Hermes, and a stone image, made by an Athenian, Eucheir the son of Eubulides. Behind the temple is the grave of Myrtilus. The Greeks say that he was the son of Hermes, and that he served as charioteer to Oenomaus. Whenever a man arrived to woo the daughter of Oenomaus, Myrtilus craftily drove on the mares, while Oenomaus on the course shot down the wooer when he came near.

[11] Ἴπποδαμείας δὲ ἦρα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μυρτίλος, ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀτόλμως ἔχων ὑπεῖκε καὶ ἡνιόχει τῷ Οἰνομάῳ. τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀναφανῆναι τοῦ Οἰνομάου προδότην φασὶν αὐτὸν ὑπαχθέντα ὄρκοις, ὥς οἱ νύκτα ὁ Πέλοψ μίαν Ἴπποδαμείᾳ συγγενέσθαι παρήσει. ἀναμιμνήσκοντα οὖν τῶν ὀρκῶν ὁ Πέλοψ ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς νεώς: Φενεᾶται δὲ τοῦ Μυρτίλου τὸν νεκρὸν

ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος λέγουσιν ἀνελόμενοι θάψαι, καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν αὐτῷ.

[14.11] Myrtilus himself, too, was in love with Hippodameia, but his courage failing him he shrank from the competition and served Oenomaus as his charioteer. At last, it is said, he proved a traitor to Oenomaus, being induced thereto by an oath sworn by Pelops that he would let him be with Hippodameia for one night. So when reminded of his oath Pelops threw him out of the ship. The people of Pheneus say that the body of Myrtilus was cast ashore by the tide, that they took it up and buried it, and that every year they sacrifice to him by night as to a hero.

[12] ἔστι δὲ ὁ Πέλοψ δῆλος οὐ πολλὴν τινα παραπλεύσας θάλασσαν, ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἥλειον. οὐκ ἂν οὖν τό γε πέλαγος τὸ Μυρτῶν ἀπὸ Μυρτίλου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φαίνοιτο κεκλημένον,

ἀρχόμενον τε ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας καὶ παρ' Ἑλένην ἔρημον νῆσον καθῆκον ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον: ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν Εὐβοέων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες εἰκότα εἰρηκέναι, λέγοντες ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Μυρτοῦς τῷ πελάγει γεγενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Μυρτώφω.

[14.12] It is plain that Pelops did not make a long coasting voyage, but only sailed from the mouth of the Alpheius to the harbor of Elis. So the Sea of Myrto is obviously not named after Myrtilus, the son of Hermes, as it begins at Euboea and reaches the Aegaeon by way of the uninhabited island of Helene. I think that a probable account is given by the antiquarians of Euboea, who say that the sea is named after a woman called Myrto.

15. Φεναάταις δὲ καὶ Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἑλευσινίας, καὶ ἄγουσι τῇ θεῷ τελετὴν, τὰ Ἑλευσὶνι δρώμενα καὶ παρὰ σφίσι τὰ αὐτὰ φάσκοντες καθεστηκέναι: ἀφικέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ναὸν κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν, τρίτον δὲ ἀπόγονον Εὐμόλπου τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Ναόν. παρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἑλευσινίας τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται Πέτρωμα καλούμενον, λίθοι δύο ἡρμοσμένοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους μεγάλοι.

[15.1] XV. The people of Pheneus have also a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Eleusinian, and they perform a ritual to the goddess, saying that the ceremonies at Eleusis are the same as those established among themselves. For Naus, they assert, came to them because of an oracle from Delphi, being a grandson of Eumolpus. Beside the sanctuary of the Eleusinian has been set up Petroma, as it is called, consisting of two large stones fitted one to the other.

[2] ἄγοντες δὲ παρὰ ἔτος ἦντινα τελετὴν μείζονα ὀνομάζουσι, τοὺς λίθους τούτους τηρικαῦτα ἀνοίγουσι: λαβόντες δὲ γράμματα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν τελετὴν καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν μυστῶν, κατέθεντο ἐν νυκτὶ αὐτῇς τῇ αὐτῇ. Φενεατῶν δὲ οἶδα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ὁμνύντας ὑπὲρ μεγίστων τῷ Πετρώματι.

[15.2] When every other year they celebrate what they call the Greater Rites, they open these stones. They take from out them writings that refer to the rites, read them in the hearing of the initiated, and return them on the same night. Most Pheneatians, too, I know, take an oath by the Petroma in the most important affairs.

[3] καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιφερές ἐστιν, ἔχον ἐντὸς Δήμητρος πρόσωπον Κιδαρίας: τοῦτο ὁ ἱερεὺς περιθέμενος τὸ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ μείζονι καλουμένῃ τελετῇ ράβδοις κατὰ λόγον δὴ τινα τοὺς ὑποχθονίους παiei. Φενεατῶν δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Ναὸν ἀφικέσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρα πλανωμένην: ὅσοι δὲ Φενεατῶν οἴκῳ τε καὶ ξενίῳς ἐδέξαντο αὐτήν, τούτοις τὰ ὄσπρια ἢ θεὸς τὰ ἄλλα, κύαμον δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκε σφίσι.

[15.3] On the top is a sphere, with a mask inside of Demeter Cidaria. This mask is put on by the priest at the Greater Rites, who for some reason or other beats with rods the Folk Underground. The Pheneatians have a story that even

before Naus arrived the wanderings of Demeter brought her to their city also. To those Pheneatians who received her with hospitality into their homes the goddess gave all sorts of pulse save the bean only.

[4] κύαμον μὲν οὖν ἔφ' ὅτῳ μὴ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν ὄσπριον, ἔστιν ἱερὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος· οἱ δὲ τῷ Φενεατῶν λόγῳ δεξάμενοι τὴν θεόν, Τρισαύλης καὶ Δαμιθάλης, ἐποιήσαντο μὲν Δήμητρος ναὸν Θεσμίας ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κυλλήνῃ, κατεστήσαντο δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τελετήν, ἥντινα καὶ νῦν ἄγουσιν. ὁ δὲ ναὸς οὗτος τῆς Θεσμίας σταδίους πέντε μάλιστα που καὶ δέκα ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως.

[15.4] There is a sacred story to explain why the bean in their eyes is an impure kind of pulse. Those who, the Pheneatians say, gave the goddess a welcome, Trisaules and Damithales, had a temple of Demeter Thesmia (Law-goddess) built under Mount Cyllene, and they established for her rites also, which they celebrate even to this day. This temple of the goddess Thesmia is just about fifteen stades away from the city.

ROAD TO PELLENE

[5] ἐς δὲ Πελλήνην ἐκ Φενεοῦ καὶ ἐς Αἴγειραν ἰόντι Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν, πέντε που προεληλυθότι καὶ δέκα σταδίους, Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Πυθίου ναός· ἐρείπια δὲ ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα καὶ βωμὸς μέγας λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀπόλλωνι Φενεᾶται καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν, Ἡρακλέα ἐλόντα Ἥλιον τὸ ἱερὸν λέγοντες ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἡρώων μνήματα, ὅσοι σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἥλειους μετασχόντες οὐκ ἀπεσώθησαν οἴκαδε ἐκ τῆς μάχης.

[15.5] As you go from Pheneus to Pellene and Aegeira, an Achaean city, after about fifteen stades you come to a temple of Pythian Apollo. I found there only its ruins, which include a large altar of white marble. Here even now the Pheneatians still sacrifice to Apollo and Artemis, and they say that the sanctuary was made by Heracles after capturing Elis. Here also are tombs of heroes, those who joined the campaign of Heracles against Elis and lost their lives in the fighting.

[6] τέθαιπται δὲ Τελαμὼν ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἀροανίου, ἀπωτέρω μικρὸν ἢ ἔστι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, Χαλκῳδων δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ κρήνης καλουμένης Οἰνός. τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἐλεφήνορος τοῦ Εὐβοεῦσιν ἐς Ἴλιον ἡγήσαμένου καὶ τὸν Αἴαντός τε καὶ Τεύκρου, τούτων μὲν τοὺς πατέρας οὐκ ἀποδέξαίτο ἂν τις ἐν τούτῳ πεσεῖν τῷ ἀγῶνι· πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν συνεπελάβετο Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ ἔργου Χαλκῳδων, ὃν πρότερον ἔτι ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀμφιτρύωνα καὶ μαρτυρεῖται καὶ πιστεύειν ἄξιά ἐστιν ἐν Θήβαις;

[15.6] They are Telamon, buried quite near the river Aroanius, a little farther away than is the sanctuary of Apollo, and Chalcodon, not far from the spring called Oenoe. Nobody could admit that there fell in this battle the Chalcodon who was the father of the Elephenor who led the Euboeans to Troy, and the Telamon who was the father of Ajax and Teucer. For how could Heracles have

been helped in his task by a Chalcodon who, according to trustworthy tradition, had before this been killed in Thebes by Amphitryon?

[7] πῶς δὲ Τεῦκρος ᾤκισεν ἂν Σαλαμῖνα ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλιν, μηδενὸς ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ Τροίας ἐκβαλόντος ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας; τίς δ' ἂν ἐξήλασεν ἄλλος πλὴν ὁ Τελαμὼν αὐτόν; δῆλα οὖν ἐστὶ Χαλκῳδόντα οὐ τὸν ἐξ Εὐβοίας καὶ Τελαμῶνα οὐ τὸν Αἰγινήτην ἐπὶ Ἥλειους Ἡρακλεῖ μετεσχηκέναι τῆς στρατείας; ὁμώνυμοι δὲ ἐπιφανέσιν ἄνδρες ἀφανέστεροι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐτι καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ἐγίνοντο ὁμοίως χρόνον.

[15.7] And how would Teucer have founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus if nobody had expelled him from his native city after his return from Troy? And who else would have driven him out except Telamon? So it is plain that those who helped Heracles in his campaign against Elis were not the Chalcodon of Euboea and the Telamon of Aegina. It is, and always has been, not unknown that undistinguished persons have had the same names as distinguished heroes.

MT CRATHIS

[8] Φενεάταις δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν τὸ ὁμορον οὐ καθ' ἓν ὅροι τῆς γῆς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν Πελλήνην ὁ καλούμενος Πωρίνας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Αἰγειῶν τὴν ἐπ' Ἄρτεμιν. ἐν δὲ αὐτῶν Φενεατῶν τῇ χώρᾳ μετὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου προήξεις τε οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ἐντὸς ἔσῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀγούσης τὴν Κράθιν.

[15.8] The borders of Pheneus and Achaia meet in more places than one; for towards Pellene the boundary is the river called Porinas, and towards Aegeira the “road to Artemis.” Within the territory of the Pheneatians themselves, shortly after passing the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo you will be on the road that leads to Mount Crathis.

[9] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Κράθιδος εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί: ῥεῖ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν παρὰ Αἰγᾶς, ἔρημον τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ χωρίον, τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καλεῖται τοῦ Κράθιδος καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς ἐν γῇ τῇ Βρεττίων: ἐν δὲ τῇ Κράθιδι τῷ ὄρει Πυρωνίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τὰ ἐτι ἀρχαιότερα παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης ἐπήγοντο Ἀργεῖοι πῦρ ἐς τὰ Λερναῖα.

[15.9] On this mountain is the source of the river Crathis, which flows into the sea by the side of Aegae, now a deserted spot, though in earlier days it was a city of the Achaeans. After this Crathis is named the river in Bruttium in Italy. On Mount Crathis is a sanctuary of Artemis Pyronia (Fire-goddess), and in more ancient days the Argives used to bring from this goddess fire for their Lernaean ceremonies.

MT TRICRENA & MT SEPIA

16. ἐκ δὲ Φενεοῦ πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι ἀνίσχοντα ὄρους ἐστὶν ἄκρα Γερόντειον καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὁδός: Φενεάταις δὲ ὅροι πρὸς Στυμφαλίους τῆς γῆς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ

Γερόντειον. τοῦ Γερωντείου δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διὰ τῆς Φενεατικῆς ὁδεύοντι ὄρη Φενεατῶν ἐστὶ Τρίκρηνα καλούμενα, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτόθι κρήναι τρεῖς· ἐν ταύταις λούσαι τεχθέντα Ἑρμῆν αἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος λέγονται νύμφαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰς πηγὰς ἱερὰς Ἑρμοῦ νομίζουσιν.

[16.1] XVI. Going east from Pheneus you come to a mountain peak called Geronteium and a road by it. This mountain is the boundary between the territories of Pheneus and Stymphalus. On the left of it, as you travel through the land of Pheneus, are mountains of the Pheneatians called Tricrena (Three Springs), and here are three springs. In them, says the legend, Hermes was washed after birth by the nymphs of the mountain, and for this reason they are considered sacred to Hermes.

[2] Τρικρήνων δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὄρος Σηπία, καὶ Αἰπύτῳ τῷ Ἐλάτου λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι τὴν τελευταίην ἐκ τοῦ ὄφeos, καὶ οἱ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν αὐτόθι: οὐ γὰρ οἶά τε ἦν σφισιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω φέρειν τὸν νεκρόν. τούτους οἱ Ἀρκάδες τοὺς ὄφεις γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει φασίν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὺς γε ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα σπανίους: ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους τὸ πολὺ νειφομένου τοῦ ὄρους, οἱ τε ἀποληφθέντες τῶν φωλεῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος διαφθεῖρονται, καὶ ἦν πρότερον καταφυγόντες τύχωσιν ἐς τὰ φωλεά, ὅμως ἡ χιὼν μέρος τι αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσιν, ἅτε καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ φωλεὰ καθικνουμένου τοῦ κρυμοῦ.

[16.2] Not far from Tricrena is another mountain called Sepia, where they say that Aepytus, the son of Elatus, was killed by the snake, and they also made his grave on the spot, for they could not carry the body away. These snakes are still to be found, the Arcadians say, on the mountain, even at the present day; not many, however, for they are very scarce. The reason is that, as for the greater part of the year snow falls on the mountain, the snakes die that are cut off by the snow from their holes, while should any make good their escape to the holes, nevertheless some of them are killed by the snow, as the frost penetrates even into the very holes themselves.

[3] τὸν δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου τάφον σπουδῇ μάλιστα ἐθεασάμην, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἔπεσιν ἔσχεν Ὅμηρος λόγον τοῦ: Αἰπύτου μνήματος. ἔστι μὲν οὖν γῆς χῶμα οὐ μέγα, λίθου κρηπίδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον: Ὀμήρῳ δὲ — οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἀξιολογώτερον μνῆμα — εἰκότως παρέξειν ἔμελλε θαῦμα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἥφαιστου τὸν χορὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως ἀσπίδι εἰργασμένον εἰκάζει χορῷ Δαιδάλου ποιηθέντι, σοφώτερα οὐ θεασάμενος.

[16.3] The grave of Aepytus I was especially anxious to see, because Homer in his verses about the Arcadians makes mention of the tomb of Aepytus. It is a mound of earth of no great size, surrounded by a circular base of stone. Homer naturally was bound to admire it, as he had never seen a more noteworthy tomb, just as he compares the dance worked by Hephaestus on the shield of Achilles to a dance made by Daedalus, because he had never seen more clever workmanship.

[4] τάφους δὲ ἀξίους θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος πολλοὺς δυοῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι, τοῦ τε ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑβραίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῶ Μουσώλῳ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀλικαρνασσέων πεποιήται, μέγεθος δὲ οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστι μέγας καὶ ἐς κατασκευὴν περίβλεπτος τὴν πᾶσαν, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλως δὴ τι αὐτὸν θαυμάζοντες τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιφανῆ μνήματα Μουσώλεια ὀνομάζουσιν:

[16.4] I know many wonderful graves, and will mention two of them, the one at Halicarnassus and one in the land of the Hebrews. The one at Halicarnassus was made for Mausolus, king of the city, and it is of such vast size, and so notable for all its ornament, that the Romans in their great admiration of it call remarkable tombs in their country "Mausolea."

[5] Ἑβραίοις δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις, ἣν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαῖον βασιλεύς. μεμηχάνηται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν θύραν, ὁμοίως παντὶ οὖσαν τῷ τάφῳ λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον ἀνοίγεσθαι, πρὶν ἂν ἡμέραν τε αἰεὶ καὶ ὥραν τὸ ἔτος ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτήν: τότε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀνοιχθεῖσα καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχοῦσα συνεκλείσθη δι' ἑαυτῆς. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνοίξει πειρώμενος ἀνοίξαις μὲν οὐκ ἂν, κατάξει δὲ αὐτὴν πρότερον βιαζόμενος.

[16.5] The Hebrews have a grave, that of Helen, a native woman, in the city of Jerusalem, which the Roman Emperor razed to the ground. There is a contrivance in the grave whereby the door, which like all the grave is of stone, does not open until the year brings back the same day and the same hour. Then the mechanism, unaided, opens the door, which, after a short interval, shuts itself. This happens at that time, but should you at any other try to open the door you cannot do so; force will not open it, but only break it down.

MT CYLLENE & MT CHELYDOREA

17. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου τὸν τάφον ὄρος τε ὑψηλότατον ὁρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Κυλλήνῃ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Κυλληνίου κατερριμμένος ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους: δῆλα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Κυλλήνως τοῦ Ἑλάτου τῷ τε ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ κλήσις γεγεννημένη τῷ θεῷ.

[17.1] XVII. After the grave of Aepytyus you come to the highest mountain in Arcadia, Cyllene, on the top of which is a dilapidated temple of Cyllenian Hermes. It is clear that Cyllen, the son of Elatus, gave the mountain its name and the god his surname.

[2] τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὅποσα καὶ ἡμεῖς καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, τοσάδε ἦν ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ξόανα ἐποιοῦντο, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ κέδροι, τὰ δρύινα, ἡ μῖλαξ, ὁ λωτός: τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ τῷ Κυλληνίῳ τούτων μὲν ἀπὸ οὐδενός, θύου δὲ πεποιημένον τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν, ὅκτῳ δὲ εἶναι ποδῶν μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἰκάζομεν.

[17.2] In days of old, men made wooden images, so far as I have been able to discover, from the following trees ebony, cypress, cedar, oak, yew, lotus. But

the image of Cyllenian Hermes is made of none of these, but of juniper wood. Its height, I conjecture, is about eight feet.

[3] παρέχεται δὲ καὶ θαῦμα τοιόνδε ἡ Κυλλήνη: κόσσυφοι γὰρ οἱ ὄρνιθες ὀλόλευκοί εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῇ: οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν καλούμενοι γένος ἄλλο πού τί εἰσιν ὀρνίθων, οὐκ ᾠδικόν. ἀετοὺς μὲν οὖν ὀνομαζομένους κυκνίας μάλιστα εὐκότας κύκνω λευκότητα οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ θεασάμενος περὶ λίμνην καλουμένην Ταντάλου: ὅς δὲ ἀγρίους λευκοὺς καὶ ἄρκτους τῶν Θρακίων λευκὰς ἦδη πού καὶ ἄνδρες ἐκτήσαντο ἰδιῶται:

[17.3] Cyllene can show also the following marvel. On it the blackbirds are entirely white. The birds so called by the Boeotians are a somewhat different breed, which does not sing. Eagles called swan-eagles, very like to swans for whiteness, I am acquainted with, as I have seen them on Mount Sipylus round the lake called the Lake of Tantalus. White wild boars and Thracian white bears have been known to be acquired by private individuals.

[4] λαγῶ δὲ καὶ ἔλαφοι, τὸ μὲν Λιβυκὸν θρέμμα οἱ λαγῶ εἰσιν οἱ λευκοί, ἐλάφους δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ λευκὰς εἶδόν τε καὶ ἰδὼν θαῦμα ἐποίησάμην, ὁπόθεν δὲ ἢ τῶν ἡπείρων οὔσαι ἢ νησιώτιδες ἐκομίσθησαν, οὐκ ἐπῆλθεν ἐρέσθαι μοι. τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν λελέχθω τῶν ἐν Κυλλήνῃ κοσσύφων ἔνεκα, ὥς μὴ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν χρόαν αὐτῶν ἀπιστοίη μηδεῖς:

[17.4] White hares are bred in Libya, and white deer I have seen in Rome to my great astonishment, though it never occurred to me to ask from what continent or island they had been brought. I have made these few remarks concerning the blackbirds in Cyllene that nobody may disbelieve what has been said about their color.

[5] ἔχεται δὲ ἄλλο ὄρος Κυλλήνης Χελυδόρεα, ἔνθα εὐρὼν χελώνην Ἑρμῆς ἐκδεῖραι τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λέγεται ποιήσασθαι λύραν. ἐνταῦθα Φεναταῖς καὶ Πελληνεῦσιν ὄροι τῆς γῆς εἰσι, καὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Χελυδορέων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ πλεόν νέμονται.

[17.5] Adjoining Cyllene is another mountain, Chelydorea, where Hermes is said to have found a tortoise, taken the shell from the beast, and to have made therefrom a harp. Here is the boundary between Pheneus and Pellene, and the greater part of Mount Chelydorea is inhabited by the Achaeans.

NONACRIS & RIVER STYX

[6] ἐκ Φενεοῦ δὲ ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέρας καὶ ἡλίου δυσμῶν ἡ μὲν ἀριστερὰ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐς πόλιν ἄγει Κλείτορα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἐπὶ Νώνακριν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Στυγός. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαῖον ἡ Νώνακρις πόλιςμα ἦν Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκάονος γυναικὸς τὸ ὄνομα εἰλήφει: τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐρείπια ἦν, οὐδὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ ἔτι δῆλα. τῶν δὲ ἐρειπίων οὐ πόρρω κρημνός ἐστιν ὑψηλός, οὐχ ἕτερον δ' ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνήκοντα ὕψους οἶδα: καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ στάζει, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑλληνες αὐτὸ ὕδωρ Στυγός.

[17.6] As you go from Pheneus to the west, the left road leads to the city Cleitor, while on the right is the road to Nonacris and the water of the Styx. Of old Nonacris was a town of the Arcadians that was named after the wife of Lycaon. When I visited it, it was in ruins, and most of these were hidden. Not far from the ruins is a high cliff; I know of none other that rises to so great a height. A water trickles down the cliff, called by the Greeks the water of the Styx.

18. εἶναι δὲ τὴν Στύγα Ἡσιόδος μὲν ἐν Θεογονίᾳ πεποίηκεν — Ἡσιόδου γὰρ δὴ ἔπη τὴν Θεογονίαν εἰσὶν οἱ νομίζουσι — , πεποιημένα οὖν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Στύγα, γυναῖκα δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι Πάλλαντος. εὐκότα δὲ πεποιηκέναι τούτοις καὶ Λίνον φασίν: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενῳ παντάπασιν ἐφαίνετο ταῦτά γε εἶναι κίβδηλα.

[18.1] XVIII. Hesiod in the Theogony – for there are some who assign this hexameter poem to Hesiod – speaks of Styx as the daughter of Ocean and the wife of Pallas. Men say that Linus too gives a like account in his verses, though when I read these they struck me as altogether spurious.

[2] Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρής εἶναι μὲν καὶ οὗτος θυγατέρα Ὠκεανοῦ τὴν Στύγα ἐποίησε, συνοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ Πάλλαντι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Πείραντος Ἐχιδναν τεκεῖν, ὅστις δὴ ὁ Πείρας ἐστί. μάλιστα δὲ τῆς Στυγός τὸ ὄνομα ἐς τὴν ποίησιν ἐπεισηγάγετο Ὅμηρος. ἐν μὲν γε Ἥρας ἐποίησεν ὄρκῳ “ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεῖν

καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ:

“Hom. Il. 15.36-37 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐποίησεν ὥς ἂν ἰδὼν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Στυγός στάζον: βούλεται δὲ καὶ ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν μετὰ Γουνέως Τιταρησίῳ ποταμῷ ῥεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς Στυγός.

[18.2] Epimenides of Crete, also, represented Styx as the daughter of Ocean, not, however, as the wife of Pallas, but as bearing Echidna to Peiras, whoever Peiras may be. But it is Homer who introduces most frequently the name of Styx into his poetry. In the oath of Hera he says:—

Witness now to this be Earth, and broad Heaven above,
And the water of Styx down-flowing. Hom. Il. 15.36-37

These verses suggest that the poet had seen the water of the Styx trickling down. Again in the list of those who came with Guneus he makes the river

Titaresius receive its water from the Styx.

[3] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἅιδου ὕδωρ εἶναι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τὸν Δία οὐ μεμνήσθαι φησιν ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς Ἡρακλέα ἔσωζεν ἐκ τῶν Εὐρυσθέως ἄθλων:”εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε ἤδη ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησιν,

εὔτε μιν εἰς Αἶδαο πυλάρταο προὔπεμψεν

ἐξ Ἑρέβους ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Αἶδαο,

οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ρέεθρα.

“Homer, unknown location.

[18.3] He also represents the Styx as a river in Hades, and Athena says that Zeus does not remember that because of her he kept Heracles safe throughout the labours imposed by Eurystheus.

For if I had known this in my shrewd heart

When he sent him to Hades the gate-keeper,

To fetch out of Erebus the hound of hateful Hades,

He would never have escaped the sheer streams of” the river Styx. Homer, unknown location.

[4] τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν

Νώνακριν στάζον ἐσπίπτει μὲν πρῶτον ἐς πέτραν ὑψηλὴν, διεξελθὼν δὲ διὰ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὸν Κρᾶθιν ποταμὸν κάτεισι: θάνατον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ φέρει τοῦτο καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ ζῷῳ παντί. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι γένοιτό ποτε ὄλεθρος ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰξίν, αἱ τοῦ ὕδατος ἔπιον πρῶτον: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐγνώσθη καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πρόσεσι τῷ ὕδατι τῶν ἐς θαῦμα ἠκόντων.

[18.4] The water trickling down the cliff by the side of Nonacris falls first to a high rock, through which it passes and then descends into the river Crathis. Its water brings death to all, man and beast alike. It is said too that it once brought death even upon goats, which drank of the water first; later on all the wonderful properties of the water were learnt.

[5] ὕαλος μὲν γε καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ μόρρια καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἄλλα λίθου ποιούμενα καὶ τῶν σκευῶν τὰ κεραμεᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Στυγὸς τοῦ ὕδατος ρήγνυται: κεράτινα δὲ καὶ ὀστείνα σίδηρός τε καὶ χαλκός, ἔτι δὲ μόλιβδός τε καὶ κασσίτερος καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον ὑπὸ τούτου σήπεται τοῦ ὕδατος. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς πέπονθε: καίτοι γε καθαρεύειν γε τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ ἢ τε ποιήτρια μάρτυς ἐστὶν ἡ Λεσβία καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ χρυσὸς ἐπιδείκνυσιν.

[18.5] For glass, crystal, murrhine vessels, other articles men make of stone, and pottery, are all broken by the water of the Styx, while things of horn or of bone, with iron, bronze, lead, tin, silver and electrum, are all corroded by this water. Gold too suffers just like all the other metals, and yet gold is immune to rust, as the Lesbian poetess bears witness and is shown by the metal itself.

[6] ἔδωκε δὲ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς τοῖς μάλιστα ἀπερριμμένοις κρατεῖν τῶν ὑπερηρκότων τῇ δόξῃ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ μάργα ἀπόλλυσθαι πέφυκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄξους, τοῦτο δὲ τὸν ἀδάμαντα λίθων ὄντα ἰσχυρότατον τοῦ τράγου κατατῆκε τὸ αἷμα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οὐ δύναται τῆς Στυγὸς ὀπλὴν ἵππου βιάσασθαι μόνην, ἀλλὰ ἐμβληθὲν κατέχεται τε ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ διεργάζεται τὴν ὀπλὴν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου συνέβη τὴν τελευτὴν διὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου γενέσθαι τούτου, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ οἶδα.

[18.6] So heaven has assigned to the most lowly things the mastery over things far more esteemed than they. For pearls are dissolved by vinegar, while diamonds, the hardest of stones, are melted by the blood of the he-goat. The only thing that can resist the water of the Styx is a horse's hoof. When poured into it the water is retained, and does not break up the hoof. Whether Alexander, the son of Philip, met his end by this poison I do not know for certain, but I do know that there is a story to this effect.

LUSI

[7] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Νώνακριν ὄρη τε καλούμενα Ἀροάνια καὶ σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἐς τοῦτο ἀναφυγεῖν τὸ σπήλαιον τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Προΐτου μανείσας λέγουσιν, ἃς ὁ Μελάμπους θυσίαις τε ἀπορρήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς κατήγαγεν ἐς χωρίον καλούμενον Λουσούς. τοῦ μὲν δὴ ὄρους τῶν Ἀροανίων Φενεᾶται τὰ πολλὰ ἐνέμοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Κλειτορίων εἰσὶν οἱ Λουσοί.

[18.7] Above Nonacris are the Aroanian Mountains, in which is a cave. To this cave, legend says, the daughters of Proetus fled when struck with madness; Melampus by secret sacrifices and purifications brought them down to a place called Lusi. Most of the Aroanian mountain belongs to Pheneus, but Lusi is on the borders of Cleitor.

[8] πόλιν μὲν δὴ ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι τοὺς Λουσούς, καὶ Ἀγησίλας ἀνὴρ Λουσεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη κέλῃτι ἵππῳ νικῶν, ὅτε πρώτην ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα ἐτίθεσαν πυθιάδα Ἀμφικτύονες· τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἔτι λειπόμενα ἦν Λουσῶν. τὰς δ' οὖν θυγατέρας τοῦ Προΐτου κατήγαγεν ὁ Μελάμπους ἐς τοὺς Λουσούς καὶ ἡκέσατο τῆς μανίας ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ· καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ταύτην Ἡμερασίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Κλειτόριοι.

[18.8] They say that Lusi was once a city, and Agesilas was proclaimed as a man of Lusi when victor in the horse-race at the eleventh Pythian festival held by the Amphictyons; but when I was there not even ruins of Lusi remained. Well, the daughters of Proetus were brought down by Melampus to Lusi, and healed of their madness in a sanctuary of Artemis. Wherefore this Artemis is called Hemerasia (She who soothes) by the Cleitorians.

19. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες γένους μὲν καὶ οὗτοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ὄνομα δὲ σφισι Κυναιθαεῖς, οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ Διός, κεραυνὸν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἔχοντα τῇ χειρί· οὗτοι οἱ Κυναιθαεῖς τεσσαράκοντα ἀπωτέρω Λουσῶν σταδίους μᾶλλον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ σφισιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πεποιήνται μὲν θεῶν

βωμοί, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόν.

[19.1] XIX. There is a clan of the Arcadians, called the Cynaetheans, the same folk who dedicated the image of Zeus at Olympia with a thunderbolt in either hand. These Cynaetheans live more than forty stades from . . . and in their marketplace have been made altars of the gods and a statue of the Emperor Hadrian.

[2] τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἤκοντα ἐς μνήμην Διονύσου ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν, καὶ ἐορτὴν ὥρα ἄγουσι χειμῶνος, ἐν ἣ λῖπα ἀληλιμμένοι ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῶν ταῦρον, ὃν ἂν σφισιν ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ποιήσῃ, ἀράμενοι κομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. θυσία μὲν τοιαύτη σφίσι καθέστηκε: πηγὴ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτόθι ὕδατος ψυχροῦ, δύο μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅστεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πλάτανος πεφυκυῖα.

[19.2] The most notable things here include a sanctuary of Dionysus, to whom they hold a feast in the winter, at which men smeared with grease take up from a herd of cattle a bull, whichever one the god suggest to them, and carry it to the sanctuary. This is the manner of their sacrifice. Here there is a spring of cold water, about two stades away from the city, and above it grows a plane-tree.

[3] ὃς δ' ἂν ὑπὸ κυνὸς κατασχέτου λύσση ἤτοι ἔλκος ἢ καὶ ἄλλως κίνδυνον εὖρηται, τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πίνουντι ἴαμα: καὶ Ἄλυσσον τοῦδε ἔνεκα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν: καὶ οὕτω φαίνοιτο ἂν Ἀρκάσι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Φενεῶ ὕδωρ, ὃ Στύγα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου συμφορᾷ ἀνευρημένον, ἢ δὲ πηγὴ ἢ ἐν Κυναιθαεῦσιν ἀγαθὸν οὐσα ἀντίροπον τῷ ἐκεῖ πήματι.

[19.3] If a rabid dog turn a man mad, or wound or otherwise endanger him, to drink this water is a cure. For this reason they call the spring Alyssus (Curer of madness). So it would appear that the Arcadians have in the water near Pheneus, called the Styx, a thing made to be a mischief to man, while the spring among the Cynaetheans is a boon to make up for the bane in the other place.

RIVERS LADON & AROANIUS

[4] λείπεται δὲ ἐκ Φενεοῦ τῶν ὁδῶν, αἱ εἰσι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμῶν, ἡ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει μὲν ἐς Κλείτορα, καθήκει δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἔργον, ὃ τῷ ποταμῷ ῥεῦμα ἐποίησεν εἶναι τῷ Ἀροανίῳ. παρὰ τοῦτο ἡ ὁδὸς κάτεισιν ἐπὶ χωρίον Λυκουρίαν, καὶ ἔστι Φενεάταις ἡ Λυκουρία πρὸς Κλειτορίους ὅροι τῆς γῆς.

[19.4] One of the roads from Pheneus, which go westward, remains, the one on the left. This road leads to Cleitor, and extends by the side of the work of Heracles, which made a course for the river Aroanius. By it the road goes down to a place called Lycuria, which is the boundary between Pheneus and Cleitor.

20. προελθόντων δὲ σταδίους ὥς πεντήκοντα ἐκ Λυκουρίας, ἐπὶ τοῦ Λάδωνος ἀφίξη τὰς πηγάς· ἤκουσα δὲ ὥς τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον ἐν τῇ Φενεατικῇ, κατερχόμενον ἐς τὰ βάραθρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἀνείσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ποιεῖ τῷ Λάδωνι τὰς πηγάς. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἔχον· ὁ δὲ Λάδων ποταμῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὕδωρ παρέχεται κάλλιστον, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην Δάφνης τε εἵνεκα καὶ ἡ τὰ ἀδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην.

[20.1] XX. Advancing about fifty stades from Lycuria, you will come to the source of the Ladon. I heard that the water making a lake in the territory of Pheneus, descending into the chasms in the mountains, rises here and forms the source of the Ladon, but I cannot say for certain whether this is true or not. The Ladon is the most lovely river in Greece, and is also famous for the legend of Daphne that the poets tell.

[2] τοῦ λόγου δὲ τοῦ ἐς Δάφνην τὰ μὲν Σύροις τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ ποταμῷ παρήμῃ, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων. Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυναστεύσαντι ἐν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός. οὗτος ἐρασθεὶς Δάφνης ὁ Λεύκιππος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ εὐθέως μνόμενος γυναῖκα ἔξῃν ἀπεγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἅτε ἅπαν τὸ ἄρσεν γένος φεύγουσαν· παρέστη δὲ οἱ τοιόνδε ἐς αὐτὴν σόφισμα.

[20.2] I pass over the story current among the Syrians who live on the river Orontes, and give the account of the Arcadians and Eleans. Oenomaus, prince of Pisa, had a son Leucippus. Leucippus fell in love with Daphne, but despaired of winning her to be his wife by an open courtship, as she avoided all the male sex. The following trick occurred to him by which to get her. Leucippus was growing his hair long for the river Alpheius.

[3] ἔτρεφεν ὁ Λεύκιππος κόμην τῷ Ἀλφειῷ· ταύτην οἷα δὴ παρθένος πλεξάμενος τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνδὺς γυναικεῖαν ἀφίκετο ὥς τὴν Δάφνην, ἐλθὼν δὲ Οἰνομάου τε ἔλεγεν εἶναι θυγάτηρ καὶ ὥς συνθηρᾶν ἐθέλοι τῇ Δάφνῃ. ἅτε δὲ εἶναι παρθένος νομιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβλημένους παρθένους γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὰ κυνηγέσια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ περισσῇ χρώμενος, ἐς φιλίαν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπάγεται τὴν Δάφνην.

[20.3] Braiding his hair as though he were a maiden, and putting on woman's clothes, he came to Daphne and said that he was a daughter of Oenomaus, and would like to share her hunting. As he was thought to be a maiden, surpassed the other maidens in nobility of birth and skill in hunting, and was besides most assiduous in his attentions, he drew Daphne into a deep friendship.

[4] οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ἐς αὐτὴν ἄδοντες καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα Λευκίππῳ νεμεσῆσαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα εὐδαιμονίας. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ἢ Δάφνῃ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι νήχεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Λεύκιππον ἀποδύουσιν ἄκοντα· ἰδοῦσαι δὲ οὐ παρθένον τοῖς τε ἄκοντίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειριδίῳ τύπτουσαι διέφθειραν.

[20.4] The poets who sing of Apollo's love for Daphne make an addition to the tale; that Apollo became jealous of Leucippus because of his success in his love. Forthwith Daphne and the other maidens conceived a longing to swim in the Ladon, and stripped Leucippus in spite of his reluctance. Then, seeing that he was no maid, they killed him with their javelins and daggers.

21. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσι: τοῦ Λάδωνος δὲ τῶν πηγῶν ἀπέχει στάδια ἑξήκοντα ἡ Κλειτορίων πόλις, ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Λάδωνός ἐστιν αὐλῶν στενὸς παρὰ τὸν Ἀροάνιον ποταμὸν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει διαβήση ποταμὸν καλούμενον Κλείτορα. ἐκδίδωσιν οὖν ὁ Κλείτωρ ἐς τὸν Ἀροάνιον, οὐ πλέον τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ἀπέχοντα ἑπτὰ.

[21.1] XXI. Such is the tale. From the source of the Ladon, Cleitor is sixty stades away, and the road from the source of the Ladon is a narrow gorge alongside the river Aroanios. Near the city you will cross the river called the Cleitor. The Cleitor flows into the Aroanios, at a point not more than seven stades from the city.

[2] εἰσὶ δὲ ἰχθῦς ἐν τῷ Ἀροάνῳ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ ποικιλίαι καλούμενοι: τούτους λέγουσι τοὺς ποικιλίας φθέγγεσθαι κίχλη τῇ ὄρνιθι ἐοικός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγρευθέντας μὲν εἶδον, φθεγγομένων δὲ ἤκουσα οὐδὲν καταμείνας πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐς ἡλίου δυσμάς, ὅτε δὴ φθέγγεσθαι μάλιστα ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἰχθῦς.

[21.2] Among the fish in the Aroanios is one called the dappled fish. These dappled fish, it is said, utter a cry like that of the thrush. I have seen fish that have been caught, but I never heard their cry, though I waited by the river even until sunset, at which time the fish were said to cry most.

CLEITOR

[3] τῇ δὲ Κλειτορίων πόλει τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐτέθη τοῦ Ἀζᾶνος, οἰκεῖται δ' ἐν ὁμαλῷ, κύκλῳ δὲ ὅρη περιέχοντά ἐστιν οὐ μεγάλα. Κλειτορίοις δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα Δήμητρος τό τε Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τρίτον δὲ ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας *** εἶναι, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: Λύκιος δὲ Ὡλὴν ἀρχαιότερος τὴν ἡλικίαν, Δηλίοις ὕμνους καὶ ἄλλους ποιήσας καὶ ἐς Εἰλειθυίαν τε, εὐλινόν τε αὐτὴν ἀνακαλεῖ — δῆλον ὡς τῇ πεπρωμένη τὴν αὐτὴν — καὶ Κρόνου πρεσβυτέραν φησὶν εἶναι.

[21.3] Cleitor got its name from the son of Azan, and is situated on a level spot surrounded by low hills. The most celebrated sanctuaries of the Cleitorians are those of Demeter, Asclepius and, thirdly, Eileithyia . . . to be, and gave no number for them. The Lycian Olen, an earlier poet, who composed for the Delians, among other hymns, one to Eileithyia, styles her "the clever spinner," clearly identifying her with fate, and makes her older than Cronus.

[4] Κλειτορίοις δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων, καλουμένων δὲ θεῶν Μεγάλων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ὅσον τέσσαρα ἀπέχον στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως: καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς χαλκᾶ. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ὄρους κορυφῆς σταδίοις τριάκοντα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς Κορίας.

[21.4] Cleitor has also, at a distance of about four stades from the city, a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, under the name of the Great Gods. There are also images of them in bronze. There is also built upon a mountain-top, thirty stades away from the city, a temple of Athena Coria will, an image of the goddess.

STYMPHALUS

22. ἐπανάγει δὲ ὁ λόγος με ἐπὶ Στύμφαλον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Φενεατῶν καὶ Στυμφαλίων ὄρους, τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον Γερόντειον. Στυμφάλιοι δὲ τεταγμένοι μὲν οὐ μετὰ Ἀρκάδων ἔτι εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν συντελοῦσι μεταστάντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἐθελονταί· γένους δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς τοῦ Ἀρκάδων τὰ ἔπη μαρτυρεῖ τὰ Ὀμήρου, καὶ ὁ Στύμφαλος ὁ οἰκιστὴς ἀπόγονος ἦν τρίτος Ἀρκάδος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς. λέγεται δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρωθι οἰκισθῆναι τῆς χώρας καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλιν.

[22.1] XXII. My narrative returns to Stymphalus and to Geronteium, as it is called, the boundary between Stymphalus and Pheneus. The Stymphalians are no longer included among the Arcadians, but are numbered with the Argive League, which they joined of their own accord. That they are by race Arcadians is testified by the verses of Homer, and Stymphalus their founder was a grandson of Arcas, the son of Callisto. It is said that it was originally founded on another site, and not on that of the modern city.

[2] ἐν δὲ τῇ Στυμφάλῳ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Τήμενόν φασιν οἰκῆσαι τὸν Πελασγοῦ καὶ Ἦραν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τημένου τραφῆναι τούτου καὶ αὐτὸν ἱερὰ τῇ θεῷ τρία ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τρεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῇ θέσθαι· παρθένῳ μὲν ἔτι οὔσῃ Παιδί, γημαμένην δὲ ἔτι τῷ Διὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Τελείαν, διενεχθεῖσαν δὲ ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἐς τὸν Δία καὶ ἐπανήκουσαν ἐς τὴν Στύμφαλον ὠνόμασεν ὁ Τήμενος Χήραν. τάδε μὲν ὑπὸ Στυμφαλίων λεγόμενα οἶδα ἐς τὴν θεόν:

[22.2] The story has it that in the old Stymphalus dwelt Temenus, the son of Pelasgus, and that Hera was reared by this Temenus, who himself established three sanctuaries for the goddess, and gave her three surnames when she was still a maiden, Girl; when married to Zeus he called her Grown-up; when for some cause or other she quarrelled with Zeus and came back to Stymphalus, Temenus named her Widow. This is the account which, to my own knowledge, the Stymphalians give of the goddess.

[3] ἡ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλις τῶν μὲν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, ἄλλα δὲ εἶχε τοσάδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Στυμφαλίων πηγῇ, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὕδωρ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς Κορινθίους ἤγαγεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Στυμφάλῳ χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρα λίμνην τε οὐ μεγάλην ἡ πηγὴ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ποταμὸν ποιεῖ τὸν Στύμφαλον· ἐν θέρει δὲ προλιμνάζει μὲν οὐδέν ἔτι, ποταμὸς δὲ αὐτίκα ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς. οὗτος ἐς χάσμα γῆς κάτεισιν ὁ ποταμός, ἀναφαινόμενος δὲ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι μεταβάλλει τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ Στυμφάλου καλοῦσιν Ἑρασῖνον.

[22.3] The modern city contains none of these sanctuaries, but I found the

following notable things. In the Stymphalian territory is a spring, from which the emperor Hadrian brought water to Corinth. In winter the spring makes a small lake in Stymphalus, and the river Stymphalus issues from the lake; in summer there is no lake, but the river comes straight from the spring. This river descends into a chasm in the earth, and reappearing once more in Argolis it changes its name, and is called Erasinus instead of Stymphalus.

[4] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὕδατι τῷ ἐν Στυμφάλῳ κατέχει λόγος ὄρνιθας ποτε ἀνδροφάγους ἐπ' αὐτῷ τραφῆναι: ταύτας κατατοξεῦσαι τὰς ὄρνιθας Ἡρακλῆς λέγεται. Πείσανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Καμιρεὺς ἀποκτείνει τὰς ὄρνιθας οὐ φησιν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ψόφῳ κροτάλων ἐκδιώξειεν αὐτάς. γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἀράβων ἡ ἔρημος παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ ὄρνιθας καλουμένας Στυμφαλίδας, λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων οὐδέν τι ἡμερωτέρας ἀνθρώποις:

[22.4] There is a story current about the water of the Stymphalus, that at one time man-eating birds bred on it, which Heracles is said to have shot down. Peisander of Camira, however, says that Heracles did not kill the birds, but drove them away with the noise of rattles. The Arabian desert breeds among other wild creatures birds called Stymphalian, which are quite as savage against men as lions or leopards.

[5] αὗται τοῖς ἐπὶ ἄγραν αὐτῶν ἀφικνουμένοις ἐπιπέτανται, καὶ τιτρώσκουσί τε τοῖς ράμφεσι καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν. ὅσα μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, διατρυνῶσιν αἱ ὄρνιθες: ἦν δὲ ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην παχεῖαν πλέξωνται, τὰ ράμφη τῶν Στυμφαλίδων ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἔχεται τῆς φλοῖνης, καθὰ καὶ πτέρυγες ὀρνίθων τῶν μικρῶν προσέχονται τῷ ἱξῷ. αὗται μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ γέρανόν εἰσιν αἱ ὄρνιθες, εἰκόασι δὲ ἴβεσι, ράμφη δὲ ἀλκιμώτερα φέρουσι καὶ οὐ σκολιὰ ὥσπερ αἱ ἴβεις.

[22.5] These fly against those who come to hunt them, wounding and killing them with their beaks. All armour of bronze or iron that men wear is pierced by the birds; but if they weave a garment of thick cork, the beaks of the Stymphalian birds are caught in the cork garment, just as the wings of small birds stick in bird-lime. These birds are of the size of a crane, and are like the ibis, but their beaks are more powerful, and not crooked like that of the ibis.

[6] εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ κατ' ἐμὲ ὄρνιθες αἱ Ἀράβιοι τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ποτὲ ὀρνίθων τὸ ὄνομα, εἶδος δὲ οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκείναις ἔχουσιν, οὐκ οἶδα: εἰ δὲ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἱέραξι καὶ ἀετοῖς καὶ Στυμφαλίδες εἰσὶν ὄρνιθες, Ἀράβιον τε εἶναι μοι θρέμμα αἱ ὄρνιθες αὗται φαίνονται, καὶ δύναιτο ἂν πετομένη ποτὲ ἀπόμοιρα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἀφικέσθαι ἐπὶ Στύμφαλον. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀράβων ἄλλο τί που ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλοῖντο ἂν καὶ οὐ Στυμφαλίδες: τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πρὸ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ τετιμημένον ἐξενίκησεν ὡς καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ Ἀράβων Στυμφαλίδας καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι.

[22.6] Whether the modern Arabian birds with the same name as the old Arcadian birds are also of the same breed, I do not know. But if there have

been from all time Stymphalian birds, just as there have been hawks and eagles, I should call these birds of Arabian origin, and a section of them might have flown on some occasion to Arcadia and reached Stymphalus. Originally they would be called by the Arabians, not Stymphalian, but by another name. But the fame of Heracles, and the superiority of the Greek over the foreigner, has resulted in the birds of the Arabian desert being called Stymphalian even in modern times.

[7] ἐν Στυμφάλῳ δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον Στυμφαλίας: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξόανόν ἐστι τὰ πολλὰ ἐπίχρυσον. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ ὀρόφῳ πεποιημέναι καὶ οἱ Στυμφαλίδες εἰσὶν ὄρνιθες: σαφῶς μὲν οὖν χαλεπὸν ἦν διαγνῶναι πότερον ξύλου ποίημα ἦν ἢ γύψου, τεκμαιρομένοις δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ξύλου μᾶλλον ἢ γύψου. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ παρθέναι λίθου λευκοῦ, σκέλη δὲ σφισίν ἐστὶν ὀρνίθων, ἐστᾶσι δὲ ὀπίσθε τοῦ ναοῦ.

[22.7] In Stymphalus there is also an old sanctuary of Stymphalian Artemis, the image being of wood, for the most part gilded. Near the roof of the temple have been carved, among other things, the Stymphalian birds. Now it was difficult to discern clearly whether the carving was in wood or in gypsum, but such evidence as I had led me to conclude that it was not of gypsum but of wood. There are here also maidens of white marble, with the legs of birds, and they stand behind the temple.

[8] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι θαῦμα τοιόνδε. ἐν Στυμφάλῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Στυμφαλίας τὴν ἑορτὴν κατὰ τε ἄλλα ἦγον οὐ σπουδῇ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν καθεστηκότα ὑπερέβαινον τὰ πολλὰ. ἐσπεσοῦσα οὖν ὕλη κατὰ τοῦ βαράθρου τὸ στόμα, ἣ κάτεισιν ὁ ποταμός ὅς ἐστιν ὁ Στύμφαλος, ἀνεῖργε μὴ καταδύεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ, λίμνην τε ὅσον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίους σταδίους τὸ πεδίον σφίσι γενέσθαι λέγουσι.

[22.8] Even in our own day the following miracle is said to have occurred. The festival of Stymphalian Artemis at Stymphalus was carelessly celebrated, and its established ritual in great part transgressed. Now a log fell into the mouth of the chasm into which the river descends, and so prevented the water from draining away, and (so it is said) the plain became a lake for a distance of four hundred stades.

[9] φασὶ δὲ ἔπεσθαι θηρευτὴν ἄνδρα ἐλάφῳ φευγούσῃ, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς τὸ τέλος ἴεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα τὸν θηρευτὴν ἐπακολουθοῦντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ κατόπιν τῆς ἐλάφου νήχεσθαι: καὶ οὕτω τὸ βάραθρον τὴν τε ἔλαφον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπέδέξατο. τούτοις δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπακολουθησαί φασιν, ὥστε ἐς ἡμέραν Στυμφαλίοις ἐξήραντο ἅπαν τοῦ πεδίου τὸ λιμνάζον: καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τῇ Ἀρτέμει τὴν ἑορτὴν φιλοτιμία πλέονι ἄγουσι.

[22.9] They also say that a hunter chased a deer, which fled and plunged into the marsh, followed by the hunter, who, in the excitement of the hunt, swam after the deer. So the chasm swallowed up both the deer and her pursuer. They are said to have been followed by the water of the river, so that by the next day

the whole of the water was dried up that flooded the Stymphalian plain. Hereafter they put greater zeal into the festival in honor of Artemis.

ALEA

23. μετὰ δὲ Στύμφαλόν ἐστιν Ἀλέα, συνεδρίου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργολικοῦ μετέχουσα καὶ αὕτη, Ἄλεον δὲ τὸν Ἀφείδαντος γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἀποφαίνουσιν οἰκιστὴν. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ αὐτόθι Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν Ἐφεσίας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀλέας, καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα. τούτῳ παρὰ ἔτος Σκιέρεια ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ ἐν Διονύσου τῇ ἐορτῇ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν μαστιγοῦνται γυναῖκες, καθὰ καὶ οἱ Σπαρτιατῶν ἔφηβοι παρὰ τῇ Ὀρθίᾳ.

[23.1] XXIII. After Stymphalus comes Alea, which too belongs to the Argive federation, and its citizens point to Aleus, the son of Apheidas, as their founder. The sanctuaries of the gods here are those of Ephesian Artemis and Athena Alea, and there is a temple of Dionysus with an image. In honor of Dionysus they celebrate every other year a festival called Sciereia, and at this festival, in obedience to a response from Delphi, women are flogged, just as the Spartan lads are flogged at the image of the Orthian goddess.

[2] ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ὀρχομενίους ὡς πρῶτα μὲν παρὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἐστὶν ἡ εὐθεῖα, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ λιμνάζοντος. ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ Καφυῶν πεποιήται γῆς χῶμα, δι' οὗ ἀπείργεται τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενίας μὴ εἶναι Καφυεῦσιν βλάβος τῇ ἐνεργῷ. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ χώματος παρέξουσιν ὕδωρ ἄλλο, πλήθει μὲν ὅσον τε εἶναι ποταμόν, κατερχόμενον δὲ ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἄνεισιν αὖτις παρὰ Νάσους καλουμένας· τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐνθα ἄνεισιν ὀνομάζεται Ῥεῦνος· ἀνατεῖλαντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα, τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου παρέχεται ποταμόν ἀέναον Τράγον.

[23.2] In my account of Orchomenus, I explained how the straight road runs at first beside the gully, and afterwards to the left of the flood water. On the plain of Caphyae has been made a dyke of earth, which prevents the water from the Orchomenian territory from doing harm to the tilled land of Caphyae. Inside the dyke flows along another stream, in size big enough to be called a river, and descending into a chasm of the earth it rises again at Nasi, as it is called. The place where it reappears is called Rheunus; the stream having risen here, hereafter the water forms an ever-flowing river, the Tagus.

[3] τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐστὶ μὲν δῆλον ἀπὸ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου τῇ πόλει γεγονός, ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν φωνῇ τῇ Ἀρκάδων Καρυᾶς ἐκνενίκηκε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Καρυεῖς τὰ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἶναι χώρας, ἐκβλήθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγέως ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν φυγεῖν καὶ ἰκέται γενόμενοι Κηφέως οἰκῆσαι ἐνταῦθα. τὸ μὲν δὴ πόλισμα ἐπὶ τοῦ πεδίου τῷ πέρατι ὁρῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστι· Καρυάταις δὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κνακαλησίας Ἀρτέμιδος.

[23.3] The name of the city is clearly derived from Cepheus, the son of Aleus,

but its form in the Arcadian dialect, Caphyae, is the one that has survived. The inhabitants say that originally they were from Attica, but on being expelled from Athens by Aegeus they fled to Arcadia, threw themselves on the mercy of Cepheus, and found a home in the country. The town is on the border of the plain at the foot of some inconsiderable mountains. The Caphyatans have a sanctuary of the god Poseidon, and one of the goddess Artemis, surnamed Cnacalesia.

[4] ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄρος Κνάκαλος, ἔνθα ἐπέτειον τελετὴν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν πηγὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ πλάτανος μεγάλη καὶ εὐειδὴς πέφυκε· καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Μενελαΐδα, Μενέλαον γὰρ στρατὸν ἀθροίζοντα ἐς Τροίαν ἀφικέσθαι τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ τὴν πλάτανον φυτεῦσαι λέγοντες· ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγὴν κατὰ ταῦτα τῇ πλατάνῳ καλοῦσι Μενελαΐδα.

[23.4] They have also a mountain called Cnacalus, where every year they celebrate mysteries in honor of their Artemis. A little beyond the city is a spring, and by the spring grows a large and beautiful plane tree. They call it Menelais, saying that the plane was planted by the spring by Menelaus, who came to the spot when he was collecting his army against Troy. To-day they give the name Menelais to the spring as well as to the plane.

[5] εἰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων τοῖς λόγοις ἐπόμενον καταριθμήσασθαι δεῖ με ὅποσα δένδρα σῶα ἔτι καὶ τεθλότα λείπεται, πρεσβύτατον μὲν ἡ λύγος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἐν τῷ Σαμίων πεφυκυῖα ἱερῷ Ἥρας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ δρυς καὶ ἐλαία τε ἢ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἡ παρὰ Δηλίοις· τρίτα δὲ ἔνεκα ἀρχαιότητος νέμοιεν ἂν τῇ δάφνῃ τῇ παρὰ σφίσιν οἱ Σύροι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἡ πλάτανός ἐστιν αὕτη παλαιότατον.

[23.5] If I am to base my calculations on the accounts of the Greeks in fixing the relative ages of such trees as are still preserved and flourish, the oldest of them is the withy growing in the Samian sanctuary of Hera, after which come the oak in Dodona, the olive on the Acropolis and the olive in Delos. The third place in respect of age the Syrians would assign to the bay-tree they have in their country. Of the others this plane-tree is the oldest.

CONDYLEA

[6] Καρυῶν δὲ ἀφέστηκεν ὅσον στάδιον Κονδυλέα χωρίον, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἄλσος καὶ ναός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα καλουμένης Κονδυλεάτιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον· μετονομασθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ αἰτία τὴν θεὸν φασι τοιαύτη. παῖδιά περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν παίζοντα — ἀριθμὸν δὲ αὐτῶν οὐ μνημονεύουσιν — ἐπέτυχε καλωδῖω, δήσαντα δὲ τὸ καλωδῖον τοῦ ἀγάλματος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπέλεγεν ὥς ἀπάγχοιτο ἢ Ἀρτεμις.

[23.6] About a stade distant from Caphyae is a place called Condylea, where there are a grove and a temple of Artemis called of old Condyleatis. They say that the name of the goddess was changed for the following reason. Some

children, the number of whom is not recorded, while playing about the sanctuary found a rope, and tying it round the neck of the image said that Artemis was being strangled.

[7] φωράσαντες δὲ οἱ Καφυεῖς τὰ ποιηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν παιδίων καταλείουσιν αὐτά: καὶ σφισι ταῦτα ἐργασαμένοις ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας νόσος, τὰ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ πρὸ τοκετοῦ τεθνεῶτα ἐκβάλλεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἡ Πυθία θάψαι τε τὰ παιδιά ἀνείπε καὶ ἐναγίζειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἔτος: ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὰ οὐ σὺν δίκῃ. Καφυεῖς δὲ ποιοῦσι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μάντευμα καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς Κονδυλαίαις θεὸν — προσεῖναι γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔτι τῷ χρησμῷ φασι — καλοῦσιν Ἀπαγχομένην ἐξ ἐκείνου.

[23.7] The Caphyans, detecting what the children had done, stoned them to death. When they had done this, a malady befell their women, whose babies were stillborn, until the Pythian priestess bade them bury the children, and sacrifice to them every year as sacrifice is made to heroes, because they had been wrongly put to death. The Caphyans still obey this oracle, and call the goddess at Condyleae, as they say the oracle also bade them, the Strangled Lady from that day to this.

ROAD TO PSOPHIS

[8] ἀνελθὼν δὲ ἐκ Καφυῶν ὅσον σταδίους ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Νάσους καλουμένας καταβῆση: πεντήκοντα δὲ προελθόντι αὐτόθεν σταδίους ἐστὶν ὁ Λάδων. διαβῆση τε δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ δρυμὸν ἀφίξῃ Σόρωνα διὰ τε Ἀργεαθῶν καὶ Λυκούντων καλουμένων καὶ Σκοτάνης.

[23.8] Going up about seven stades from Caphyae you will go down to what is called Nasi. Fifty stades farther on is the Ladon. You will then cross the river and reach a grove called Soron, passing through Argeathae, Lycuntes, as it is called, and Scotane. Now the road to Psophis passes by way of Soron,

[9] ἄγει μὲν δὴ ὁ Σόρων τὴν ἐπὶ Ψωφίδος: θηρία δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ὅσοι δρυμοὶ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν εἰσὶν ἄλλοι παρέχονται τοσάδε, ἄγριους ὕς καὶ ἄρκτους καὶ χελώνας μεγίστας μεγέθει: λύρας ἂν ποιήσαιο ἐξ αὐτῶν χελώνης Ἰνδικῆς λύρα παρισουμένας. τοῦ Σόρωνος δὲ πρὸς τοῖς πέρασιν ἔστι μὲν Πάου κώμης ἐρείτια, εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπωτέρω αἱ καλούμεναι Σεῖραι: ὅροι δὲ Κλειτορίοις τῆς χώρας πρὸς Ψωφιδίου εἰσὶν αἱ Σεῖραι.

[23.9] which, like other Arcadian groves, breeds the following beasts wild boars, bears, and tortoises of vast size. One could of the last make harps not inferior to those made from the Indian tortoise. At the end of Soron are the ruins of the village Paus, and a little farther what is called Seirae; this Seirae forms a boundary between Cleitor and Psophis.

PSOPHIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

24. Ψωφίδος δὲ οἱ μὲν φασιν οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι Ψωφίδα τὸν Ἄρρωνος τοῦ Ἐρμάνθου τοῦ Ἀρίστα τοῦ Παρθάνου τοῦ Περιφίτου τοῦ Νυκτίμου: τοῖς δὲ

ἔστιν εἰρημένα θυγατέρα Ψωφίδα εἶναι Ξάνθου τοῦ Ἐρυμάνθου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὕτω κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἐς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔχει μνήμην:

[24.1] XXIV. The founder of Psophis, according to some, was Psophis, the son of Arrhon, the son of Erymanthus, the son of Aristas, the son of Parthaon, the son of Periphetes, the son of Nyctimus. Others say that Psophis was the daughter of Xanthus, the son of Erymanthus, the son of Arcas. Such are the Arcadian traditions concerning their kings,

[2] ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστατος τῶν λόγων ἐστὶν Ἑρκοῦς τοῦ ἐν Σικανία δυναστεύσαντος παῖδα εἶναι τὴν Ψωφίδα, ἣ συγγενόμενος Ἡρακλῆς ἀγαγέσθαι μὲν αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν οἶκον οὐκ ἤξιον, καταλείπει δὲ ἔχουσαν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ παρὰ Λυκόρτα, ξένῳ μὲν ὄντι αὐτοῦ, παροικούντι δὲ ἐν πόλει Φηγία, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Φηγέως τῆς βασιλείας Ἐρυμάνθῳ καλουμένῃ: ἐπιτραφέντες δὲ αὐτόθι Ἐχέφρων καὶ Πρόμαχος Ἡρακλέους τε ὄντες καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Σικανῆς μετέθεντο τῇ Φηγίᾳ τὸ ὄνομα Ψωφίδα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς.

[24.2] but the most accurate version is that Eryx, the despot of Sicania, had a daughter named Psophis, whom Heracles, though he had intercourse with her, refused to take to his home, but left with child in the care of his friend Lycortas, who lived at Phegia, a city called Erymanthus before the reign of Phegeus. Having been brought up here, Echephron and Promachus, the sons of Heracles and the Sicanian woman, changed the name of Phegia to Psophis, the name of their mother.

MT ERYMANTHUS

[3] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζακυνθίων τῇ ἀκροπόλει Ψωφίς ὄνομα, ὅτι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπεραιώθη πρῶτος καὶ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς ἀνὴρ Ψωφίδιος, Ζάκυνθος τε ὁ Δαρδάνου. Σειρῶν μὲν δὴ σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τριάκοντα ἢ Ψωφίς: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ὃ τε Ἀροάνιος ποταμὸς καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως Ἐρύμανθος ῥέουσιν.

[24.3] Psophis is also the name of the Zacynthian acropolis, because the first man to sail across to the island was Zacynthus, the son of Dardanus, a Psophidian who became its founder. From Seirae it is thirty stades to Psophis, by the side of which runs the river Aroanios, and a little farther away the river Erymanthus.

[4] ἔχει δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ Ἐρύμανθος ἐν ὄρει Λαμπεία, τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἱερὸν εἶναι Πανὸς λέγεται: εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ἐρυμάνθου μοῖρα ἢ Λάμπεια. ἐποίησε δὲ Ὅμηρος ὡς ἐν Ταϋγέτῳ τε καὶ Ἐρυμάνθῳ *** θηρευτῆς *** οὖν τῆς Λαμπείας ὁ Ἐρύμανθος, καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν διεξελθὼν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὸ ὄρος ἔχων τὴν Φολόην, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ πάλιν Θέλπουσαν χώραν, κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν.

[24.4] The Erymanthus has its source in Mount Lampeia, which is said to be sacred to Pan. One might regard Lampeia as a part of Mount Erymanthus. Homer says that in Taygetus and Erymanthus . . . hunter . . . so . . . of

Lampeia, Erymanthus, and passing through Arcadia, with Mount Pholoe on the right and the district of Thelpusa on the left, flows into the Alpheius.

[5] λέγεται δὲ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς κατὰ πρόσταγμα Εὐρυσθέως παρὰ τῷ Ἐρυμάνθῳ θηράσειεν ὃν μεγέθει καὶ ἀλκῇ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερηκότα. Κυμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ὀπικοῖς συὸς ὀδόντας ἀνακειμένους παρὰ σφίσιν ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσιν ὡς οἱ ὀδόντες ὑὸς εἶεν τοῦ Ἐρυμανθίου, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον μέτεστι τοῦ εἰκότος.

[24.5] There is also a legend that Heracles at the command of Eurystheus hunted by the side of the Erymanthus a boar that surpassed all others in size and in strength. The people of Cumae among the Opici say that the boar's tusks dedicated in their sanctuary of Apollo are those of the Erymanthian boar, but the saying is altogether improbable.

PSOPHIS

[6] Ψωφιδίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν Ἐρυκίνης ἐστὶν ἐπίκλησιν — ἧς ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα, ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Ψωφίδος αὐτὸ ἰδρῦσασθαι παιδες, καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὸ εἰκὸς πρόσεστι: ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῆς Ἐρυκίνης ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἐρυκος, ἀγιωτάτον τε ἐκ παλαιοτάτου καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέον πλούτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Πάφῳ —

[24.6] In Psophis there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite surnamed Erycine; I found only ruins of it remaining, but the people said that it was established by the sons of Psophis. Their account is probable, for in Sicily too, in the territory of Eryx, is a sanctuary of Erycine, which from the remotest times has been very holy, and quite as rich as the sanctuary in Paphos.

[7] Προμάχου δὲ καὶ Ἐχέφρονος τῶν Ψωφίδος οὐκ

ἐπιφανῆ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι ἦν τὰ ἡρώα. τέθαιπται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμαίων ἐν Ψωφίδι ὁ Ἀμφιαράου, καὶ οἱ τὸ μνημῆα ἐστὶν οἶκημα οὔτε μεγέθει μέγα οὔτε ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον: περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ κυπάρισσοι πεφύκασιν ἐς τοσοῦτον ὕψος ἀνήκουσαι, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ψωφίδι κατεσκιάζετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ταύτας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐκκόπτειν ἱερὰς τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος νομίζοντες: καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρθένου.

[24.7] The hero-shrines, however, of Promachus and Echephron, the sons of Psophis, were no longer distinguished when I saw them. In Psophis is buried Alcmaeon also, the son of Amphiaras, and his tomb is a building remarkable for neither its size nor its ornament. About it grow cypresses, reaching to such a height that even the mountain by Psophis was overshadowed by them. These the inhabitants will not cut down, holding them to be sacred to Alcmaeon.

[8] ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων ἠνίκα τὴν μητέρα ἀποκτείνας ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἄργους, τότε ἐς τὴν Ψωφίδα ἐλθὼν, Φηγίαν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Φηγέως ὀνομαζομένην, συνώκησεν Ἀλφειβοῖα τῇ Φηγέως θυγατρὶ καὶ αὐτῇ δῶρα ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ὄρμον δίδωσιν. ὡς δὲ οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν οὐδὲν ἐγένετο ἢ

νόσος ῥάων, κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ Πυθία διδάσκει τὸν Ἐριφύλης ἀλάστορα ἐς ταύτην οἱ μόνην χώραν οὐ συνακολουθήσειν, ἣτις ἐστὶ νεωτάτη καὶ ἡ θάλασσα τοῦ μητρώου μιάσματος ἀνέφηγεν ὕστερον αὐτήν.

[24.8] They are called “maidens” by the natives. Alcmaeon, after killing his mother, fled from Argos and came to Psophis, which was still called Phegia after Phegeus, and married Alpheisiboea, the daughter of Phegeus. Among the presents that he naturally gave her was the necklace. While he lived among the Arcadians his disease did not grow any better, so he had recourse to the oracle at Delphi. The Pythian priestess informed him that the only land into which the avenging spirit of Eriphyle would not follow him was the newest land, one brought up to light by the sea after the pollution of his mother’s death.

[9] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξευρών τοῦ Ἀχελώου τὴν πρόσχωσιν ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησε, καὶ γυναῖκα ἔσχε Καλλιρόην τοῦ Ἀχελώου θυγατέρα λόγῳ τῷ Ἀκαρνάνων, καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἀκαρνάν τε καὶ Ἀμφότερος ἐγένοντο: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκαρνάνος τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ταύτῃ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν γενέσθαι λέγουσι τὰ πρὸ τούτου Κούρησι καλουμένοις. ἐς ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἀνοήτους πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες δὲ ἔτι πλέον ἐξοκέλλουσιν.

[24.9] On discovering the alluvial deposit of the Achelous he settled there, and took to wife Callirhoe, said by the Acarnanians to have been the daughter of Achelous. He had two sons, Acarnan and Amphoterus; after this Acarnan were called by their present name (so the story runs) the dwellers in this part of the mainland, who previously were called Curetes. Senseless passions shipwreck many men, and even more women.

[10] ἐπεθύμησεν ἡ Καλλιρόη τῆς Ἐριφύλης οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν ὄρμον καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φηγίαν τὸν Ἀλκμαίωνα ἔστειλεν ἄκοντα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Φηγέως τῶν παίδων Τημένου καὶ Ἀξίονος δολοφονηθέντα ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευταία. τοῦ Φηγέως δὲ οἱ παῖδες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀναθεῖναι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς λέγονται τὸν ὄρμον. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλευόντων ἐν Φηγίᾳ τότε ἔτι καλουμένη τῇ πόλει Φηγίᾳ στρατεῦσαί φασιν Ἕλληνας ἐς Τροίαν: σφᾶς δὲ οἱ Ψωφίδιοι τοῦ στόλου φασὶν οὐ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι αὐτῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖων ἀπηχθάνοντο ἡγεμόνες, κατὰ γένος τε τῷ Ἀλκμαίωνι οἱ πολλοὶ προσήκοντες καὶ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτῷ κοινωνήσαντες τῆς ἐς Θήβας.

[24.10] Callirhoe conceived a passion for the necklace of Eriphyle, and for this reason sent Alcmaeon against his will to Phegia. Temenus and Axion, the sons of Phegeus, murdered him by treachery. The sons of Phegeus are said to have dedicated the necklace to the god in Delphi, and it is said that the expedition of the Greeks to Troy took place when they were kings in the city that was still called Phegia. The people of Psophis assert that the reason why they took no part in the expedition was because their princes had incurred the enmity of the leaders of the Argives, who were in most cases related by blood to

Alcmaeon, and had joined him in his campaign against Thebes.

[11] τὰς δὲ Ἐχινάδας νήσους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχελώου μὴ σφᾶς ἤπειρον ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἀπειργάσθαι γέγονε δὴ αἰτία τὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος, γεγόνاسι δὲ αὐτοῖ τε ἀνάστατοι καὶ ἡ γῆ σφισι πᾶσα ἡρήμωται: ταῖς Ἐχινάσιν οὖν ἅτε ἀσπόρου μενούσης τῆς Αἰτωλίας οὐχ ὁμοίως ὁ Ἀχελῷος ἐπάγει τὴν ἰλύν. μαρτύριον δέ μοι τοῦ λόγου: ὁ γὰρ Μαίανδρος διὰ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Καρῶν ἀρουμένης ὅσα ἔτη ῥέων τὴν μεταξὺ Πριήνης καὶ Μιλήτου θάλασσαν ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πεποίηκεν ἤπειρον.

[24.11] That the Echinades islands have not been made mainland as yet by the Achelous is due to the Aetolian people, who have been driven from their homes and all their land has been laid waste. Accordingly, as Aetolia remains untilled, the Achelous does not bring as much mud upon the Echinades as it otherwise would do. My reasoning is confirmed by the fact that the Maeander, flowing through the land of the Phrygians and Carians, which is ploughed up each year, has turned to mainland in a short time the sea that once was between Priene and Miletus.

[12] Ψωφιδίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρυμάνθῳ ναός ἐστιν Ἐρυμάνθου καὶ ἄγαλμα. ποιεῖται δὲ πλὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου Νείλου ποταμοῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα: τῷ Νεῖλῳ δέ, ἅτε διὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν κατιόντι ἐς θάλασσαν, μέλανος λίθου τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐργάζεσθαι νομίζουσιν.

[24.12] The people of Psophis have also by the side of the Erymanthus a temple and image of Erymanthus. The images of all rivers except the Nile in Egypt are made of white marble; but the images of the Nile, because it descends to the sea through Aethiopia, they are accustomed to make of black stone.

[13] ὃν δὲ ἤκουσα ἐν Ψωφίδι ἐπὶ Ἀγλαῷ λόγον ἀνδρὶ Ψωφιδίῳ κατὰ Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδὸν ὄντι ἡλικίαν, ὥς ὁ Ἀγλαὸς τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα γένοιτο εὐδαίμων, οὐ με ἔπειθεν ὁ λόγος. ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπων μὲν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ ἂν τις ἐλάσσονα ἀναδέξαιτο, καθὰ καὶ ναῦς ἦσσαν ἂν χειμασθεῖη νεὼς ἄλλης:

[24.13] I heard in Psophis a statement about one Aglaus, a Psophidian contemporary with Croesus the Lydian. The statement was that the whole of his life was happy, but I could not believe it.

[14] ἄνδρα δὲ συμφορῶν ἀεὶ στάντα ἐκτὸς ἢ τὰ πάντα οὐρίῳ ναῦν χρησαμένην πνεύματι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως δυνησόμεθα ἐξευρεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὅμηρος κατακείμενον παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἀγαθῶν πίθον, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον κακῶν ἐποίησεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ δεδιδαγμένος, ὃς αὐτόν ποτε Ὅμηρον κακοδαίμονά τε προσεῖπε καὶ ὄλβιον ὥς φύντα ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως.

[24.14] The truth is that one man may receive fewer ills than his contemporaries, just as one ship may be less tossed by storms than another ship. But we shall not be able to find a man never touched by misfortune or a ship never met by an unfavorable breeze. For Homer too says in his poetry that by the side of Zeus is set a jar of good things, and another jar of evil things, taught by the

god at Delphi, who once declared that Homer himself was both unhappy and blessed, being destined by birth to both states alike.

TROPAEA & CAUS

25. ἐς δὲ Θέλπουσαν ἰόντι ἐκ Ψωφίδος πρῶτα μὲν χωρίον Τρόπαιά ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λάδωνος, Τροπαίων δὲ ἔχεται δρυμὸς Ἀφροδίσιον: τρίτα δὲ ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα ἐν στήλῃ γράμματα, “ὅροι Ψωφιδίοις πρὸς τὴν Θελπουσίαν χώραν.

“ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ τῇ Θελπουσίᾳ ποταμός ἐστιν Ἄρσην καλούμενος: τοῦτον οὖν διαβῆσθαι καὶ ὅσον πέντε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ σταδίοις ἀφίξῃ καὶ εἴκοσι ἐπὶ ἐρείπια Καοῦντος κώμης ὃ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ Καουσίου πεποιημένον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

[25.1] XXV. As you go from Psophis to Thelpusa you first reach on the left of the Ladon a place called Tropaea, adjoining which is a grove, Aphrodisium. Thirdly, there is ancient writing on a slab:— “The boundary between Psophis and Thelpusa.”

In the Thelpusian territory is a river called Arsen (Male). Cross this and go on for about twenty-five stades, when you will arrive at the ruins of the village Caus, with a sanctuary of Causian Asclepius, built on the road.

THELPUSA & ONCEIUM

[2] τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τούτου σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἀφέστηκεν ἡ πόλις: τεθῆναι δὲ αὐτῇ ὄνομα ἀπὸ νύμφης λέγουσι Θελπούσης, ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα εἶναι Λάδωνος. τῷ δὲ Λάδωνι ἄρχεται μὲν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν πηγαῖς τῆς Κλειτορίας, καθὰ ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν ἤδη μοι: ῥεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ Λευκάσιον χωρίον καὶ Μεσόβοα καὶ διὰ τῶν Νάσων ἐπὶ τε Ὀρυγα τὸν καὶ Ἀλοῦντα ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐξ Ἀλοῦντος δὲ ἐπὶ Θαλιάδας τε καὶ ἐπὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν κάτεισιν Ἐλευσινίας.

[25.2] Thelpusa is some forty stades distant from this sanctuary. It is said that it was named after Thelpusa, a nymph, and that she was a daughter of Ladon. The Ladon rises in springs within the territory of Cleitor, as my account has already set forth. It flows first beside a place Leucasium and Mesoboa, through Nasi to Oryx, also called Halus, and from Halus it descends to Thaliades and a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter.

[3] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν Θελπουσίων ἐν ὅροις: ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ, ποδῶν ἑπτὰ οὐκ ἀποδέον ἕκαστον, Δήμητρός ἐστι καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως λίθου. μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ Θέλπουσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Λάδων παρέξεισιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, κειμένην μὲν ἐπὶ λόφου μεγάλου, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἔρημον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι οὐσάν φασιν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ ποιηθῆναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Θελπούσῃ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὸν τῶν δώδεκα:

[25.3] This sanctuary is on the borders of Thelpusa. In it are images, each no less than seven feet high, of Demeter, her daughter, and Dionysus, all alike of

stone. After the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess the Ladon flows by the city Thelpusa on the left, situated on a high hill, in modern times so deserted that the market-place, which is at the extremity of it, was originally, they say, right in the very middle of it. Thelpusa has a temple of Asclepius and a sanctuary of the twelve gods; the greater part of this, I found, lay level with the ground.

[4] τούτου τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἔδαφος ἔκειτο ἤδη. μετὰ δὲ Θέλπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ὁ Λάδων κάτεισι τὸ ἐν Ὀγκείῳ: καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑρινὸν οἱ Θελπούσιοι τὴν θεόν, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐπιστρατεῖαν Ἀργείων ποιήσας ἐς Θήβας: καὶ οἱ τὸ ἔπος ἔχει, "Δήμητρος τόθι φασὶν Ἑρινὸς εἶναι ἔδεθλον.

"Antimachus, unknown location. ὁ μὲν δὲ Ὀγκίος Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι κατὰ τὴν φήμην καὶ ἐν τῇ Θελπουσίᾳ περὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐδυνάστευε τὸ Ὀγκιον, τῇ θεῷ δὲ Ἑρινὸς γέγονεν ἐπικλήσις:

[25.4] After Thelpusa the Ladon descends to the sanctuary of Demeter in Onceium. The Thelpusians call the goddess Fury, and with them agrees Antimachus also, who wrote a poem about the expedition of the Argives against Thebes. His verse runs thus: —

There, they say, is the seat of Demeter Fury. Antimachus, unknown location.

Now Oncius was, according to tradition, a son of Apollo, and held sway in Thelpusian territory around the place Oncium; the goddess has the surname Fury for the following reason.

[5] πλανωμένη γὰρ τῇ Δήμητρι, ἠνίκα τὴν παῖδα ἐζήτει, λέγουσιν ἔπεσθαι οἱ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐπιθυμοῦντα αὐτῇ μιχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς ἵππον μεταβαλοῦσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἵπποις νέμεσθαι ταῖς Ὀγκίου, Ποσειδῶν δὲ συνήσεν ἀπατῶμενος καὶ συγγίνεται τῇ Δήμητρι ἄρσενι ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκασθείς.

[25.5] When Demeter was wandering in search of her daughter, she was followed, it is said, by Poseidon, who lusted after her. So she turned, the story runs, into a mare, and grazed with the mares of Oncius; realizing that he was outwitted, Poseidon too changed into a stallion and enjoyed Demeter.

[6] τὸ μὲν δὲ παραυτίκα τὴν Δήμητρα ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἔχειν ὀργίλως, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ τε θυμοῦ παύσασθαι καὶ τῷ Λάδωνι ἐθελῆσαι φασιν αὐτὴν λούσασθαι: ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ

ἐπικλήσεις τῇ θεῷ γεγόνاسι, τοῦ μηνίματος μὲν ἔνεκα Ἑρινὸς, ὅτι τὸ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καλοῦσιν ἐρινύειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, Λουσία δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λούσασθαι τῷ Λάδωνι. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματά ἐστι τὰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ ξύλου, πρόσωπα δὲ σφισι καὶ χεῖρες ἄκραι καὶ πόδες εἰσι Παρίου λίθου:

[25.6] At first, they say, Demeter was angry at what had happened, but later on she laid aside her wrath and wished to bathe in the Ladon. So the goddess has obtained two surnames, Fury because of her avenging anger, because the Arcadians call being wrathful "being furious," and Bather (Lusia) because she

bathed in the Ladon. The images in the temple are of wood, but their faces, hands and feet are of Parian marble.

[7] τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἑρινύος τὴν τε κίστην καλουμένην ἔχει καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ δᾶδα, μέγεθος δὲ εἰκάζομεν ἐννέα εἶναι ποδῶν αὐτήν: ἡ Λουσία δὲ ποδῶν ἑξ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι. ὅσοι δὲ Θέμιδος καὶ οὐ Δήμητρος τῆς Λουσίας τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι νομίζουσι, μάταια ἴστωσαν ὑπειληφότες. τὴν δὲ Δήμητρα τεκεῖν φασιν ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θυγατέρα, ἧς τὸ ὄνομα ἐς ἀτελέστους λέγειν οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ ἵππον τὸν Ἀρείονα: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀρκάδων πρώτοις Ἴππιον Ποσειδῶνα ὀνομασθῆναι.

[25.7] The image of Fury holds what is called the chest, and in her right hand a torch; her height I conjecture to be nine feet. Lusia seemed to be six feet high. Those who think the image to be Themis and not Demeter Lusia are, I would have them know, mistaken in their opinion. Demeter, they say, had by Poseidon a daughter, whose name they are not wont to divulge to the uninitiated, and a horse called Areion. For this reason they say that they were the first Arcadians to call Poseidon Horse.

[8] ἐπάγονται δὲ ἐξ Ἰλιάδος ἔπη καὶ ἐκ Θηβαΐδος μαρτύριά σφισιν εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἐν μὲν Ἰλιάδι ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀρείονα πεποιῆσθαι, “οὐδ’ εἴ κεν μετόπισθεν Ἀρείονα δῖον ἐλαύνει,

Ἀδρήστου ταχὺν ἵππον, ὃς ἐκ θεόφιν γένος ἦεν:

“Hom. Il. 23.346 ἐν δὲ τῇ Θηβαΐδι ὡς Ἀδραστος ἔφηνεν ἐκ Θηβῶν” εἴματα λυγρὰ φέρων σὺν Ἀρείονι κυανοχαίτῃ.

“Thebaid, unknown location. αἰνίσσεσθαι οὖν ἐθέλουσι τὰ ἔπη Ποσειδῶνα Ἀρείονι εἶναι πατέρα, Ἀντίμαχος δὲ παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς φησιν:

[25.8] They quote verses from the Iliad and from the Thebaid in confirmation of their story. In the Iliad there are verses about Areion himself:

Not even if he drive divine Areion behind,

The swift horse of Adrastus, who was of the race of the gods. Hom. Il. 23.346

In the Thebaid it is said that Adrastus fled from Thebes:

Wearing wretched clothes, and with him dark-maned Areion. Thebaid, unknown location.

They will have it that the verses obscurely hint that Poseidon was father to Areion, but Antimachus says that Earth was his mother:

[9] “Ἀδρηστος Ταλαῷ υἱὸς Κρηθηιάδαο

πρώτιστος Δαναῶν ἐὼ αἰνέτω ἥλασεν ἵππῳ,

Καιρόν τε κραιπνὸν καὶ Ἀρείονα Θελπουσαῖον,

τόν ῥά τ’ Ἀπόλλωνος σχεδὸν ἄλσεος Ὀγκαίοιο

αὐτὴ Γαῖ’ ἀνέδωκε, σέβας θνητοῖσιν ιδέσθαι.

“Antimachus, unknown location.

[25.9]

Adrastus, son of Talaus, son of Cretheus,
The very first of the Danaï to drive his famous horses,
Swift Caerus and Areion of Thelpusa,
Whom near the grove of Oncean Apollo
Earth herself sent up, a marvel for mortals to see. Antimachus, unknown location.

[10] δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ ἀναφύντι ἐκ γῆς τῷ ἵππῳ ἐκ θεοῦ τε εἶναι τὸ γένος καὶ αἱ τρίχες οἱ τὴν χροάν εὐοικέναι κυανῶ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιάδε, Ἡρακλέα πολεμοῦντα Ἥλείοις αἰτῆσαι παρ' Ὀγκου τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἐλεῖν τὴν Ἥλιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρείονι ὀχοῦμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας, δοθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὕστερον Ἀδράστῳ τὸν ἵππον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀρείονα ἐποίησεν Ἀντίμαχος “ὅς ῥά ποτ' Ἀδρήστῳ τριτάτῳ δέδμηθ' ὑπ' ἄνακτι.

“Antimachus, unknown location.

[25.10] But even though sprung from Earth the horse might be of divine lineage and the color of his hair might still be dark. Legend also has it that when Heracles was warring on Elis he asked Oncus for the horse, and was carried to battle on the back of Areion when he took Elis, but afterwards the horse was given to Adrastus by Heracles. Wherefore Antimachus says about Areion:

Adrastus was the third lord who tamed him. Antimachus, unknown location.

[11] ὁ δὲ Λάδων τῆς Ἐρινύος τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπολιπὼν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, παρέξεισιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ὀγκαιάτου τὸν ναόν, τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Παιδὸς ἱερὸν, ἔνθα Τρυγόνος μνημᾶ ἐστὶ τροφοῦ: τροφὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὴν Τρυγόναν εἶναι λέγουσιν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ Θελπούσῃ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ παιδί ἐκκειμένῳ φασὶν ἐπιτυχόντα Αὐτόλαον Ἀρκάδος υἱὸν νόθον ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παῖδα Ἀσκληπιὸν *** εἰκότα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡγούμην, ὃ καὶ ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίων.

[25.11] The Ladon, leaving on the left the sanctuary of the Fury, passes on the left the temple of Oncaetian Apollo, and on the right a sanctuary of Boy Asclepius, where is the tomb of Trygon, who is said to have been the nurse of Asclepius. For the story is that Asclepius, when little, was exposed in Thelpusa, but was found by Autolaus, the illegitimate son of Arcas, who reared the baby, and for this reason Boy Asclepius . . . I thought more likely, as also I set forth in my account of Epidaurus.

HERAEA & RIVER LADON

[12] ἔστι δὲ Τουθόα ποταμός: ἐμβάλλει δὲ ἐς τὸν Λάδωνα καὶ ἡ Τουθόα κατὰ τὸν Θελπουσίῳ ὄρον πρὸς Ἡραιεῖς, καλούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων Πεδίον. καθότι δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Λάδων ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Κοράκων ὠνόμασται νᾶσος. οἱ δὲ ἡγνῆται τὴν Ἐνίσπην καὶ Στρατὴν τε καὶ Ρίπην τὰς ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου

κατελεγμένας γενέσθαι νήσους ποτὲ ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένας, ἃ οἱ πεπιστευκότες μάταια ἴστωσαν:

[25.12] There is a river Tuthoa, and it falls into the Ladon at the boundary between Thelpusa and Heraea, called Plain by the Arcadians. Where the Ladon itself falls into the Alpheius is an island called the Island of Crows. Those who have thought that Enispe, Stratia and Rhipe, mentioned by Homer, were once inhabited islands in the Ladon, cherish, I would tell them, a false belief.

[13] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε οὐδὲ νηὶ παρισουμένας πορθμίδι παράσχοιτο ὁ Λάδων νήσους. κάλλους μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα οὐδενὸς ποταμῶν δεύτερος οὔτε τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἐστὶν οὔτε Ἑλληνος, μέγεθος δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτος ὥς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ νήσους ἀναφαίνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν Ἰστροφ τε καὶ Ἡριδανῷ.

[25.13] For the Ladon could never show islands even as large as a ferry-boat. As far as beauty is concerned, it is second to no river, either in Greece or in foreign lands, but it is not big enough to carry islands on its waters, as do the Danube and the Eridanus.

26. Ἡραιεῦσι δὲ οἰκιστὴς μὲν γέγονεν Ἡραιεύς ὁ Λυκάωνος, κεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν ἡρέμα προσάντει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καθήκει τὸν Ἀλφειόν. δρόμοι τε παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πεποιήνται μυρσίναις καὶ ἄλλοις ἡμέροις διακεκριμένοι δένδροις, καὶ τὰ λουτρά αὐτόθι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ ναοί: τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν αὐτῶν Πολίτην, τὸν δὲ Αὐξίτην, καὶ οἰκημὰ ἐστὶ σφισιν ἔνθα τῷ Διονύσῳ τὰ

[26.1] XXVI. The founder of Heraea was Heraeeus the son of Lycaon, and the city lies on the right of the Alpheius, mostly upon a gentle slope, though a part descends right to the Alpheius. Walks have been made along the river, separated by myrtles and other cultivated trees; the baths are there, as are also two temples to Dionysus. One is to the god named Citizen, the other to the Giver of Increase, and they have a building there where they celebrate their mysteries in honor of Dionysus.

[2] ὄργια ἄγουσιν. ἔστι καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῇ Ἡραίᾳ Πανὸς ἅτε τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιχωρίου, τῆς δὲ Ἡρας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ἐρείπια καὶ οἱ κίονες ἔτι ἐλείποντο: ἀθλητὰς δὲ ὅποσοι γεγόνασιν Ἀρκάσιν ὑπερῆρκε τῇ δόξῃ Δαμάρετος Ἡραιεύς, ὃς τὸν ὀπλίτην δρόμον ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πρῶτος.

[26.2] There is also in Heraea a temple of Pan, as he is native to Arcadia, and of the temple of Hera I found remaining various ruins, including the pillars. Of Arcadian athletes the most renowned has been Damaretus of Heraea, who was the first to win the race in armour at Olympia.

[3] ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἥλειαν κατιῶν ἐξ Ἡραίας στάδια μὲν πέντε καὶ δέκα ἀποσχὼν Ἡραίας διαβήσῃ τὸν Λάδωνα, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς Ἐρύμανθον ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἀφίξῃ σταδίοις. τῇ δὲ Ἡραίᾳ ὅροι πρὸς τὴν Ἥλειαν λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐρύμανθος, Ἥλειοι δὲ τὸν Κοροΐβου τάφον φασὶ τὴν χώραν

σφίσιν ὀρίζειν.

[26.3] As you go down to the land of Elis from Heraea, at a distance of about fifteen stades from Heraea you will cross the Ladon, and from it to the Erymanthus is a journey of roughly twenty stades. The boundary between Heraea and the land of Elis is according to the Arcadians the Erymanthus, but the people of Elis say that the grave of Coroebus bounds their territory.

[4] ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἐκλιπόντα ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἀνενεώσατο Ἴφιτος καὶ αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἤγαγον, τότε δρόμου σφίσιν ἄθλα ἐτέθη μόνον καὶ ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησε: καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ὡς Ὀλυμπίαςιν ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησεν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος καὶ ὅτι τῆς Ἥλειας ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι ὁ τάφος αὐτῷ πεποιήται.

[26.4] But when the Olympic games, after not being held for a long period, were revived by Iphitus, and the Olympic festival was again held, the only prizes offered were for running, and Coroebus won. On the tomb is an inscription that Coroebus was the first man to win at Olympia, and that his grave was made at the end of Elean territory.

ALIPHERA

[5] ἔστι δὲ Ἀλίφηρα πόλισμα οὐ μέγα: ἐξελείφθη γὰρ ὑπὸ οἰκητόρων πολλῶν ὑπὸ τὸν συνοικισμὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ἐς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ πόλισμα ἐρχόμενος ἐξ Ἡραίας τὸν τε Ἀλφειὸν διαβήσῃ καὶ σταδίων μάλιστα πού δέκα διελθὼν πεδίον ἐπὶ ὄρος ἀφίξῃ καὶ αὐθις στάδια ὅσον τριάκοντα ἐς τὸ πόλισμα ἀναβήσῃ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους.

[26.5] There is a town, Aliphera, of no great size, for it was abandoned by many of its inhabitants at the union of the Arcadians into Megalopolis. As you go to this town from Heraea you will cross the Alpheius, and after going over a plain of just about ten stades you will reach a mountain, and ascending across the mountain for some thirty stades more you will come to the town.

[6] Ἀλιφηρεῦσι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἀπὸ Ἀλιφῆρου Λυκάονος παιδός, ἱερὰ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν θεῶν σέβονται μάλιστα, γενέσθαι καὶ τραφεῖναι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτὴν λέγοντες: καὶ Διὸς τε ἰδρύσαντο Λεχεάτου βωμόν, ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκόντος, καὶ κρήνην καλοῦσι Τριτωνίδα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Τρίτωνι οἰκείουμενοι λόγον.

[26.6] The city of Aliphera has received its name from Alipherus, the son of Lycaon, and there are sanctuaries here of Asclepius and Athena; the latter they worship more than any other god, saying that she was born and bred among them. They also set up an altar of Zeus Lecheates (In child-bed), because here he gave birth to Athena. There is a stream they call Tritonis, adopting the story about the river Triton.

[7] τῆς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα πεποιήται χαλκοῦ, Ὑπατοδώρου τε ἔργον, θέας ἄξιον μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐς τὴν τέχνην. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ πανήγυριν ὅτῳ δὴ

θεῶν, δοκῶ δὲ σφᾶς ἄγειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανηγύρει Μυάγρῳ προθύουσιν, ἐπευχόμενοι τε κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων τῷ ἥρῳ καὶ ἐπικαλοῦμενοι τὸν Μυάγρον: καὶ σφισι ταῦτα δράσασιν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀνιάρων εἰσιν αἱ μυῖαι.

[26.7] The image of Athena is made of bronze, the work of Hypatodorus, worth seeing for its size and workmanship. They keep a general festival in honor of some god or other; I think in honor of Athena. At this festival they sacrifice first to Fly-catcher, praying to the hero over the victims and calling upon the Fly-catcher. When they have done this the flies trouble them no longer.

MELAENEAE & BUPHAGIUM

[8] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ Ἡραίας ἄγουσαν ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν εἰσὶ Μελαινεαί: ταύτας ὤκισε μὲν Μελαινεὺς ὁ Λυκάονος, ἔρημος δὲ ἦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὕδατι δὲ καταρρεῖται. Μελαινεῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἀνωτέρω σταδίοις Βουφάγιον, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει πηγὰς ὁ Βουφάγος κατιὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν: τοῦ Βουφάγου δὲ περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὄροι πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας Ἡραιεὺσιν εἰσιν.

[26.8] On the road from Heraea to Megalopolis is Melaeneae. It was founded by Melaeneus, the son of Lycaon; in my time it was uninhabited, but there is plenty of water flowing over it. Forty stades above Melaeneae is Buphagium, and here is the source of the Buphagus, which flows down into the Alpheius. Near the source of the Buphagus is the boundary between Megalopolis and Heraea.

MEGALOPOLIS, HISTORY

27. ἡ δὲ Μεγάλη πόλις νεωτάτη πόλεων ἐστὶν οὐ τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάσῃ, πλὴν ὅσων κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀρχῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβηκασιν οἰκήτορες: συνῆλθον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἰσχύος ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἅτε καὶ Ἀργεῖους ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνον οὐ κατὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κινδυνεύοντας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων παραστῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει τὸ Ἄργος ἐπηρύξησαν καταλύσαντες Τίρυνθα καὶ Ὑσιὰς τε καὶ Ὀρνεὰς καὶ Μυκῆνας καὶ Μίδειαν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἦν, τὰ τε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδεέστερα τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὑπάρξαντα καὶ ἅμα ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ἰσχὺν γενομένην αὐτοῖς.

[27.1] XXVII. Megalopolis is the youngest city, not of Arcadia only, but of Greece, with the exception of those whose inhabitants have been removed by the accident of the Roman domination. The Arcadians united into it to gain strength, realizing that the Argives also were in earlier times in almost daily danger of being subjected by war to the Lacedaemonians, but when they had increased the population of Argos by reducing Tiryns, Hysiae, Orneae, Mycenae, Mideia, along with other towns of little importance in Argolis, the Argives had less to fear from the Lacedaemonians, while they were in a stronger position to deal with their vassal neighbors.

[2] γνώμη μὲν τοιαύτη συνφεκίζοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, τῆς πόλεως δὲ οἰκιστὴς

Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καλοῖτο ἄν: τοὺς τε γὰρ Ἀρκάδας οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἐπεγείρας ἐς τὸν συνοικισμὸν Θηβαίων τε χιλίους λογάδας καὶ Παμμένην ἀπέστειλεν ἡγεμόνα ἀμύνειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν, εἰ κωλύειν πειρῶνται οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν οἰκισμὸν. ἡρέθησαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἰκισταὶ Λυκομήδης καὶ Ὀπολέας καὶ Τίμων τε καὶ Πρόξενος, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ Τεγέας, Λυκομήδης δὲ καὶ Ὀπολέας Μαντινεῖς, Κλειτορίων δὲ Κλεόλαος καὶ Ἀκρίφιος, Εὐκαμπίδας δὲ καὶ Ἰερώνυμος ἐκ Μαινάλου, Παρρασίων δὲ Ποσικράτης τε καὶ Θεόξενος.

[27.2] It was with this policy in view that the Arcadians united, and the founder of the city might fairly be considered Epaminondas of Thebes. For he it was who gathered the Arcadians together for the union and despatched a thousand picked Thebans under Pammenes to defend the Arcadians, if the Lacedaemonians should try to prevent the union. There were chosen as founders by the Arcadians, Lycomedes and Hopoleas of Mantinea, Timon and Proxenus of Tegea, Cleolaus and Acriphius of Cleitor, Eucampidas and Hieronymus of Maenalus, Possicrates and Theoxenus of the Parrhasians.

[3] πόλεις δὲ τοσαῖδε ἦσαν ὅποσας ὑπὸ τε προθυμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πατρίδας σφίσιν οὔσας ἐκλιπεῖν ἐπείθοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, Ἀλέα Παλλάντιον Εὐταία Σουμάτειον Ἀσέα Περαιθεῖς Ἐλισσὼν Ὀρεσθάσιον Δίπαια Λύκαια: ταύτας μὲν ἐκ Μαινάλου: ἐκ δὲ Εὐτρησίων Τρικόλωνοι καὶ Ζοίτιον καὶ Χαρισία καὶ Πτολέδερμα καὶ Κναῦσον καὶ Παρώρεια:

[27.3] The following were the cities which the Arcadians were persuaded to abandon through their zeal and because of their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, in spite of the fact that these cities were their homes: Alea, Pallantium, Eutaea, Sumateium, Asea, Peraethenses, Helisson, Oresthasium, Dipaea, Lycaea; these were cities of Maenalus. Of the Eutresian cities Tricoloni, Zoetium, Charisia, Ptolederma, Cnausum, Paroreia.

[4] παρὰ δὲ Αἰγυτῶν Αἴγυς καὶ Σκιρτώνιον καὶ Μαλέα καὶ Κρῶμοι καὶ Βλένινα καὶ Λεῦκτρον: Παρρασίων δὲ Λυκοσουρεῖς Ὠκνεῖς Τραπεζούντιοι Προσεῖς Ἀκακήσιον Ἀκόντιον Μακαρία Δασέα: ἐκ δὲ Κυνουραίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Γόρτυς καὶ Θεισόα ἢ πρὸς Λυκαίῳ καὶ Λυκαιᾶται καὶ Ἀλίφηρα: ἐκ δὲ τῶν συντελούντων ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν Θεισόα Μεθύδριον Τεῦθις: προσεγένετο δὲ καὶ Τρίπολις ὀνομαζομένη, Καλλία καὶ Δίποινα καὶ Νόνακρις.

[27.4] From the Aegytae: Aegys, Scirtonium, Malea, Cromi, Blenina, Leuctrum. Of the Parrhasians Lycosura, Thocnia, Trapezus, Prosenses, Acacesium, Acontium, Macaria, Dasea. Of the Cynurians in Arcadia: Gortys, Theisoa by Mount Lycaeus, Lycaea, Aliphera. Of those belonging to Orchomenus: Theisoa, Methydrium, Teuthis. These were joined by Tripolis, as it is called, Callia, Dipoenia, Nonacris.

[5] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν οὔτε τι παρέλυσεν τοῦ κοινοῦ δόγματος καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν σπουδῇ: Λυκαιᾶται δὲ καὶ Τρικολωνεῖς καὶ Λυκοσουρεῖς τε καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι μετεβάλοντο Ἀρκάδων μόνοι, καὶ —

οὐ γὰρ συνεχώρουν ἔτι τὰ ἄστυ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐκλιπεῖν — οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄκοντες ἀνάγκῃ κατήγοντο ἐς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν, Τραπεζοῦντιοι δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου

[27.5] The Arcadians for the most part obeyed the general resolution and assembled promptly at Megalopolis. But the people of Lycaea, Tricoloni, Lycosura and Trapezus, but no other Arcadians, repented and, being no longer ready to abandon their ancient cities, were, with the exception of the last, taken to Megalopolis by force against their will,

[6] τὸ παράπαν ἐξεχώρησαν, ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν ἐλείφθησαν καὶ μὴ σφᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ παραντίκα διεχρήσαντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες· τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνασωθέντας ἀναπλεύσαντας ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο μητροπολίτας τ' ὄντας καὶ ὁμωνύμους οἱ Τραπεζοῦντα ἔχοντες τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ. Λυκοσουρεῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπειθήσασιν ἐγένετο ὁμῶς παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων αἰδῶς Δημητρός τε ἔνεκα καὶ Δεσποίνης ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

[27.6] while the inhabitants of Trapezus departed altogether from the Peloponnesus, such of them as were left and were not immediately massacred by the exasperated Arcadians. Those who escaped with their lives sailed away to Pontus and were welcomed by the citizens of Trapezus on the Euxine as their kindred, as they bore their name and came from their mother-city. The Lycosurians, although they had disobeyed, were nevertheless spared by the Arcadians because of Demeter and the Mistress, in whose sanctuary they had taken refuge.

[7] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῶν κατειλεγμένων πόλεων αἱ μὲν ἐς ἅπαν εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι, τὰς δὲ ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται κόμας, Γόρτυνα Διποῖνας Θεισόαν τὴν πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ Μεθύδριον Τεῦθιν Καλλιὰς Ἐλισσόνα· μόνη δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν Παλλάντιον ἔμελλεν ἄρα ἡπιωτέρου πειρᾶσθαι καὶ τότε τοῦ δαίμονος. τοῖς δὲ Ἀλιφηρεῦσι παραμεμένηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν σφᾶς καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζεσθαι.

[27.7] Of the other cities I have mentioned, some are altogether deserted in our time, some are held by the people of Megalopolis as villages, namely Gortys, Dipoenae, Theisoa near Orchomenus, Methydrium, Teuthis, Calliae, Helisson. Only one of them, Pallantium, was destined to meet with a kindlier fate even then. Aliphera has continued to be regarded as a city from the beginning to the present day.

[8] συνωκίσθη δὲ ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις ἐνιαυτῷ τε τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ μηνὶ τε ὀλίγοις ὕστερον ἢ τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις, Φρασικλείδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ δευτέρας, ἣν Δάμων Θούριος ἐνίκα στάδιον.

[27.8] Megalopolis was united into one city in the same year, but a few months later, as occurred the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, when Phrasicleides was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and

second Olympiad, when Damon of Thurii was victor in the foot-race.

[9] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ ἐς τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἐγγραφεῖσιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεῖμα ἦν οὐδέν. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἱερὸν ὀνομασθέντα οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατέστησαν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο οἱ Φωκεῖς, τὴν τε ὁμορον τῇ Βοιωτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ὄντες οὐκ ἀδύνατοι χρήμασιν ἅτε τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατειληφότες,

[27.9] When the citizens of Megalopolis had been enrolled in the Theban alliance they had nothing to fear from the Lacedaemonians. But when the Thebans became involved in what was called the Sacred War, and they were hard pressed by the Phocians, who were neighbors of the Boeotians, and wealthy because they had seized the sanctuary at Delphi,

[10] τηνικαῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προθυμίας μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα Ἀρκάδας τε ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους, ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν τότε οὐκ ἀθύμως καὶ ἅμα τῶν περιοίκων ἀπροφασίστως σφίσιν ἐπικουρούντων, λόγου μὲν συνέπεσεν οὐδὲν ἄξιον γενέσθαι παρὰ οὐδετέρων: Φίλιππον δὲ τὸν Ἀμύντου καὶ Μακεδόνων τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐξηθῆναι τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Ἀρκάδων ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἑλλήσιν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ αὖθις περὶ Θεσσαλίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ μετέσχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

[27.10] then the Lacedaemonians, if eagerness would have done it, would have removed bodily the Megalopolitans and the other Arcadians besides; but as the Arcadians of the day put up a vigorous defence, while their vassal neighbors gave them wholehearted assistance, no achievement of note was accomplished by either side. But the hatred felt by the Arcadians for the Lacedaemonians was not a little responsible for the rise of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and of the Macedonian empire, and the Arcadians did not help the Greeks at Chaeroneia or again in the struggle in Thessaly.

[11] χρόνον δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν Ἀριστόδημος Μεγαλοπολίταις ἀνέφν τύραννος, Φιγαλεὺς μὲν γένος καὶ υἱὸς Ἀρτύλα, ποιησαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν Τριταίου τῶν οὐκ ἀδυνάτων ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει: τούτῳ τῷ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τυραννοῦντι ἐξεγένετο ὁμως ἐπικληθῆναι Χρηστῷ. ἐπὶ τούτου τυραννοῦντος ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Μεγαλοπολὶν στρατιᾷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Κλεομένου, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων Ἀκρότατος: ἐγενεαλόγησα δὲ ἤδη τὰ τε ἐς τοῦτον καὶ ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων. γενομένης δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης καὶ ἀποθανόντων πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων κρατοῦσιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται τῇ συμβολῇ: καὶ ἄλλοι τε διεφθάρησαν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Ἀκρότατος, οὐδέ οἱ τὴν πατρίαν παραλαβεῖν ἐξεγένετο ἀρχήν.

[27.11] After a short time a tyrant arose at Megalopolis in the person of Aristodemus, a Phigalian by birth and a son of Artylas, who had been adopted by Tritaeus, an influential citizen of Megalopolis. This Aristodemus, in spite of his being a tyrant, nevertheless won the surname of "the Good." During his tyranny the territory of Megalopolis was invaded by the Lacedaemonians under Acrotatus, the eldest of the sons of King Cleomenes, whose lineage I

have already traced with that of all the other Spartan kings. A fierce battle took place, and after many had fallen on both sides the army of Megalopolis had the better of the encounter. Among the Spartan killed was Acrotatus, who never succeeded to the throne of his fathers.

[12] μετὰ δὲ Ἀριστόδημον τελευτήσαντα δύο μάλιστα ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἐτυράννησε Λυδιάδης, οἴκου μὲν οὐκ ἀφανοῦς, φύσιν δὲ φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα, ὥς ἐπέδειξεν ὕστερον, καὶ φιλόπολις. ἔσχε μὲν γὰρ ἔτι νέος ὢν τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρχετο φρονεῖν, κατέπαυεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκὼν τυραννίδος, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἤδη οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθωρμισμένης. Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ συντελούντων ἤδη τότε ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικόν, ὃ Λυδιάδης ἐν τε αὐτοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγένετο οὕτω δόκιμος ὥς Ἀράτῳ παρισωθῆναι τὰ ἐς δόξαν.

[27.12] Some two generations after the death of Aristodemus, Lydiades became tyrant, a man of distinguished family, by nature ambitious and, as he proved later, a devoted patriot. For he came to power while still young, but on reaching years of discretion he was minded to resign voluntarily the tyranny, although by this time his power was securely established. At this time Megalopolis was already a member of the Achaean League, and Lydiades became so famous among not only the people of Megalopolis but also all the Achaeans that he rivalled the fame of Aratus.

[13] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας Ἄγις ὁ Εὐδαμίδου στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν παρασκευῇ μίζονι καὶ ἀξιολογωτέρα τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀκροτάτου συναχθείσης· καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐπεξελθόντας τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐνίκησαν καὶ μηχανήματα ἰσχυρὸν προσάγοντες τῷ τείχει τὸν πύργον τὸν ταύτῃ δι' αὐτοῦ σείουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καταρρίψιν τῷ μηχανήματι ἤλπιζον.

[27.13] The Lacedaemonians with all their forces under Agis, the son of Eudamidas, the king of the other house, attacked Megalopolis with larger and stronger forces than those collected by Acrotatus. They overcame in battle the men of Megalopolis, who came out against them, and bringing up a powerful engine against the wall they shook by it the tower in this place, and hoped on the morrow to knock it down by the engine.

[14] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα οὐχ Ἑλλήσιν ὁ Βορέας ἔσεσθαι μόνον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὄφελος, τοῦ Μήδων ναυτικοῦ ταῖς Σηπιάσι προσράξας τὰς πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας ὁ ἄνεμος οὗτος ἐρρύσατο μὴ ἀλῶναι· κατέλυσέ τε γὰρ τὸ μηχανήματα τοῦ Ἄγιδος καὶ διεφόρησεν ἐς ἀπώλειαν παντελεῖ βιαίῳ τῷ πνεύματι ὁμοῦ καὶ συνεχεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ἄγις ὅτῳ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Βορέου μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν ἐγένετο ἐμποδῶν, ἔστιν ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ Πελλήνην ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀράτου καὶ Σικυωνίων καὶ ὕστερον πρὸς Μαντινείᾳ χρησάμενος τῷ τέλει.

[27.14] But the north wind was not only to prove a help to the whole Greek nation, when it dashed the greater part of the Persian fleet on the Sepiad rocks,

but it also saved Megalopolis from being captured. For it blew violently and continuously, and broke up the engine of Agis, scattering it to utter destruction. The Agis whom the north wind prevented from taking Megalopolis is the man from whom was taken Pellene in Achaia by the Sicyonians under Aratus, and later he met his end at Mantinea.

[15] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου Μεγαλόπολιν κατέλαβεν ἐν σπονδαῖς. Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εὐθὺς τότε ἀμύνοντες τῇ πατρίδι ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἔνθα καὶ Λυδιάδην ἀγωνιζόμενον ἀξίως λόγου κατέλαβεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸ χρεῶν· τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν Φιλοποίμην ὁ Κραυγίδος ὅσον τε τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ παῖδας ἅμα ἔχων καὶ γυναῖκας διέφυγεν ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν.

[27.15] Shortly afterwards Cleomenes the son of Leonidas seized Megalopolis during a truce. Of the Megalopolitans some fell at once on the night of the capture in the defence of their country, when Lydiades too met his death in he battle, fighting nobly; others, about two-thirds of those of military age along with the women and children, escaped to Messenia with Philopoemen the son of Craugis.

[16] Κλεομένης δὲ τοὺς τε ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐφόνευε καὶ κατέσκαπτε τε καὶ ἔκαie τὴν πόλιν. Μεγαλοπολίται μὲν δὴ τρόπον ὁποῖον ἀνέσώσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅποια κατελθοῦσιν αἰθῆς ἐπράχθη σφίσι, δηλώσει τοῦ λόγου μοι τὰ ἐς Φιλοποίμενα· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν παθήματος μέτεστιν αἰτίας οὐδέν, ὅτι σφίσι ἐκ βασιλείας μετέστησεν ἐς τυραννίδα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν πολιτείαν.

[27.16] But those who were caught in the city were massacred by Cleomenes, who razed it to the ground and burnt it. How the Megalopolitans restored their city, and their achievements on their return, will be set forth in my account of Philopoemen. The Lacedaemonian people were in no way responsible for the disaster to Megalopolis, because Cleomenes had changed their constitution from a kingship to a tyranny.

RIVER BUPHAGUS & MT PHOLOE

[17] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ καὶ Ἑραιεῦσι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι τοῦ Βουφάγου ποταμοῦ περὶ τὰς πηγὰς εἰσιν ὄροι τῆς χώρας. γενέσθαι δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Βουφάγου φασὶν ἥρωος, εἶναι δὲ Ἰαπετοῦ τε παῖδα αὐτὸν καὶ Θόρνακος. ταύτην καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ Θόρνακα ὀνομάζουσι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐν Φολῇ τῷ ὄρει τοξεύσειεν Ἄρτεμις Βουφάγον ἔργα τολμήσαντα οὐχ ὅσια ἐς τὴν θεόν.

[27.17] As I have already related, the boundary between Megalopolis and Heraea is at the source of the river Buphagus. The river got its name, they say, from a hero called Buphagus, the son of Iapetus and Thornax. This is what they call her in Laconia also. They also say that Artemis shot Buphagus on Mount Pholoe because he attempted an unholy sin against her godhead.

28. ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν πηγῶν, πρῶτα μὲν σε ἐκδέξεται Μάραθα χωρίον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Γόρτυς κώμη τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα πόλις. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ λίθου Πεντελησίου, καὶ αὐτός τε οὐκ ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτοῦ γένεια καὶ Ὑγείας ἄγαλμα. Σκόπα δὲ ἦν ἔργα. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τάδε, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου τὸν θώρακα καὶ δόρυ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ· καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ γε ἔτι ὁ θώραξ καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἦν ἡ αἰχμή.

[28.1] XXVIII. As you go from the source of the river, you will reach first a place called Maratha, and after it Gortys, which to-day is a village, but of old was a city. Here there is a temple of Asclepius, made of Pentelic marble, with the god, as a beardless youth, and an image of Health. Scopas was the artist. The natives also say that Alexander the son of Philip dedicated to Asclepius his breastplate and spear. The breastplate and the head of the spear are still there to-day.

[2] τὴν δὲ Γόρτυνα ποταμὸς διέξεισιν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὀνομαζόμενος Λούσιος, ἐπὶ λουτροῖς δὲ τοῖς Διὸς τεχθέντος· οἱ δὲ ἀπωτέρω τῶν πηγῶν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης Γορτύνιον. οὗτος ὁ Γορτύνιος ὕδωρ ψυχρότατον παρέχεται ποταμῶν. Ἴστρον μὲν γε καὶ Ῥήνον, ἔτι δὲ Ὑπανίν τε καὶ Βορυσθένην καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων ἐν ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος τὰ ρεύματα πήγνυται, τούτους μὲν χειμερίους κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν ὀρθῶς ὀνομάσαι τις ἂν, οἱ ρέουσι μὲν διὰ γῆς τὸ πολὺ τοῦ χρόνου νεοφομένης, ἀνάπλεως δὲ κρυμοῦ καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἀήρ·

[28.2] Through Gortys flows a river called by those who live around its source the Lusius (Bathing River), because Zeus after his birth was bathed in it; those farther from the source call it the Gortynius after the village. The water of this Gortynius is colder than that of any other river. The Danube, Rhine, Hypanis, Borysthenes, and all rivers the streams of which freeze in winter, as they flow through land on which there is snow the greater part of the time, while the air about them is full of frost, might in my opinion rightly be called wintry;

[3] ὅσοι δὲ γῆν διεξίσσιν εὖ τῶν ὥρων ἔχουσιν καὶ θέρους σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ πινόμενόν τε καὶ λουόμενους ἀνθρώπους ἀναψύχει, χειμῶνος δὲ ἀνιαρὸν οὐκ ἔστι, τούτους ἐγὼ φημι παρέχεσθαι σφᾶς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν. ψυχρὸν μὲν δὴ ὕδωρ καὶ Κύδνου τοῦ διεξιόντος Ταρσεῖς καὶ Μέλανος τοῦ παρὰ Σίδην τὴν Παμφύλῳ· Ἄλεντος δὲ τοῦ ἐν Κολοφῶνι καὶ ἐλεγείων ποιηταὶ τὴν ψυχρότητα ἄδουσι. Γορτύνιος δὲ προήκει καὶ ἐς πλεον ψυχρότητος, μάλιστα δὲ ὥρᾳ θέρους. ἔχει μὲν δὴ τὰς πηγὰς ἐν Θεισόᾳ τῇ Μεθυδριεῦσιν ὁμόρῳ· καθότι δὲ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ τὸ ρεῦμα ἀνακοινοῖ, καλοῦσι Ῥαιτέας.

[28.3] I call the water cold of those which flow through a land with a good climate and in summer have water refreshing to drink and to bathe in, without being painful in winter. Cold in this sense is the water of the Cydnus which passes through Tarsus, and of the Melas which flows past Side in Pamphylia. The coldness of the Ales in Colophon has even been celebrated in the verse of

elegiac poets. But the Gortynius surpasses them all in coldness, especially in the season of summer. It has its source in Theisoa, which borders on Methydrium. The place where its stream joins the Alpheius is called Rhaeteae.

TEUTHIS

[4] τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ Θεισῷ προσεχῆς κώμη Τεϋθίς ἐστι· πάλαι δὲ ἦν πόλισμα ἡ Τεϋθίς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ ἰδίᾳ παρείχοντο οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἡγεμόνα· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Τεϋθιν, οἱ δὲ Ὀρνυτόν φασιν εἶναι. ὥς δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐπιφορα ἐξ Αὐλίδος πνεύματα, ἀλλὰ ἄνεμος σφᾶς βίαιος ἐπὶ χρόνον εἶχεν ἐγκλείσας, ἀφίκετο ὁ Τεϋθίς Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς ἀπέχθειαν καὶ ὀπίσω τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὧν ἦρχεν ἀπάξειν ἔμελλεν.

[28.4] Adjoining the land of Theisoa is a village called Teuthis, which in old days was a town. In the Trojan war the inhabitants supplied a general of their own. His name according to some was Teuthis, according to others Ornytus. When the Greeks failed to secure favorable winds to take them from Aulis, but were shut in for a long time by a violent gale, Teuthis quarrelled with Agamemnon and was about to lead the Arcadians under his command back home again.

[5] ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηναῦν λέγουσι Μέλανι τῷ Ὠπὸς εἰκασμένην ἀποτρέπειν τῆς ὁδοῦ Τεϋθιν τῆς οἰκαδε· ὁ δέ, ἅτε οἰδοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θυμοῦ, παίει τὴν θεὸν τῷ δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρόν, ἀπήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αὐλίδος ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν. ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν, τὴν θεὸν ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν τετρωμένην φανῆναί οἱ τὸν μηρόν· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου κατέλαβε Τεϋθιν φθινώδης νόσος, μόνους τε Ἀρκάδων τοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἀπεδίδου καρπὸν οὐδένα ἢ γῆ.

[28.5] Whereupon, they say, Athena in the guise of Melas, the son of Ops, tried to turn Teuthis aside from his journey home. But Teuthis, his wrath swelling within him, struck with his spear the thigh of the goddess, and actually did lead his army back from Aulis. On his return to his native land the goddess appeared to him in a vision with a wound in her thigh. After this a wasting disease fell on Teuthis, and its people, alone of the Arcadians, suffered from famine.

[6] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσθη σφίσιν ἐκ Δωδώνης, ὅποια δρῶντες ἰλάσασθαι τὴν θεὸν ἔμελλον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖς ἔχον τραῦμα ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ. τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον, τελαμῶνι πορφυρῷ τὸν μηρόν κατελιμμένον. καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Τεϋθίδι, Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶ.

[28.6] Later, oracles were delivered to them from Dodona, telling them what to do to appease the goddess, and in particular they had an image of Athena made with a wound in the thigh. This image I have myself seen, with its thigh swathed in a purple bandage. There are also at Teuthis sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Artemis.

[7] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθ' ἔστι· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Γόρτυνος ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν πεποιήται μνήμα τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κλεομένην μάχῃ. τὸ δὲ μνήμα τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται Παραιβασίον, ὅτι ἐς αὐτοὺς παρεσπόνδυσεν ὁ Κλεομένης. Παραιβασίου δὲ ἔχεται πεδίον ἐξήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα· καὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια Βρένθης ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ποταμὸς ἔξισιν αὐτόθεν Βρενθεάτης καὶ ὅσον σταδίους προελθόντι πέντε κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν.

[28.6] These are the notable things at Teuthis. On the road from Gortys to Megalopolis stands the tomb of those who were killed in the fight with Cleomenes. This tomb the Megalopolitans call Paraebasium (Transgression) because Cleomenes broke his truce with them. Adjoining Paraebasium is a plain about sixty stades across. On the right of the road are ruins of a city Brenthe, and here rises a river Brentheates, which some five stades farther on falls into the Alpheius.

TRAPEZUS

29. διαβάντων δὲ Ἀλφειὸν χώρα τε καλουμένη Τραπεζουντία καὶ πόλεώς ἐστιν ἐρείπια Τραπεζοῦντος. καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καταβαίνοντι ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βάθος ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἔνθα ἄγουσι τελετὴν διὰ ἔτους τρίτου θεᾶς Μεγάλαις· καὶ πηγὴ τε αὐτόθι ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπιάς καλουμένη, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἐν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπορρέουσα, καὶ πλησίον τῆς πηγῆς πῦρ ἀνεισι. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν λεγομένην γιγάντων μάχην καὶ θεῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ γενέσθαι Παλλήνῃ, καὶ θύουσιν ἀστραπαῖς αὐτόθι καὶ θυέλλαις τε καὶ βρονταῖς.

[29.1] XXIX. After crossing the Alpheius you come to what is called Trapezuntian territory and to the ruins of a city Trapezus. On the left, as you go down again from Trapezus to the Alpheius, there is, not far from the river, a place called Bathos (Depth), where they celebrate mysteries every other year to the Great Goddesses. Here there is a spring called Olympias which, during every other year, does not flow, and near the spring rises up fire. The Arcadians say that the fabled battle between giants and gods took place here and not at Pellene in Thrace, and at this spot sacrifices are offered to lightnings, hurricanes and thunders.

[2] γιγάντων δὲ ἐν μὲν Ἰλιάδι οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησατο Ὅμηρος μνήμην· ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ δὲ ἔγραψε μὲν ὡς ταῖς Ὀδυσσεύος ναυσὶ Λαιστρυγόνες ἐπέλθοιεν γίγασιν καὶ οὐκ ἀνδράσιν εἰκασμένοι, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Φαίακων λέγοντα εἶναι τοὺς Φαίακας θεῶν ἐγγὺς ὥσπερ Κύκλωπας καὶ τὸ γιγάντων ἔθνος. ἐν τε οὖν τούτοις δηλοῖ θνητοὺς ὄντας καὶ οὐ θεῖον γένος τοὺς γίγαντας καὶ σαφέστερον ἐν τῷδε ἔτι, "ὅς ποθ' ὑπερθύμοισι γιγάντεσσιν βασίλευεν:

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὤλεσε λαὸν ἀτάσθαλον, ὤλετο δ' αὐτός.

"Hom. Od. 7.59-60 ἐθέλουσι δ' αὐτῷ λαὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀνθρώπων οἱ πολλοὶ

καλεῖσθαι.

[29.2] Homer does not mention giants at all in the Iliad, but in the Odyssey he relates how the Laestrygonians attacked the ships of Odysseus in the likeness not of men but of giants, and he makes also the king of the Phaeacians say that the Phaeacians are near to the gods like the Cyclopes and the race of giants. In these places then he indicates that the giants are mortal, and not of divine race, and his words in the following passage are plainer still:—

Who once was king among the haughty giants;
But he destroyed the infatuate folk, and was destroyed himself. Hom. Od.
7.59-60

“Folk” in the poetry of Homer means the common people.

[3] δράκοντας δὲ ἀντὶ ποδῶν τοῖς γίγασιν εἶναι, πολλαχῇ τε ὁ λόγος ἄλλη καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδείχθη μάλιστα ὡς ἔστιν εὐήθης. Ὀρόντην τὸν Σύρων ποταμὸν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐν ἰσοπέδῳ μέχρι θαλάσσης ῥέοντα, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κρημνόν τε ἀπορρῶγα καὶ ἐς κάταντες ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φερόμενον, ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἀναπλεῖσθαι ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν πόλιν: ἔλυτρον οὖν σὺν πόνῳ τε καὶ δαπάνῃ χρημάτων ὀρυζάμενος ἐπιτήδειον ἐς τὸν ἀνάπλου, ἐξέτρεψεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸν ποταμὸν.

[29.3] That the giants had serpents for feet is an absurd tale, as many pieces of evidence show, especially the following incident. The Syrian river Orontes does not flow its whole course to the sea on a level, but meets a precipitous ridge with a slope away from it. The Roman emperor wished ships to sail up the river from the sea to Antioch. So with much labour and expense he dug a channel suitable for ships to sail up, and turned the course of the river into this.

[4] ἀναξηρανθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ρεύματος, κεραμεᾶ τε ἐν αὐτῷ σορὸς πλεόν ἢ ἐνός τε καὶ δέκα εὐρέθῃ πηχῶν καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς μέγεθός τε ἦν κατὰ τὴν σορὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτον τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ ἐν Κλάρῳ ὁ θεός, ἀφικομένων ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τῶν Σύρων, εἶπεν Ὀρόντην εἶναι, γένους δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδῶν. εἰ δὲ τὴν γῆν τὸ ἀρχαῖον οὐσαν ὑγρὰν ἔτι καὶ ἀνάπλεων νοτίδος θερμαίνων ὁ ἥλιος τοὺς πρώτους ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπους, ποίαν εἰκὸς ἔστιν ἄλλην χώραν ἢ προτέραν τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἢ μείζονας ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἢ γε καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ ὅψεως τῷ παραλόγῳ καὶ μεγέθει διάφορα ἐκτρέφει θηρία;

[29.4] But when the old bed had dried up, an earthenware coffin more than eleven cubits long was found in it, and the corpse was proportionately large, and human in all parts of its body. This corpse the god in Clarus, when the Syrians came to his oracle there, declared to be Orontes, and that he was of Indian race. If it was by warming the earth of old when it was still wet and saturated with moisture that the sun made the first men, what other land is likely to have raised men either before India or of greater size, seeing that

even to-day it still breeds beasts monstrous in their weird appearance and monstrous in size?

BASILIS & THOCNIA

[5] τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Βάθους σταδίους ὡς δέκα ἀφέστηκεν ἡ καλουμένη Βασιλίς· ταύτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς Κύψελος ὁ Κρεσφόντης τῷ Ἀριστομάχῳ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδούς· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐρείπια ἡ Βασιλίς ἦν καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλείπετο Ἐλευσινίας. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προῖων τὸν Ἀλφειὸν αὐθις διαβήσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ Θωκνίαν ἀφίξῃ, τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Θῶκνου τοῦ Λυκάονος ἔχουσιν, ἐς ἅπαν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημον· ἐλέγγοτο δὲ ὁ Θῶκνος ἐν τῷ λόφῳ κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν. ποταμὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀμίνιος ῥέων παρὰ τὸν λόφον ἐς τὸν Ἑλισσόντα ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ὁ Ἑλισσών.

[29.5] Some ten stades distant from the place named Depth is what is called Basilis. The founder of it was Cypselus, who gave his daughter in marriage to Cresphontes, the son of Aristomachus. To-day Basilis is in ruins, among which remains a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter. Going on from here you will cross the Alpheiuss again and reach Thocnia, which is named after Thocnus, the son of Lycaon, and to-day is altogether uninhabited. Thocnus was said to have built the city on the hill. The river Aminius, flowing by the hill, falls into the Helisson, and not far away the Helisson falls into the Alpheiuss.

MEGALOPOLIS

30. ὁ δὲ Ἑλισσών οὗτος ἀρχόμενος ἐκ κόμης ὁμωνύμου — καὶ γὰρ τῇ κόμῃ τὸ ὄνομα Ἑλισσών ἐστι — τὴν τε Διπαιέαν καὶ τὴν Λυκαῖαν χώραν, τρίτα δὲ αὐτὴν διεξελθὼν Μεγάλῃν πόλιν, εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀπωτέρω Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τοῦ ἄστεως κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν. πλησίον δὲ ἤδη τῆς πόλεως Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἐπόπτου ναός· ἐλείπετο δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἡ κεφαλὴ.

[30.1] XXX. This Helisson, beginning at a village of the same name – for the name of the village also is Helisson – passes through the lands of Dipaea and Iycaea, and then through Megalopolis itself, descending into the Alpheiuss twenty stades away from the city of Megalopolis. Near the city is a temple of Poseidon Overseer. I found the head of the image still remaining.

[2] διαιροῦντος δὲ τὴν Μεγάλῃν πόλιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἑλισσόντος, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Κνίδον καὶ Μιτυλήνην δίχα οἱ εὐριπὶ νεμουσιν, ἐν μέρει τῷ πρὸς ἄρκτους, δεξιῷ δὲ κατὰ τὸ μετέωρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πεποιήται σφισιν ἀγορά. περίβολος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερὸν Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς ἐστὶ δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοὶ τέ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ ἀετοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἴσοι καὶ ἄγαλμα Πανὸς λίθου πεποιημένον·

[30.2] The river Helisson divides Megalopolis just as Cnidus and Mitylene are cut in two by their straits, and in the north section, on the right as one looks down the river, the townsfolk have made their market-place. In it is an enclosure of stones and a sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus, with no entrance into it.

The things inside, however, can be seen – altars of the god, two tables, two eagles, and an image of Pan made of stone.

[3] ἐπίκλησις δὲ Σινόεις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, τὴν τε ἐπίκλησιν γενέσθαι τῷ Πανὶ ἀπὸ νύμφης Σινόης λέγουσι, ταύτην δὲ σὺν ἄλλαις τῶν νυμφῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ γενέσθαι τροφὸν τοῦ Πανός. ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τεμένους τούτου χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος θεάς ἄξιον, μέγεθος μὲν ἐς πόδας δώδεκα, ἐκομίσθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων συντέλεια ἐς κόσμον τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει.

[30.3] His surname is Sinoeis, and they say that Pan was so surnamed after a nymph Sinoe, who with others of the nymphs nursed him on her own account. There is before this enclosure a bronze image of Apollo worth seeing, in height twelve feet, brought from Phigalia as a contribution to the adornment of Megalopolis.

[4] τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἱδρυτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Φιγαλέων, ὀνομάζεται Βᾶσσαι: τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἡ ἐπίκλησις ἠκολούθηκε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων, ἐφ' ὧν δὲ ὄνομα ἔσχεν Ἐπικούριος, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φιγαλέας τοῦ λόγου. ἔστι δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα Μητρὸς θεῶν, τοῦ ναοῦ δέ, ὅτι μὴ οἱ κίονες, ἄλλο ὑπόλοιπον οὐδέν.

[30.4] The place where the image was originally set up by the Phigalians is named Bassae. The surname of the god has followed him from Phigalia, but why he received the name of Helper will be set forth in my account of Phigalia. On the right of the Apollo is a small image of the Mother of the Gods, but of the temple there remains nothing save the pillars.

[5] πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Μητρὸς ἀνδριάς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ, δῆλα δὲ ἦν τὰ βάθρα, ἐφ' ὧν ἀνδριάντες ποτὲ ἐστήκεσαν. ἐλεγείων δὲ ἐπὶ ἐνὸς γεγραμμένον τῶν βάθρων Διοφάνους φησὶν εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα, Διαιῶν μὲν υἱοῦ, συντάξαντος δὲ ἀνδρὸς πρώτου Πελοπόννησον τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς τὸν ὀνομασθέντα Ἀχαικὸν σύλλογον.

[30.5] Before the temple of the Mother is no statue, but I found still to be seen the pedestals on which statues once stood. An inscription in elegiacs on one of the pedestals says that the statue was that of Diophanes, the son of Diaeus, the man who first united the whole Peloponnesus into what was named the Achaean League.

[6] στοὰν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὀνομαζομένην Φίλιππειον οὐ Φίλιππος ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἀμύντου, χαριζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν διδόασιν αὐτῷ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος. Ἑρμοῦ δὲ Ἀκακησίου πρὸς αὐτῇ ναὸς κατεβέβλητο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο ὅτι μὴ χελώνῃ λίθου. ταύτης δὲ ἔχεται τῆς Φιλιππείου μέγεθος ἀποδέουσα ἑτέρα στοά, Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ αὐτόθι ᾠκοδομημένα ἐστὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, ἀριθμὸν οἰκήματα ἑξ: ἐν ἐνὶ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν Ἑφesiás ἄγαλμα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ χαλκοῦς Πᾶν πηχυαῖος ἐπίκλησιν Σκολείτας.

[30.6] The portico of the marketplace, called the Philippeium, was not made by Philip, the son of Amyntas, but as a compliment to him the Megalopolitans

gave his name to the building. Near it I found a temple of Hermes Acacesius in ruins, with nothing remaining except a tortoise of stone. Adjoining this Philippeium is another portico, smaller in size, where stand the government offices of Megalopolis, six rooms in number. In one of them is an image of Ephesian Artemis, and in another a bronze Pan, surnamed Scoleitas, one cubit high.

[7] μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἀπὸ λόφου τοῦ Σκολεΐτα· καὶ ὁ λόφος οὗτος τοῦ τείχους ἐστὶν ἐντός, ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ κάτεισιν ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν Ἑλισσόντα ἐκ πηγῆς. τῶν ἀρχαίων δὲ ὀπισθε ναὸς Τύχης καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου πεποιήται ποδῶν πέντε οὐκ ἀποδέον. στοὰν δὲ ἦντινα καλοῦσι Μυρόπωλιν, ἔστι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὠκοδομήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἥνικα τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Ἀκροτάτῳ τῷ Κλεομένους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς συστρατεύσασιν, μαχεσαμένοις πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τυραννίδα ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει τότε ἔχοντα.

[30.7] It was brought from the hill Scoleitas, which is within the walls, and from a spring on it a stream descends to the Helisson. Behind the government offices is a temple of Fortune with a stone image not less than five feet high. The portico called Myropolis, situated in the market-place, was built from the spoils taken when the Lacedaemonians fighting under Acrotatus, the son of Cleomenes, suffered the reverse sustained at the hands of Aristodemus, then tyrant of Megalopolis.

[8] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀνειμένου τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ ἀνὴρ ἐπειργασμένος ἐπὶ στήλῃ, Πολύβιος Λυκόρτα· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγοντα ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν πᾶσαν πλανηθεῖη, καὶ ὅτι σύμμαχος γένοιτο Ῥωμαίων καὶ παύσειεν αὐτοὺς ὀργῆς τῆς εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. συνέγραψε δὲ ὁ Πολύβιος οὗτος καὶ ἄλλα ἔργα Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὡς Καρχηδονίοις κατέστησαν εἰς πόλεμον, αἰτία τε ἥτις ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὅψε

[30.8] In the marketplace of that city, behind the enclosure sacred to Lycaean Zeus, is the figure of a man carved in relief on a slab, Polybius, the son of Lycortas. Elegiac verses are inscribed upon it saying that he roamed over every land and every sea, and that he became the ally of the Itomans and stayed their wrath against the Greek nation. This Polybius wrote also a history of the Romans, including how they went to war with Carthage, what the cause of the war was, and how at last, not before great dangers had been run, Scipio . . . whom they name Carthaginian, because he put an end to the war and razed Carthage to the ground.

[9] οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνων μεγάλων Ῥωμαῖοι Σκιπίωνι *** ὃν τινα Καρχηδονιακὸν ὀνομάζουσι τέλος τε ἐπιθέντα τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα καταβάλοντα εἰς ἔδαφος. ὅσα μὲν δὴ Πολυβίῳ παραινοῦντι ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐπέιθετο, εἰς ὀρθὸν ἐχώρησεν αὐτῷ· ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἠκροᾶτο διδάσκοντος, γενέσθαι οἱ λέγουσιν ἁμαρτήματα. Ἑλλήνων δὲ ὁπόσαι πόλεις εἰς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν συνετέλουν, παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὗραντο αὗται Πολύβιον σφισι πολιτείας τε καταστήσασθαι καὶ

νόμους θεῖναι. τῆς δ' εἰκόνας τοῦ Πολυβίου τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ.

[30.9] Whenever the Romans obeyed the advice of Polybius, things went well with them, but they say that whenever they would not listen to his instructions they made mistakes. All the Greek cities that were members of the Achaean League got permission from the Romans that Polybius should draw up constitutions for them and frame laws. On the left of the portrait-statue of Polybius is the Council Chamber.

[10] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα, στοὰν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἀριστάνδρειον ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν Ἀρίστανδρον οἰκοδομησάιν λέγουσι. ταύτης τῆς στοᾶς ἔστιν ἐγγυτάτω ὥς πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἱερὸν Σωτῆρος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Διός· κεκόσμηται δὲ περίξ κίοσι. καθεζομένῳ δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐν θρόνῳ παρεστήκασιν τῇ μὲν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτῆρας ἄγαλμα. ταῦτα μὲν λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιου Ἀθηναῖοι Κηφισόδοτος καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἰργάσαντο:

[30.10] Here then is the Chamber, but the portico called “Aristander’s” in the market-place was built, they say, by Aristander, one of their townsfolk. Quite near to this portico, on the east, is a sanctuary of Zeus, surnamed Saviour. It is adorned with pillars round it. Zeus is seated on a throne, and by his side stand Megalopolis on the right and an image of Artemis Saviour on the left. These are of Pentelic marble and were made by the Athenians Cephisodotus and Xenophon.

31. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πέρας τῆς στοᾶς παρέχεται τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμῶν περίβολον θεῶν ἱερὸν τῶν Μεγάλων. αἱ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ Μεγάλαι θεαὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη, καθότι ἐδήλωσα ἤδη καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ: τὴν Κόρην δὲ Σώτειραν καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ἐπειρασμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ τύπων πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Ἄρτεμις, τῇ δὲ Ἀσκληπιός ἐστι καὶ Ὑγεία.

[31.1] XXXI. At the other end, the western, of the portico is an enclosure sacred to the Great Goddesses. The Great Goddesses are Demeter and the Maid, as I have already explained in my account of Messenia, and the Maid is called Saviour by the Arcadians. Carved in relief before the entrance are, on one side Artemis, on the other Asclepius and Health.

[2] θεαὶ δὲ αἱ Μεγάλαι Δημήτηρ μὲν λίθου διὰ πάσης, ἡ δὲ Σώτειρα τὰ ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα ξύλου πεποίηται: μέγεθος δὲ ἑκατέρας πέντε πούρ καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ πόδες. τὰ τε ἄγαλματα Δαμοφῶν καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν κόρας ἐποίησεν οὐ μεγάλας, ἐν χιτῶσιν τε καθήκουσιν ἐς σφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθῶν ἀνάπλεων ἑκατέρα τάλαρον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ φέρει: εἶναι δὲ θυγατέρες τοῦ Δαμοφῶντος λέγονται, τοῖς δὲ ἐπανάγουσιν ἐς τὸ θεϊότερον δοκεῖ σφᾶς Ἀθηναῖν τε εἶναι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν τὰ ἄνθη μετὰ τῆς Περσεφόνης συλλεγούσας.

[31.2] Of the Great Goddesses, Demeter is of stone throughout, but the Saviour has drapery of wood. The height of each is about fifteen feet. The images . . .

and before them he made small maids in tunics reaching to the ankles, each of whom carries on her head a basket full of flowers. They are said to be daughters of Damophon, but those inclining to a more religious interpretation hold that they are Athena and Artemis gathering the flowers with Persephone.

[3] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς παρὰ τῇ Δήμητρὶ μέγεθος μάλιστα πῆχυν· τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι τῶν Ἰδαίων καλουμένων Δακτύλων Ὀνομάκριτός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι. κεῖται δὲ τράπεζα ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπειρασμένοι τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ δύο τέ εἰσιν Ὕρραι καὶ ἔχων Πάν σύριγγα καὶ Ἀπόλλων κιθαρίζων· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμμα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι σφᾶς θεῶν τῶν πρώτων.

[31.3] By the side of Demeter there is also a Heracles about a cubit high. This Heracles, says Onomacritus in his poem, is one of those called Idaean Dactyls. Before it stands a table, on which are carved in relief two seasons, Pan with pipes, and Apollo playing the harp. There is also an inscription by them saying that they are among the first gods.

[4] πεποιήνται δὲ ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ Νύμφαι· Νέδα μὲν Δία φέρουσά ἐστι νήπιον παῖδα, Ἀνθρακία δὲ νύμφη τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν καὶ αὕτη δᾶδα ἔχουσά ἐστιν, Ἀγνώ δὲ τῇ μὲν ὕδριαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρα χεὶρὶ φιάλην· Ἀγχιρόης δὲ καὶ Μυρτώεσσης εἰσὶν ὕδρραι τὰ φορήματα, καὶ ὕδωρ δῆθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάτεισιν. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσῳ δὲ ἑμφερές· κόθορνοί τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔχει τῇ χεὶρὶ ἑκπῶμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ ἀετός ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ· καίτοι τοῖς γε ἐς Διόνυσον λεγομένοις τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν ἐστι.

[31.4] Nymphs too are carved on the table: Neda carrying an infant Zeus, Anthracia, another Arcadian nymph, holding a torch, and Hagno with a water-pot in one hand and a bowl in the other. Anchirhoe and Myrtoessa carry water-pots, with what is meant to be water coming down from them. Within the precinct is a temple of Zeus Friendly. Polycleitus of Argos made the image; it is like Dionysus in having buskins as footwear and in holding a beaker in one hand and a thyrsus in the other, but an eagle sitting on the thyrsus does not fit in with the received accounts of Dionysus.

[5] τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ δένδρων ἐστὶν ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, θριγκῶ περιεχόμενον· ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐντὸς ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὅσον τε ποδῶν τριῶν εἰσὶν ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν. πρὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐσόδου ξόανά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, Ἥρα καὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Μοῦσαι — ταῦτα κομισθηναῖ φασιν ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος — , ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Δαμοφῶν

[31.5] Behind this temple is a small grove of trees surrounded by a wall; nobody may go inside, and before it are images of Demeter and the Maid some three feet high. Within the enclosure of the Great Goddesses is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite. Before the entrance are old wooden images of Hera, Apollo and the Muses, brought, it is said, from Trapezus,

[6] ἐποίησεν Ἑρμῆν ξύλου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον: καὶ ταύτης χεῖρές εἰσι λίθου καὶ πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκροι πόδες. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ κλῆσιν τῇ θεῷ Μαχανῖτιν ὀρθότατα ἔθεντο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν: Ἀφροδίτης τε γὰρ ἔνεκα καὶ ἔργων τῶν ταύτης πλεῖσται μὲν ἐπιτεχνήσεις, παντοῖα δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀνευρημένα ἐς λόγους ἐστίν.

[31.6] and in the temple are images made by Damophon, a wooden Hermes and a wooden Aphrodite with hands, face and feet of stone. The surname Deviser given to the goddess is, in my opinion, a most apt one; for very many are the devices, and most varied are the forms of speech invented by men because of Aphrodite and her works.

[7] ἐστήκασιν δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντες ἐν οἰκίᾳ, Καλλιγνώτου τε καὶ Μέντα καὶ Σωσιγένοῦς τε καὶ Πάωλου: καταστήσασθαι δὲ οὗτοι Μεγαλοπολίταις λέγονται πρῶτον τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν τὴν τελετὴν, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τῶν Ἐλευσίνι ἐστὶ μιμήματα. κεῖται δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου θεῶν τοσάδε ἄλλων ἀγάλματα τὸ τετράγωνον παρεχόμενα σχῆμα, Ἑρμῆς τε ἐπὶ κλῆσιν Ἀγήτωρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἥλιος ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων Σωτὴρ δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν σφισι μεγέθει μέγα, καὶ ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν τελετὴν ταῖς θεαῖς.

[31.7] In a building stand statues also, those of Callignotus, Mentas, Sosigenes and Polus. These men are said to have been the first to establish at Megalopolis the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, and the ritual acts are a copy of those at Eleusis. Within the enclosure of the goddesses are the following images, which all have a square shape: Hermes, surnamed Agetor, Apollo, Athena, Poseidon, Sun too, surnamed Saviour, and Heracles. There has also been built for them a of vast size, and here they celebrate the mysteries in honor of the goddesses.

[8] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Κόρης: λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ποδῶν ὀκτὼ μάλιστα: ταινίαι δὲ ἐπέχουσι διὰ παντὸς τὸ βάθρον. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν γυναιξὶ μὲν τὸν πάντα ἐστὶν ἔσοδος χρόνον, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οὐ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσίασι. γυμνάσιον δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ συνεχὲς κατὰ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἐστὶν ὠκοδομημένον.

[31.8] To the right of the temple of the Great Goddesses there is also a sanctuary of the Maid. The image is of stone, about eight feet high; ribbons cover the pedestal all over. Women may enter this sanctuary at all times, but men enter it only once every year. Adjoining the market-place on the west there is built a gymnasium.

[9] τῆς στοᾶς δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνοϛ Φιλίππου καλοῦσι, ταύτης εἰσὶ δύο ὀπισθεν λόφοι, οὐκ ἐς ὕψος ἀνήκοντες: ἐρείπια δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ Πολιάδος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ναός ἐστὶν Ἥρας Τελείας, ὁμοίως καὶ ταῦτα ἐρείπια. ὑπὸ τούτῳ τῷ λόφῳ Βάθυλλος καλουμένη πηγὴ συντελεῖ καὶ αὕτη τῷ ποταμῷ Ἐλισσόντι ἐς μέγεθος.

[31.9] Behind the portico called after Philip of Macedon are two hills, rising to no great height. Ruins of a sanctuary of Athena Polias are on one, while on the other a temple of Hera Full-grown, this too being in ruins. Under this hill is a spring called Bathyllus, which is one of the tributaries that swell the Helisson.

32. τοσάδε ἐνταῦθα ἀξιόχρεα ἦν: ἡ δὲ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ μοῖρα ἢ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν παρείχeto ἐς μνήμην θέατρον μέγιστον τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάος ἐστὶν ὕδατος πηγὴ. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω λείπεται τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θεμέλια, ὃ τοῖς μυρίοις ἐπεποιήτο Ἀρκάδων: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναθέντος Θερσίλιον. πλησίον δὲ οἰκίαν, ιδιώτου κατ' ἐμὲ κτῆμα ἀνδρός, ὃ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησαν: ἔστι δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἄμμωνος πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ, τοῖς τετραγώνοις Ἑρμαῖς εἰκασμένον, κέρατα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχον κριοῦ.

[32.1] XXXII. Such are the notable things on this site. The southern portion, on the other side of the river, can boast of the largest theater in all Greece, and in it is a spring which never fails. Not far from the theater are left foundations of the council house built for the Ten Thousand Arcadians, and called Thersilium after the man who dedicated it. Hard by is a house, belonging to-day to a private person, which originally was built for Alexander, the son of Philip. By the house is an image of Ammon, like the square images of Hermes, with a ram's horns on his head.

[2] τὸ δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν Ἀπόλλωνός τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, κατασκευασθέν σφισιν ἐν κοινῷ, παρείχeto δὲ ἐς μνήμην θεμέλια οὐ πολλὰ: ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν μία ἔτι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα κατὰ τοὺς Ἑρμαῖς τοὺς τετραγώνους τέχνην. ἐρείπια δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν, πλὴν ὅσον πρόναός τε ἐλείπετο ἔτι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀριθμὸν τρία, ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ Οὐρανία, τῇ δ' ἔστι Πάνδημος, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτίθεντο:

[32.2] The sanctuary built in common for the Muses, Apollo and Hermes had for me to record only a few foundations, but there was still one of the Muses, with an image of Apollo after the style of the square Hermae. The sanctuary of Aphrodite too was in ruins, save that there were left the fore-temple mid three images, one surnamed Heavenly, the second Common, and the third without a surname.

[3] ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ἄρεως βωμός, ἐλέγeto δὲ ὥς καὶ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ᾠκοδομήθη τῷ θεῷ. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ στάδιον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον καθῆκον — καὶ κρήνη σφίσις ἐστὶν αὐτόθι, ἣν ἱερὰν Διονύσου νομίζουσι — , κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ σταδίου πέρας Διονύσου ναὸς ἐλέγeto ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεραυνωθῆναι γενεαῖς δύο ἐμοῦ πρότερον, καὶ ἐρείπια οὐ πολλὰ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ. Ἡρακλέους δὲ κοινὸς καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ ναὸς μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, μόνος δὲ σφισι βωμὸς ἐλείπετο.

[32.3] At no great distance is an altar of Ares, and it was said that originally a sanctuary too was built for the god. Beyond the Aphrodite is built also a race-

course, extending on one side to the theater (and here they have a spring, held sacred to Dionysus), while at the other end of the race-course a temple of Dionysus was said to have been struck by lightning two generations before my time, and a few ruins of it were still there when I saw it. The temple near the race-course shared by Heracles and Hermes was no longer there, only their altar was left.

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μοίρᾳ ταύτῃ λόφος πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ Ἀγροτέρας ἐν αὐτῷ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀνάθημα Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ τοῦτο. τῆς δὲ Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τέμενος: ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτός τε καὶ Ὑγεία, εἰσὶ δὲ ὑποκαταβάντι ὀλίγον θεοὶ — παρέχονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι σχῆμα τετράγωνον, Ἐργάται δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κλησὶς — Ἀθηνᾶ τε Ἐργάνη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγνιεύς: τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Εἰλειθυίᾳ πρόσεστιν ἐξ ἐπῶν τῶν Ὀμήρου φήμη, τῷ μὲν Διὸς τε αὐτὸν διάκονον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἄϊδην ἄγειν τῶν ἀπογινομένων τὰς ψυχάς, Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ ὡς πολλούς τε καὶ χαλεποὺς τελέσειεν ἄθλους: Εἰλειθυίᾳ δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ὠδῖνας γυναικῶν μέλειν.

[32.4] There is also in this district a hill to the east, and on it a temple of Artemis Huntress this too was dedicated by Aristodemus. To the right of the Huntress is a precinct. Here there is a sanctuary of Asclepius, with images of the god and of Health, and a little lower down there are gods, also of square shape, surnamed Workers, Athena Worker and Apollo, God of Streets. To Hermes, Heracles and Eileithyia are attached traditions from the poems of Homer: that Hermes is the minister of Zeus and leads the souls of the departed down to Hades, and that Heracles accomplished many difficult tasks; Eileithyia, he says in the Iliad, cares for the pangs of women.

[5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον τοῦτον Ἀσκληπιοῦ Παιδὸς ἱερὸν: τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν πεποιήται πηχραῖον μάλιστα, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἐν θρόνῳ κάθηται ποδῶν ἕξ οὐκ ἀποδέον μέγεθος. ἀνάκειται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ὅσα ὑπερηρκότα ἢ ὡς ἀνθρώπου δοκεῖν: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλέγετο ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν γιγάντων ἑνός, οὓς ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν τῆς Ῥέας ἤθροισεν Ὀπλάδαμος, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἐπέξεισιν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος. τούτου δὲ ἐστὶ πηγὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλησίον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἑλισσὼν τὸ ὕδωρ δέχεται κατερχόμενον.

[32.5] Under this hill there is another sanctuary of Boy Asclepius. His image is upright and about a cubit in height, that of Apollo is seated on a throne and is not less than six feet high. Here are also kept bones, too big for those of a human being, about which the story ran that they were those of one of the giants mustered by Hopladamus to fight for Rhea, as my story will relate hereafter. Near this sanctuary is a spring, the water flowing down from which is received by the Helisson.

33. εἰ δὲ ἡ Μεγάλῃ πόλιν προθυμία τε τῇ πάσῃ συνοικισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίσταις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλπίσιν ἐς αὐτὴν κόσμον τὸν ἅπαντα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀφήρηται καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἐρείπια ἐφ'

ἡμῶν, θαῦμα οὐδὲν ἐποίησάμην, εἰδὼς τὸ δαιμόνιον νεώτερα ἀεὶ τινα ἐθέλον ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα τὰ τε ἔχουρά καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ τὰ γινόμενά τε καὶ ὅποσα ἀπόλλυνται μεταβάλλουσιν τὴν τύχην, καὶ ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ παριστῇται μετὰ ἰσχυρᾶς ἀνάγκης ἄγουσαν.

[33.1] XXXIII. Megalopolis was founded by the Arcadians with the utmost enthusiasm amidst the highest hopes of the Greeks, but it has lost all its beauty and its old prosperity, being to-day for the most part in ruins. I am not in the least surprised, as I know that heaven is always willing something new, and likewise that all things, strong or weak, increasing or decreasing, are being changed by Fortune, who drives them with imperious necessity according to her whim.

[2] Μυκῆναι μὲν γε, τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίου πολέμου τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡγησαμένη, καὶ Νῖνος, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀσσυρίοις βασιλεία, καὶ Βοιωτῖαι Θῆβαι προστῆναι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ποτε ἀξιοθεῖσαι, αἱ μὲν ἡρήμονται πανώλεθροι, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῶν Θηβῶν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν μόνην καὶ οἰκήτορας καταβέβηκεν οὐ πολλούς. τὰ δὲ ὑπερηκότα πλούτῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Θηβαί τε αἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὁ Μινύης Ὀρχομενὸς καὶ ἡ Δῆλος τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόριον, αἱ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου μέσου δυνάμει χρημάτων καταδέουσιν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν, ἡ Δῆλος δέ, ἀφελόντι τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐς τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν φρουράν, Δηλίων γε ἔνεκα ἔρημός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων.

[33.2] For Mycenae, the leader of the Greeks in the Trojan war, and Nineveh, where was the royal palace of the Assyrians, are utterly ruined and desolate; while Boeotian Thebes, once deemed worthy to be the head of the Greek people, why, its name includes only the acropolis and its few inhabitants. Of the opulent places in the ancient world, Egyptian Thebes and Minyan Orchomenus are now less prosperous than a private individual of moderate means, while Delos, once the common market of Greece, has no Delian inhabitant, but only the men sent by the Athenians to guard the sanctuary.

[3] Βαβυλῶνος δὲ τοῦ μὲν Βήλου τὸ ἱερὸν λείπεται, Βαβυλῶνος δὲ ταύτης, ἦντινα εἶδε πόλεων τῶν τότε μεγίστην ἥλιος, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν εἰ μὴ τεῖχος, καθὰ καὶ Τίρυνθος τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐποίησεν ὁ δαίμων εἶναι τὸ μηδέν: ἡ δὲ Αλεξάνδρου πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκου παρὰ τῷ Ὀρόντι χθὲς τε ᾠκισμένη καὶ πρῶν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐπιδεδώκασιν μεγέθους καὶ εὐδαιμονίας, ὅτι σφᾶς ἡ τύχη δεξιούται.

[33.3] At Babylon the sanctuary of Belus still is left, but of the Babylon that was the greatest city of its time under the sun nothing remains but the wall. The case of Tiryns in the Argolid is the same. These places have been reduced by heaven to nothing. But the city of Alexander in Egypt, and that of Seleucus on the Orontes, that were founded but yesterday, have reached their present size and prosperity because fortune favours them.

[4] ἐπιδείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἔτι τὴν ἰσχὺν μείζονα καὶ θαύματος πλείονος ἢ κατὰ συμφορὰς καὶ εὐπραγίας πόλεων: Λήμνου γὰρ πλοῦν ἀπεῖχεν οὐ πολὺν

Χρύση νῆσος, ἐν ἣ καὶ τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ γενέσθαι συμφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδρου φασί: ταύτην κατέλαβεν ὁ κλύδων πᾶσαν, καὶ κατέδυν τε ἡ Χρύση καὶ ἠφάνισται κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ. νῆσον δὲ ἄλλην καλουμένην Ἰερὰν *** τόνδε οὐκ ἦν χρόνον.

οὕτω μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πρόσκαιρά τε καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν ἐχυρά:

[33.4] The following incident proves the might of fortune to be greater and more marvellous than is shown by the disasters and prosperity of cities. No long sail from Lemnos was once an island Chryse, where, it is said, Philoctetes met with his accident from the water-snake. But the waves utterly overwhelmed it, and Chryse sank and disappeared in the depths. Another island called Hiera (Sacred) . . . was not during this time. So temporary and utterly weak are the fortunes of men.

MANIAE & THE EUMENIDIUM

34. ἐκ δὲ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἰόντι ἐς Μεσσήνην καὶ σταδίους μάλιστα προελθόντι ἐπτά, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου θεῶν ἱερὸν. καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς θεὰς καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μανίας: δοκεῖν δέ μοι θεῶν τῶν Εὐμενίδων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλήσις, καὶ Ὀρέστην ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός φασιν αὐτόθι μανῆναι.

[34.1] XXXIV. As you go from Megalopolis to Messene, after advancing about seven stades, there stands on the left of the highway a sanctuary of goddesses. They call the goddesses themselves, as well as the district around the sanctuary, Maniae (Madnesses). In my view this is a surname of the Eumenides; in fact they say that it was here that madness overtook Orestes as punishment for shedding his mother's blood.

[2] οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθου πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χώματι ἐστὶ Δακτύλου μνημα: ἐνταῦθα ἔκφρονα Ὀρέστην γενόμενον λέγουσιν ἓνα τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν χειρῶν ἀποφαγεῖν δάκτυλον. τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερον συνεχὲς χωρίον Ἄκη καλούμενον, ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ ἰάματα: πεποιήται δὲ Εὐμενίσι καὶ αὐτόθι ἱερὸν.

[34.2] Not far from the sanctuary is a mound of earth, of no great size, surmounted by a finger made of stone; the name, indeed, of the mound is the Tomb of the Finger. Here, it is said, Orestes on losing his wits bit off one finger of one of his hands. Adjoining this place is another, called Ace (Remedies) because in it Orestes was cured of his malady. Here too there is a sanctuary for the Eumenides.

[3] ταύτας τὰς θεὰς, ἥνικα τὸν Ὀρέστην ἔκφρονα ἔμελλον ποιήσῃν, φασὶν αὐτῷ φανῆναι μελαίνας: ὥς δὲ ἀπέφαγε τὸν δάκτυλον, τὰς δὲ αὖθις δοκεῖν οἱ λευκάς εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν σωφρονῆσαι τε ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ καὶ οὕτω ταῖς μὲν ἐνήγησεν ἀποτρέπων τὸ μνημα αὐτῶν, ταῖς δὲ ἔθυσσε ταῖς λευκαῖς. ὁμοῦ δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ Χάρισι θύειν νομίζουσι. πρὸς δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς Ἄκεσιν ἕτερόν ἐστιν Κουρεῖον ὀνομαζόμενον ἱερὸν, ὅτι Ὀρέστης ἐνταῦθα ἐκείρατο τὴν κόμην, ἐπεὶ ἐντὸς

ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ:

[34.3] The story is that, when these goddesses were about to put Orestes out of his mind, they appeared to him black; but when he had bitten off his finger they seemed to him again to be white and he recovered his senses at the sight. So he offered a sin-offering to the black goddesses to avert their wrath, while to the white deities he sacrificed a thank-offering. It is customary to sacrifice to the Graces also along with the Eumenides. Near to the place called Ace is another . . . a sanctuary called . . . because here Orestes cut off his hair on coming to his senses.

[4] Πελοποννησίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες πρότερα τῷ Ὀρέσῃ τὰ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ γενέσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἑρινύων τῶν Κλυταιμνήστρας ἢ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ αὐτῷ κατήγορον οὐ τὸν Τυνδάρεων — περιεῖναι γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐκεῖνον — , Περύλαον δὲ ἐπιστῆναι δίκην καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι τῆς μητρὸς αἰτοῦντα ἅτε ἀνεψιὸν τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας: Ἰκαρίου γὰρ παῖδα εἶναι Περύλαον, γενέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ θυγατέρας τῷ Ἰκαρίῳ.

[34.4] Historians of Peloponnesian antiquities say that what Clytaemnestra's Furies did to Orestes in Arcadia took place before the trial at the Areopagus; that his accuser was not Tyndareus, who no longer lived, but Perilaus, who asked for vengeance for the mother's murder in that he was a cousin of Clytaemnestra. For Perilaus, they say, was a son of Icarus, to whom afterwards daughters also were born.

RIVER GATHEATAS

[5] ἐκ Μανιῶν δὲ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐστὶν ὅσον πέντε σταδίων καὶ δέκα: κατὰ τοῦτο Γαθεάτας ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἐς δὲ τὸν Γαθεάταν πρότερον ἔτι κάτεισιν ὁ Καρνίων. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ αἱ πηγαὶ γῆς εἰσι τῆς Αἰγύτιδος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κερεάτα τὸ ἱερόν, τῷ Γαθεάτῃ δὲ τῆς Κρωμίτιδος χώρας ἐν Γαθέαις.

[34.5] The road from Maniae to the Alpheius is roughly fifteen stades long. At this point the river Gatheatas falls into the Alpheius, and before this the Carnion flows into the Gatheatas. The source of the Carnion is in Aegyptian territory beneath the sanctuary of Apollo Cereatas; that of the Gatheatas is at Gatheae in Cromitian territory.

CROMI & NYMPHAS

[6] ἡ δὲ Κρωμίτις ἀνωτέρω τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ σταδίους ὥς τεσσαράκοντά ἐστι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεως Κρώμων οὐ παντάπασιν τὰ ἐρείπια ἦν ἐξίτηλα. ἐκ δὲ Κρώμων ὥς εἴκοσι στάδια ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Νυμφάδα: καταρρεῖται δὲ ὕδατι καὶ δένδρων ἀνάπλεως ἐστὶν ἡ Νυμφάς. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς στάδια εἴκοσὶ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑρμαῖον, ἐς ὃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Μεγαλοπολίταις εἰσὶν ὅροι: πεποιήνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ Ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ στήλῃ.

[34.6] The Cromitian territory is about forty stades up from the Alpheius, and in

it the ruins of the city Cromi have not entirely disappeared. From Cromi it is about twenty stades to Nymphas, which is well supplied with water and covered with trees. From Nymphas it is twenty stades to the Hermaeum, where is the boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis. Here they have made a Hermes also on a slab.

ROAD TO MESSENIAS & BELEMINA

35. αὕτη μὲν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίην, ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἐπὶ Καρνάσιον ἄγει τὸ Μεσσηνίων· καὶ ταύτη πρῶτα μὲν σε ὁ Ἀλφειὸς ἐκδέξεται, καθότι καὶ Μαλοῦς καὶ ὁ Σκυρὸς ἐς αὐτὸν κατέρχονται προανακοινωσάμενοι τὸ ρέϋμα. αὐτόθεν δὲ ἔχων τὸν Μαλοῦντα ἐν δεξιᾷ μετὰ σταδίου ὥς τριάκοντα διαβήσῃ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναβήσῃ δι' ὁδοῦ προσαντεστέρας ἐς χωρίον καλούμενον Φαιδρίαν.

[35.1] XXXV. This road leads to Messene, and there is another leading from Megalopolis to Carnasium in Messenia. The first thing you come to on the latter road is the Alpheiuss at the place where it is joined by the Malus and the Scyrus, whose waters have already united. From this point keeping the Malus on the right after about thirty stades you will cross it and ascend along a rather steep road to a place called Phaedrias.

[2] Φαιδρίου δὲ ὥς πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα σταδίους τὸ κατὰ Δέσποιναν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἑρμαῖον· ὅροι Μεσσηνίων πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα Δεσποίνης τε καὶ Δήμητρος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους· δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου ποιηθὲν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶανον ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐνταῦθα εἰστήκει.

[35.2] About fifteen stades distant from Phaedrias is an Hermaeum called “by the Mistress”; it too forms a boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis. There are small images of the Mistress and Demeter; likewise of Hermes and Heracles. I am of opinion that the wooden image also, made for Heracles by Daedalus, stood here on the borders of Messenia and Arcadia.

[3] ἡ δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Ἀλφειὸν στάδιοι τριάκοντά εἰσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦδε παρὰ ποταμὸν ὀδεύσας Θειοῦντα — κάτεισι δὲ καὶ ὁ Θειοῦς οὗτος ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν — , ἀπολιπὼν οὖν τὸν Θειοῦντα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τεσσαράκοντα ἥξεις μάλιστα ἐς Φαλαισίας· ἀπέχουσι δὲ αἱ Φαλαισῖαι σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ Ἑρμαίου τοῦ κατὰ Βελεμίναν.

[35.3] The road from Megalopolis to Lacedaemon is thirty stades long at the Alpheiuss. After this you will travel beside a river Theiuss, which is a tributary of the Alpheiuss, and some forty stades from the Alpheiuss leaving the Theiuss on the left you will come to Phalaesiae. This place is twenty stades away from the Hermaeum at Belemina.

[4] λέγουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Βελεμίναν τῆς σφετέρας οὔσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποτεμέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίους· λέγειν δὲ οὐκ εἰκότα ἐφαίνοντό μοι καὶ ἄλλων

ἔνεκα καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσι Θηβαῖοι μὴδ' ἂν τοῦτο ἐλασσομένους περιδεῖν τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἴ σφισιν ἔσεσθαι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα ἔμελλεν.

[35.4] The Arcadians say that Belemina belonged of old to Arcadia but was severed from it by the Lacedaemonians. This account struck me as improbable on various grounds, chiefly because the Thebans, I think, would never have allowed the Arcadians to suffer even this loss, if they could have brought about restitution with justice.

SCIAS, TRICOLONI & ZOETIA

[5] εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως καὶ ἐς τὰ χωρία ὁδοὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Ἀρκαδίας, ἐς μὲν Μεθύδριον ἑβδομήκοντα στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατόν, τρισὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις καὶ δέκα Σκιάς τε καλούμενον χωρίον καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σκιάτιδος ἐρείπια ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ: ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐλέγετο Ἀριστόδημος ὁ τυραννήσας. ἐντεῦθεν μετὰ σταδίους ὥς δέκα πόλεως Χαρισιῶν ὑπομνήματά ἐστιν οὐ πολλά, σταδίων δὲ ἄλλων δέκα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Χαρισιῶν ἐς Τρικολώνους ὁδός.

[35.5] There are also roads from Megalopolis leading to the interior of Arcadia; to Methydrium it is one hundred and seventy stades, and thirteen stades from Megalopolis is a place called Scias, where are ruins of a sanctuary of Artemis Sciatis, said to have been built by Aristodemus the tyrant. About ten stades from here are a few memorials of the city Charisiae, and the journey from Charisiae to Tricoloni is another ten stades.

[6] πόλεις δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Τρικολώνοι ποτε: μένει δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἐπὶ λόφου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον, καὶ δένδρων περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἄλσος. ταύταις μὲν δὴ οἱ Λυκάονος παῖδες ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί, Ζοιτίαν δὲ ἀπωτέρω μὲν Τρικολώνων πέντε πού καὶ δέκα σταδίοις, κειμένην δὲ οὐ κατ' εὐθὺ ἄλλ' ἐκ Τρικολώνων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, Ζοιτέα οἰκίσαι τὸν Τρικολώνου λέγουσι: Παρωρεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Τρικολώνου τῶν παίδων Παρωρίαν καὶ οὗτος ἔκτισεν, ἀπέχουσιν Ζοιτίας σταδίων δέκα.

[35.6] Once Tricoloni also was a city, and even to-day there still remains on a hill a sanctuary of Poseidon with a square image, and around the sanctuary stands a grove of trees. These cities had as founders the sons of Lycaon; but Zoetia, some fifteen stades from Tricoloni, not lying on the straight road but to the left of Tricoloni, was founded, they say, by Zoeteus, the son of Tricolonus. Paroreus, the younger of the sons of Tricolonus, also founded a city, in this case Paroria, ten stades distant from Zoetia.

[7] ἔρημοι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἀμφοτέραι: μένει δὲ ἐν Ζοιτία Δῆμητρος ναὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος οἱ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν. ἐρείπια δὲ πόλεων καὶ ἄλλα, Θυραίου μὲν σταδίοις πέντε ἀπωτέρω Παρωρίας καὶ δέκα, τὰ δὲ Ὑψοῦντός ἐστιν ἐν ὄρει κειμένῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ὑψοῦντι. ἡ δὲ Θυραίου τε καὶ Ὑψοῦντος μεταξύ ὄρεινὴ πᾶσά ἐστι καὶ θηριώδης: Λυκάονος δὲ εἶναι Θυραῖον τε καὶ Ὑψοῦντα προεδήλωσεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος.

[35.7] To-day both towns are without inhabitants. In Zoetia, however, there still remains a temple of Demeter and Artemis. There are also other ruins of cities: of Thyraeum, fifteen stades from Paroria, and of Hypsus, lying above the plain on a mountain which is also called Hypsus. The district between Thyraeum and Hypsus is all mountainous and full of wild beasts. My narrative has already pointed out that Thyraeus and Hypsus were sons of Lycaon.

[8] Τρικολῶνων δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρῶτα μὲν ἀνάντης ὁδὸς ἐπὶ πηγὴν καλουμένους Κρουνούς: σταδίου δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα καταβάντι ἐκ Κρουνῶν τάφος ἐστὶ Καλλιστοῦς, χῶμα γῆς ὑψηλόν, δένδρα ἔχον πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀκάρπων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἡμέρα. ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρῳ τῷ χῶματι ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Καλλίστης: δοκεῖν δὲ μοι καὶ Πάμφως μαθὼν τι παρὰ Ἀρκάδων πρῶτος Ἄρτεμιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὠνόμασε Καλλίστην.

[35.8] To the right of Tricoloni there is first a steep road ascending to a spring called Cruni. Descending from Cruni for about thirty stades you come to the grave of Callisto, a high mound of earth, whereon grow many trees, both cultivated and also those that bear no fruit. On the top of the mound is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Calliste (Most Beautiful). I believe it was because he had learnt it from the Arcadians that Pamphos was the first in his poems to call Artemis by the name of Calliste.

PHALANTHUS

[9] σταδίου δὲ αὐτόθεν μὲν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, Τρικολῶνων δὲ ἑκατὸν τοὺς σύμπαντας ἀπέχουσα ἐπὶ γε τοῦ Ἐλισσόντος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐθείαν Μεθυδρίου — αὕτη γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Τρικολῶνων ἔτι λείπεται — Ἄνεμῶσά τέ ἐστι χωρίον καὶ ὄρος Φάλανθον, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἐρείπια ἐστὶ Φαλάνθου πόλεως: Ἀγελάου δὲ τοῦ Στυμφήλου παῖδα εἶναι τὸν Φάλανθον λέγουσιν.

[35.9] Twenty-five stades from here, a hundred stades in all from Tricoloni, there is on the Helisson, on the straight road to Methydrium, the only city left

to be described on the road from Tricoloni, a place called Anemosa, and also Mount Phalanthus, on which are the ruins of a city Phalanthus. It is said that Phalanthus was a son of Agelaus, a son of Stymphalus.

SCHOENUS

[10] ὑπὲρ τούτου δὲ πεδίον τέ ἐστι Πώλου καλούμενον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Σχοινοῦς, ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Βοιωτοῦ Σχοινέως ἔχων τὴν κλῆσιν. εἰ δὲ ὁ Σχοινεὺς ἀπεδήμησεν οὗτος παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἶεν ἂν καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀταλάντης δρόμοι σύνεγγυς τῷ Σχοινοῦντι ὄντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς τούτου θυγατρὸς τὸ ὄνομα εἰληφότες. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ** ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν καλούμενον, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἀρκαδίαν εἶναι τὴν χώραν φασὶν ἐνταῦθα.

[35.10] Beyond this is a plain called the Plain of Polus, and after it Schoenus, so named from a Boeotian, Schoeneus. If this Schoeneus emigrated to Arcadia, the race-courses of Atalanta, which are near Schoenus, probably got their name from his daughter. Adjoining is . . . in my opinion called, and they say that the land here is Arcadia to all.

METHYDRIMUM & MT THAUMASIUS

36. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς μνήμην οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι εἰ μὴ αὐτὸ τὸ Μεθύδριον λείπεται: ὁδὸς δὲ ἐκ Τρικολώνων ἐς αὐτὸ στάδιοι τριῶν δέοντες τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὠνομάσθη μὲν δὴ Μεθύδριον, ὅτι κολωνός ἐστιν ὑψηλὸς Μαλοῖτα τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Μυλάοντος μέσος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ὀρχομενὸς ᾤκισε: πρὶν δὲ ἢ συντελεῖν ἐς τὸ Μεγαλοπολιτικόν, γεγόνασι καὶ Μεθυδριεῦσιν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι.

[36.1] XXXVI. From this point nothing remains to be recorded except Methydrium itself, which is distant from Tricoloni one hundred and thirty-seven stades. It received the name Methydrium (Between the Waters) because there is a high knoll between the river Maloetas and the Mylaon, and on it Orchomenus built his city. Methydrium too had citizens victorious at Olympia before it belonged to Megalopolis.

[2] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ Ποσειδῶνός τε Ἰππίου ναός, οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μυλάοντί ἐστι: τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Θαυμασίον καλούμενον κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαλοῖταν, ἐθέλουσι δὲ οἱ Μεθυδριεῖς τὴν Ῥέαν, ἥνικα τὸν Δία εἶχεν ἐν τῇ γαστρί, ἐς τοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι τὸ ὄρος, παρασκευάσασθαι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ βοήθειαν, ἣν ὁ Κρόνος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦν, τὸν τε Ὀπλάδαμον καὶ ἄλλους ὅσοι περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν γίγαντες:

[36.2] There is in Methydrium a temple of Horse Poseidon, standing by the Mylaon. But Mount Thaumasius (Wonderful) lies beyond the river Maloetas, and the Methydrilians hold that when Rhea was pregnant with Zeus, she came to this mountain and enlisted as her allies, in case Cronus should attack her, Hopladamus and his few giants:

[3] καὶ τεκεῖν μὲν συγχωροῦσιν αὐτὴν ἐν μοίρᾳ τινὶ τοῦ Λυκαίου, τὴν δὲ ἐς τὸν

Κρόνον ἀπάτην καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν λεγομένην ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀντίδοσιν τοῦ λίθου γενέσθαι φασὶν ἐνταῦθα. ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ὅτι μὴ γυναιξὶ μόναις ἱεραῖς τῆς θεοῦ ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδενὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἔστι τῶν ἄλλων.

[36.3] They allow that she gave birth to her son on some part of Mount Lycaeus, but they claim that here Cronus was deceived, and here took place the substitution of a stone for the child that is spoken of in the Greek legend. On the summit of the mountain is Rhea's Cave, into which no human beings may enter save only the women who are sacred to the goddess.

[4] Μεθυδρίου δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Νυμφασία πηγή· τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἀπὸ Νυμφασίας ἕτεροι πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν εἰσι καὶ Ὀρχομενίων τε κοινούς καὶ Καφυατῶν ὄρους.

[36.4] About thirty stades from Methydrium is a spring Nymphasia, and it is also thirty stades from Nymphasia to the common boundaries of Megalopolis, Orchomenus and Caphyae.

MARSH GATE ROAD

[5] Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος ὀνομαζομένων πυλῶν, διὰ τούτων ὁδεύουσιν ἐς Μαίναλον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἑλισσόντα ἔστι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ ναός· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρές εἰσιν ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς δὲ ὕπατος θεῶν ἐστίν, ἐπόμενος ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιτο εἶναι. προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἔστι μὲν γῆς χῶμα Ἀριστοδήμου τάφος, ὃν οὐδὲ τυραννοῦντα ἀφείλοντο μὴ ἐπονομάσαι Χρηστὸν, ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Μαχανίτιδος, ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὐρέτις.

[36.5] Passing through the gate at Megalopolis named the Gate to the Marsh, and proceeding by the side of the river Helisson towards Maenalus, there stands on the left of the road a temple of the Good God. If the gods are givers of good things to men, and if Zeus is supreme among gods, it would be consistent to infer that this surname is that of Zeus. A short distance farther on is a mound of earth which is the grave of Aristodemus, whom in spite of his being a tyrant they could not help calling the Good and there is also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Contriver, because the goddess is the inventor of plans and devices of all sorts.

[6] πεποίηται δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Βορέα τῷ ἀνέμῳ τέμενος, καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίταις θυσίας θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ θεῶν οὐδενὸς Βορέαν ὕστερον ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, ἅτε σωτῆρα γενόμενόν σφισιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἄγιδος. ἐξῆς δὲ Ὀικλέους τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου πατρὸς μνημᾶ ἐστίν, εἴ γε δὴ ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν τὸ χρεῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντα Ἡρακλεῖ στρατείας μετασχόντα. μετὰ τοῦτό ἐστι Δήμητρος καλουμένης ἐν ἔλει ναός τε καὶ ἄλλος· τοῦτο σταδίοις πέντε ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως, γυναιξὶ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος ἐστὶ μόναις.

[36.6] On the right of the road there has been made a precinct to the North Wind, and the Megalopolitans offer sacrifices every year, holding none of the gods in greater honor than the North Wind, because he proved their saviour from the Lacedaemonians under Agis. Next is the tomb of Oicles, the father of Amphiaraus, if indeed he met his end in Arcadia, and not after he had joined Heracles in his campaign against Laomedon. After it comes a temple of Demeter styled in the Marsh and her grove, which is five stades away from the city, and women only may enter it.

MT MAENALUS & LYCOA

[7] τριάκοντα δέ ἐστιν ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις Παλίσκιος ὀνομαζομένη χώρα: ἐκ Παλισκίου δὲ ἀφιέντι μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὸν Ἐλαφον ὄντα οὐκ ἀέναον καὶ προελθόντι ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους, ἄλλα τε ἐρείπια Περαιθέων καὶ ἱερὸν λείπεται Πανός. ἦν δὲ τὸν χειμάρρουν διαβῆς, κατ' εὐθὺ πέντε μὲν σταδίοις καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ πεδίων ἐστί, διελθόντι δὲ τοῦτο, τὸ ὄρος ὁμώνυμον τῷ πεδίῳ τὸ Ναινάλιον. τοῦ δὲ ὄρους ὑπὸ τοῖς καταλήγουσι πόλεως σημεῖα Λυκόας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστι χαλκοῦν Λυκοάτιδος:

[36.7] Thirty stades away is a place named Paliscius. Going on from Paliscius and leaving on the left the Elaphus, an intermittent stream, after an advance of some twenty stades you reach ruins of Peraethenses, among which is a sanctuary of Pan. If you cross the torrent and go straight on for fifteen stades you come to a plain, and after crossing it to the mountain called, like the plain, Maenalian. Under the fringe of the mountain are traces of a city Lycoa, a sanctuary of Artemis Lycoan, and a bronze image of her.

[8] ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ὄρους Σουμητία ὥκιστο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῷ ὄρει καὶ αἱ καλούμεναι Τρίοδοι, καὶ τὰ ὅσα Ἀρκάδος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς ἀνεῖλοντο ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα οἱ Μαντινεῖς. λείπεται δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἔτι ἐρείπια Μαινάλου, ναοῦ τε σημεῖα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ στάδιον ἐς ἀθλητῶν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἐς ἵππων δρόμον: τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Μαινάλιον ἱερὸν μάλιστα εἶναι Πανὸς νομίζουσιν, ὥστε οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπακροᾶσθαι συρίζοντος τοῦ Πανὸς λέγουσι.

[36.8] On the southern slope of the mountain once stood Sumetia. On this mountain is what is called the Meeting of the Three Ways, whence the Mantineans fetched the bones of Arcas, the son of Callisto, at the bidding of the Delphic oracle. There are still left ruins of Maenalus itself: traces of a temple of Athena, one race-course for athletes and one for horses. Mount Maenalus is held to be especially sacred to Pan, so that those who dwell around it say that they can actually hear him playing on his pipes.

ACACESIUM

[9] τοῦ δὲ τῆς Δεσποίνης ἱεροῦ καὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τοῦ ἄστεως στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα μεταξύ εἰσιν, ἡμῖς μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὸ ρεῦμα:

διαβάντων δὲ μετὰ μὲν δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ σταδίου Μακαρεῶν ἐστὶν ἐρείπια, αὐτόθεν δὲ ἐς ἐρείπια ἄλλα τὰ Δασεῶν ἑπτὰ εἰσι στάδιοι, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἐκ Δασεῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀκακήσιον ὀνομαζόμενον λόφον.

[36.9] From the sanctuary of the Mistress to the city of Megalopolis it is forty stades. From Megalopolis to the stream of the Alpheiuss is half this distance. After crossing the river it is two stades from the Alpheiuss to the ruins of Macareae, from these to the ruins of Daseae seven stades, and seven again from Daseae to the hill called Acacesian Hill.

[10] ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ λόφῳ πόλις τε ἦν Ἀκακήσιον Ἑρμοῦ τε Ἀκακησίου λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, τραφῆναι δὲ Ἑρμῆν παῖδα αὐτόθι καὶ Ἄκακον τὸν Λυκάονος γενέσθαι οἱ τροφέα Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος· διάφορα δὲ τούτοις Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὖθις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα τοῖς Θηβαίῳν Ταναγραῖοι λέγουσιν.

[36.10] At the foot of this hill used to be a city Acacesium, and even to-day there is on the hill a stone image of Acacesian Hermes, the story of the Arcadians about it being that here the child Hermes was reared, and that Acacus the son of Lycaon became his foster-father. The Theban legend is different, and the people of Tanagra, again, have a legend at variance with the Theban.

LYCOSURA & SANCTUARY OF DESPOENA

37. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀκακησίου τέσσαρας σταδίους ἀπέχει τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης. πρῶτα μὲν δὴ αὐτόθι Ἥγεμόνης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα ἔχον δᾶδας — ποδῶν ἕξ εἶναι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἰκάζομεν — , ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὸν ἱερὸν περίβολον τῆς Δεσποίνης ἐστὶν ἔσοδος. ἰόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν στοὰ τέ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ λίθου λευκοῦ τύποι πεποιημένοι, καὶ τῷ μὲν εἰσιν ἐπειρασμένοι Μοῖραι καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κλησιν Μοιραγέτης, δευτέρῳ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τρίποδα Ἀπόλλωνα ἀφαιρούμενος· ὅποια δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπυνθανόμην γενέσθαι, δηλώσω καὶ τοῦτο, ἦν ἐς τοῦ Φωκικοῦ λόγου τὰ ἔχοντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικώμεθα.

[37.1] XXXVII. From Acacesium it is four stades to the sanctuary of the Mistress. First in this place is a temple of Artemis Leader, with a bronze image, holding torches, which I conjecture to be about six feet high. From this place there is an entrance into the sacred enclosure of the Mistress. As you go to the temple there is a portico on the right, with reliefs of white marble on the wall. On the first relief are wrought Fates and Zeus surnamed Guide of Fate, and on the second Heracles wrestling a tripod from Apollo. What I learned about the story of the two latter I will tell if I get as far as an account of Delphi in my history of Phocis.

[2] ἐν δὲ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ παρὰ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ μεταξὺ τῶν τύπων τῶν κατελεγμένων πινάκιον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον, ἔχον τὰ ἐς τὴν τελετὴν: Νύμφαι δὲ εἰσι καὶ Πάνες ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα· καὶ οἱ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ἕξ ἀρχῆς τε μὴ ἂν σφαλῆναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰ Πολυβίῳ τὰ πάντα ἐπέειθετο, καὶ

ἀμαρτούση δι' ἐκείνου βοήθειαν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι μόνου. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ Δήμητρί τέ ἐστι βωμὸς καὶ ἕτερος Δεσποίνη, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ μεγάλης Μητρός.

[37.2] In the portico by the Mistress there is, between the reliefs I have mentioned, a tablet with descriptions of the mysteries. On the third relief are nymphs and Pans; on the fourth is Polybius, the son of Lycortas. On the latter is also an inscription, declaring that Greece would never have fallen at all, if she had obeyed Polybius in everything, and when she met disaster her only help came from him. In front of the temple is an altar to Demeter and another to the Mistress, after which is one of the Great Mother.

[3] θεῶν δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγάλματα, Δέσποινα καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ τε καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐν ᾧ καθέζονται, καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα τὸ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐστὶν ἑνὸς ὁμοίως λίθου: καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσθῇτι οὔτε ὅποσα εἴργασται περὶ τὸν θρόνον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἑτέρου λίθου προσεχὲς σιδήρῳ καὶ κόλλῃ, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν εἰς λίθος. οὗτος οὐκ ἐσεκομίσθη σφίσις ὁ λίθος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὴν γῆν ὀρύξαντες. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων ἐστὶν ἑκατέρου μέγεθος κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἀγαλμα μάλιστα τῆς Μητρός:

[37.3] The actual images of the goddesses, Mistress and Demeter, the throne on which they sit, along with the footstool under their feet, are all made out of one piece of stone. No part of the drapery, and no part of the carvings about the throne, is fastened to another stone by iron or cement, but the whole is from one block. This stone was not brought in by them, but they say that in obedience to a dream they dug up the earth within the enclosure and so found it. The size of both images just about corresponds to the image of the Mother at Athens.

[4] Δαμοφώντος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δημήτηρ δᾶδα ἐν δεξιᾷ φέρει, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν χεῖρα ἐπιβέβληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δέσποιναν: ἡ δὲ Δέσποινα σκηπτρόν τε καὶ τὴν καλουμένην κίστην ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει, τῆς δὲ ἔχεται τῇ δεξιᾷ τῆς κίστης. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν Ἄρτεμις μὲν παρὰ τὴν Δήμητρα ἕστηκεν ἀμπεχομένη δέρμα ἐλάφου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φαρέτραν ἔχουσα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν λαμπάδα ἔχει, τῇ δὲ δράκοντας δύο. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν κατάκειται κύων, οἷα ἠθερθεύει εἰσὶν ἐπιτίθειοι.

[37.4] These too are works of Damophon. Demeter carries a torch in her right hand; her other hand she has laid upon the Mistress. The Mistress has on her knees a staff and what is called the box, which she holds in her right hand. On both sides of the throne are images. By the side of Demeter stands Artemis wrapped in the skin of a deer, and carrying a quiver on her shoulders, while in one hand she holds a torch, in the other two serpents; by her side a bitch, of a breed suitable for hunting, is lying down.

[5] πρὸς δὲ τῆς Δεσποίνης τῷ ἀγάλματι ἕστηκεν Ἄνυτος σχῆμα ὠπλισμένον παρεχόμενος: φασὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τραφῆναι τὴν Δέσποιναν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνύτου, καὶ εἶναι τῶν Τιτάνων καλουμένων καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον. Τιτᾶνας δὲ πρῶτος ἐς ποιήσιν ἐσήγαγεν Ὀμηρος, θεοὺς εἶναι σφᾶς ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ

Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν Ἡρας ὄρκῳ τὰ ἔπη: παρὰ δὲ Ὀμήρου Ὀνομάκριτος παραλαβὼν τῶν Τιτάνων τὸ ὄνομα Διονύσῳ τε συνέθηκεν ὄργια καὶ εἶναι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας τῷ Διονύσῳ τῶν παθημάτων ἐποίησεν αὐτουργοῦς.

[37.5] By the image of the Mistress stands Anytus, represented as a man in armour. Those about the sanctuary say that the Mistress was brought up by Anytus, who was one of the Titans, as they are called. The first to introduce Titans into poetry was Homer, representing them as gods down in what is called Tartarus; the lines are in the passage about Hera's oath. From Homer the name of the Titans was taken by Onomacritus, who in the orgies he composed for Dionysus made the Titans the authors of the god's sufferings.

[6] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἄνυτον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λέγεται: Δήμητρος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ οὐ Λητοῦς, ὄντα Αἰγυπτίων τὸν λόγον Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφορίωνος τοὺς Ἑλληνας. τὰ δὲ ἐς Κούρητας — οὗτοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πεποίηνται — καὶ τὰ ἐς Κορύβαντας ἐπειργασμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου — γένος δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοιον καὶ οὐ Κούρητες — , τὰ ἐς τούτους παρήμι ἐπιστάμενος.

[37.6] This is the story of Anytus told by the Arcadians. That Artemis was the daughter, not of Leto but of Demeter, which is the Egyptian account, the Greeks learned from Aeschylus the son of Euphorion. The story of the Curetes, who are represented under the images, and that of the Corybantes (a different race from the Curetes), carved in relief upon the base, I know, but pass them by.

[7] τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων οἱ Ἀρκάδες δένδρων ἀπάντων πλὴν ροιᾶς ἐσκομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἐξίοντι ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ κάτοπτρον ἡρμοσμένον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ: τοῦτο ἦν τις προσβλέπη τὸ κάτοπτρον, ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἤτοι παντάπασιν ἀμυδρῶς ἢ οὐδὲ ὄψεται τὴν ἀρχήν, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἔστιν ἐναργῶς θεάσασθαι.

[37.7] The Arcadians bring into the sanctuary the fruit of all cultivated trees except the pomegranate. On the right as you go out of the temple there is a mirror fitted into the wall. If anyone looks into this mirror, he will see himself very dimly indeed or not at all, but the actual images of the gods and the throne can be seen quite clearly.

[8] παρὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης ὀλίγον ἐπαναβάντι ἐν δεξιᾷ Μέγαρόν ἐστι καλούμενον, καὶ τελετὴν τε δρῶσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ θύουσιν ἱερεῖα οἱ Ἀρκάδες πολλά τε καὶ ἄφθονα. θύει μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ὃ τι κέκτηται: τῶν ἱερείων δὲ οὐ τὰς φάρυγγας ἀποτέμνει ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις, κῶλον δὲ ὃ τι ἂν τύχη, τοῦτο ἕκαστος ἀπέκοψε τοῦ θύματος.

[37.8] When you have gone up a little, beside the temple of the Mistress on the right is what is called the Hall, where the Arcadians celebrate mysteries, and sacrifice to the Mistress many victims in generous fashion. Every man of them sacrifices what he possesses. But he does not cut the throats of the

victims, as is done in other sacrifices; each man chops off a limb of the sacrifice, just that which happens to come to hand.

[9] ταύτην μάλιστα θεῶν σέβουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Δέσποιναν, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν Ποσειδῶνός φασιν εἶναι καὶ Δήμητρος. ἐπὶ κλήσις ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ Δέσποινα, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Διὸς Κόρην ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνομα Περσεφόνη, καθὰ Ὅμηρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πάμφως ἐποίησαν: τῆς δὲ Δεσποίνης τὸ ὄνομα ἔδεισα ἐς τοὺς ἀτελέστους γράφειν.

[37.9] This Mistress the Arcadians worship more than any other god, declaring that she is a daughter of Poseidon and Demeter. Mistress is her surname among the many, just as they surname Demeter's daughter by Zeus the Maid. But whereas the real name of the Maid is Persephone, as Homer and Pamphos before him say in their poems, the real name of the Mistress I am afraid to write to the uninitiated.

[10] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρόν ἐστιν ἄλσος τῆς Δεσποίνης ἱερὸν θριγκῶ λίθων περιεχόμενον, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ δένδρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἐλαία καὶ πρῖνος ἐκ ρίζης μιᾶς πεφύκασι: τοῦτο οὐ γεωργοῦ σοφίας ἐστὶν ἔργον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ ἄλσος καὶ Ἰππίου Ποσειδῶνος, ἅτε πατὴρ τῆς Δεσποίνης, καὶ θεῶν ἄλλων εἰσὶ βωμοί: τῷ τελευταίῳ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶ θεοῖς αὐτὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν εἶναι κοινόν.

[37.10] Beyond what is called the Hall is a grove, sacred to the Mistress and surrounded by a wall of stones, and within it are trees, including an olive and an evergreen oak growing out of one root, and that not the result of a clever piece of gardening. Beyond the grove are altars of Horse Poseidon, as being the father of the Mistress, and of other gods as well. On the last of them is an inscription saying that it is common to all the gods.

[11] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναβῆσθαι διὰ κλίμακος ἐς ἱερὸν Πανός: πεποίηται δὲ καὶ στοὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα, θεῶν δὲ ὁμοίως τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ τούτῳ μέτεστι τῷ Πανὶ ἀνθρώπων τε εὐχὰς ἄγειν ἐς τέλος καὶ ὅποια ἔοικεν ἀποδοῦναι πονηροῖς. παρὰ τούτῳ τῷ Πανὶ πῦρ οὐ ποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον καίεται. λέγεται δὲ ὥς τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ μαντεύοιτο οὗτος ὁ θεός, προφητὴν δὲ Ἑρατῶ Νύμφην αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ταύτην ἢ Ἀρκάδι τῷ Καλλιστοῦς συνώκησε:

[37.11] Thence you will ascend by stairs to a sanctuary of Pan. Within the sanctuary has been made a portico, and a small image; and this Pan too, equally with the most powerful gods, can bring men's prayers to accomplishment and repay the wicked as they deserve. Beside this Pan a fire is kept burning which is never allowed to go out. It is said that in days of old this god also gave oracles, and that the nymph Erato became his prophetess, she who wedded Arcas, the son of Callisto.

[12] μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ἔπη τῆς Ἑρατοῦς, ἃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν βωμὸς Ἄρεως, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀφροδίτης ἐν ναῷ, λίθου τὸ ἕτερον λευκοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότερον αὐτῶν ξύλου. ὠσαύτως δὲ καὶ

Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανά ἐστι: τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἱερὸν πεποιήται.

[37.12] They also remember verses of Erato, which I too myself have read. Here is an altar of Ares, and there are two images of Aphrodite in a temple, one of white marble, and the other, the older, of wood. There are also wooden images of Apollo and of Athena. Of Athena a sanctuary also has been made.

38. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον τείχους τε περίβολος τῆς Λυκοσούρας ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκήτορες ἔναισιν οὐ πολλοί. πόλεων δέ, ὁπόσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔδειξε γῇ καὶ ἐν νήσοις, Λυκόσουρά ἐστι πρεσβυτάτη, καὶ ταύτην εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος πρώτην: ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ ποιῆσθαι πόλεις μεμαθήκασιν ἄνθρωποι.

[38.1] XXXVIII. A little farther up is the circuit of the wall of Lycosura, in which there are a few inhabitants. Of all the cities that earth has ever shown, whether on mainland or on islands, Lycosura is the oldest, and was the first that the sun beheld; from it the rest of mankind have learned how to make them cities.

MT LYCAEUS & THEISOA

[2] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δεσποίνης τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ Λύκαιον: καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀλύμπον καὶ Ἱερὰν γε ἕτεροι τῶν Ἀρκάδων κορυφήν. τραφῆναι δὲ τὸν Δία φασὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ: καὶ χώρα τέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Κρητέα καλουμένη — αὕτη δὲ ἡ Κρητέα ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσους ἐπὶ κλησὶν Παρρασίου — καὶ τὴν Κρήτην, ἐνθα ὁ Κρητῶν ἔχει λόγος τραφῆναι Δία, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ οὐ διὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

[38.2] On the left of the sanctuary of the Mistress is Mount Lycaeus. Some Arcadians call it Olympus, and others Sacred Peak. On it, they say, Zeus was reared. There is a place on Mount Lycaeus called Cretea, on the left of the grove of Apollo surnamed Parrhasian. The Arcadians claim that the Crete, where the Cretan story has it that Zeus was reared, was this place and not the island.

[3] ταῖς Νύμφαις δὲ ὀνόματα, ὅφ' ὧν τὸν Δία τραφῆναι λέγουσι, τίθενται Θεισόαν καὶ Νέδαν καὶ Ἀγνώ: καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Θεισόας πόλις ὠκεῖτο ἐν τῇ Παρρασίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ μοίρας τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος ἐστὶν ἡ Θεισόα κώμη: τῆς Νέδας δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε: τῆς δὲ Ἀγνοῦς, ἥ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ πηγὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰστρῳ πέφυκεν ἴσον παρέχεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν χειμῶνι ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους.

[38.3] The nymphs, by whom they say that Zeus was reared, they call Theisoa, Neda and Hagno. After Theisoa was named a city in Parrhasia; Theisoa to-day is a village in the district of Megalopolis. From Neda the river Neda takes its name; from Hagno a spring on Mount Lycaeus, which like the Danube flows with an equal volume of water in winter just as in the season of summer.

[4] ἦν δὲ αὐχμὸς χρόνον ἐπέχῃ πολὺν καὶ ἤδη σφίσι τὰ σπέρματα ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ

τὰ δένδρα αὐαίνηται, τηνικαῦτα ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ θύσας ὅποσα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ νόμος, καθίησι δρυὸς κλάδον ἐπιπολῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βάθος τῆς πηγῆς· ἀνακινήθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄνεισιν ἀχνὺς ἐοικυῖα ὁμίχλη, διαλιποῦσα δὲ ὀλίγον γίνεται νέφος ἢ ἀχνὺς καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλα ἐπαγομένη τῶν νεφῶν ὑετὸν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν κατιέναι ποιεῖ.

[38.4] Should a drought persist for a long time, and the seeds in the earth and the trees wither, then the priest of Lycaean Zeus, after praying towards the water and making the usual sacrifices, lowers an oak branch to the surface of the spring, not letting it sink deep. When the water has been stirred up there rises a vapor, like mist; after a time the mist becomes cloud, gathers to itself other clouds, and makes rain fall on the land of the Arcadians.

[5] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανός τε ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἵππόδρομός τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Λυκαίων ἦγον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνταῦθα. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνδριάντων βάθρα, οὐκ ἐπόντων ἔτι ἀνδριάντων· ἐλεγεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἐνὶ Ἀστυνάκτος φησιν εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυνάκτα εἶναι γένος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος.

[38.5] There is on Mount Lycaeus a sanctuary of Pan, and a grove of trees around it, with a race-course in front of which is a running-track. Of old they used to hold here the Lycaean games. Here there are also bases of statues, with now no statues on them. On one of the bases an elegiac inscription declares that the statue was a portrait of Astyanax, and that Astyanax was of the race of Arceas.

[6] τὸ δὲ ὄρος παρέχεται τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐς θαῦμα καὶ μάλιστα τόδε. τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λυκαίου Διὸς, ἔσοδος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώποις· ὑπεριδόντα δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐσελθόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ πρόσω μὴ βῶναι. καὶ τάδε ἔτι ἐλέγετο, τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους γενόμενα ὁμοίως πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ παρέχεσθαι σκιάν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ τέμενος θηρίου καταφεύγοντος οὐκ ἐθέλει οἱ συνεσπίπτειν ὁ κυνηγέτης, ἀλλὰ ὑπομένων ἐκτὸς καὶ ὀρῶν τὸ θηρίον οὐδεμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θεᾶται σκιάν. χρόνον μὲν δὴ τὸν ἴσον ἔπεισέ τε ὁ ἥλιος τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καρκίνον καὶ ἐν Συήνῃ τῇ πρὸ Αἰθιοπίας οὔτε ἀπὸ δένδρων οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων γενέσθαι σκιάν ἔστι· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ τέμενος τὸ αὐτὸ ἐς τὰς σκιάς ἀεὶ τε καὶ ἐπὶ πασῶν πέπονθε τῶν ὥρων.

[38.6] Among the marvels of Mount Lycaeus the most wonderful is this. On it is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus, into which people are not allowed to enter. If anyone takes no notice of the rule and enters, he must inevitably live no longer than a year. A legend, moreover, was current that everything alike within the precinct, whether beast or man, cast no shadow. For this reason when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not rush in after it, but remains outside, and though he sees the beast can behold no shadow. In Syene also just on this side of Aethiopia neither tree nor creature casts a shadow so long as the sun is in the constellation of the Crab, but the precinct

on Mount Lycæus affects shadows in the same way always and at every season.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ τοῦ ὄρους γῆς χῶμα, Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμός, καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σύνοπτος· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίονες δύο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἐστήκασιν ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρυσοι τὰ γε ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποίηντο. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θύουσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ· πολυπραγμονῆσαι δὲ οὐ μοι τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐχέτω δὲ ὡς ἔχει καὶ ὡς ἔσχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

[38.7] On the highest point of the mountain is a mound of earth, forming an altar of Zeus Lycæus, and from it most of the Peloponnesus can be seen. Before the altar on the east stand two pillars, on which there were of old gilded eagles. On this altar they sacrifice in secret to Lycæan Zeus. I was reluctant to pry into the details of the sacrifice; let them be as they are and were from the beginning.

[8] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ὄρους Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Παρρασίου· τίθενται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πύθιον ὄνομα. ἄγοντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἑορτὴν θύουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κάπρον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἐπικουρίῳ, θύσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα αὐτίκα τὸ ἱερεῖον κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρρασίου σὺν αὐλῷ τε καὶ πομπῇ, καὶ τὰ τε μηρία ἐκτεμόντες καίουσι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναλίσκουσιν αὐτόθι τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ κρέα.

[38.8] On the east side of the mountain there is a sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Parrhasian. They also give him the name Pythian. They hold every year a festival in honor of the god and sacrifice in the market-place a boar to Apollo Helper, and after the sacrifice here they at once carry the victim to the sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo in procession to the music of the flute; cutting out the thigh-bones they burn them, and also consume the meat of the victim on the spot.

[9] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖν νομίζουσι, τοῦ Λυκαίου δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῆς ἄρκτου γῆ ἐστὶν ἡ Θεισοαία· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα οἱ ταύτῃ νύμφην τὴν Θεισόαν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ. διὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Θεισοαίας ῥέοντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν Μυλάων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Νοῦς καὶ Ἀχελῷος καὶ Κέαλδός τε καὶ Νάλιφος. Ἀχελῷω δὲ τῷ Ἀρκάδι εἰσὶν ἄλλοι δύο ὁμώνυμοί τε αὐτῷ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν φανερώτεροι·

[38.9] This it is their custom to do. To the north of Mount Lycæus is the Theisoan territory. The inhabitants of it worship most the nymph Theisoa. There flow through the land of Theisoa the following tributaries of the Alpheius, the Mylaon, Nus, Achelous, Celadus, and Naliphus. There are two other rivers of the same name as the Achelous in Arcadia, and more famous than it.

[10] τὸν μὲν γε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας κατιόντα Ἀχελῷον διὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ δι' Αἰτωλίας ἔφησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὅμηρος ποταμῶν τῶν πάντων ἄρχοντα εἶναι,

ἕτερον δὲ Ἀχελῷον ῥέοντα ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐποίησατο αὐτόν τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Σίπυλον τοῦ λόγου προσθήκην τοῦ ἐς Νιόβην: τρίτῳ δ' οὖν καὶ τῷ περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Λύκαιόν ἐστιν ὄνομα Ἀχελῷος.

[38.10] One, falling into the sea by the Echinadian islands, flows through Acarnania and Aetolia, and is said by Homer in the Iliad to be the prince of all rivers. Another Achelous, flowing from Mount Sipylus, along with the mountain also, he takes occasion to mention in connection with his account of Niobe. The third river called the Achelous is the one by Mount Lycaeus.

NOMIAN MTS

[11] τῆς Λυκοσούρας δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Νόμια ὄρη καλούμενα, καὶ Πανός τε ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ Νομίου καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀνομάζουσι Μέλπειαν, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς σύριγγος μέλος ἐνταῦθα Πανὸς εὖρεθῆναι λέγοντες. κληθῆναι δὲ τὰ ὄρη Νόμια προχειρότατον μὲν ἐστὶν εἰκάζειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πανὸς ταῖς νομαῖς, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες νύμφης εἶναι φασιν ὄνομα.

[38.11] On the right of Lycosura are the mountains called Nomian, and on them is a sanctuary of Nomian Pan; the place they name Melpēia, saying that here Pan discovered the music of the pipes. It is a very obvious conjecture that the name of the Nomian Mountains is derived from the pasturings (nomai) of Pan, but the Arcadians themselves derive the name from a nymph.

PHIGALIA

39. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Λυκόσουραν ὡς ἐπὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ποταμὸς Πλατανιστῶν παρέξεισιν: ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἰόντι ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἀνάγκη πᾶσα διαβῆναι τὸν Πλατανιστῶνα, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν ἐστιν ἀνοδος ὅσον τε σταδίους τριάκοντα ἢ πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα οὐ πολλῷ.

[39.1] XXXIX. By Lycosura to the west passes the river Plataniston. No traveller can possibly avoid crossing the Plataniston who is going to Phigalia. Afterwards there is an ascent for some thirty stades or so.

[2] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Λυκάονος Φίγαλον — οὗτος γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο οἰκιστῆς — καὶ ὡς μετέβαλεν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀπὸ Φιάλου Βουκολίωνος τὸ ὄνομα ἢ πόλις καὶ αὖθις τε ἀνεσώσατο τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τότε μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἐσήμαινεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιόχρεα ἐς πίστιν, ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα εἶναι τὸν Φίγαλον καὶ οὐ Λυκάονος παῖδα: τοῖς δὲ εἰρημένον ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ Φιγαλία νύμφη τῶν καλουμένων εἴη Δρυάδων.

[39.2] The story of Phigalus, the son of Lycaon, who was the original founder of the city, how in course of time the city made a change and called itself after Phialus, the son of Bucolion, and again restored its old name, I have already set forth. Another account, but not worthy of credit, is current, that Phigalus was not a son of Lycaon but an aboriginal. Others have said that Phigalia was one of the nymphs called Dryads.

PHIGALIA, HISTORY

[3] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἡνίκα Ἀρκάσιον ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Φιγαλίαν στρατιᾷ, μάχῃ τε νικῶσι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν προσκαθεζόμενοι: κινδυνεύοντος δὲ ἁλῶναι τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκουσιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς, ἢ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς ἀφιάσιν ἐξελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ τῆς Φιγαλίας ἄλωσης καὶ Φιγαλέων ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς φυγὴ Μιλτιάδου μὲν Αθῆνησιν ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς τριακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Χίονις Λάκων ἐνίκα τὸ τρίτον.

[39.3] When the Lacedaemonians attacked the Arcadians and invaded Phigalia, they overcame the inhabitants in battle and sat down to besiege the city. When the walls were in danger of capture the Phigalians ran away, or perhaps the Lacedaemonians let them come out under a truce. The taking of Phigalia and the flight of the Phigalians from it took place when Miltiades was Archon at Athens, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, when Chionis the Laconian was victorious for the third time.

[4] Φιγαλέων δὲ τοῖς διαπεφευγόσιν ἔδοξεν ἀφικομένους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρωτᾶν ὑπὲρ καθόδου τὸν θεόν: καὶ σφισιν ἡ Πυθία καθ' αὐτοὺς μὲν πειρωμένοις ἐς Φιγαλίαν κατελθεῖν οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἔφη κάθοδον, εἰ δὲ λογάδας ἑκατὸν ἐξ Ὀρεσθασίου προσλάβοιεν, τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανεῖσθαι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἔσσεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν κάθοδον. Ὀρεσθάσιοι δὲ ὡς τὴν γενομένην τοῖς Φιγαλεῦσιν ἐπύθοντο μαντείαν, ἄλλος ἔφθανεν ἄλλον σπουδῇ λογάδων τε τῶν ἑκατὸν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος γενέσθαι καὶ ἐξόδου τῆς ἐς Φιγαλίαν μετασχεῖν.

[39.4] The Phigalians who escaped resolved to go to Delphi and ask the god about their return. The Pythian priestess said that if they made the attempt by themselves she saw no return for them; but if they took with them one hundred picked men from Oresthasium, these would die in the battle, but through them the Phigalians would be restored to their city. When the Oresthasians heard of the oracle delivered to the Phigalians, all vied with one another in their eagerness to be one of the picked hundred and take part in the expedition to Phigalia.

[5] παρελθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν ἄγουσιν ἐς πάντα ἐπὶ τέλος τὸν χρησμόν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς λόγου μαχεσάμενοι ἀξίως ἐπεγένετο ἡ τελευτὴ καὶ ἐξελάσαντες τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας παρέσχον Φιγαλεῦσιν ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν πατρίδα.

κεῖται δὲ ἡ Φιγαλία ἐπὶ μετεώρου μὲν καὶ ἀποτόμου τὰ πλέονα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κρημνῶν ὠκδομημένα ἐστὶ τείχη σφισιν: ἀνελθόντι δὲ ὁμαλῆς ἐστὶν ὁ λόφος ἤδη καὶ ἐπίπεδος. ἔστι δὲ Σωτεῖρας τε ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου: ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὰς πομπὰς σφισι πέμπειν κατέστη.

[39.5] They advanced against the Lacedaemonian garrison and fulfilled the oracle in all respects. For they fought and met their end gloriously; expelling the Spartans they enabled the Phigalians to recover their native land.

Phigalia lies on high land that is for the most part precipitous, and the walls

are built on the cliffs. But on the top the hill is level and flat. Here there is a sanctuary of Artemis Saviour with a standing image of stone. From this sanctuary it is their custom to start their processions.

[6] ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀμπεχομένῳ μὲν ἔοικεν ἱμάτιον, καταλήγει δὲ οὐκ ἐς πόδας, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Διονύσου ναός· ἐπὶ κλήσις μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀκρατοφόρος, τὰ κάτω δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σύνοπτα τοῦ ἀγάλματος ὑπὸ δάφνης τε φύλλων καὶ κισσῶν. ὅποσον δὲ αὐτοῦ καθορᾶν ἔστιν, ἐπαλήλπεται *** κιννάβαρι ἐκλάμπειν· εὐρίσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ὁμοῦ τῷ χρυσοῦ λέγεται.

[39.6] The image of Hermes in the gymnasium is like to one dressed in a cloak; but the statue does not end in feet, but in the square shape. A temple also of Dionysus is here, who by the inhabitants is surnamed Acratophorus, but the lower part of the image cannot be seen for laurel-leaves and ivy. As much of it as can be seen is painted . . . with cinnabar to shine. It is said to be found by the Iberians along with the gold.

40. Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἀνδριάς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἀρραχίωνος τοῦ παγκρατιαστοῦ, τά τε ἄλλα ἀρχαῖος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι· οὐ διεστᾶσι μὲν πολλοὶ οἱ πόδες, καθεῖνται δὲ παρὰ πλευρὰν αἱ χεῖρες ἄχρι τῶν γλουτῶν. πεποιήται μὲν δὴ ἡ εἰκὼν λίθου, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτὴν γραφῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἠφάνιστο ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, τῷ δὲ Ἀρραχίῳ ἐγένοντο Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπιάσι ταῖς πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ πεντηκοστῆς, ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν δικαίῳ τε ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν καὶ Ἀρραχίωνος αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρετῇ.

[40.1] XL. The Phigalians have on their market-place a statue of the pancratiast Arrhachion; it is archaic, especially in its posture. The feet are close together, and the arms hang down by the side as far as the hips. The statue is made of stone, and it is said that an inscription was written upon it. This has disappeared with time,

ARRHACHION & CREUGAS, HISTORIES

but Arrhachion won two Olympic victories at Festivals before the fifty-fourth, while at this Festival he won one due partly to the fairness of the Umpires and partly to his own manhood.

[2] ὥς γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὸν καταλειπόμενον ἔτι τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἐμάχετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοτίνου, ὁ μὲν προέλαβεν ὅστις δὴ ὁ ἀνταγωνιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τὸν Ἀρραχίωνα εἶχεν ἐξωκῶς καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπίεζεν ἅμα αὐτοῦ ταῖς χερσίν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρραχίων ἐκκλᾷ τῶν ἐν τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ἀνταγωνιζομένου δάκτυλον, καὶ Ἀρραχίων τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίησιν ἀγχόμενος καὶ ὁ ἄγγων τὸν Ἀρραχίωνα ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτύλου τῆς ὀδύνης κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀπαγορεύει τὸν αὐτόν. Ἥλειοι δὲ ἑστεφάνωσάν τε καὶ ἀνηγόρευσαν νικῶντα τοῦ Ἀρραχίωνος τὸν νεκρόν.

[40.2] For when he was contending for the wild olive with the last remaining competitor, whoever he was, the latter got a grip first, and held Arrhachion,

hugging him with his legs, and at the same time he squeezed his neck with his hands. Arrhachion dislocated his opponent's toe, but expired owing to suffocation; but he who suffocated Arrhachion was forced to give in at the same time because of the pain in his toe. The Eleans crowned and proclaimed victor the corpse of Arrhachion.

[3] εὐκὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους οἶδα ἐπὶ Κρεύγα ποιήσαντας Ἐπιδαμνίῳ πύκτη: καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι τεθνεῶτι ἔδοσαν τῷ Κρεύγα τῶν Νεμείων τὸν στέφανον, ὅτι ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν μαχόμενος Δαμόξενος Συρακόσιος παρέβη τὰ ὁμολογημένα σφίσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους. ἐφῆξεν μὲν γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἐσπέρα πυκτεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, συνέθεντο δὲ ἐς ἐπήκοον ἀνὰ μέρος τὸν ἕτερον ὑποσχεῖν αὐτῶν τῷ ἑτέρῳ πληγὴν. τοῖς δὲ πυκτεύουσιν οὐκ ἦν πῶ τῆνικαῦτα ἰμάς ὅξυς ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκατέρας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς μειλίχαις ἔτι ἐπύκτεον, ὑπὸ τὸ κοῖλον δέοντες τῆς χειρός, ἵνα οἱ δάκτυλοι σφισιν ἀπολείπωνται γυμνοί: αἱ δὲ ἐκ βοέας ὠμῆς ἱμάντες λεπτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀρχαῖον πεπλεγμένοι δι' ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αἱ μειλίχαι.

[40.3] I know that the Argives acted similarly in the case of Creugas, a boxer of Epidamnus. For the Argives too gave to Creugas after his death the crown in the Nemean games, because his opponent Damoxenus of Syracuse broke their mutual agreement. For evening drew near as they were boxing, and they agreed within the hearing of witnesses, that each should in turn allow the other to deal him a blow. At that time boxers did not yet wear a sharp thong on the wrist of each hand, but still boxed with the soft gloves, binding them in the hollow of the hand, so that their fingers might be left bare. These soft gloves were thin thongs of raw ox-hide plaited together after an ancient manner.

[4] τότε οὖν ὁ μὲν τὴν πληγὴν ἀφῆκεν ἐς τοῦ Δαμοξένου τὴν κεφαλὴν: ὁ δὲ ἀνασχεῖν τὴν χεῖρα ὁ Δαμόξενος ἐκέλευσε τὸν Κρεύγαν, ἀνασχόντος δὲ παίει τοῖς δακτύλοις ὀρθοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν πλευράν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκμῆς τε τῶν ὀνύχων καὶ βίας τῆς πληγῆς τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς καθεῖς καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἔλκων ἀπέρρηξε.

[40.4] On the occasion to which I refer Creugas aimed his blow at the head of Damoxenus, and the latter bade Creugas lift up his arm. On his doing so, Damoxenus with straight fingers struck his opponent under the ribs; and what with the sharpness of his nails and the force of the blow he drove his hand into the other's inside, caught his bowels, and tore them as he pulled them out.

[5] καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτίκα ὁ Κρεύγας ἀφίησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τὸν Δαμόξενον ἄτε τὰ συγκείμενα ὑπερβάντα καὶ ἀντὶ μιᾶς κεκρημένον πολλαῖς ἐς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐξελαύνουσι, τῷ Κρεύγα δὲ τὴν νίκην τεθνεῶτι ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐποίησαντο εἰκόνα ἐν Ἀργεῖ: καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔκειτο ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκίου.

[40.5] Creugas expired on the spot, and the Argives expelled Damoxenus for breaking his agreement by dealing his opponent many blows instead of one.

They gave the victory to the dead Creugas, and had a statue of him made in Argos. It still stood in my time in the sanctuary of Lycian Apollo.

41. Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ πολυάνδριον τῶν λογάδων τῶν Ὀρεσθασίων ἐστὶ, καὶ ὡς ἥρωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

[41.1] XLI. In the market-place of Phigalia there is also a common tomb of the picked men of Oresthasium, and every year they sacrifice to them as to heroes.

RIVERS NEDA & LYMAX

[2] ποταμὸς δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύμαξ ἐκδίδωσι μὲν ἐς τὴν Νέδαν παρ' αὐτὴν ῥέων Φιγαλίαν, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦνομά φασι τῷ ποταμῷ καθαρσίῳ τῶν Ῥέας ἔνεκα. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τεκοῦσαν τὸν Δία ἐκάθηραν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὠδῖσιν αἱ Νύμφαι, τὰ καθάρματα ἐς τοῦτον ἐμβάλλουσι τὸν ποταμόν: ὠνόμαζον δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αὐτὰ λύματα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος, ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι τε ἐπὶ λύσει τοῦ λοιμοῦ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ ἐμβάλλειν τὰ λύματα εἰπὼν σφᾶς ἐς θάλασσαν.

[41.2] A river called the Lymax flowing just beside Phigalia falls into the Neda, and the river, they say, got its name from the cleansing of Rhea. For when she had given birth to Zeus, the nymphs who cleansed her after her travail threw the refuse into this river. Now the ancients called refuse "lymata." Homer, for example, says that the Greeks were cleansed, after the pestilence was stayed, and threw the lymata into the sea.

[3] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς Νέδας ἐν ὄρει τῷ Κεραυσίῳ: τοῦ Λυκαίου δὲ μοῖρά ἐστι. καθότι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ἡ Νέδα Φιγαλέων τῆς πόλεως γίνεται, κατὰ τοῦτο οἱ Φιγαλέων παῖδες ἀποκείρονται τῷ ποταμῷ τὰς κόμας: τὰ δὲ πρὸς θαλάσση καὶ ἀναπλεῖται ναυσὶν οὐ μεγάλας ἡ Νέδα. ποταμῶν δὲ ὁπόσους ἴσμεν Μαίανδρος μὲν σκολιῷ μάλιστα κάτεισι τῷ ρέυματι, ἐς τε τὸ ἄνω καμπὰς καὶ αὐθις ἐπιστροφὰς παρεχόμενος πλείστας: δεύτερα δὲ ἐλιγμῶν γε ἔνεκα φέροιτο ἂν ἡ Νέδα.

[41.3] The source of the Neda is on Mount Cerausius, which is a part of Mount Lycaeus. At the place where the Neda approaches nearest to Phigalia the boys of the Phigalians cut off their hair in honor of the river. Near the sea the Neda is navigable for small ships. Of all known rivers the Maeander descends with the most winding course, which very often turns back and then bends round once more; but the second place for its twistings should be given to the Neda.

[4] σταδίοις δὲ ὅσον δώδεκα ἀνωτέρω Φιγαλίας θερμὰ τέ ἐστι λουτρά καὶ τούτων οὐ πόρρω κάτεισιν ὁ Λύμαξ ἐς τὴν Νέδαν: ἥ δὲ συμβάλλουσι τὰ ρέυματα, ἔστι τῆς Εὐρυνόμης τὸ ἱερόν, ἅγιόν τε ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τραχύτητος τοῦ χωρίου δυσπρόσοδον: περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ κυπάρισσοι πεφύκασι πολλάι τε καὶ ἀλλήλαις συνεχεῖς.

[41.4] Some twelve stades above Phigalia are hot baths, and not far from these the Lymax falls into the Neda. Where the streams meet is the sanctuary of

Eurynome, a holy spot from of old and difficult of approach because of the roughness of the ground. Around it are many cypress trees, growing close together.

[5] τὴν δὲ Εὐρυνόμην ὁ μὲν τῶν Φιγαλέων δῆμος ἐπὶ κλησιν εἶναι πεπίστευκεν Ἀρτέμιδος· ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῶν παρειλήφασιν ὑπομνήματα ἀρχαῖα, θυγατέρα Ὠκεανοῦ φασιν εἶναι τὴν Εὐρυνόμην, ἥς δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποιήσατο μνήμην ὡς ὁμοῦ Θέτιδι ὑποδέξαίτο Ἥφαιστον. ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύουσι τῆς Εὐρυνόμης, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον οὐ σφισιν ἀνοιγνύναι καθέστηκε:

[41.5] Eurynome is believed by the people of Phigalia to be a surname of Artemis. Those of them, however, to whom have descended ancient traditions, declare that Eurynome was a daughter of Ocean, whom Homer mentions in the Iliad, saying that along with Thetis she received Hephaestus. On the same day in each year they open the sanctuary of Eurynome, but at any other time it is a transgression for them to open it.

[6] τῆνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ θυσίας δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδιῶται θύουσιν. ἀφικέσθαι μὲν δὴ μοι τῆς ἑορτῆς οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἐς καιρὸν οὐδὲ τῆς Εὐρυνόμης τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον· τῶν Φιγαλέων δ' ἤκουσα ὡς χρυσαῖ τε τὸ ξόανον συνδέουσιν ἀλύσεις καὶ εἰκὼν γυναικὸς τὰ ἄχρι τῶν γλουτῶν, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δέ ἐστιν ἰχθύς. θυγατρὶ μὲν δὴ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ἐν βυθῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁμοῦ Θέτιδι οἰκούσῃ παρέχοιτο ἂν τι ἐς γνῶρισμα αὐτῆς ὁ ἰχθύς· Ἀρτέμιδι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν μετὰ γε τοῦ εἰκότος λόγου μετεῖη τοιοῦτου σχήματος.

[41.6] On this occasion sacrifices also are offered by the state and by individuals. I did not arrive at the season of the festival, and I did not see the image of Eurynome; but the Phigalians told me that golden chains bind the wooden image, which represents a woman as far as the hips, but below this a fish. If she is a daughter of Ocean, and lives with Thetis in the depth of the sea, the fish may be regarded as a kind of emblem of her. But there could be no probable connection between such a shape and Artemis.

MT COTILIUS

[7] περιέχεται δὲ ἡ Φιγαλία ὄρεσιν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Κωτίλιου, τὰ δὲ ἐς δεξιὰν ἕτερον προβεβλημένον ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ὄρος τὸ Ἐλαῖον. ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τεσσαράκοντα τὸ Κωτίλιον μάλιστα σταδίου· ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίον τέ ἐστι καλούμενον Βᾶσσαι καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου, λίθου καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ὄροφος.

[41.7] Phigalia is surrounded by mountains, on the left by the mountain called Cotilius, while on the right is another, Mount Elaius, which acts as a shield to the city. The distance from the city to Mount Cotilius is about forty stades. On the mountain is a place called Bassae, and the temple of Apollo the Helper, which, including the roof, is of stone.

[8] ναῶν δὲ ὅσοι Πελοποννησίους εἰσὶ, μετὰ γε τὸν ἐν Τεγέᾳ προτιμῶτο οὗτος

ἀν τοῦ λίθου τε ἐς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἔνεκα. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐπὶ νόσῳ λοιμώδει, καθότι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν Ἀλεξίκακος ἀποτρέψας καὶ τοῦτοισι τὴν νόσον.

[41.8] Of the temples in the Peloponnesus, this might be placed first after the one at Tegea for the beauty of its stone and for its symmetry. Apollo received his name from the help he gave in time of plague, just as the Athenians gave him the name of Averter of Evil for turning the plague away from them.

[9] ἔπαυσε δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς Φιγαλέας καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ καιρῷ: μαρτύρια δὲ αἱ τε ἐπικλήσεις ἀμφοτέραι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος εἰκός τι ὑποσημαίνουσαι καὶ Ἰκτίνος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἐν Φιγαλίας ναοῦ γεγωνῶς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ Περικλέα καὶ Ἀθηναίους τὸν Παρθενῶνα καλούμενον κατασκευάσας. ἐδίδαξε δὲ ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

[41.9] It was at the time of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians that he also saved the Phigalians, and at no other time; the evidence is that of the two surnames of Apollo, which have practically the same meaning, and also the fact that Ictinus, the architect of the temple at Phigalia, was a contemporary of Pericles, and built for the Athenians what is called the Parthenon. My narrative has already said that the tile image of Apollo is in the market-place of Megalopolis.

[10] ἔστι δὲ ὕδατος ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Κωτιλίῳ πηγὴ, καὶ ὅπου συνέγραψεν ἤδη τις ἀπὸ ταύτης τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ρεῦμα τῷ Λύμακι ἄρχεσθαι, συνέγραψεν οὔτε αὐτὸς θεασάμενος οὔτε ἀνδρὸς ἀκοὴν ἰδόντος: ἃ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω παρήσαν ἐμοί: τὸ μὲν ποταμοῦ ρεῦμα ὃν ἐωρῶμεν, τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ Κωτιλίῳ πηγῆς οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξικνούμενον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀλλὰ ἐντὸς ὀλίγου παντάπασιν ἀφανὲς γινόμενον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅπου τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ἡ πηγὴ τῷ Λύμακι, ἐπῆλθε πολυπραγμονῆσαί μοι. ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου χωρίον Κώτιλον μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν, Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν Κωτίλῳ: καὶ αὐτῇ τε νάος τε ἦν οὐκ ἔχων ἐτι ὄροφον καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπεποίητο.

[41.10] On Mount Cotilius is a spring of water, but the author who related that this spring is the source of the stream of the river Lymax neither saw it himself nor spoke to a man who had done so. But I did both. We saw the river actually flowing, and the water of the spring on Mount Cotilius running no long way, and within a short distance disappearing altogether. It did not, however, occur to me to take pains to discover where in Arcadia the source of the Lymax is. Beyond the sanctuary of Apollo the Helper is a place named Cotilum, and in Cotilum is an Aphrodite. She also has a temple, the roof of which is now gone, and an image of the goddess.

MT ELAIUS

42. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τῶν ὄρων τὸ Ἐλαίον ἀπωτέρω μὲν Φιγαλίας ὅσον τε σταδίους τριάκοντά ἐστι, Δῆμητρος δὲ ἄντρον αὐτόθι ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Μελαίνης. ὅσα

μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐν Θελοπούσῃ λέγουσιν ἐς μῖξιν τὴν Ποσειδῶνός τε καὶ Δήμητρος, κατὰ ταῦτά σφισιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς νομίζουσι, τεχθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος οἱ Φιγαλεῖς φασιν οὐχ ἵππον ἀλλὰ τὴν Δέσποιναν ἐπονομαζομένην ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων:

[42.1] XLII. The second mountain, Mount Elaius, is some thirty stades away from Phigalia, and has a cave sacred to Demeter surnamed Black. The Phigalians accept the account of the people of Thelpusa about the mating of Poseidon and Demeter, but they assert that Demeter gave birth, not to a horse, but to the Mistress, as the Arcadians call her.

[2] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου λέγουσι θυμῷ τε ἅμα ἐς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Περσεφόνης τῇ ἀρπαγῇ πένθει χρωμένην μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα ἐνδύειν καὶ ἐς τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦτο ἐλθοῦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀπεινὰ πολὺν. ὥς δὲ ἐφθείρετο μὲν πάντα ὅσα ἡ γῆ τρέφει, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ ἐς πλεον ἀπώλλυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, θεῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἡπίστατο ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἔνθα ἀπεκέκρυπτο ἡ Δημήτηρ, τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ἐπείναι μὲν

[42.2] Afterwards, they say, angry with Poseidon and grieved at the rape of Persephone, she put on black apparel and shut herself up in this cavern for a long time. But when all the fruits of the earth were perishing, and the human race dying yet more through famine, no god, it seemed, knew where Demeter was in hiding,

[3] τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ ἄλλοτε αὐτὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ θηρεύειν τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀφικόμενον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἑλάιον κατοπεῦσαι τὴν Δήμητρα σχήματός τε ὥς εἶχε καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνεδέδυτο ποίαν: πυθέσθαι δὴ τὸν Δία ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Πανὸς καὶ οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθῆναι τὰς Μοίρας παρὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, τὴν δὲ πεισθῆναί τε ταῖς Μοίραις καὶ ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὀργήν, ὑφεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῆς λύπης. σφᾶς δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων φασιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς τό τε σπήλαιον νομίσαι τοῦτο ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι ξύλου.

[42.3] until Pan, they say, visited Arcadia. Roaming from mountain to mountain as he hunted, he came at last to Mount Elaius and spied Demeter, the state she was in and the clothes she wore. So Zeus learnt this from Pan, and sent the Fates to Demeter, who listened to the Fates and laid aside her wrath, moderating her grief as well. For these reasons, the Phigalians say, they concluded that this cavern was sacred to Demeter and set up in it a wooden image.

[4] πεποιῆσθαι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὸ ἄγαλμα: καθέζεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ, γυναικὶ δὲ εἰκέναι τᾶλλα πλὴν κεφαλὴν: κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ κόμην εἶχεν ἵππου, καὶ δρακόντων τε καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων εἰκόνες προσεπεφύκεσαν τῇ κεφαλῇ: χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνεδέδυτο καὶ ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας: δελφίς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἦν αὐτῇ, περιστέρα δὲ ἡ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ. ἐφ' ὧ τῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ ξόανον ἐποιήσαντο οὕτως, ἀνδρὶ οὐκ ἀσυνέτῳ γνώμην ἀγαθὴν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς μνήμην δηλὰ ἐστί: Μέλαιναν δὲ ἐπονομάσαι φασὶν αὐτήν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θεὸς μέλαιναν τὴν ἐσθῆτα εἶχε.

[42.4] The image, they say, was made after this fashion. It was seated on a rock, like to a woman in all respects save the head. She had the head and hair of a horse, and there grew out of her head images of serpents and other beasts. Her tunic reached right to her feet; on one of her hands was a dolphin, on the other a dove. Now why they had the image made after this fashion is plain to any intelligent man who is learned in traditions. They say that they named her Black because the goddess had black apparel.

[5] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ξόανον οὔτε ὅτου ποίημα ἦν οὔτε ἡ φλόξ τρόπον ὄντινα ἐπέλαβεν αὐτό, μνημονεύουσιν: ἀφανισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχαίου Φιγαλεῖς οὔτε ἄγαλμα ἄλλο ἀπεδίδοσαν τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὅποσα ἐς ἐορτὰς καὶ θυσίας τὰ πολλὰ δὴ παρῶπτό σφισιν, ἐς ὃ ἡ ἀκαρπία ἐπιλαμβάνει τὴν γῆν: καὶ ἱκετεύσασιν αὐτοῖς χρᾶ τάδε ἡ Πυθία:

[42.5] They cannot relate either who made this wooden image or how it caught fire. But the old image was destroyed, and the Phigalians gave the goddess no fresh image, while they neglected for the most part her festivals and sacrifices, until the barrenness fell on the land. Then they went as suppliants to the Pythian priestess and received this response:—

[6] “Ἀρκάδες Ἀζᾶνες βαλανηφάγοι, οἱ Φιγάλειαν
νάσσασθ’, ἵππολεχοῦς Δηοῦς κρυπτήριον ἄντρον,
ἦκετε πευσόμενοι λιμοῦ λύσιν ἀλγινόεντος,
μοῦνοι δις νομάδες, μοῦνοι πάλιν ἀγριοδαῖται.
Δηὼ μὲν σε ἔπαυσε νομῆς, Δηὼ δὲ νομῆας
ἐκ δησισταχῶν καὶ ἀναστοφάγων πάλι θῆκε,
νοσφισθεῖσα γέρα προτέρων τιμὰς τε παλαιάς.
καὶ σ’ ἄλληλοφάγον θήσει τάχα καὶ τεκνοδαίτην,
εἰ μὴ πανδήμοις λοιβαῖς χόλον ἰλάσσεσθε
σῆραγγός τε μυχὸν θεαίας κοσμήσετε τιμαῖς.

“

[42.6]

Azanian Arcadians, acorn-eaters, who dwell
In Phigaleia, the cave that hid Deo, who bare a horse,
You have come to learn a cure for grievous famine,
Who alone have twice been nomads, alone have twice lived on wild fruits.
It was Deo who made you cease from pasturing, Deo who made you pasture
again
After being binders of corn and eaters of cakes,
Because she was deprived of privileges and ancient honors given by men of
former times.

And soon will she make you eat each other and feed on your children,
Unless you appease her anger with libations offered by all your people,
And adorn with divine honors the nook of the cave.

[7] ὥς δὲ οἱ Φιγαλεῖς ἀνακομισθὲν τὸ μάντευμα ἤκουσαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς πλεον
τιμῆς ἢ τὰ πρότερα τὴν Δήμητρα ἤγον καὶ Ὀνάταν τὸν Μίκωνος Αἰγινήτην
πειθουσιν ἐφ' ὅσῳ δὴ μισθῷ ποιῆσαί σφισιν ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος· τοῦ δὲ Ὀνάτα
τούτου Περγαμηνοῖς ἐστὶν Απόλλων χαλκοῦς, θαῦμα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. τότε δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀνευρὼν γραφὴν ἢ
μίμημα τοῦ ἀρχαίου ξοάνου — τὰ πλείω δέ, ὥς λέγεται, καὶ κατὰ ὄνειράτων
ὄψιν — ἐποίησε χαλκοῦν Φιγαλεῦσιν ἄγαλμα, γενεαῖς μάλιστα δυσὶν ὕστερον
τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιστρατείας τοῦ Μήδου.

[42.7] When the Phigalians heard the oracle that was brought back, they held
Demeter in greater honor than before, and particularly they persuaded Onatas
of Aegina, son of Micon, to make them an image of Demeter at a price. The
Pergamenes have a bronze Apollo made by this Onatas, a most wonderful
marvel both for its size and workmanship. This man then, about two
generations after the Persian invasion of Greece, made the Phigalians an
image of bronze, guided partly by a picture or copy of the ancient wooden
image which he discovered, but mostly (so goes the story) by a vision that he
saw in dreams. As to the date, I have the following evidence to produce.

[8] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην
Συρακουσῶν τε ἐτυράννει καὶ Σικελίας τῆς ἄλλης Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένης: ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Γέλων, ἐς Ἱέρωνα ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνος περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή:
Ἱέρωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὰ
ἀναθήματα ἃ εὗξατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς νίκαις, οὕτω Δεινομένης ὁ Ἱέρωνος
ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός.

[42.8] At the time when Xerxes crossed over into Europe, Gelon the son of
Deinomenes was despot of Syracuse and of the rest of Sicily besides. When
Gelon died, the kingdom devolved on his brother Hieron. Hieron died before
he could dedicate to Olympian Zeus the offerings he had vowed for his
victories in the chariot-race, and so Deinomenes his son paid the debt for his
father.

[9] Ὀνάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
ἀναθήματός ἐστιν αὐτῶν, "σὸν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἄγῳνα

τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἅπαξ, μουνοκέλῃτι δὲ δίς,

δῶρα Ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσατο: παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε

"Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνήμα Συρακοσίου:

[42.9] These too are works of Onatas, and there are two inscriptions at Olympia.
The one over the offering is this:—

Having won victories in thy grand games, Olympian Zeus,

Once with the four-horse chariot, twice with the race-horse,
Hieron bestowed on thee these gifts: his son dedicated them,
Deinomenes, as a memorial to his Syracusan father.

[10] τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων: “υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσαν,

νάσφ ἐν Αἰγίνα δώματα ναιετάων.

“ἡ δὲ ἡλικία τοῦ Ὀνάτα κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἡγίαν καὶ Ἀγελάδαν συμβαίνει τὸν Ἀργεῖον.

[10] The other inscription is:—

Onatas, son of Micon, fashioned me,
Who had his home in the island of Aegina.

Onatas was contemporary with Hegias of Athens and Ageladas of Argos.

[11] ταύτης μάλιστα ἐγὼ τῆς Δήμητρος ἕνεκα ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἀφικόμην. καὶ ἔθυσα τῇ θεῷ, καθὰ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι νομίζουσιν, οὐδέν: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἡμέρων τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸν καὶ μελισσῶν τε κηρία καὶ ἐρίων τὰ μὴ ἐς ἐργασίαν πω ἦκοντα ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἀνάπλεα τοῦ οἰσύπου, ἃ τιθέασιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ὠκοδομημένον πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, θέντες δὲ καταχέουσιν αὐτῶν ἔλαιον, ταῦτα ἰδιώταις τε ἀνδράσι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Φιγαλέων τῷ κοινῷ καθέστηκεν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν.

[42.11] It was mainly to see this Demeter that I came to Phigalia. I offered no burnt sacrifice to the goddess, that being a custom of the natives. But the rule for sacrifice by private persons, and at the annual sacrifice by the community of Phigalia, is to offer grapes and other cultivated fruits, with honeycombs and raw wool still full of its grease. These they place on the altar built before the cave, afterwards pouring oil over them.

[12] ἱέρεια δὲ σφισὶν ἐστὶν ἡ δρῶσα, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν ἱεροθυτῶν καλουμένων ὁ νεώτατος: οἱ δὲ εἰσι τῶν ἀστῶν τρεῖς ἀριθμόν. ἔστι δὲ δρυῶν τε ἄλσος περὶ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἄνεισιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀνάτα ποιηθὲν οὔτε ἦν κατ’ ἐμὲ οὔτε εἰ ἐγένετο ἀρχὴν Φιγαλεῦσιν ἠπίσταντο οἱ πολλοί:

[42.12] They have a priestess who performs the rites, and with her is the youngest of their “sacrificers,” as they are called, who are citizens, three in number. There is a grove of oaks around the cave, and a cold spring rises from the earth. The image made by Onatas no longer existed in my time, and most of the Phigalians were ignorant that it had ever existed at all.

[13] τῶν δὲ ἐντυχόντων ἡμῖν ἔλεγεν ὁ πρεσβύτατος γενεαῖς πρότερον τρισὶν ἢ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐμπεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου πέτρας, ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ καταγῆναι καὶ ἐς ἅπαν ἔφρασκεν αὐτὸ ἀφανισθῆναι: καὶ ἐν γε τῷ ὀρόφῳ δῆλα καὶ ἡμῖν ἔτι ἦν, καθὰ ἀπερρώγεσαν αἱ πέτραι.

[42.13] The oldest, however, of the inhabitants I met said that three generations before his time some stones had fallen on the image out of the roof; these crushed the image, destroying it utterly. Indeed, in the roof I could still discern plainly where the stones had broken away.

PALLANTIUM, MYTHICAL HISTORY

43. ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ λόγος τό τε Παλλάντιον, εἰ δὴ τι αὐτόθι ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην, καὶ καθ' ἣντινα βασιλεὺς αἰτίαν Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ πρότερος πόλιν τε ἀντὶ κώμης ἐποίησε Παλλάντιον καὶ σφισιν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν εἶναι φόρων.

[43.1] XLIII. My story next requires me to describe whatever is notable at Pallantium, and the reason why the emperor Antoninus the first turned it from a village to a city, giving its inhabitants liberty and freedom from taxation.

[2] φασὶ δὴ γενέσθαι καὶ γνώμην καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄριστον τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὄνομα Εὐάνδρον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν νύμφης τε εἶναι, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Λάδωνος, καὶ Ἑρμοῦ. σταλέντα δὲ ἐς ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄγοντα Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Παλλαντίου στρατιάν, παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πόλιν τῷ Θύβριδι οἰκίσαι: καὶ Ῥωμαίων μέρος τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως, ὃ ᾤκεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐάνδρου καὶ Ἀρκάδων τῶν συνακολουθησάντων, ὄνομα ἔσχε Παλλάντιον κατὰ μνήμην τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μετέπεσε τὸ ὄνομα ἐν ἀναιρέσει γραμμάτων τοῦ τε λ καὶ τοῦ ν. τούτων μὲν τῶν λελεγμένων ἔνεκα Παλλαντιεῦσιν ἐκ βασιλέως ἐγένοντο δωρεαί:

[43.2] Well, the story is that the wisest man and the best soldier among the Arcadians was one Evander, whose mother was a nymph, a daughter of the Ladon, while his father was Hermes. Sent out to establish a colony at the head of a company of Arcadians from Pallantium, he founded a city on the banks of the river Tiber. That part of modern Rome, which once was the home of Evander and the Arcadians who accompanied him, got the name of Pallantium in memory of the city in Arcadia. Afterwards the name was changed by omitting the letters L and N. These are the reasons why the emperor bestowed boons upon Pallantium.

ANTONINUS OF ROME, HISTORY

[3] ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐς Παλλαντιεῖς ἐστὶν εὐεργετήματα, πόλεμον μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐθελοντῆς ἐπηγάγετο οὐδένα, πολέμου δὲ ἄρξαντας Μαύρους, Λιβύων τῶν αὐτονόμων τὴν μεγίστην μοῖραν, νομάδας τε ὄντας καὶ τοσῶδε ἔτι δυσμαχωτέρους τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ γένους ὅσῳ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν, ἐπὶ ἵππων δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἠλῶντο, τούτους μὲν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐλαύνων τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα ἠνάγκασεν ἀναφυγεῖν Λιβύης, ἐπὶ τε Ἄτλαντα τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐς τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Ἄτλαντι ἀνθρώπους:

[43.3] Antoninus, the benefactor of Pallantium, never willingly involved the Romans in war; but when the Moors (who form the greatest part of the independent Libyans, being nomads, and more formidable enemies than even

the Scythians in that they wandered, not on wagons, but on horseback with their womenfolk), when these, I say, began an unprovoked war, he drove them from all their country, forcing them to flee to the extreme parts of Libya, right up to Mount Atlas and to the people living on it.

[4] ἀπετέμετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Βριτανία Βριγάντων τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι ἐπεσβαίνειν καὶ οὗτοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἤρξαν ἐς τὴν Γενουνίαν μοῖραν, ὑπηκόους Ῥωμαίων. Λυκίων δὲ καὶ Καρῶν τὰς πόλεις Κῶν τε καὶ Ῥόδον ἀνέτρεψε μὲν βίαιος ἐς αὐτὰς κατασκήψας σεισμός· βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ταύτας ἀνεσώσατο δαπανημάτων τε ὑπερβολῇ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἀνοικισμὸν προθυμία. χρημάτων δὲ ἐπιδόσεις ὅποσας καὶ Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ τοῖς δεθηείοις, καὶ ἔργων κατασκευᾶς ἐν τε τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ περὶ Καρχηδόνα τε καὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ Σύρων, τάδε μὲν ἄλλοι ἔγραψαν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον:

[43.4] He also took away from the Brigantes in Britain the greater part of their territory, because they too had begun an unprovoked war on the province of Genunia, a Roman dependency. The cities of Lycia and of Caria, along with Cos and Rhodes, were overthrown by a violent earthquake that smote them. These cities also were restored by the emperor Antoninus, who was keenly anxious to rebuild them, and devoted vast sums to this task. As to his gifts of money to Greeks, and to such non-Greeks as needed it, and his buildings in Greece, Ionia, Carthage and Syria, others have written of them most exactly.

[5] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπελίπετο οὗτος καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε ἐς μνήμην. ὅσοις τῶν ὑπηκόων πολίταις ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐτέλουν σφίσιν ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τούτοις ἐλείπετο ἢ κατανεῖμαι τὰ χρήματα ἐς οὐ προσήκοντας ἢ ἐπαυξῆσαι τὸν βασιλέως πλοῦτον κατὰ νόμον δὴ τινα: Ἀντωνῖνος δὲ ἐφῆκε καὶ τούτοις διδόναι σφᾶς παισὶ τὸν κλῆρον, ὁ προτιμήσας φανῆναι φιλόανθρωπος ἢ ὠφέλιμος ἐς χρήματα φυλάξαι νόμον. τοῦτον Εὐσεβὴς τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῇ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο χρώμενος:

[43.5] But there is also another memorial of himself left by this emperor. There was a certain law whereby provincials who were themselves of Roman citizenship, while their children were considered of Greek nationality, were forced either to leave their property to strangers or let it increase the wealth of the emperor. Antoninus permitted all such to give to the children their heritage, choosing rather to show himself benevolent than to retain a law that swelled his riches. This emperor the Romans called Pius, because he showed himself to be a most religious man.

[6] δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Κύρου φέροιτο ἂν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων καλούμενος. ἀπέλιπε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ παῖδα ὁμώνυμον: ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος οὗτος ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τοὺς τε Γερμανούς, μαχιμωτάτους καὶ πλείστους τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔθνος τὸ Σαυροματῶν, πολέμου καὶ ἀδικίας ἄρξαντας, τιμωρούμενος ἐπεξήληθε.

[43.6] In my opinion he might also be justly called by the same title as the elder

Cyrus, who was styled Father of Men. He left to succeed him a son of the same name. This Antoninus the second brought retribution both on the Germans, the most numerous and warlike barbarians in Europe, and also on the Sarmatian nation, both of whom had been guilty of beginning a war of aggression.

HAEMONIAE & ORESTHASIUM

44. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπίλοιπα ἡμῖν τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ λόγου ἔστιν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἐς Παλλάντιον ὁδὸς καὶ ἐς Τεγέαν, ἄγουσα αὕτη μέχρι τοῦ καλουμένου Χώματος. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν Λαδόκειά σφισιν ὠνόμασται τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως ἀπὸ Λαδόκου τοῦ Ἐχέμου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Αἰμονιαὶ πόλεις ἦσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· οἰκιστὴς δὲ Αἴμων ἐγένετο αὐταῖς ὁ Λυκάονος, διαμεμένηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τότε Αἰμονιάς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὀνομάζεσθαι.

[44.1] XLIV. To complete my account of Arcadia I have only to describe the road from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, which also takes us as far as what is called the Dyke. On this road is a suburb named Ladoceia after Ladocus, the son of Echemus, and after it is the site of what was in old times the city of Haemoniae. Its founder was Haemon the son of Lycaon, and the name of the place has remained Haemoniae to this day.

[2] μετὰ δὲ Αἰμονιάς ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ πόλεως ἔστιν Ὀρεσθασίου καὶ ἄλλα ὑπολειπόμενα ἐς μνήμην καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱεροῦ κίονες ἔτι· ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ Ἰέρεια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἔστι. τὴν δὲ εὐθεῖαν ἰόντι ἐξ Αἰμονιῶν Ἀφροδισίων τέ ἔστιν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ ἄλλο χωρίον τὸ Ἀθῆναιον· τοῦτου δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου.

[44.2] After Haemoniae on the right of the road are some noteworthy remains of the city of Oresthasium, especially the pillars of a sanctuary of Artemis, which still are there. The surname of Artemis is Priestess. On the straight road from Haemoniae is a place called Aphrodisium, and after it another, called Athenaeum. On the left of it is a temple of Athena with a stone image in it.

RIVER EUROTAS & MT BOREIUS

[3] τοῦ Ἀθηναίου δὲ μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐρείπια Ἀσέας ἐστί, καὶ ὁ λόφος ἀκρόπολις τότε οὕσα τείχους σημεῖα ἔχει καὶ ἐς τότε. σταδίους δὲ ὅσον πέντε ἀπὸ Ἀσέας τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ μὲν ὀλίγον ἄπο τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοῦ δὲ Εὐρώτα παρ' αὐτὴν ἔστιν ἡ πηγὴ τὴν ὁδόν· πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῇ πηγῇ ναὸς τε Μητρὸς θεῶν ἔστιν οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον καὶ λέοντες λίθου δύο πεποιημένοι.

[44.3] About twenty stades away from Athenaeum are ruins of Asea, and the hill that once was the citadel has traces of fortifications to this day. Some five stades from Asea are the sources of the Alpheius and of the Eurotas, the former a little distance from the road, the latter just by the road itself. Near the source of the Alpheius is a temple of the Mother of the Gods without a roof, and two lions made of stone.

[4] τοῦ δὲ Εὐρώτα τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνακεράννυται τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους κοινῶ προΐασι τῷ ρεύματι: κατελθόντες δὲ ἐς χάσμα ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἄνεισιν αὐθις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Εὐρώτας, ὁ δὲ Ἀλφειὸς ἐν Πηγαῖς τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος. ἔστι δὲ ἄνοδος ἐξ Ἀσέας ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Βόρειον καλούμενον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους σημειᾷ ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ: ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶ τε Σωτεῖρα καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Ὀδυσσεά ἐλέγετο ἀνακομισθέντα ἐξ Ἰλίου.

[44.4] The waters of the Eurotas mingle with the Alpheius, and the united streams flow on for some twenty stades. Then they fall into a chasm, and the Eurotas comes again to the surface in the Lacedaemonian territory, the Alpheius at Pegae (Sources) in the land of Megalopolis. From Asea is an ascent up Mount Boreius, and on the top of the mountain are traces of a sanctuary. It is said that the sanctuary was built in honor of Athena Saviour and Poseidon by Odysseus after his return from Troy.

PALLANTIUM

[5] τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Χῶμα ὄροι Μεγαλοπολίταις τῆς γῆς πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς εἰσι: καὶ τὸ Παλλαντικὸν πεδῖον ἐστὶν ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χώματος. ἐν δὲ Παλλαντίῳ ναὸς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου Πάλλαντος, τὸ δὲ ἕτερόν ἐστιν Εὐάνδρου: καὶ Κόρης τε τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπωτέρω Πολυβίου σφίσιν ἀνδριάς ἐστι. τῷ λόφῳ δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὅσα ἀκροπόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐχρῶντο: λείπεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου θεῶν ἱερὸν.

[44.5] What is called the Dyke is the boundary between Megalopolis on the one hand and Tegea and Pallantium on the other. The plain of Pallantium you reach by turning aside to the left from the Dyke. In Pallantium is a temple with two stone images, one of Pallas, the other of Evander. There is also a sanctuary of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, and not far away is a statue of Polybius. The hill above the city was of old used as a citadel. On the crest of the hill there still remains a sanctuary of certain gods.

[6] ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Καθαροί, περὶ μεγίστων δὲ αὐτόθι καθεστήκασιν οἱ ὅρκοι: καὶ ὀνόματα μὲν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἴσασιν ἢ καὶ εἰδότες οὐ θέλουσιν ἐξαγορεύειν, Καθαροὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε ἂν τις κληθῆναι τεκμαίροιο, ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ὁ Πάλλας ἔθυσε καθὰ καὶ ὁ πατήρ οἱ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δί.

[44.6] Their surname is the Pure, and here it is customary to take the most solemn oaths. The names of the gods either they do not know, or knowing will not divulge; but it might be inferred that they were called Pure because Pallas did not sacrifice to them after the same fashion as his father sacrificed to Lycaean Zeus.

MT CRESIUS

[7] τοῦ δὲ καλουμένου Χώματος ἐν δεξιᾷ πεδῖον ἐστὶ τὸ Μανθουρικόν: ἔστι δὲ

ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Τεγεατῶν τὸ πεδίον, ὃν σταδίων πού πεντήκοντα μάλιστα ἄχρι Τεγέας. ἔστι δὲ ὄρος οὐ μέγα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καλούμενον Κρήσιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀφνειοῦ πεποιήται. Ἀερόπη γὰρ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου συνεγένετο Ἄρης, καθὰ οἱ Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀφίησιν ἐν ταῖς ὠδίσι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δὲ παῖς καὶ τεθνηκυῖας

[44.7] On the right of the so-called Dyke lies the Manthuric plain. The plain is on the borders of Tegea, stretching just about fifty stades to that city. On the right of the road is a small mountain called Mount Cresius, on which stands the sanctuary of Aphneius. For Ares, the Tegeans say, mated with Aerope, daughter of Cepheus, the son of Aleus.

[8] εἶχετο ἔτι τῆς μητρὸς καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαστῶν εἴλκεν αὐτῆς γάλα πολὺ καὶ ἄφθονον, καὶ — ἦν γὰρ τοῦ Ἄρεως γνώμη τὰ γινόμενα — τούτων ἕνεκα Ἀφνειὸν τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι· τῷ δὲ παιδίῳ ὄνομα τεθῆναί φασιν Ἀερόπον. ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐς Τεγέαν ὁδὸν Λευκῶνιος καλουμένη κρήνη· θυγατέρα δὲ Ἀφείδαντος λέγουσιν εἶναι τὴν Λευκώνην, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Τεγεατῶν οἱ ἄστεως μνημᾶ ἐστίν.

[44.8] She died in giving birth to a child, who clung to his mother even when she was dead, and sucked great abundance of milk from her breasts. Now this took place by the will of Ares, and because of it they name the god Aphneius (Abundant); but the name given to the hill was, it is said, Aeropus. There is on the way to Tegea a fountain called Leuconian. They say that Apheidas was the father of Leucone, and not far from Tegea is her tomb.

TEGEA

45. Τεγεᾶται δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Τεγεάτου τοῦ Λυκάονος τῇ χώρᾳ φασὶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μόνῃ τὸ ὄνομα, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις κατὰ δήμους εἶναι τὰς οἰκήσεις, Γαρεάτας καὶ Φυλακεῖς καὶ Καρυάτας τε καὶ Κορυθεῖς, ἔτι δὲ Πωταχίδας καὶ Οἰάτας Μανθυρεῖς τε καὶ Ἐχευήθεις· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀφείδαντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἑνατὸς σφισι δῆμος προσεγένετο Ἀφείδαντες· τῆς δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο Ἄλεος.

[45.1] XLV. The Tegeans say that in the time of Tegeates, son of Lycaon, only the district got its name from him, and that the inhabitants dwelt in parishes, Gareatae, Phylacenses, Caryatae, Corythenses, Potachidae, Oeatae, Manthyrenses, Echeuethenses. But in the reign of Apheidas a ninth parish was added to them, namely Apheidantes. Of the modern city Aleus was founder.

[2] Τεγεάταις δὲ παρέξ ἡ τὰ Ἀρκάδων κοινά, ἐν οἷς ἔστι μὲν ὁ πρὸς Ἰλῖον πόλεμος, ἔστι δὲ τὰ Μηδικά τε καὶ ἐν Διπαιεῦσιν ὁ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγὼν, παρέξ οὖν τῶν καταλελεγμένων ἰδίᾳ Τεγεάταις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἐς δόξαν. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Καλυδῶνι ὕν Ἀγκαῖος ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Λυκούργου τρωθεῖς, καὶ Ἀταλάντη τοξέυει τὸν ὕν καὶ ἔτυχε πρώτη τοῦ θηρίου· τούτων ἕνεκα αὐτῇ ἡ κεφαλὴ τε τοῦ ὕος καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἀριστεῖα ἐδόθη.

[45.2] Besides the exploits shared by the Tegeans with the Arcadians, which

include the Trojan war, the Persian wars and the battle at Dipaea with the Lacedaemonians, the Tegeans have, besides the deeds already mentioned, the following claims of their own to fame. Ancaeus, the son of Lycurgus, though wounded, stood up to the Calydonian boar, which Atalanta shot at, being the first to hit the beast. For this feat she received, as a prize for valor, the head and hide of the boar.

[3] Ἡρακλειδῶν δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιόντων Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἀερόπου Τεγεάτης ἐμονομάχησεν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς Ὑλλον, καὶ ἐκράτησε τοῦ Ὑλλου τῇ μάχῃ. Λακεδαιμονίους τε οἱ Τεγεᾶται πρῶτοι Ἀρκάδων σφίσιν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας ἐνίκησαν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους αἰρουῶσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς.

[45.3] When the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus, Echemus, son of Aeropus, a Tegean, fought a duel with Hyllus, and overcame him in the fight. The Tegeans again were the first Arcadians to overcome Lacedaemonians; when invaded they defeated their enemies and took most of them prisoners.

[4] Τεγεάταις δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποίησεν Ἄλεος: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον

κατεσκευάσαντο οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῇ θεῷ ναὸν μέγαν τε καὶ θέας ἄξιον. ἐκεῖνο μὲν δὴ πῦρ ἠφάνισεν ἐπινεμηθὲν ἐξαίφνης, Διοφάντου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Εὐπόλεμος Ἥλειος ἐνίκα στάδιον.

[45.4] The ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea was made for the Tegeans by Aleus. Later on the Tegeans set up for the goddess a large temple, worth seeing. The sanctuary was utterly destroyed by a fire which suddenly broke out when Diophantus was archon at Athens, in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, at which Eupolemus of Elis won the foot-race.

[5] ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πολὺν δὴ τι τῶν ναῶν, ὅσοι Πελοποννησίοις εἰσὶν, ἐς κατασκευὴν προέχει τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἐς μέγεθος. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτός ἐστιν αὐτῷ κόσμος τῶν κιόνων Δώριος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κορίνθιος: ἐστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες ἐργασίας τῆς Ἰώνων. ἀρχιτέκτονα δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην Σκόπαν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν Πάριον, ὃς καὶ ἀγάλματα πολλοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος, τὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίαν τε καὶ Καρίαν ἐποίησε.

[45.5] The modern temple is far superior to all other temples in the Peloponnesus on many grounds, especially for its size. Its first row of pillars is Doric, and the next to it Corinthian; also, outside the temple, stand pillars of the Ionic order. I discovered that its architect was Scopas the Parian, who made images in many places of ancient Greece, and some besides in Ionia and Caria.

[6] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν ἡ θήρα τοῦ ὑὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου: πεπονημένου δὲ κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τοῦ ὑὸς τῇ μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀταλάντῃ καὶ Μελέαγρος καὶ Θησεὺς Τελαμών τε καὶ Πηλεὺς καὶ Πολυδεύκης καὶ Ἰόλαος, ὃς τὰ πλεῖστα Ἡρακλεῖ συνέκαμνε τῶν ἔργων, καὶ Θεστίου παῖδες, ἀδελφοὶ δὲ

[45.6] On the front gable is the hunting of the Calydonian boar. The boar stands right in the center. On one side are Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeuces, Iolaus, the partner in most of the labours of Heracles, and also the sons of Thestius, the brothers of Althaea, Prothous and Cometes.

[7] κατὰ δὲ τοῦ υἱὸς τὰ ἕτερα Ἀγκαῖον ἔχοντα ἤδη τραύματα καὶ ἀφέντα τὸν πέλεκυν ἀνέχων ἐστὶν Ἐποχος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Κάστωρ καὶ Ἀμφιάραος Ὀικλέους, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἱππόθους ὁ Κερκύονος τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τοῦ Στυμφήλου: τελευταῖος δὲ ἐστὶν εἰργασμένος Πειρίθους. τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν πεποιημένα ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Τηλέφου πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν Καῖκου πεδίῳ μάχῃ.

[45.7] On the other side of the boar is Epochus supporting Ancaeus who is now wounded and has dropped his axe; by his side is Castor, with Amphiarauus, the son of Oicles, next to whom is Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, son of Agamedes, son of Stymphalus. The last figure is Peirithous. On the gable at the back is a representation of Telephus fighting Achilles on the plain of the Caicus.

46. τῆς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἀρχαῖον, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου τοὺς ὀδόντας ἔλαβεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος, Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ καὶ τὸ Ἀντωνίου νικήσας συμμαχικόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες πλὴν Μαντινέων ἦσαν οἱ ἄλλοι.

[46.1] XLVI. The ancient image of Athena Alea, and with it the tusks of the Calydonian boar, were carried away by the Roman emperor Augustus after his defeat of Antonius and his allies, among whom were all the Arcadians except the Mantineans.

[2] φαίνεται δὲ οὐκ ἄρξας ὁ Αὐγουστος ἀναθήματα καὶ ἔδη θεῶν ἀπάγεσθαι παρὰ τῶν κρατηθέντων, καθεστηκότι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρησάμενος. Ἰλίου τε γὰρ ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα Ἑλλήνων, Σθενέλῳ τῷ Καπανέως τὸ ξόανον τοῦ Διὸς ἐδόθη τοῦ Ἐρκείου: καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον πολλοῖς Δωριέων ἐς Σικελίαν ἐσοικιζομένων, Ἀντίφημος ὁ Γέλας οἰκιστὴς πόλισμα Σικανῶν Ὀμφάκην πορθήσας μετεκόμισεν ἐς Γέλαν ἄγαλμα ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου πεποιημένον.

[46.2] It is clear that Augustus was not the first to carry away from the vanquished votive offerings and images of gods, but was only following an old precedent. For when Troy was taken and the Greeks were dividing up the spoils, Sthenelus the son of Capaneus was given the wooden image of Zeus Herceius (Of the Courtyard); and many years later, when Dorians were migrating to Sicily, Antiphemus the founder of Gela, after the sack of Omphace, a town of the Sicanians, removed to Gela an image made by Daedalus.

[3] βασιλέα τε τῶν Περσῶν Ξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσα ἐξεκόμισε τοῦ

Ἀθηναίων ἄστεως, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος καὶ ἄγαλμα ἴσμεν τῆς Βραυρωνίας λαβόντα Ἀρτέμιδος, τοῦτο δὲ αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκὼν Μιλησίοις, ἐθελοκακῆσαι σφᾶς ἐναντία Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ναυμαχῆσαντας, τὸν χαλκοῦν ἔλαβεν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὕστερον ἔμελλε χρόνῳ Σέλευκος καταπέμψειν Μιλησίοις, Ἀργείοις δὲ τὰ ἐκ Τίρυνθος ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τὸ μὲν παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ξόανον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἀνακείμενον τοῦ Λυκίου:

[46.3] Xerxes, too, the son of Dareius, the king of Persia, apart from the spoil he carried away from the city of Athens, took besides, as we know, from Brauron the image of Brauronian Artemis, and furthermore, accusing the Milesians of cowardice in a naval engagement against the Athenians in Greek waters, carried away from them the bronze Apollo at Branchidae. This it was to be the lot of Seleucus afterwards to restore to the Milesians, but the Argives down to the present still retain the images they took from Tiryns; one, a wooden image, is by the Hera, the other is kept in the sanctuary of Lycian Apollo.

[4] Κυζικηνοί τε, ἀναγκάσαντες πολέμῳ Προκοννησίους γενέσθαι σφίσι συνοίκους, Μητρὸς Δινδυμῆνης ἄγαλμα ἔλαβον ἐκ Προκοννήσου: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ

πρόσωπον ἀντὶ ἐλέφαντος ἵππων τῶν ποταμίων ὀδόντες εἰσὶν εἰργασμένοι. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Αὐγουστος καθεστηκότα ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τε Ἑλλήνων νομιζόμενα καὶ βαρβάρων εἰργάσατο: Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀλέας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου ποιηθεῖσαν, ἐς ταύτην ἐστὶν ἰόντι.

[46.4] Again, the people of Cyzicus, compelling the people of Proconnesus by war to live at Cyzicus, took away from Proconnesus an image of Mother Dindymene. The image is of gold, and its face is made of hippopotamus teeth instead of ivory. So the emperor Augustus only followed a custom in vogue among the Greeks and barbarians from of old. The image of Athena Alea at Rome is as you enter the Forum made by Augustus.

[5] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται ἐλέφαντος διὰ παντὸς πεποιημένον, τέχνη δὲ Ἐνδοίου: τοῦ δὲ ὑὸς τῶν ὀδόντων κατεᾶχθαι μὲν τὸν ἕτερόν φασι· οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς θαύμασιν, ὁ δ' ἔτι ἐξ αὐτῶν λειπόμενος ἀνέκειτο ἐν βασιλέως κήποις ἐν ἱερῷ Διονύσου, τὴν περίμετρον τοῦ μήκους παρεχόμενος ἐς ἡμισυ μάλιστα ὀργυιᾶς.

[46.5] Here then it has been set up, made throughout of ivory, the work of Endoeus. Those in charge of the curiosities say that one of the boar's tusks has broken off; the remaining one is kept in the gardens of the emperor, in a sanctuary of Dionysus, and is about half a fathom long.

47. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Τεγέα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐκομίσθη μὲν ἐκ δήμου τοῦ Μανθουρέων, Ἰππία δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Μανθουρεῦσιν εἶχεν ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅτι τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ γινομένης τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸς γίγαντας μάχης ἐπῆλασεν Ἐγκελάδῳ ἵππων τὸ ἄρμα: Ἀλέαν μέντοι καλεῖσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἔς τε Ἑλληνας τοὺς

ἄλλους καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐκενέικηκε. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῇ μὲν Ἀσκληπιός, τῇ δὲ Ὑγείᾳ παρεστῶσά ἐστι λίθου τοῦ Πεντελεθρίου, Σκόπα δὲ ἔργα Παρίου.

[47.1] XLVII. The present image at Tegea was brought from the parish of Manthurenses, and among them it had the surname of Hippiā (Horse Goddess). According to their account, when the battle of the gods and giants took place the goddess drove the chariot and horses against Enceladus. Yet this goddess too has come to receive the name of Alea among the Greeks generally and the Peloponnesians themselves. On one side of the image of Athena stands Asclepius, on the other Health, works of Scopas of Paros in Pentelic marble.

[2] ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἔστι μὲν τὸ δέρμα ὑὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου, διεσῆπτο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἅπαν ἦν τριχῶν ἤδη ψιλόν: εἰσι δὲ αἱ πέδαι κρεμάμεναι, πλὴν ὅσας ἠφάνισεν αὐτῶν ἰός, ἃς γε ἔχοντες Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὸ πεδίον Τεγεάταις ἔσκαπτον: κλίνη τε ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Αὐγῆς εἰκὼν γραφῇ μεμιμημένη Μαρπήσεως τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Χοίρας, γυναικὸς Τεγεάτιδος, ἀνάκειται τὸ ὄπλον.

[47.2] Of the votive offerings in the temple these are the most notable. There is the hide of the Calydonian boar, rotted by age and by now altogether without bristles. Hanging up are the fetters, except such as have been destroyed by rust, worn by the Lacedaemonian prisoners when they dug the plain of Tegea. There have been dedicated a sacred couch of Athena, a portrait painting of Auge, and the shield of Marpessa, surnamed Choera, a woman of Tegea;

[3] ταύτης μὲν δὴ ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην: ἱερᾶται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ παῖς χρόνον οὐκ οἶδα ὅσον τινά, πρὶν δὲ ἡβάσκειν καὶ οὐ πρόσω, τὴν ἱερωσύνην. τῇ θεῷ δὲ ποιηθῆναι τὸν βωμὸν ὑπὸ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος λέγουσιν: εἰργασμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ Ῥέα μὲν καὶ Οἰνὸν νύμφη παῖδα ἔτι νήπιον Δία ἔχουσιν, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ εἰσι τέσσαρες ἀριθμόν, Γλαῦκη καὶ Νέδα καὶ Θεῖσάα καὶ Ἀνθρακία, τῇ δὲ Ἰδῇ καὶ Ἀγνώ καὶ Ἀλκινόῃ τε καὶ Φρίξᾳ. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Μνημοσύνης ἀγάλματα.

[47.3] of Marpessa I shall make mention later. The priest of Athena is a boy; I do not know how long his priesthood lasts, but it must be before, and not after, puberty. The altar for the goddess was made, they say, by Melampus, the son of Amythaon. Represented on the altar are Rhea and the nymph Oenoe holding the baby Zeus. On either side are four figures: on one, Glaucē, Neda, Theisoa and Anthracia; on the other Ide, Hagno, Alcinoe and Phrixa. There are also images of the Muses and of Memory.

[4] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω στάδιον χῶμα γῆς ἐστι, καὶ ἄγουσιν ἀγῶνας ἐνταῦθα, Ἀλεαῖα ὀνομάζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν δὲ Ἀλώτια, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πολὺ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ζῶντας εἶλον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ ναοῦ κρήνη, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ βιασθῆναι τῇ κρήνῃ φασὶν Αὐγὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἐκαταίῳ τὰ ἐς αὐτήν. ἀπωτέρω δὲ τῆς κρήνης

ὄσον σταδίοις τρισίν ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ ναὸς Αἰπύτου.

[47.4] Not far from the temple is a stadium formed by a mound of earth, where they celebrate games, one festival called Aleaea after Athena, the other Halotia (Capture Festival) because they captured the greater part of the Lacedaemonians alive in the battle. To the north of the temple is a fountain, and at this fountain they say that Auge was outraged by Heracles, therein differing from the account of Auge in Hecataeus. Some three stades away from the fountain is a temple of Hermes Aepytus.

[5] Τεγεάταις δέ ἐστι καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάτιδος, ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ ἔτους ἱερεὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσεισι: τοῦτο Ἑρυμα τὸ ἱερὸν ὀνομάζουσι, λέγοντες ὡς Κηφεὶ τῷ Ἀλέου γένοιτο δωρεὰ παρὰ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνάλωτον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον εἶναι Τεγέαν, καὶ αὐτῷ φασιν ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀποτεμοῦσαν τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τριχῶν τῶν Μεδούσης.

[47.5] There is at Tegea another sanctuary of Athena, namely of Athena Poliatis (Keeper of the City) into which a priest enters once in each year. This sanctuary they name Eryma (Defence) saying that Cepheus, the son of Aleus, received from Athena a boon, that Tegea should never be captured while time shall endure, adding that the goddess cut off some of the hair of Medusa and gave it to him as a guard to the city.

[6] ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, τὴν Ἥγεμόνην τὴν αὐτήν, τοιάδε λέγουσιν. Ὀρχομενίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τυραννίδα ἔσχεν Ἀριστομηλίδας, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Τεγεάτιδος παρθένου καὶ ἐγκρατὴς ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ γενόμενος ἐπιτρέπει τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῆς Χρονίῳ: καὶ ἡ μὲν, πρὶν ἀναχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν τύραννον, ἀποκτίνουσιν ἑαυτὴν ὑπὸ δείματός τε καὶ αἰδοῦς, Χρόνιον δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπήγειρεν ὄψις ἐπὶ Ἀριστομηλίδαν: φονεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐς Τεγέαν φυγὼν ἐποίησεν ἱερὸν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.

[47.6] Their story about Artemis, the same as is called Leader, is as follows. Aristomelidas, despot of Orchomenus in Arcadia, fell in love with a Tegean maiden, and, getting her somehow or other into his power, entrusted her to the keeping of Chronius. The girl, before she was delivered up to the despot, killed herself for fear and shame, and Artemis in a vision stirred up Chronius against Aristomelidas. He slew the despot, fled to Tegea, and made a sanctuary for Artemis.

48. τῆς ἀγορᾶς δὲ μάλιστα εἰκνίας πλίνθῳ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα, Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναὸς καλούμενος ἐν πλινθίῳ καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. στήλαις δὲ ἐπειργασμένοι τῇ μὲν Ἀντιφάνης ἐστὶ καὶ Κρῖσος καὶ Τυρωνίδας τε καὶ Πυρρίας, οἱ νόμους Τεγεάταις θέμενοι τιμὰς καὶ ἐς τόδε παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν: ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ στήλῃ πεποιημένος ἐστὶν Ἰάσιος ἵππου τε ἐχόμενος καὶ κλάδον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρων φοίνικος: νικῆσαι δὲ ἵππῳ φασιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸν Ἰάσιον, ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς ἔθετο ὁ Θηβαῖος τὰ Ὀλύμπια.

[48.1] XLVIII. The market-place is in shape very like a brick, and in it is a

temple of Aphrodite called “in brick,” with a stone image. There are two slabs; on one are represented in relief Antiphanes, Crisus, Tyronidas and Pyrrhias, who made laws for the Tegeans, and down to this day receive honors for it from them. On the other slab is represented Iasius, holding a horse, and carrying in his right hand a branch of palm. It is said that Iasius won a horse-race at Olympia, at the time when Heracles the Theban celebrated the Olympian festival.

[2] ἐν μὲν δὴ Ὀλυμπίᾳ κοτίνου τῷ νικῶντι δίδοσθαι στέφανον καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς δάφνης, τοῦ μὲν ἤδη τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπέδωκα ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἡλείους, τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα δηλώσω: ἐν Ἰσθμῷ δὲ ἡ πῖτυς καὶ τὰ ἐν Νεμέᾳ σέλινά ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλαίμονος καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχεμόρου τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐνομίσθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἀγῶνες φοῖνικος ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ στέφανον: ἐς δὲ τὴν δεξιάν ἐστι καὶ πανταχοῦ τῷ νικῶντι ἐστιθέμενος φοῖνιξ.

[48.2] The reason why at Olympia the victor receives a crown of wild-olive I have already explained in my account of Elis; why at Delphi the crown is of bay I shall make plain later. At the Isthmus the pine, and at Nemea celery became the prize to commemorate the sufferings of Palaemon and Archemorus. At most games, however, is given a crown of palm, and at all a palm is placed in the right hand of the victor.

[3] ἐνομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε: Θησέα ἀνακομιζόμενον ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶν ἐν Δήλῳ ἀγῶνα ποιήσασθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, στεφανοῦν δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς νικῶντας τῷ φοῖνικι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἄρξαι λέγουσιν ἐντεῦθεν: τοῦ δὲ φοῖνικος τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ μνήμην ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσεύς ἱκεσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκίνου θυγατέρα.

[48.3] The origin of the custom is said to be that Theseus, on his return from Crete, held games in Delos in honor of Apollo, and crowned the victors with palm. Such, it is said, was the origin of the custom. The palm in Delos is mentioned by Homer in the passage where Odysseus supplicates the daughter of Alcinous.

[4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρεως ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν ἀγορᾷ. τοῦτο ἐκτετύπεται μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ, Γυναικοθοῖναν δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτόν. ὑπὸ γὰρ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον καὶ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τὴν πρώτην ἐπιστρατείαν λαβοῦσαι αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν ὅπλα ἐλόχων ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον ὃν Φυλακτρίδα ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ὀνομάζουσι: συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τολμήματα ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ τε καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, οὕτω φασὶν ἐπιφανῆναί σφισι τὰς

[48.4] There is also an image of Ares in the marketplace of Tegea. Carved in relief on a slab it is called Gynaecothoenas (He who entertains women). At the time of the Laconian war, when Charillus king of Lacedaemon made the first invasion, the women armed themselves and lay in ambush under the hill they call today Phylactris (Sentry Hill). When the armies met and the men on either side were performing many remarkable exploits,

[5] γυναῖκας καὶ εἶναι τὰς ἐργασαμένας ταύτας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν τροπὴν, Μάρπησσαν δὲ τὴν Χοῖραν ἐπονομαζομένην ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῇ τόλμῃ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας, ἀλῶναι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ αὐτὸν Χάρυλλον: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφεθέντα ἄνευ λύτρων, καὶ ὄρκον Τεγεάταις δόντα μήποτε Λακεδαιμονίους στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ Τεγέαν, παραβῆναι τὸν ὄρκον, τὰς γυναῖκας δὲ τῷ Ἄρει θῦσαι τε ἄνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ τοῦ ἱερείου τῶν κρεῶν οὐ μεταδοῦναι σφᾶς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν τῷ Ἄρει γέγονεν ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις:

[48.5] the women, they say, came on the scene and put the Lacedaemonians to flight. Marpessa, surnamed Choera, surpassed, they say, the other women in daring, while Charillus himself was one of the Spartan prisoners. The story goes on to say that he was set free without ransom, swore to the Tegeans that the Lacedaemonians would never again attack Tegea, and then broke his oath; that the women offered to Ares a sacrifice of victory on their own account without the men, and gave to the men no share in the meat of the victim. For this reason Ares got his surname.

[6] πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Τελείου βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον: περισσῶς γὰρ δὴ τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονται μοι χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. καὶ μνήματά ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Τεγεάτου τοῦ Λυκάονος καὶ Μαιράς γυναικὸς τοῦ Τεγεάτου: θυγατέρα Ἄτλαντός φασιν εἶναι τὴν Μαιράν, ἧς δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποιήσατο μνήμην ἐν Ὀδυσσεῶς λόγοις πρὸς Ἀλκίνοον περὶ τε ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Αἶδην καὶ ὁπόσων ἐθεάσατο ἐκεῖ τὰς ψυχάς.

[48.6] There is also an altar of Zeus Teleius (Full-grown), with a square image, a shape of which the Arcadians seem to me to be exceedingly fond. There are also here tombs of Tegeates, the son of Lycaon, and of Maera, the wife of Tegeates. They say that Maera was a daughter of Atlas, and Homer makes mention of her in the passage where Odysseus tells to Alcinous his journey to Hades, and of those whose ghosts he beheld there.

[7] τὴν δὲ Εἰλειθυίαν οἱ Τεγεᾶται — καὶ γὰρ ταύτης ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα — ἐπονομάζουσιν Αὔγην ἐν γόνασι, λέγοντες ὡς Ναυπλῖω παραδοίῃ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἄλεος ἐντειλάμενος ἐπαναγαγόντα αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν καταποντῶσαι: τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤγετο πεσεῖν τε ἐς γόνατα καὶ οὕτω τεκεῖν τὸν παῖδα, ἐνθα τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν. οὗτος ὁ λόγος διάφορος μὲν ἐστὶν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ, λάθρα τὴν Αὔγην τεκεῖν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐκτεθῆναι τὸν Τήλεφον λέγοντι ἐς τὸ ὅρος τὸ Παρθένιον καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκκειμένῳ διδόναι γάλα ἔλαφον: λέγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν ὁ λόγος.

[48.7] The Tegeans surname Eileithyia, a temple of whom, with art image, they have in their market-place, Auge on her knees, saying that Aleus handed over his daughter to Nauplius with the order to take and drown her in the sea. As she was being carried along, they say, she fell on her knees and so gave birth to her son, at the place where is the sanctuary of Eileithyia. This story is different from another, that Auge was brought to bed without her father's

knowing it, and that Telephus was exposed on Mount Parthenius, the abandoned child being suckled by a deer. This account is equally current among the people of Tegea.

[8] πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶ Γῆς βωμός, ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ στήλη: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῆς Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα καὶ ἐπὶ ἐτέρᾳ στήλῃ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἀρκάδος Ἔλατός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος.

[48.8] Close to the sanctuary of Eileithyia is an altar of Earth, next to which is a slab of white marble. On this is carved Polybius, the son of Lycortas, while on another slab is Elatus, one of the sons of Arcas.

49. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς θέατρον τέ ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ βάθρα εἰκόνων χαλκῶν, αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἔτι αἱ εἰκόνες: ἔλεγειον δὲ ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν βάθρων ἐστὶ Φιλοποίμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἶναι. τούτου δὲ Ἕλληνες τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα ἔχουσι μνήμην, γνώμης τε ἔνεκα ἣν παρέσχετο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ὅποσα ἐτόλμησε.

[49.1] XLIX. Not far from the market-place is a theater, and near it are pedestals of bronze statues, but the statues themselves no longer exist. On one pedestal is an elegiac inscription that the statue is that of Philopoemen.

PHILOPOEMEN OF TEGEA, HISTORY

The memory of this Philopoemen is most carefully cherished by the Greeks, both for the wisdom he showed and for his many brave achievements.

[2] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς γένους δόξαν ὁ πατήρ οἱ Κραυγὶς Ἀρκάδων ἐλείπετο οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει: τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κραυγίδος ἐπὶ παιδί ἔτι νηπίῳ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι, ἐπετρόπευσεν αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ Μαντινεὺς Κλέανδρος, φεύγων μὲν ἐκ Μαντινείας καὶ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει μετοικῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκοθεν συμφοράν, ξενίας δὲ ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ πατρικῆς ἐς οἶκον τὸν Κραυγίδος. διδασκάλοις δὲ ὀμιλῆσαι τὸν Φιλοποίμενα καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ Μεγαλοφάνει τε καὶ Ἐκδήλῳ λέγουσι: τοὺς δὲ Ἀρκεσιλάου φασὶν εἶναι Πιταναίου μαθητάς.

[49.2] His father Craugis was as nobly born as any Arcadian of Megalopolis, but he died while Philopoemen was still a baby, and Cleander of Mantinea became his guardian. This man was an exile from Mantinea, resident in Megalopolis because of his misfortunes at home, and his house and that of Craugis had ties of guest-friendship. Among the teachers of Philopoemen, they say, were Megalophanes and Ecdelus, pupils, it is said, of Arcesilaus of Pitane.

[3] μέγεθος μὲν δὴ καὶ σώματος ῥώμην ἀπέδει Πελοποννησίων οὐδενός, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἦν τοῦ προσώπου κακός: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας ὑπερεφρόνησεν ἀσκήσαι, γῆν δὲ ἦν ἐκέκτητο ἐργαζόμενος οὐδὲ τὰ θηρία ἡμέλει τὰ ἄγρια ἐξαίρειν. ἐπιλέγεσθαι δὲ καὶ βιβλία φασὶν αὐτὸν σοφιστῶν τε τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων παρ' Ἑλλήσι καὶ ὅσα ἐς πολέμων μνήμην καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἔχει διδασκαλίαν στρατηγημάτων: καταστήσασθαι δὲ τὸν βίον πάντα ἐθέλων

γνώμης τῆς Ἐπαμινώνδου καὶ ἔργων εἶναι τῶν ἐκείνου μίμησιν, οὐ τὰ πάντα ἦν ἐξισωθῆναι δυνατός: Ἐπαμινώνδα γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ μάλιστα πρῶως εἶχε τὰ ἐς ὀργήν, τῷ δὲ Ἀρκάδι μετῇν γε θυμοῦ.

[49.3] In size and strength of body no Peloponnesian was his superior, but he was ugly of countenance. He scorned training for the prizes of the games, but he worked the land he owned and did not neglect to clear it of wild beasts. They say that he read books of scholars of repute among the Greeks, stories of wars, and all that taught him anything of strategy. He wished to model his whole life on Epaminondas, his wisdom and his achievements, but could not rise to his height in every respect. For the temper of Epaminondas was calm and, in particular, free from anger, but the Arcadian was somewhat passionate.

[4] καταλαβόντος δὲ Κλεομένους Μεγάλην πόλιν, Φιλοποίμην οὔτε τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐξεπλάγη τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὰ δύο μάλιστα μέρη καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀπέσωσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην, συμμάχων σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ εὖνων τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὄντων: καὶ — ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν διαπεφευγόντων οἷς ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο μεταγινώσκειν τε ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι καὶ πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐθέλειν σπένδεσθαι κατιόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν — ἐπεισεν ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς πολίτας ὁ Φιλοποίμην μεθ' ὅπλων τὴν κάθοδον οἴκαδε εὐρίσκεσθαι μηδὲ ἐς ὁμολογίας τε καὶ σπονδὰς ἰέναι.

[49.4] When Megalopolis was captured by Cleomenes, Philopoemen was not dismayed by the unexpected disaster, but led safely to Messene about two-thirds of the men of military age, along with the women and children, the Messenians being at that time friendly allies. To some of those who made good their escape Cleomenes offered terms, saying that he was beginning to repent his crime, and would treat with the Megalopolitans if they returned home; but Philopoemen induced the citizens at a meeting to win a return home by force of arms, and to refuse to negotiate or make a truce.

[5] γενομένης δὲ ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πρὸς Κλεομένην τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἦν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν, σὺν δέ σφισι καὶ Ἀντίγονος ἐμαχέσατο ἄγων ἐκ Μακεδονίας στρατιάν, ἐτέτακτο μὲν τηνικαῦτα ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ τοῦ ἔργου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐώρα ληψόμενον τὴν κρίσιν, ὁπλίτης ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸν λόγου κινδυνεύοντα ἀξίως τῶν τις ἐναντίων δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἔπειρε τῶν μηρῶν.

[49.5] When the battle had joined with the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes at Sellasia, in which Achaeans and Arcadians from all the cities took part, along with Antigonus at the head of a Macedonian army, Philopoemen served with the cavalry. But when he saw that the infantry would be the decisive factor in the engagement, he voluntarily fought on foot, showed conspicuous daring, and was pierced through both thighs by one of the enemy.

[6] ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτο ὅμως πεπεδημένος τά τε γόνατα ἐνέκλινε καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐβιάζετο, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ κινήματος τὸ δόρυ ἔκλασεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ

στρατόπεδον ἀνέστρεψε Φιλοποίμην, ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτοῦ τῶν μηρῶν οἱ ἱατροὶ τῇ μὲν τὸν σαυρωτῆρα ἐξεῖλκον, τῇ δὲ τὴν αἰχμὴν. Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο καὶ εἶδεν αὐτοῦ τὰ τολμήματα, ἐποίητο σπουδὴν ἐπάγεσθαι Φιλοποίμενα ἐς Μακεδονίαν.

[49.6] Although so seriously impeded, he bent in his knees and forced himself forward, so that he actually broke the spear by the movement of his legs. After the defeat of the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes, Philopoemen returned to the camp, where the surgeons pulled out from one thigh the spike, from the other the blade. When Antigonos learned of his valor and saw it, he was anxious to take Philopoemen to Macedonia.

[7] τῷ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου μὲν ὀλίγον μελήσειν ἔμελλε: περαιωσάμενος δὲ νηὶ ἐς Κρήτην — πόλεμος γὰρ κατεῖχεν αὐτὴν ἐμφύλιος — ἐπετέτακτο ἡγεμῶν μισθοφόροις: ἐπανήκων δὲ ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἤρητο ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, καὶ σφᾶς ἀρίστους Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφαιεν ἱππεύειν. Ἀχαιῶν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι συντεταγμένοι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἦσαν περὶ Λάρισον μαχομένων ποταμὸν πρὸς Ἥλειους καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν ἐπικουροῦντας κατὰ συγγένειαν Ἥλείοις, πρῶτα μὲν Δημόφαντον ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἡγεμόνα ὄντα τῆς ἵππου, δεύτερα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἱππικὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ τῶν Ἥλειῶν ἐτρέψατο.

[49.7] But Philopoemen was not likely to care much about Antigonos. Sailing across to Crete, where a civil war was raging, he put himself at the head of a band of mercenaries. Going back to Megalopolis, he was at once chosen by the Achaeans to command the cavalry, and he turned them into the finest cavalry in Greece. In the battle at the river Larisus between the Achaeans with their allies and the Eleans with the Aetolians, who were helping the Eleans on grounds of kinship, Philopoemen first killed with his own hand Demophantus, the leader of the opposing cavalry, and then turned to flight all the mounted troops of Aetolia and Elis.

50. ἅτε δὲ ἤδη τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀφορώντων ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐκείνων ποιουμένων, τοῖς τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ μετέβαλε τῶν ὅπλων τὴν σκευὴν: φοροῦντας γὰρ μικρὰ δοράτια καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερα ὅπλα κατὰ τοὺς Κελτικούς θυρεοὺς ἢ τὰ γέρρα τὰ Περσῶν, ἔπεισε θώρακάς τε ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι κνημίδας, πρὸς δὲ ἀσπίσιν Ἀργολικαῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς δόρασι μεγάλοις.

[50.1] L. As the Achaeans now turned their gaze on Philopoemen and placed in him all their hopes, he succeeded in changing the equipment of those serving in their infantry. They had been carrying short javelins and oblong shields after the fashion of the Celtic “door” or the Persian “wicker” Philopoemen, however, persuaded them to put on breast-plates and greaves, and also to use Argolic shields and long spears.

[2] Μαχανίδου δὲ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἀναφύοντος τυράννου καὶ αὐθις πολέμου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Μαχανίδαν συνεστηκότος, ἡγεῖτο μὲν τοῦ

Ἀχαϊκοῦ Φιλοποίμην: γινομένης δὲ πρὸς Μαντινεῖα μάχης Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἱ ψιλοὶ τοὺς ἀσκεύους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νικῶσι καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο ὁ Μαχανίδας, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι ὁ Φιλοποίμην τῶν πεζῶν τρέπεται τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἀναχωροῦντι ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως Μαχανίδα συντυχὼν ἀποκτίνουσιν αὐτόν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡττηκότες τῇ μάχῃ περιεγεγόνει μείζων ἢ κατὰ τὸ πταῖσμα εὐτυχία, γεγονόσιν ἐλευθέροις ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου.

[50.2] When Machanidas the upstart became despot of Lacedaemon, and war began once again between that city under Machanidas and the Achaeans, Philopoemen commanded the Achaean forces. A battle took place at Mantinea. The light troops of the Lacedaemonians overcame the light-armed of the Achaeans, and Machanidas pressed hard on the fugitives. Philopoemen, however, with the phalanx of infantry put to flight the Lacedaemonian men-at-arms, met Machanidas returning from the pursuit and killed him. The Lacedaemonians were unfortunate in the battle, but their good fortune more than compensated for their defeat, for they were delivered from their despot.

[3] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀγόντων Νέμεια Ἀργείων ἔτυχε μὲν τῶν κιθαρωδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι ὁ Φιλοποίμην παρών: Πυλάδου δὲ Μεγαλοπολίτου μὲν ἀνδρὸς γένος, κιθαρωδοῦ δὲ τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ δοκιμωτάτου καὶ ἀνηρημένου Πυθικὴν νίκην, τότε δὲ ἄδοντος Τιμοθέου νόμον τοῦ Μιλησίου Πέρσας καὶ καταρξαμένου τῆς ᾠδῆς “Κλεινὸν ἐλευθερίας τεύχων μέγαν Ἑλλάδι κόσμον,

“Timotheus, unknown location. ἀπεῖδεν ἐς τὸν Φιλοποίμενα τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἐπεσημήναντο τῷ κρότῳ φέρειν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸ ᾄσμα. τοιοῦτο ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα ἄλλο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυνθάνομαι συμβῆναι: καὶ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐς τιμὴν ἐπανέστη τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θέατρον.

[50.3] Not long afterwards the Argives celebrated the Nemean games, and Philopoemen chanced to be present at the competition of the harpists. Pylades, a man of Megalopolis, the most famous harpist of his time, who had won a Pythian victory, was then singing the Persians, an ode of Timotheus the Milesian. When he had begun the song:

Who to Greece gives the great and glorious jewel of freedom, Timotheus, unknown location.

The audience of Greeks looked at Philopoemen and by their clapping signified that the song applied to him. I am told that a similar thing happened to Themistocles at Olympia, for the audience there rose to do him honor.

[4] Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ὃς καὶ Ἄρατον φαρμάκῳ τὸν Σικυώνιον ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀπέστειλεν ἄνδρας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν φονεῦσαι σφισι Φιλοποίμενα ἐντειλάμενος: ἁμαρτῶν δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐμισήθη πᾶσαν.

Θηβαῖοι δὲ κεκρατηκότες μάχῃ Μεγαρέας καὶ ἤδη τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ τείχους ἐπιβαίνοντες, ἀπάτη τῶν Μεγαρέων μετελθόντων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἦκοι Φιλοποίμην

σφίσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἐς τοσοῦτο εὐλαβείας προῆλθον ὥς οἴκαδε ἀποχωρῆσαι καταλιπόντες ἄπρακτον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἔργον.

[50.4] But Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, who poisoned Aratus of Sicyon, sent men to Megalopolis with orders to murder Philopoemen. The attempt failed, and Philip incurred the hatred of all Greece. The Thebans had defeated the Megarians in battle, and were already climbing the wall of Megara, when the Megarians deceived them into thinking that Philopoemen had come to Megara. This made the Thebans so cautious that they went away home, and abandoned their military operation.

[5] ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι αὖθις ἐπανεῖστη τύραννος Νάβις, ὃς Πελοποννησίων πρώτοις ἐπέθετο Μεσσηνίοις: ἐπελθὼν δὲ σφίσιν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ οὐδαμῶς τὴν ἔφοδον ἐλπίζουσιν εἴλε μὲν πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὸ ἄστυ, ἀφικομένον δὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν στρατιᾷ Φιλοποίμενος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπόσπονδος ἐκ Μεσσήνης.

[50.5] In Lacedaemon another despot arose, Nabis, and the first of the Peloponnesians to be attacked by him were the Messenians. Coming upon them by night, when they by no means were expecting an assault, he took the city except the citadel; but when on the morrow Philopoemen arrived with an army, he evacuated Messene under a truce.

[6] Φιλοποίμην δέ, ὥς ἐξῆκέν οἱ στρατηγοῦντι ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦρηντο, αὖθις ἐς Κρήτην διέβη καὶ ἐπεκούρησε Γορτυνίοις πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις. ποιουμένων δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τῶν Ἀρκάδων αὐτόν, ἐπάνεισί τε ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον κατελάμβανεν ἐπανηρημένους πρὸς Νάβιν.

[50.6] When Philopoemen's term of office as general expired, and others were chosen to be generals of the Achaeans, he again crossed to Crete and sided with the Gortynians, who were hard pressed in war. The Arcadians were wroth with him for his absence; so he returned from Crete and found that the Romans had begun a war against Nabis.

[7] παρεσκευασμένων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβιν ναυτικὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Φιλοποίμην ὑπὸ προθυμίας μεθέξειν ἔμελλε τοῦ ἀγῶνος: ἅτε δὲ ἐς ἅπαν ἀπείρως θαλάσσης ἔχων τριήρους ἔλαθεν ἐπιβάς ρεύουσης, ὥστε καὶ ἐσῆλθε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸ ἄλλο συμμαχικὸν μνήμη τῶν ἐπῶν ὧν ἐν καταλόγῳ πεποίηκεν Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρκάδων ἀμαθίᾳ τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν.

[50.7] The Romans had equipped a fleet against Nabis, and Philopoemen was too enthusiastic to keep out of the quarrel. But being entirely ignorant of nautical affairs he unwittingly embarked on a leaky trireme, so that the Romans and their allies were reminded of the verses of Homer, where in the Catalogue he remarks on the ignorance of the Arcadians of nautical matters.

[8] ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον τῆς ναυμαχίας οὐ πολλαῖς Φιλοποίμην καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ λόχος φυλάξαντες νύκτα ἀσέληνον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεμπιπρᾶσιν ἐν Γυθίῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἀπέλαβεν ἐν δυσχωρίαις Νάβις

Φιλοποίμενά τε αὐτὸν καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν: ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλως μὲν ἀγαθοὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον, ἀριθμὸν δὲ οὐ πολλοί.

[50.8] A few days after the sea-fight, Philopoemen and his band, waiting for a moonless night, burnt down the camp of the Lacedaemonians at Gythium. Thereupon Nabis caught Philopoemen himself and the Arcadians with him in a disadvantageous position. The Arcadians, though few in number, were good soldiers,

[9] Φιλοποίμην δὲ τὴν τάξιν, ἣν τεταγμένους ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω, ταύτην ὑπαλλάξας τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχυρὰ τῶν χωρίων πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐποίησεν εἶναι: κρατήσας δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Νάβιν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καταφονεύσας πολλοὺς, δόξης ἔτι ἐς πλεον παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἦρθη.

[50.9] and Philopoemen, by changing the order of his line of retreat, caused the strongest positions to be to his advantage and not to that of his enemy. He overcame Nabis in the battle and massacred during the night many of the Lacedaemonians, so raising yet higher his reputation among the Greeks.

[10] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Νάβις μὲν ἐς εἰρημένον χρόνον σπονδὰς παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὐράμενος τελευτᾷ, πρὶν ἢ οἱ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἐξήκειν, ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Καλυδωνίου κατὰ δὴ συμμαχίας πρόφασιν ἤκοντος, πολεμίου δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐσταλμένου τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν.

[50.10] After this Nabis secured from the Romans a truce for a fixed period, but died before this period came to an end, being assassinated by a man of Calydon, who pretended that he had come about an alliance, but was in reality an enemy who had been sent for this very purpose of assassination by the Aetolians.

51. Φιλοποίμην δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν ἐσπεσὼν τοῦτον ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην ἠνάγκασεν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν Λακεδαιμονίους συντελέσαι. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Τίτος μὲν Ῥωμαίων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡγεμὼν καὶ Διοφάνης ὁ Διαίου Μεγαλοπολίτης, ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡρημένος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐπενεγκόντες αἰτίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις βουλευεῖν σφᾶς νεώτερα ἐς Ῥωμαίους: Φιλοποίμην δέ, καίπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἰδιώτης ὢν, ἀπέκλεισαν ὅμως ἐπιούσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς πύλας.

[51.1] LI. At this time Philopoemen flung himself into Sparta and forced her to join the Achaean League. Shortly afterwards Titus, the Roman commander in Greece, and Diophanes, the son of Diaeus, a Megalopolitan who had been elected general of the Achaeans, attacked Lacedaemon, accusing the Lacedaemonians of rebellion against the Romans. But Philopoemen, though at the time holding no office, shut the gates against them.

[2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τούτων τε ἔνεκα καὶ ὧν ἐς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τυράννους ἐτόλμησεν, ἐδίδοσαν οἶκον αὐτῷ τὸν Νάβιδος ἐς πλεον ἢ τάλαντα ἑκατόν: ὁ δὲ ὑπερεφρόνησέ τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκέλευε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους θεραπεύειν δόσεσιν ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πιθανοὺς τῷ

πλήθει, ταῦτα δὲ ἐς Τιμόλαον αὐτῷ λέγουσιν ὑποσημαίνεσθαι. ἀπεδείχθη δὲ καὶ αὖθις Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγῆσαι.

[51.2] For this reason, and because of his courage shown against both the despots, the Lacedaemonians offered him the house of Nabis, worth more than a hundred talents. But he scorned the wealth, and bade the Lacedaemonians court with gifts, not himself, but those who could persuade the many in the meeting of the Achaeans — a suggestion, it is said, directed against Timolaus. He was again appointed general of the Achaeans.

[3] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἐς ἔμφυλον προηγμένων στάσιν, τριακοσίους μὲν τῆς στάσεως μάλιστα αἰτίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων τε ἀπέδοτο ὅσον τρισχιλίους, τεῖχῃ δὲ περιεῖλε τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις προεῖπε μὴ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων τῶν Λυκούργου μελετᾶν, ἐφήβοις δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ ταῦτα ἀσκεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὕστερον ἀποδώσειν ἔμελλον Ῥωμαῖοι παιδείαν τὴν ἐπιχόριον:

[51.3] At this time the Lacedaemonians were involved in civil war, and Philopoemen expelled from the Peloponnesus three hundred who were chiefly responsible for the civil war, sold some three thousand Helots, razed the walls of Sparta, and forbade the youths to train in the manner laid down by the laws of Lycurgus, ordering them to follow the training of the Achaean youths. The Romans, in course of time, were to restore to the Lacedaemonians the discipline of their native land.

[4] Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἀπόγονον Σελεύκου τοῦ ὀνομασθέντος Νικάτορος καὶ Σύρων τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν Μανίου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Θερμοπύλαις νικησάντων καὶ Ἀρισταίνου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου παραινοῦντος ἐπαινεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρέσκοντα ἐπὶ παντὶ μηδὲ ἀνθίστασθαι σφισιν ὑπὲρ μηδενός, ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀπεῖδεν ἐς τὸν Ἀρίσταινον σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ αὐτὸν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔφη τὴν πεπρωμένην ἐπιταχύνειν: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας Μανίου καταδέξασθαι θέλοντος τῷ μὲν ἀντέπραξεν ἐς τὸ βούλευμα, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπελθόντος τότε ἤδη κατελθεῖν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐφήσιν ἐς Σπάρτην.

[51.4] When the Romans under Manius defeated at Thermopylae Antiochus the descendant of Seleucus, named Nicator, and the Syrian army with him, Aristaenus of Megalopolis advised the Achaeans to approve the wishes of the Romans in all respects, and to oppose them in nothing. Philopoemen looked angrily at Aristaenus, and said that he was hastening on the doom of Greece. Manius wished the Lacedaemonian exiles to return, but Philopoemen opposed his plan, and only when Manius had gone away did he allow the exiles to be restored.

[5] ἔμελλε δ' ἄρα ὑπεροψίας δίκη περιήξειν καὶ Φιλοποίμενα. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄγδοον ἀπεδείχθη τότε ἡγεμών, ἀνδρὶ οὐ τῶν ἀδόξων ὠνείδισεν ἁλῶναι ζῶντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν: καὶ — ἣν γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Μεσσηνίους Ἀχαιοῖς ἔγκλημα — Λυκόρταν σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀποστέλλει δηώσοντα τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς δὲ τρίτῃ μάλιστα

ὑστερον ἡμέρα, πυρετῷ τε ἐχόμενος πολλῷ καὶ πρόσω βεβιωκῶς ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν, ὅμως ἠπείγετο μετασχεῖν Λυκόρτα τοῦ ἔργου: ἱππέας δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς ἦγεν ὅσον ἐξήκοντα.

[51.5] But, nevertheless, Philopoemen too was to be punished for his pride. After being appointed commander of the Achaeans for the eighth time, he reproached a man of no little distinction for having been captured alive by the enemy. Now at this time the Achaeans had a grievance against the Messenians, and Philopoemen, despatching Lycortas with the army to lay waste the land of the Messenians, was very anxious two or three days later, in spite of his seventy years and a severe attack of fever, to take his share in the expedition of Lycortas. He led about sixty horsemen and targeteers.

[6] Λυκόρτας μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἀνέστρεφον ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὔτε ἐργασάμενοι μέγα Μεσσηνίους οὐδὲν οὔτε αὐτοὶ παθόντες: Φιλοποίμενα δὲ — ἐβλήθη γὰρ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀπέπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου — ζῶντα ἐς Μεσσήνην ἄγουσιν αὐτόν. συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς ἐκκλησίαν, διάφοροι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ οὐ πάντων κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνοντο αἰ γνῶμαι:

[51.6] Lycortas, however, and his army were already on their way back to their country, having neither suffered great harm nor inflicted it on the Messenians. Philopoemen, wounded in the head during the battle, fell from his horse and was taken alive to Messene. A meeting of the assembly was immediately held, at which the most widely divergent opinions were expressed.

[7] Δεινοκράτης μὲν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἦσαν δυνατοὶ χρήμασι, παρεκελεύοντο ἀποκτεῖναι Φιλοποίμενα: οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου περιποιῆσαι τὰ μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδὴν, πλεον τι ἢ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πατέρα ὀνομάζοντες. Δεινοκράτης δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων Μεσσηνίων ἔμελλεν τε ἄρα Φιλοποίμενα ἀναιρήσειν ἐσπέμψας φάρμακον.

[51.7] Deinocrates, and all the Messenians whose wealth made them influential, urged that Philopoemen should be put to death; but the popular party were keen on saving his life, calling him Father, and more than Father, of all the Greek people. But Deinocrates, after all, and in spite of Messenian opposition, was to bring about the death of Philopoemen, for he sent poison in to him.

[8] Λυκόρτας δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀθροίσας ἔκ τε Ἀρκαδίας καὶ παρ' Ἀχαιῶν δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνῃ: καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτίκα ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, καὶ οἱ Φιλοποίμενι αἰτίαν θανάτου παρασχόντες ἀλόντες πλὴν Δεινοκράτους ὑπέσχον τιμωρίαν οἱ ἄλλοι, Δεινοκράτης δὲ ἀφίησιν αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν. κατάγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος τὰ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

[51.8] Shortly afterwards Lycortas gathered a force from Arcadia and Achaia and marched against Messene. The Messenian populace at once went over to the side of the Arcadians, and those responsible for the death of Philopoemen

were caught and punished, all except Deinocrates, who perished by his own hand. The Arcadians also brought back to Megalopolis the bones of Philopoemen.

52. καὶ ἤδη τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν φορὰν ἔληξεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. Μιλτιάδης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κίμωνος τοὺς τε ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάοντας τῶν βαρβάρων κρατήσας μάχῃ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Μήδων ἐπισχὼν στόλον ἐγένετο εὐεργέτης πρῶτος κοινῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Φιλοποίμην δὲ ὁ Κραυγίδος ἔσχατος· οἱ δὲ πρότερον Μιλτιάδου λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι, Κόδρος τε ὁ Μελάνθου καὶ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης Πολύδωρος καὶ Ἀριστομένης ὁ Μεσσήνιος καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος, πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄθροαν φανοῦνται τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὠφελήσαντες.

[52.1] LII. After this Greece ceased to bear good men. For Miltiades, the son of Cimon, overcame in battle the foreign invaders who had landed at Marathon, stayed the advance of the Persian army, and so became the first benefactor of all Greece, just as Philopoemen, the son of Craugis, was the last. Those who before Miltiades accomplished brilliant deeds, Codrus, the son of Melanthus, Polydorus the Spartan, Aristomenes the Messenian, and all the rest, will be seen to have helped each his own country and not Greece as a whole.

[2] Μιλτιάδου δὲ ὕστερον Λεωνίδας ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους ἀπώσαντο ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ξέρξην, ὁ μὲν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ἀμφοτέραις, Λεωνίδας δὲ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις. Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν Λυσιμάχου καὶ Πανσανίαν τὸν Κλεομβρότου Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγήσαμένους, τὸν μὲν τὰ ὕστερον ἀφείλετο ἀδικήματα εὐεργέτην μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Ἀριστείδην δὲ ὅτι ἔταξε φόρους τοῖς τὰς νήσους ἔχουσιν Ἕλλησι· πρὸ Ἀριστείδου δὲ ἦν ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀτελεὲς φόρων.

[52.2] Later than Miltiades, Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrides, and Themistocles, the son of Neocles, repulsed Xerxes from Greece, Themistocles by the two sea-fights, Leonidas by the action at Thermopylae. But Aristides the son of Lysimachus, and Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, commanders at Plataea, were debarred from being called benefactors of Greece, Pausanias by his subsequent sins, Aristides by his imposition of tribute on the island Greeks; for before Aristides all the Greeks were immune from tribute.

[3] Ξάνθιππος δὲ ὁ Αῤῖφρωνος καὶ Κίμων, ὁ μὲν ὁμοῦ Λεωτυχίδῃ τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὸ Μήδων ναυτικὸν ἔφθειρεν ἐν Μυκάλῃ, Κίμωνι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄξια ζήλου κατειργασμένα ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τοὺς εὐδοκμήσαντας, φαίη τις ἂν αὐτόχειρας καὶ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα καταποντιστὰς εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

[52.3] Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, with Leotychidaes the king of Sparta destroyed the Persian fleet at Mycale, and with Cimon accomplished many enviable achievements on behalf of the Greeks. But those who took part in the Peloponnesian war against Athens, especially the most distinguished of them,

might be said to be murderers, almost wreckers, of Greece.

[4] κεκακωμένον δὲ ἤδη τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Κόνων ὁ Τιμοθέου καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ἀνεκτήσατο ὁ Πολύμνιδος, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νήσων καὶ ὅσα ἐγγυτάτω θαλάσσης, Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Λακεδαιμονίων τὰς φρουρὰς καὶ ἄρμοστὰς ἐκβαλόντες καὶ δεκαδαρχίας καταπαύσαντες: Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ καὶ πόλεσιν οὐκ ἀφανέσι, Μεσσήνη καὶ Μεγάλῃ πόλει τῇ Ἀρκάδων, λογιμωτέραν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐποίησεν.

[52.4] When the Greek nation was reduced to a miserable condition, it recovered under the efforts of Conon, the son of Timotheus, and of Epaminondas, the son of Polymnis, who drove out the Lacedaemonian garrisons and governors, and put down the boards of ten, Conon from the islands and coasts, Epaminondas from the cities of the interior. By founding cities too, of no small fame, Messene and Arcadian Megalopolis, Epaminondas made Greece more famous.

[5] εἶναι δὲ ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Λεωσθένην τίθεμαι καὶ Ἄρατον εὐεργέτας: ὁ μὲν γε τὸ Ἑλλήνων μισθοφορικὸν τὸ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις περὶ πέντε πού μυριάδας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβάντας ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνέσωσε καὶ ἄκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου: τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἄρατον ἐδήλωσε δὴ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Σικυωνίους.

[52.5] I reckon Leosthenes also and Aratus benefactors of all the Greeks. Leosthenes, in spite of Alexander's opposition, brought back safe by sea to Greece the force of Greek mercenaries in Persia, about fifty thousand in number, who had descended to the coast. As for Aratus, I have related his exploits in my history of Sicyon.

[6] τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι τὸ ἐν Τεγέᾳ: "τοῦδ' ἀρετὰ καὶ δόξα καθ' Ἑλλάδα, πολλὰ μὲν ἀλκαῖς,

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ βουλαῖς ἔργα πονησαμένου,

Ἀρκάδος αἰχμητᾶ Φιλοποίμενος, ὃ μέγα κῦδος

ἔσπετ' ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ δούρατος ἀγεμόνι.

μανύει δὲ τρόπαια τετυγμένα διςσὰ τυράννων

Σπάρτας: αὐξομένην δ' ἄρατο δουλοσύναν.

ὣν ἔνεκεν Τεγέα μεγαλόφρονα Κραύγιδος υἱόν

στᾶσεν, ἀμωμήτου κράντορ' ἐλευθερίας.

“

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα:

[52.6] The inscription on the statue of Philopoemen at Tegea runs thus: —

The valor and glory of this man are famed throughout Greece, who worked Many achievements by might and many by his counsels,

Philopoemen, the Arcadian spearman, whom great renown attended,
When he commanded the lances in war.
Witness are two trophies, won from the despots
Of Sparta; the swelling flood of slavery he stayed.
Wherefore did Tegea set up in stone the great-hearted son of Craugis,
Author of blameless freedom.

53. τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῷ Ἀγνιεῖ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αἰτία φασὶν
ιδρύσασθαι τοιαῦδε. Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν λέγουσι χώραν
τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι Λητοῦς, ἡνίκα εἶχεν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ,
πλανωμένης καὶ ἀφικομένης ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οὐδένα ἐποίησαντο αὐτῆς
λόγον.

[53.1] LIII. Such is the inscription at Tegea on Philopoemen. The images of
Apollo, Lord of Streets, the Tegeans say they set up for the following reason.
Apollo and Artemis, they say, throughout every land visited with punishment
all the men of that time who, when Leto was with child and in the course of
her wanderings, took no heed of her when she came to their land.

[2] ὥς δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐς τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐληλυθέναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐνταῦθα υἱὸν
Τεγεάτου Σκέφρον προσελθόντα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς
αὐτόν: Λειμῶν δὲ — ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Λειμῶν οὗτος Τεγεάτου τῶν παίδων —
ὑπονοήσας ἔγκλημα ἔχειν ἐς ἑαυτὸν τὰ ὑπὸ Σκέφρου λεγόμενα, ἀποκτίνουσιν
ἐπιδραμῶν τὸν ἀδελφόν.

[53.2] So when the divinities came to the land of Tegea, Scephrus, they say, the
son of Tegeates, came to Apollo and had a private conversation with him. And
Leimon, who also was a son of Tegeates, suspecting that the conversation of
Scephrus contained a charge against him, rushed on his brother and killed
him.

[3] καὶ Λειμῶνα μὲν τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος περιῆλθεν αὐτίκα ἢ δίκη τοῦ
φόνου: Τεγεάτης δὲ καὶ Μαιρὰ τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι
θύουσιν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης ἀκαρπίας ἰσχυρᾶς ἦλθε μάντευμα ἐκ
Δελφῶν Σκέφρον θρηνεῖν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τοῦ Ἀγνιέως τῇ ἐορτῇ δρῶσιν ἐς
τιμὴν τοῦ Σκέφρου καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρεια διώκει τινὰ ἅτε αὐτὴ τὸν
Λειμῶνα ἢ Ἄρτεμις.

[53.3] Immediate punishment for the murder overtook Leimon, for he was shot by Artemis. At the time Tegeates and Maera sacrificed to Apollo and Artemis, but afterwards a severe famine fell on the land, and an oracle of Delphi ordered a mourning for Scephrus. At the feast of the Lord of Streets rites are performed in honor of Scephrus, and in particular the priestess of Artemis pursues a man, pretending she is Artemis herself pursuing Leimon.

[4] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Τεγεάτου τῶν παίδων ἐλείποντο, μετοικῆσαι σφᾶς ἐκουσίως ἐς Κρήτην, Κύδωνα καὶ Ἀρχήδιον καὶ Γόρτυνα: καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι τὰς πόλεις Κυδωνίαν καὶ Γόρτυν τε καὶ Κατρέα. Κρήτες δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ Τεγεατῶν λόγῳ Κύδωνα μὲν Ἀκακαλλίδος θυγατρὸς Μίνω καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, Κατρέα δὲ φασὶν εἶναι Μίνω, τὸν δὲ Γόρτυνα Ῥαδαμάνθυος.

[53.4] It is also said that all the surviving sons of Tegeates, namely, Cydon, Archedius and Gortys, migrated of their own free will to Crete, and that after them were named the cities Cydonia, Gortyna and Catreus. The Cretans dissent from the account of the Tegeans, saying that Cydon was a son of Hermes and of Acacallis, daughter of Minos, that Catreus was a son of Minos, and Gortys a son of Rhadamanthys.

[5] ἐς δὲ αὐτὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν Ὀμήρου μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Πρωτέως πρὸς Μενέλαον λόγοις ὡς ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἥξει Μενέλαος τὸ Ἥλύσιον, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Ῥαδάμανθυν ἐνταῦθα ἤκειν: Κιναίθων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ῥαδάμανθυσ μὲν Ἥφαιστου, Ἥφαιστος δὲ εἴη Τάλω, Τάλων δὲ εἶναι Κρητὸς παῖδα. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τὰ πλεονα καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς γένεσιν εἰσι:

[53.5] As to Rhadamanthys himself, Homer says, in the talk of Proteus with Menelaus, that Menelaus would go to the Elysian plain, but that Rhadamanthys was already arrived there. Cinaethon too in his poem represents Rhadamanthys as the son of Hephaestus, Hephaestus as a son of Talos, and Talos as a son of Cres. The legends of Greece generally have different forms, and this is particularly true of genealogy.

[6] Τεγεάταις δὲ τοῦ Ἀγνιέως τὰ ἀγάλματα τέσσαρά εἰσιν ἀριθμόν, ὑπὸ φυλῆς ἐν ἐκάστης ἰδρυμένον. ὀνόματα δὲ αἱ φυλαὶ παρέχονται Κλαρεώτις Ἱπποθοῖτις Ἀπολλωνιάτις Ἀθανεάτις: καλοῦνται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου ὃν τοῖς παισὶν Ἀρκὰς ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀπὸ Ἱππόθου τοῦ Κερκυόνος.

[53.6] At Tegea the images of the Lord of Streets are four in number, one set up by each of the tribes. The names given to the tribes are Clareotis, Hippothoetis, Apolloniatis, and Athaneatis; they are called after the lots cast by Arcas to divide the land among his sons, and after Hippothous, the son of Cercyon.

[7] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐν Τεγέα καὶ Κόρης ναός, ἃς ἐπονομάζουσι Καρποφόρους, πλησίον δὲ Ἀφροδίτης καλουμένης Παφίας: ἰδρύσατο αὐτὴν

Λαοδίκη, γεγονυῖα μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον ἐδήλωσα, ἀπὸ Ἀγαπήνορος ὃς ἐς Τροίαν ἡγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν, οἰκοῦσα δὲ ἐν Πάφῳ. τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω Διονύσου τε ἱερὰ δύο καὶ Κόρης βωμὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον:

[53.7] There is also at Tegea a temple of Demeter and the Maid, whom they surname the Fruit-bringers, and hard by is one of Aphrodite called Paphian. The latter was built by Laodice, who was descended, as I have already said, from Agapenor, who led the Arcadians to Troy, and it was in Paphos that she dwelt. Not far from it are two sanctuaries of Dionysus, an altar of the Maid, and a temple of Apollo with a gilded image.

[8] Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐποίησε, Κρής μὲν γένος, ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν διδάξαντα οὐκ ἴσμεν: ἡ δὲ δίαίτα ἡ ἐν Κνωσσῷ Δαιδάλῳ παρὰ Μίνῳ συμβᾶσα ἐπὶ μακρότερον δόξαν τοῖς Κρησι καὶ ἐπὶ ξοράνων ποιήσει παρεσκεύασε. παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἔστηκε λίθου πεποιημένως.

[53.8] The artist was Cheirisophus; he was a Cretan by race, but his date and teacher we do not know. The residence of Daedalus with Minos at Cnossus secured for the Cretans a reputation for the making of wooden images also, which lasted for a long period. By the Apollo stands Cheirisophus in stone.

[9] καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ ἐστὶαν Ἀρκάδων κοινήν: ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, πεποῖηται δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ τραῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἣν πρώτην Ἴπποκόωντος τοῖς παισὶν ἐμαχέσατο. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ Τεγεάταις εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, καλεῖται μὲν Διὸς Κλαρίου, δηλα δὲ ὥς ἐγένετο ἡ ἐπὶ κλησὶς τῷ θεῷ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν παίδων ἔνεκα τῶν Ἀρκάδος.

[53.9] The Tegeans also have what they call a Common Hearth of the Arcadians. Here there is an image of Heracles, and on his thigh is represented a wound received in the first fight with the sons of Hippocoon. The lofty place, on which are most of the altars of the Tegeans, is called the place of Zeus Clarius (Of Lots), and it is plain that the god got his surname from the lots cast for the sons of Arcas. Here the Tegeans celebrate a feast every year.

[10] ἄγουσι δὲ ἐορτὴν αὐτόθι Τεγεᾶται κατὰ ἔτος: καὶ σφισιν ἐπιστρατεῦσαι Λακεδαιμονίους ποτὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐορτῆς λέγουσι, καὶ — νείφειν γὰρ τὸν θεόν — τοὺς μὲν ῥιγοῦν καὶ ὄντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κάμνουν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνων κρύφα πῦρ καῦσαι, καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἠνωχλοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ, τὰ ὅπλα ἐνδύντες ἐξελθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ σχεῖν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ πλεον φασίν. ἔθεασάμην δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Τεγέᾳ τοσάδε, Ἀλέου οἰκίαν καὶ Ἐχέμου μνημα καὶ ἐπειργασμένην ἐς στήλην τὴν Ἐχέμου πρὸς Ὑλλον μάχην.

[53.10] It is said that once at the time of the feast they were invaded by the Lacedaemonians. As it was snowing, these were chilled, and thus distressed by their armour, but the Tegeans, without their enemies knowing it, lighted a fire. So untroubled by the cold they donned, they say, their armour, went out against the Lacedaemonians, and had the better of the engagement. I also saw

in Tegea:— the house of Aleus, the tomb of Echemus, and the fight between Echemus and Hyllus carved in relief upon a slab.

ROAD TO LACONIA

[11] ἐκ Τεγέας δὲ ἰόντι ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἔστι μὲν βωμὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Πανός, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Λυκαίου Διός· λείπεται δὲ καὶ θεμέλια ἱερῶν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ εἰσιν οἱ βωμοὶ σταδίοις δύο ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους, προελθόντι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μάλιστα που σταδίους ἐπτὰ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Λιμνάτιδος καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐβένου ξύλου· τρόπος δὲ τῆς ἐργασίας ὁ Αἰγίναϊος καλούμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. τούτου δὲ ὅσον δέκα ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις Ἀρτέμιδος Κνακεάτιδος ἔστι ναοῦ τὰ ἐρείπια.

[53.11] On the left of the road as you go from Tegea to Laconia there is an altar of Pan, and likewise one of Lycaean Zeus. The foundations, too, of sanctuaries are still there. These altars are two stades from the wall; and about seven stades farther on is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Lady of the Lake, with an image of ebony. The fashion of the workmanship is what the Greeks call Aeginetan. Some ten stades farther on are the ruins of a temple of Artemis Cnaceatis.

RIVER ALPHEIUS

54. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ καὶ Τεγεαταῖς ὄροι τῆς γῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ἔστιν ὁ Ἀλφειός. τούτου τὸ ὕδωρ ἄρχεται μὲν ἐν Φυλάκῃ, κάτεισι δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς πηγῆς καὶ ἄλλο ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πηγῶν μεγέθει μὲν οὐ μεγάλων, πλεόνων δὲ ἀριθμόν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ χωρίῳ Σύμβολα γέγονεν ὄνομα.

[54.1] LIV. The boundary between the territories of Lacedaemon and Tegea is the river Alpheiis. Its water begins in Phylace, and not far from its source there flows down into it another water from springs that are not large, but many in number, whence the place has received the name Symbola (Meetings).

[2] φαίνεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλφειὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς φύσιν τινὰ ἰδίαν παρεχόμενος τοιάνδε· ἀφανίζεσθαι τε γὰρ κατὰ γῆς ἐθέλει πολλάκις καὶ αὖθις ἀναφαίνεσθαι. προελθὼν μὲν γε ἐκ Φυλάκης καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Συμβόλων ἐς τὸ πεδίον κατέδυν τὸ Τεγεατικόν· ἀνατείλας δὲ ἐν Ἀσέα καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα ἀναμίξας τῷ Εὐρώτῃ τὸ δεύτερον ἤδη κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν γῆν·

[54.2] It is known that the Alpheiis differs from other rivers in exhibiting this natural peculiarity; it often disappears beneath the earth to reappear again. So flowing on from Phylace and the place called Symbola it sinks into the Tegean plain; rising at Asea, and mingling its stream with the Eurotas, it sinks again into the earth.

[3] ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἔνθα Πηγὰς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ παρὰ γῆν τε τὴν Πισαίαν καὶ παρὰ Ὀλυμπίαν ἐξελθὼν, ἐκδίδωσιν ὑπὲρ Κυλλήνης ἐπινείου τοῦ Ἥλειον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα μὴδὲ Ἀδρίας ἐπισχῆσιν αὐτὸν τοῦ

πρόσω: διανηξάμενος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, μέγα οὕτω καὶ βίαιον πέλαγος, ἐν Ὀρτυγίᾳ τῇ πρὸ Συρακουσῶν ἐπιδείκνυσιν Ἀλφειὸς τε ὦν καὶ πρὸς Ἀρέθουσαν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνακοινοῦμενος.

[54.3] Coming up at the place called by the Arcadians Pegae (Springs), and flowing past the land of Pisa and past Olympia, it falls into the sea above Cyllene, the port of Elis. Not even the Adriatic could check its flowing onwards, but passing through it, so large and stormy a sea, it shows in Ortygia, before Syracuse, that it is the Alpheius, and unites its water with Arethusa.

RIVER GARATES

[4] ἡ δὲ εὐθεΐα ἡ ἐπὶ Θυρέαν τε καὶ κώμας τὰς ἐν τῇ Θυρεάτιδι ἐκ Τεγέας παρείχετο ἐς συγγραφὴν Ὀρέστου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος μνημα, καὶ ὑφελέσθαι Σπαρτιάτην τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτόθεν οἱ Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι: καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκέτι πυχλὸν ἐντὸς ἐγένετο ὁ τάφος. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Γαράτης ποταμὸς κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν: διαβάντι δὲ τὸν Γαράτην καὶ προελθόντι σταδίους δέκα Πανὸς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ δρυς, ἱερὰ καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Πανός.

[54.4] The straight road from Tegea to Thyrea and to the villages its territory contains can show a notable sight in the tomb of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon; from here, say the Tegeans, a Spartan stole his bones. In our time the grave is no longer within the gates. By the road flows also the river Garates. Crossing the Garates and advancing ten stades you come to a sanctuary of Pan, by which is an oak, like the sanctuary sacred to Pan.

ROAD TO ARGOS

[5] ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐκ Τεγέας ὁχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καὶ τὰ μάλιστ' ἐστὶ λεωφόρος. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρῶτα μὲν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀσκληπιοῦ: μετὰ δὲ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς ἀριστερὰ ὅσον στάδιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν Πυθίου καταλελυμένον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐρείπια ἐς ἅπαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐθεΐαν αἱ τε δρυς εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐν τῷ ἄλλει τῶν δρυῶν ναὸς ἐν Κορυθεῦσι καλουμένης: πλησίον δὲ ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διονύσου Μύστου.

[54.5] The road from Tegea to Argos is very well suited for carriages, in fact a first-rate highway. On the road come first a temple and image of Asclepius. Next, turning aside to the left for about a stade, you see a dilapidated sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Pythian which is utterly in ruins. Along the straight road there are many oaks, and in the grove of oaks is a temple of Demeter called "in Corythenses." Hard by is another sanctuary, that of Mystic Dionysus.

MT PARTHENIUS

[6] τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἄρχεται τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τέμενος δείκνυται Τηλέφου, καὶ ἐνταῦθα παῖδα ἐκκείμενόν φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἐλάφου τραφῆναι. ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Πανός ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἔνθα Φιλιππίδη φανῆναι τὸν

Πᾶνα καὶ εἰπεῖν ᾧ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ Τεγεᾶται λέγουσι:

[54.6] At this point begins Mount Parthenius. On it is shown a sacred enclosure of Telephus, where it is said that he was exposed when a child and was suckled by a deer. A little farther on is a sanctuary of Pan, where Athenians and Tegeans agree that he appeared to Philippides and conversed with him.

[7] παρέχεται δὲ τὸ Παρθένιον καὶ ἐς λύρας ποίησιν χελώνας ἐπιτηδειστάτας, ἃς οἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἄνθρωποι καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνειν δεδοίκασιν ἀεὶ καὶ ξένους οὐ περιορῶσιν αἰροῦντας· ἱερὰς γὰρ σφᾶς εἶναι τοῦ Πανὸς ἡγνεται. ὑπερβαλόντι δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἤδη γεωργουμένοις Τεγεατῶν ὄρος καὶ Ἀργείων κατὰ Ὑσιὰς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι.

αἶδε μὲν Πελοποννήσου μοῖραι καὶ πόλεις τε ἐν ταῖς μοίραις καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τὰ ἀξιολογώτατά ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην.

[54.7] Mount Parthenius rears also tortoises most suitable for the making of harps; but the men on the mountain are always afraid to capture them, and will not allow strangers to do so either, thinking them to be sacred to Pan. Crossing the peak of the mountain you are within the cultivated area, and reach the boundary between Tegea and Argos; it is near Hysiae in Argolis.

These are the divisions of the Peloponnesus, the cities in the divisions, and the most noteworthy things in each city.

BOOK IX.

Βοιωτικά

BOOK IX.

PLATAEA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἡ Βοιωτία καὶ κατὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστὶν ὁμορος, πρὸς δὲ Ἐλευθερῶν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἔθνος ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν, ὃν Ἰτώνου παῖδα καὶ νύμφης δὴ Μελανίπης, Ἰτώνον δὲ Ἀμφικτύονος εἶναι λέγουσι: καλοῦνται δὲ κατὰ πόλεις ἀπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ πλείω γυναικῶν. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιεῖς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἶσιν αὐτόχθονες: ὄνομα δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ Πλαταίας, ἣν θυγατέρα εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ νομίζουσιν.

[1.1] I. Boeotia borders on Attica at several places, one of which is where Plataea touches Eleutherae. The Boeotians as a race got their name from Boeotus, who, legend says, was the son of Itonus and the nymph Melanippe, and Itonus was the son of Amphictyon. The cities are called in some cases after men, but in most after women. The Plataeans were originally, in my opinion, sprung from the soil; their name comes from Plataea, whom they consider to be a daughter of the river Asopus.

[2] ὅτι μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο, δηλὰ ἐστὶ: βασιλεῖαι γὰρ πανταχοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐ δημοκρατίαι πάλαι καθεστήκησαν. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἴσασι, μόνον δὲ Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Κιθαιρῶνα: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι τῷ ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα, τὸν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι. δοκῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Πλάταιαν, ἀφ' ἧς κέκληται καὶ ἡ πόλις, βασιλέως Ἀσωποῦ καὶ οὐ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι.

[1.2] It is clear that the Plataeans too were of old ruled by kings; for everywhere in Greece in ancient times, kingship and not democracy was the established form of government. But the Plataeans know of no king except Asopus and Cithaeron before him, holding that the latter gave his name to the mountain, the former to the river. I think that Plataea also, after whom the city is named, was a daughter of King Asopus, and not of the river.

PLATAEA, HISTORY

[3] Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς μάχης, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι ἐμαχέσαντο, οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐς δόξαν: μετασχόντες δὲ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἀγῶνος ὕστερον καταβεβηκότος ἤδη Ξέρξου καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐτόλμησαν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἐσβῆναι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ τὸν Γωβρύου Ξέρξη στρατηγοῦντα ἡμύναντο ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ. δις δὲ σφᾶς κατέλαβε γενέσθαι τε ἀναστάτους καὶ αὐθις ἐς Βοιωτίαν καταχθῆναι.

[1.3] Before the battle that the Athenians fought at Marathon, the Plataeans had

no claim to renown. But they were present at the battle of Marathon, and later, when Xerxes came down to the sea, they bravely manned the fleet with the Athenians, and defended themselves in their own country against the general of Xerxes, Mardonius, the son of Gobryas. Twice it was their fate to be driven from their homes and to be taken back to Boeotia.

[4] ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους γενομένου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιορκίᾳ Πλάταιαν ἐξεῖλον· ἀνοικισθείσης δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔπραξεν Ἀνταλκίδας ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων κατελθόντων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, τοὺς δὲ αὖθις ἔμελλεν ἐπιλήψεσθαι κακὸν δεύτερον. ἐκ μὲν γε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους οὐκ ἦν συνεστηκώς, ἀλλὰ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς μένειν τὴν εἰρήνην σφίσιν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὴν Καδμεῖαν Λακεδαιμονίοις κατασχοῦσιν οὔτε βουλευματος οὔτε ἔργου μετεσχέκασαν:

[1.4] For in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athens, the Lacedaemonians reduced Plataea by siege, but it was restored during the peace made by the Spartan Antalcidas between the Persians and the Greeks, and the Plataeans returned from Athens. But a second disaster was destined to befall them. There was no open war between Plataea and Thebes; in fact the Plataeans declared that the peace with them still held, because when the Lacedaemonians seized the Cadmeia they had no part either in the plan or in the performance.

[5] Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἀπέφαινον τὴν τε εἰρήνην Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι τοὺς πράξαντας καὶ ὕστερον παραβάντων ἐκείνων λελύσθαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἡξίουσαν τὰς σπονδάς. οὐκ ἀνύποπτα οὖν ἡγούμενοι οἱ Πλαταιεῖς τὰ ἐκ τῶν Θηβαίων διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον ἰσχυρᾶς τὴν πόλιν: καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγρούς, ὅποσοι ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ἄστεως ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐς τούτους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἤρχοντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ — ἠπίσταντο γὰρ τοὺς Θηβαίους ὡς πανδημεὶ καὶ ἅμα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰώθεσαν βουλεύεσθαι — παρεφύλασσαν τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοσοῦτῳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐφεώρων τὰ ἐαυτῶν καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι γεωργοῦντες.

[1.5] But the Thebans maintained that as the Lacedaemonians had themselves made the peace and then broken it, all alike, in their view, were freed from its terms. The Plataeans, therefore, looked upon the attitude of the Thebans with suspicion, and maintained strict watch over their city. They did not go either daily to the fields at some distance from the city, but, knowing that the Thebans were wont to conduct their assemblies with every voter present, and at the same time to prolong their discussions, they waited for their assemblies to be called, and then, even those whose farms lay farthest away, looked after their lands at their leisure.

[6] Νεοκλῆς δὲ ὃς τότε βοιωταρχῶν ἔτυχεν ἐν Θήβαις — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐλελήθεσαν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ — προεῖπε τῶν Θηβαίων ἕκαστόν τε τινα ἰέναι πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ σφᾶς αὐτίκα οὐ τὴν εὐθεῖαν ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβῶν τὴν πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Ὑσιῶν ἦγε πρὸς Ἐλευθερῶν τε καὶ

τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἥ μὴ δὲ σκοπὸς ἐτέτακτο ὑπὸ τῶν Πλαταιέων: γενήσεσθαι δὲ περὶ τὰ τεῖχη περὶ μεσοῦσαν μάλιστα ἔμελλε τὴν ἡμέραν.

[1.6] But Neocles, who was at the time Boeotarch at Thebes, not being unaware of the Plataean trick, proclaimed that every Theban should attend the assembly armed, and at once proceeded to lead them, not by the direct way from Thebes across the plain, but along the road to Hysiae in the direction of Eleutherae and Attica, where not even a scout had been placed by the Plataeans, being due to reach the walls about noon.

[7] Πλαταιεῖς δὲ ἄγειν Θηβαίους ἐκκλησίαν νομίζοντες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀποκεκλειμένοι τῶν πυλῶν ἦσαν: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπονδὰς, ἀπελθεῖν σφᾶς πρὸ ἡλίου δύντος ἄνδρας μὲν σὺν ἐνί, γυναῖκας δὲ δύο ἱμάτια ἐκάστην ἔχουσιν. συνέβη τε ἐναντία τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡ τύχη ἡ ὥς ὑπὸ Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρότερον ἦλωσαν: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἀπείργοντες διπλῶ τείχει μὴ ἐξελθεῖν τοῦ ἄστεως, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀφελόμενοι μὴ ἐσελθεῖν σφᾶς ἐς τὸ τεῖχος.

[1.7] The Plataeans, thinking that the Thebans were holding an assembly, were afield and cut off from their gates. With those caught within the city the Thebans came to terms, allowing them to depart before sundown, the men with one garment each, the women with two. What happened to the Plataeans on this occasion was the reverse of what happened to them formerly when they were taken by the Lacedaemonians under Archidamus. For the Lacedaemonians reduced them by preventing them from getting out of the city, building a double line of circumvallation; the Thebans on this occasion by preventing them from getting within their walls.

[8] ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἄλωσις Πλαταίας ἡ δευτέρα μάχης μὲν τρίτῃ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις ἔτει πρότερον, Ἀστείου δὲ Αθῆνησιν ἄρχοντος. καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων καθηρέθη πλὴν τὰ ἱερά, τοῖς δὲ Πλαταιεῦσιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀλώσεως σωτηρίαν παρέσχεν ἐν ἴσῳ πᾶσιν: ἐκπεσόντας δὲ σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Φιλίππου δέ, ὡς ἐκράτησεν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, φρουράν τε ἐσαγαγόντος ἐς Θήβας καὶ ἄλλα ἐπὶ

καταλύσει τῶν Θηβαίων πρᾶσσοντος, οὕτω καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατήχθησαν.

[1.8] The second capture of Plataea occurred two years before the battle of Leuctra, when Asteius was Archon at Athens. The Thebans destroyed all the city except the sanctuaries, but the method of its capture saved the lives of all the Plataeans alike, and on their expulsion they were again received by the Athenians. When Philip after his victory at Chaeroneia introduced a garrison into Thebes, one of the means he employed to bring the Thebans low was to restore the Plataeans to their homes.

2. γῆς δὲ τῆς Πλαταιίδος ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ὀλίγον τῆς εὐθείας ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰ Ὑσιῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἐρείπιά ἐστι. πόλεις δέ ποτε τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις τῶν Ὑσιῶν ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἡμίεργος καὶ φρέαρ ἱερόν· πάλαι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος κατὰ τὸν Βοιωτῶν λόγον ἐμαντεύοντο πίνοντες.

[2.1] II. On Mount Cithaeron, within the territory of Plataea, if you turn off to the right for a little way from the straight road, you reach the ruins of Hysiae and Erythrae. Once they were cities of Boeotia, and even at the present day among the ruins of Hysiae are a half-finished temple of Apollo and a sacred well. According to the Boeotian story oracles were obtained of old from the well by drinking of it.

[2] ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ἐστὶν αὖθις ἐν δεξιᾷ Μαρδονίου λεγόμενον μνημα εἶναι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφανὴς ὁ Μαρδονίου νεκρός, ἔστιν ὁμολογημένον· τὸν δὲ θάψαντα οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά, ὅστις ἦν, λέγουσι· φαίνεται δὲ Ἀρτόντης ὁ Μαρδονίου πλεῖστα μὲν δούς Διονυσοφάνει δῶρα ἀνδρὶ Ἐφεσίῳ, δούς μέντοι καὶ ἄλλοις Ἴωνων ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἀμελὲς γενόμενον ταφῆναι Μαρδόνιον.

[2.2] Returning to the highway you again see on the right a tomb, said to be that of Mardonius. It is agreed that the body of Mardonius was not seen again after the battle, but there is not a similar agreement as to the person who gave it burial. It is admitted that Artontes, son of Mardonius, gave many gifts to Dionysophanes the Ephesian, but also that he gave them to others of the Ionians, in recognition that they too had spent some pains on the burial of Mardonius.

[3] αὕτη μὲν ἀπ' Ἐλευθερῶν ἐς Πλάταιαν ἄγει, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἰοῦσι πηγὴ τέ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον πέτρα· καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀκταίωνος κοίτην, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καθεῦδεν φάμενοι τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸν Ἀκταίωνα ὁπότε κάμοι θηρεύων, ἐς δὲ τὴν πηγὴν ἐνιδεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν λουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν τῇ πηγῇ. Στησίχορος δὲ ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἔγραψεν ἐλάφου περιβαλεῖν δέρμα Ἀκταίῳ τὴν θεόν, παρασκευάζουσάν οἱ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κυνῶν θάνατον, ἵνα δὴ μὴ γυναῖκα Σεμέλην λάβοι.

[2.3] This road leads to Plataea from Eleutherae. On the road from Megara there is a spring on the right, and a little farther on a rock. It is called the bed of Actaeon, for it is said that he slept thereon when weary with hunting, and that into this spring he looked while Artemis was bathing in it. Stesichorus of Himera says that the goddess cast a deer-skin round Actaeon to make sure that his hounds would kill him, so as to prevent his taking Semele to wife.

[4] ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνευ θεοῦ πείθομαι νόσον λύσσαν τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος ἐπιλαβεῖν τοὺς κύνας· μανέντες δὲ καὶ οὐ διαγινώσκοντες διαφορήσειν ἔμελλον πάντα τινὰ ὅτῳ περιτύχοιεν. καθότι δὲ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος Πενθεὶ τῷ Ἐχίονος ἐγένετο ἡ συμφορὰ ἢ Οἰδίποδα ὅπη τεχθέντα ἐξέθεσαν, οἶδεν οὐδεὶς, καθάπερ γε ἴσμεν τὴν Σχιστὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Φωκέων, ἐφ' ἣ τὸν πατέρα Οἰδίπους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὁ

δὲ Κιθαιρῶν τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστὶν ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἐπέξειμι, ἐπειδὴν ἐς αὐτὰ ὁ λόγος καθήκη μοι.

[2.4] My own view is that without divine interference the hounds of Actaeon were smitten with madness, and so they were sure to tear to pieces without distinction everybody they chanced to meet. Whereabouts on Cithaeron the disaster befell Pentheus, the son of Echion, or where Oedipus was exposed at birth, nobody knows with the assurance with which we know the Cleft Road to Phocis, where Oedipus killed his father (Mount Cithaeron is sacred to Cithaeronian Zeus), as I shall tell of at greater length when this place in my story has been reached.

PLATAEA

[5] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον μάλιστα τὴν ἐς Πλάταιαν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους μαχεσαμένων εἰσί. τοῖς μὲν οὖν λοιποῖς ἐστὶν Ἑλλήσι μνημα κοινόν: Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ τέ εἰσιν οἱ τάφοι καὶ ἐλεγείᾳ ἐστὶ Σιμωνίδου γεγραμμένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸς * * τοῦτον μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ, τοῦ Διὸς δὲ τὸν τε βωμὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησεν λευκοῦ λίθου.

[2.5] Roughly at the entrance into Plataea are the graves of those who fought against the Persians. Of the Greeks generally there is a common tomb, but the Lacedaemonians and Athenians who fell have separate graves, on which are written elegiac verses by Simonides. Not far from the common tomb of the Greeks is an altar of Zeus, God of Freedom. This then is of bronze, but the altar and the image he made of white marble.

[6] ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀγῶνα διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου τὰ δὲ Ἐλευθέρια, ἐν ᾧ μέγιστα γέρα πρόκειται δρόμου: θέουσι δὲ ὀπλισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. τρόπαιον δέ, ὃ τῆς μάχης τῆς Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἔστηκεν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως.

[2.6] Even at the present day they hold every four years games called Eleutheria (Of Freedom), in which great prizes are offered for running. The competitors run in armour before the altar. The trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle at Plataea stands about fifteen stades from the city.

[7] ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ πόλει προῖοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἃ τῷ Διὶ πεποιήται τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, Πλαταιᾶς ἐστὶν ἡρῶν: καὶ μοι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤδη, τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ ὅποια αὐτὸς εἵκαζον, ἔστιν εἰρημένα. Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ ναός ἐστιν Ἥρας, θεᾶς ἄξιος μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸν κόσμον. ἐσελθοῦσι μὲν Ῥέα τὸν πέτρον κατελιγμένον σπαργάνοις, οἷα δὴ τὸν παῖδα ὃν ἔτεκε, Κρόνῳ κομίζουσά ἐστι: τὴν δὲ Ἥραν Τελείαν καλοῦσι, πεποιήται δὲ ὀρθὸν μεγέθει ἄγαλμα μέγα: λίθου δὲ ἀμφοτέρω τοῦ Πεντελησιῦ, Πραξιτέλους δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργα.

ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλο Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησε: Νυμφευομένην δὲ τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ὀνομάζουσιν.

[2.7] Advancing in the city itself from the altar and the image which have been made to Zeus of Freedom, you come to a hero-shrine of Plataea. The legends about her, and my own conjectures, I have already stated.

CULT OF HERA DAEDALA

There is at Plataea a temple of Hera, worth seeing for its size and for the beauty of its images. On entering you see Rhea carrying to Cronus the stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, as though it were the babe to which she had given birth. The Hera they call Full-grown; it is an upright image of huge size. Both figures are of Pentelic marble, and the artist was Praxiteles.

Here too is another image of Hera; it is seated, and was made by Callimachus. The goddess they call the Bride for the following reason.

3. "Ἦραν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ πρὸς τὸν Δία ὀργισμένην ἐς Εὐβοιάν φασιν ἀναχωρῆσαι, Δία δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν αὐτήν, παρὰ Κιθαιρῶνα λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν δυναστεύοντα ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τότε: εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα οὐδενὸς σοφίαν ὕστερον. οὗτος οὖν κελεύει τὸν Δία ἄγαλμα ξύλου ποιησάμενον ἄγειν ἐπὶ βοῶν ζεύγους ἐγκεκαλυμμένον, λέγειν δὲ ὡς ἀγοίτο γυναῖκα Πλάταιαν τὴν Ἀσωποῦ.

[3.1] III. Hera, they say, was for some reason or other angry with Zeus, and had retreated to Euboea. Zeus, failing to make her change her mind, visited Cithaeron, at that time despot in Plataea, who surpassed all men for his cleverness. So he ordered Zeus to make an image of wood, and to carry it, wrapped up, in a bullock wagon, and to say that he was celebrating his marriage with Plataea, the daughter of Asopus.

[2] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔπρασσε κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος: Ἥρα δὲ ἐπέπυστό τε αὐτίκα καὶ αὐτίκα ἀφίκετο. ὡς δὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῇ ἀμάξῃ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιέρρηξεν, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀπάτῃ ξόανον εὐροῦσα ἀντὶ νύμφης γυναικὸς καὶ διαλλαγῆς ποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Δία. ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς Δαίδαλα ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν, ὅτι οἱ πάλαι τὰ ξόανα ἐκάλουν δαίδαλα: ἐκάλουν δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρότερον ἔτι ἢ Δαίδαλος ὁ Παλαμάωνος ἐγένετο Ἀθήνησι, τοῦτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τῶν δαιδάλων ἐπὶ κλησιν γενέσθαι δοκῶ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ γενετῆς τεθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα.

[3.2] So Zeus followed the advice of Cithaeron. Hera heard the news at once, and at once appeared on the scene. But when she came near the wagon and tore away the dress from the image, she was pleased at the deceit, on finding it a wooden image and not a bride, and was reconciled to Zeus. To commemorate this reconciliation they celebrate a festival called Daedala, because the men of old time gave the name of daedala to wooden images. My own view is that this name was given to wooden images before Daedalus, the son of Palamaon, was born at Athens, and that he did not receive this name at birth, but that it was a surname afterwards given him from the daedala.

[3] Δαίδαλα οὖν ἄγουσιν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐορτὴν δι' ἔτους ἐβδόμου μὲν, ὡς

ἔφασκεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητής, ἀληθεῖ μέντοι λόγῳ δι' ἐλάσσονος καὶ οὐ τοσούτου χρόνου: ἐθελήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ Δαιδάλων ἐς Δαίδαλα ἕτερα ἀναριθμῆσαι τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐκ ἐγενόμεθα οἷοί τε. ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἐορτήν.

[3.3] So the Plataeans hold the festival of the Daedala every six years, according to the local guide, but really at a shorter interval. I wanted very much to calculate exactly the interval between one Daedala and the next, but I was unable to do so. In this way they celebrate the feast.

[4] δρυμός ἐστιν Ἀλαλκομενῶν οὐ πόρρω: μέγιστα τῶν ἐν Βοιωτία στελέχη δρυῶν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα. ἐς τοῦτον οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δρυμὸν προτίθενται μοίρας κρεῶν ἐφθῶν. ὄρνιθες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σφίσιν ἥκιστα εἰσι δι' ὄχλου, τῶν κοράκων δὲ — οὗτοι γάρ σφισιν ἐπιφοιτῶσιν — ἔχουσιν ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουράν. τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρπάσαντα κρέας, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῶν δένδρων καθεδεῖται, φυλάσσουνσιν. ἐφ' οὗ δ' ἂν καθεσθῇ, τεμόντες ποιοῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ δαίδαλον: δαίδαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ ξόανον αὐτὸ ὀνομάζουσι.

[3.4] Not far from Alalcomenae is a grove of oaks. Here the trunks of the oaks are the largest in Boeotia. To this grove come the Plataeans, and lay out portions of boiled flesh. They keep a strict watch on the crows which flock to them, but they are not troubled at all about the other birds. They mark carefully the tree on which a crow settles with the meat he has seized. They cut down the trunk of the tree on which the crow has settled, and make of it the daedalum; for this is the name that they give to the wooden image also.

[5] ταύτην μὲν ἰδίᾳ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι, Δαίδαλα μικρὰ ὀνομάζοντες: Δαιδάλων δὲ ἐορτὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ Βοιωτοὶ σφισι συνεορτάζουσι, δι' ἐξηκοστοῦ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἔτους: ἐκλιπεῖν γὰρ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τὴν ἐορτὴν φασιν, ἥνικα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔφευγον. ξόανα δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἑτοιμά σφισὶν ἐστι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον παρασκευασθέντα ἐν Δαιδάλῳ τοῖς μικροῖς.

[3.5] This feast the Plataeans celebrate by themselves, calling it the Little Daedala, but the Great Daedala, which is shared with them by the Boeotians, is a festival held at intervals of fifty-nine years, for that is the period during which, they say, the festival could not be held, as the Plataeans were in exile. There are fourteen wooden images ready, having been provided each year at the Little Daedala.

[6] ταῦτα ἀναιροῦνται κλήρῳ Πλαταιεῖς Κορωνάιοι Θεσπιεῖς Ταναγραῖοι Χαιρωνεῖς Ὀρχομένιοι Λεβαδεῖς Θηβαῖοι: διαλλαγῆναι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι Πλαταιεῶσιν ἤξιώσαν καὶ συλλόγου μετασχεῖν κοινοῦ καὶ ἐς Δαίδαλα θυσίαν ἀποστέλλειν, ὅτε Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου τὰς Θήβας ἀνέκτισε. τῶν δὲ πολισμάτων ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐλάσσονος λόγου, συντέλειαν αἰροῦνται.

[3.6] Lots are cast for them by the Plataeans, Coroneans, Thespians, Tanagraeans, Chaeroneans, Orchomenians, Lebadeans, and Thebans; for at the time when Cassander, the son of Antipater, rebuilt Thebes, the Thebans

wished to be reconciled with the Plataeans, to share in the common assembly, and to send a sacrifice to the Daedala. The towns of less account pool their funds for images.

[7] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα κομίσαντες παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἀναθέντες ἐπὶ ἄμαξαν, γυναιῖκα ἐφιστᾷσι νυμφεύτριαν: οἱ δὲ αὖθις κληροῦνται καθ' ἣντινα τάξιν τὴν πομπὴν ἀνάξουσιν: τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς ἄκρον τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλαύνουσιν. εὐτρέπεται δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους βωμός, ποιοῦσι δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε τὸν βωμόν: ξύλα τετράγωνα ἀρμόζοντες πρὸς ἄλληλα συντιθέασιν κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ λίθων ἐποιοῦντο οἰκοδομίαν, ἐξάραντες δὲ ἐς ὕψος φρύγανα ἐπιφέρουσιν.

[3.7] Bringing the image to the Asopus, and setting it upon a wagon, they place a bridesmaid also on the wagon. They again cast lots for the position they are to hold in the procession. After this they drive the wagons from the river to the summit of Cithaeron. On the peak of the mountain an altar has been prepared, which they make after the following way. They fit together quadrangular pieces of wood, putting them together just as if they were making a stone building, and having raised it to a height they place brushwood upon the altar.

[8] αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις καὶ τὰ τέλη θήλειαν θύσαντες τῇ Ἥρᾳ βοῦν ἕκαστοι καὶ ταῦρον τῷ Διὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα οἴνου καὶ θυμιμάτων πλήρη καὶ τὰ δαίδαλα ὁμοῦ καθαγίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ἰδιῶται δὲ ὅποσα δὴ θύουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι: τοῖς δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως δυναμένοις τὰ λεπτότερα τῶν προβάτων θύειν καθέστηκε, καθαγίζειν δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ὁμοίως πάντα. σὺν δὲ σφισι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βωμόν ἐπιλαβὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐξανήλωσε: μεγίστην δὲ ταύτην φλόγα καὶ ἐκ μακροτάτου σύνοπτον οἶδα ἄρθεῖσαν.

[3.8] The cities with their magistrates sacrifice severally a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, burning on the altar the victims, full of wine and incense, along with the daedala. Rich people, as individuals, sacrifice what they wish; but the less wealthy sacrifice the smaller cattle; all the victims alike are burned. The fire seizes the altar and the victims as well, and consumes them all together. I know of no blaze that is so high, or seen so far as this.

PLATAEA CONT.

[9] ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς, ἐφ' ἣ τὸν βωμόν ποιοῦνται, πέντε πού μάλιστα καὶ δέκα ὑποκαταβάντι σταδίους νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἄντρον Κιθαιρωνίδων, Σφραγίδιον μὲν ὀνομαζόμενον, μαντεύεσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτόθι ἔχει λόγος.

[3.9] About fifteen stades below the peak, on which they make the altar, is a cave of the Cithaeronian nymphs. It is named Sphragidium, and the story is that of old the nymphs gave oracles in this place.

4. Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀρείας ἐστὶν ἱερόν: ᾧ κοδομήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἃ τῆς μάχης σφίσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Μαραθῶνι ἀπένειμαν. τὸ μὲν δὴ

ἄγαλμα ξοάνόν ἐστιν ἐπίχρυσον, πρόσωπον δέ οἱ καὶ χεῖρες ἄκραι καὶ πόδες λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησιῦ εἰσί: μέγεθος μὲν οὐ πολὺ δὴ τι ἀποδεῖ τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκῆς, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἀπαρχὴν ἀγῶνος ἀνέθηκαν, Φειδίας δὲ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἦν ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας.

[4.1] IV. The Plataeans have also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Warlike; it was built from the spoils given them by the Athenians as their share from the battle of Marathon. It is a wooden image gilded, but the face, hands and feet are of Pentelic marble. In size it is but little smaller than the bronze Athena on the Acropolis, the one which the Athenians also erected as first-fruits of the battle at Marathon; the Plataeans too had Pheidias for the maker of their image of Athena.

[2] γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Πολυγνώτου μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἤδη κατειργασμένος, Ὀνασία δὲ Ἀδράστου καὶ Ἀργείων ἐπὶ Θήβας ἡ προτέρα στρατεία. αὗται μὲν δὴ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προνάου τῶν τοίχων αἱ γραφαί, κεῖται δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν εἰκὼν Ἀριμνήστου: ὁ δὲ Ἀρίμνηστος ἐν τε τῇ πρὸς Μαρδόνιον μάχῃ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἐς Μαραθῶνα Πλαταιεῦσιν ἠγήσατο.

[4.2] In the temple are paintings: one of them, by Polygnotus, represents Odysseus after he has killed the wooers; the other, painted by Onasias, is the former expedition of the Argives, under Adrastus, against Thebes. These paintings are on the walls of the fore-temple, while at the feet of the image is a portrait of Arimnestus, who commanded the Plataeans at the battle against Mardonius, and yet before that at Marathon.

[3] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἐλευσινίας ἱερὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ Ληίτου μνῆμα: τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων, οἱ Βοιωτοὺς ἐς Τροίαν ἤγαγον, μόνος ἀνέστρεψεν οἴκαδε οὗτος ὁ Λήιτος. τὴν δὲ κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίαν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ἡ ἵππος συνέχεεν ἡ Περσῶν, ὅτι τὸ Ἑλλήνων στράτευμα τὸ ἀντικαθήμενόν σφισιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔπινεν: ὕστερον μέντοι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνέσώσαντο οἱ Πλαταιεῖς.

[4.3] There is also at Plataea a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Eleusinian, and a tomb of Leitus, who was the only one to return home of the chiefs who led Boeotians to Troy. The spring Gargaphia was filled in by the Persian cavalry under Mardonius, because the Greek army encamped against them got therefrom their drinking-water. Afterwards, however, the Plataeans recovered the water.

SCOLUS & THE RIVER ASOPUS

[4] ἐκ Πλαταιίας δὲ ἰοῦσιν ἐς Θήβας ποταμός ἐστιν Ὠερόη: θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ὠερόην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ λέγουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀσωπόν, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ρεῦμα ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω καὶ προελθοῦσιν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα στάδια ἔστιν ἑρείπια Σκώλου: Δήμητρος δὲ καὶ Κόρης ἐν τοῖς ἑρείπιοις οὐκ ἐξεργασμένος ὁ ναός, ἡμίεργα δὲ καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς ἐστι τὰ ἀγάλματα. ἀποκρίνει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίων τὴν Πλαταιίδα ὁ Ἀσωπός.

[4.4] On the road from Plataea to Thebes is the river Oeroe, said to have been a

daughter of the Asopus. Before crossing the Asopus, if you turn aside to lower ground in a direction parallel to the river, after about forty stades you come to the ruins of Scolus. The temple of Demeter and the Maid among the ruins is not finished, and only half-finished are the images of the goddesses. Even to-day the Asopus is the boundary between Thebes and Plataea.

THEBES, MYTHICAL HISTORY

5. γῆν δὲ τὴν Θηβαΐδα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον λέγουσιν Ἑκτηνας, βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ἑκτήνων ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα Ὠγυγον· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἐς τὰς Θήβας ἐστὶν Ὠγύγαι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπολέσθαι λοιμῶδει νόσῳ φασίν, ἐσοικίσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Ἑκτηνας ἐς τὴν χώραν Ὑαντας καὶ Ἄονας, Βοιωτῖα ἔμοι δοκεῖν γένη καὶ οὐκ ἐπηλύδων ἀνθρώπων. Κάδμου δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκων στρατιᾶς ἐπελθούσης μάχῃ νικηθέντες οἱ μὲν Ὑαντες ἐς τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἐκδιδράσκουσι, τοὺς δὲ Ἄονας ὁ Κάδμος γενομένους ἰκέτας καταμεῖναι καὶ ἀναμιχθῆναι τοῖς Φοίνιξιν εἶασε.

[5.1] V. The first to occupy the land of Thebes are said to have been the Ectenes, whose king was Ogygus, an aboriginal. From his name is derived Ogygian, which is an epithet of Thebes used by most of the poets. The Ectenes perished, they say, by pestilence, and after them there settled in the land the Hyantes and the Aones, who I think were Boeotian tribes and not foreigners.

[2] τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἄοσι κατὰ κόμας ἔτι ἦσαν αἱ οἰκῆσεις· Κάδμος δὲ τὴν πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Καδμεῖαν ᾤκισεν. αὐξηθείσης δὲ ὕστερον τῆς πόλεως, οὕτω τὴν Καδμεῖαν ἀκρόπολιν συνέβη τῶν κάτω γενέσθαι Θηβῶν. Κάδμῳ δὲ γάμος τε ἐπιφανῆς ὑπῆρξεν, εἰ δὴ θυγατέρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεως κατὰ λόγον τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἔσχε, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες εἰλήφασιν αὐτῷ φήμην, Σεμέλη μὲν τεκεῖν ἐκ Διός, Ἰνώ δὲ θεῶν εἶναι τῶν θαλασσιῶν.

[5.2] When the Phoenician army under Cadmus invaded the land these tribes were defeated; the Hyantes fled from the land when night came, but the Aones begged for mercy, and were allowed by Cadmus to remain and unite with the Phoenicians. The Aones still lived in village communities, but Cadmus built the city which even at the present day is called Cadmeia. Afterwards the city grew, and so the Cadmeia became the citadel of the lower city of Thebes. Cadmus made a brilliant marriage, if, as the Greek legend says, he indeed took to wife a daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. His daughters too have made him a name; Semele was famed for having a child by Zeus, Ino for being a divinity of the sea.

[3] ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Κάδμου μέγιστον μετὰ γε αὐτὸν Κάδμον ἡδύναντο οἱ Σπαρτοί, Χθόνιος καὶ Ὑπερήνωρ καὶ Πέλωρος καὶ Οὐδαῖος· Ἐχίονα δὲ ὡς προέχοντα κατ' ἀνδραγαθίαν γαμβρὸν ἠξίωσεν ὁ Κάδμος ποιήσασθαι. τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τούτους — οὐ γάρ τι ἡδυνάμην ἐς αὐτοὺς παρευρεῖν — ἔπομαι τῷ μύθῳ Σπαρτοὺς διὰ τὸν τρόπον ὄντινα ἐγένοντο ὀνομασθῆναι. Κάδμου δὲ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους Ἑγχελέας μετοικήσαντος

Πολύδωρος ὁ Κάδμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε.

[5.3] In the time of Cadmus, the greatest power, next after his, was in the hands of the Sparti, namely, Chthonius, Hyperenor, Pelorus and Udaeus; but it was Echion who, for his great valor, was preferred by Cadmus to be his son-in-law. As I was unable to discover anything new about these men, I adopt the story that makes their name result from the way in which they came into being. When Cadmus migrated to the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans, Polydorus his son got the kingdom.

[4] Πενθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἐχίονος ἴσχυε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ φιλία τοῦ βασιλέως: ὢν δὲ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὕβριστὴς καὶ ἀσεβὴς Διονύσου, δίκην ἔσχεν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Πολυδώρου δὲ ἦν Λάβδακος: ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα αὐτόν, ὥς οἱ παρίστατο ἡ τελευτὴ, παῖδα ἔτι ἀπολείπειν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπει τὸν τε υἱὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Νυκτεῖ.

[5.4] Now Pentheus the son of Echion was also powerful by reason of his noble birth and friendship with the king. Being a man of insolent character who had shown impiety to Dionysus, he was punished by the god. Polydorus had a son, Labdacus. When Polydorus was about to die, Labdacus was still a child, and so he was entrusted, along with the government, to the care of Nycteus.

[5] τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς μοι τοῦ λόγου προεδήλωσεν ἡ Σικυωνία συγγραφή, τοῦ τε Νυκτέως τὸν θάνατον, ὅντινα γένοιτο τρόπον, καὶ ὥς ἐς Λύκον ἀδελφὸν Νυκτέως ἢ τε ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ παιδὸς περιήλθε καὶ ἡ Θηβαίων δυναστεία. Λύκος δὲ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐξηθέντι Λαβδάκῳ τὴν ἀρχήν: γενομένης δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καὶ τούτῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐπετρόπευσεν αὐτὸς Λάϊον Λαβδάκου παῖδα.

[5.5] The sequel of this story, how Nycteus died, and how the care of the boy with the sovereignty of Thebes devolved on Lycus, the brother of Nycteus, I have already set forth in my account of Sicyon. When Labdacus grew up, Lycus handed over to him the reins of government; but Labdacus too died shortly afterwards, and Lycus again became guardian, this time to Laius, the son of Labdacus.

[6] Λύκου δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντος δεῦτερον κατὰσιν Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζῆθος δύνανται ἀγείραντες. καὶ Λάϊον μὲν ὑπεκκλέπτουσιν οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς μὴ γενέσθαι τὸ Κάδμου γένος ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἀνώνυμον, Λάκου δὲ οἱ τῆς Ἀντιόπης παῖδες τῇ μάχῃ κρατοῦσιν: ὥς δὲ ἐβασίλευσαν, τὴν πόλιν τὴν κάτω προσώκισαν τῇ Καδμεΐᾳ καὶ Θήβας ὄνομα ἔθεντο κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Θήβης.

[5.6] While Lycus was regent for the second time, Amphion and Zethus gathered a force and came back to Thebes. Laius was secretly removed by such as were anxious that the race of Cadmus should not be forgotten by posterity, and Lycus was overcome in the fighting by the sons of Antiope. When they succeeded to the throne they added the lower city to the Cadmeia, giving it, because of their kinship to Thebe, the name of Thebes.

[7] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐα: “οἱ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο

πύργωσάν τ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ' ἐδύναντο

ναίεμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερῶ περ ἔόντε.

“Hom. Od 11.263 ὅτι δὲ Ἀμφίων ἦδε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐξεργάζετο πρὸς τὴν λύραν, οὐδένα ἐποίησατο λόγον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι: δόξαν δὲ ἔσχεν Ἀμφίων ἐπὶ μουσικῇ, τὴν τε ἁρμονίαν τὴν Λυδῶν κατὰ κῆδος τὸ Ταντάλου παρ' αὐτῶν μαθὼν καὶ χορδὰς ἐπὶ τέσσαρσι ταῖς πρότερον τρεῖς ἀνευρών.

[5.7] What I have said is confirmed by what Homer says in the Odyssey:—

Who first laid the foundation of seven-gated Thebe,

And built towers about it, for without towers they could not

Dwell in wide-wayed Thebe, in spite of their strength. Hom. Od. 11.263

Homer, however, makes no mention in his poetry of Amphion's singing, and how he built the wall to the music of his harp. Amphion won fame for his music, learning from the Lydians themselves the Lydian mode, because of his relationship to Tantalus, and adding three strings to the four old ones.

[8] ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Εὐρώπην ποιήσας φησὶν Ἀμφίονα χρήσασθαι λύρα πρῶτον Ἑρμοῦ διδάξαντος: πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ λίθων καὶ θηρίων, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἄδων ἦγε. Μυρῶ δὲ Βυζαντία, ποιήσασα ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγεία, Ἑρμῇ βωμόν φησιν ἰδρύσασθαι πρῶτον Ἀμφίονα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ λύραν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐν Αἰδου δίκην δίδωσιν ὁ Ἀμφίων ὢν ἐς Λητὼ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέρριψε:

[5.8] The writer of the poem on Europa says that Amphion was the first harpist, and that Hermes was his teacher. He also says that Amphion's songs drew even stones and beasts after him. Myro of Byzantium, a poetess who wrote epic and elegiac poetry, states that Amphion was the first to set up an altar to Hermes, and for this reason was presented by him with a harp. It is also said that Amphion is punished in Hades for being among those who made a mock of Leto and her children.

[9] κατὰ δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἔστιν ἔπη ποιήσεως Μινυάδος, ἔχει δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίονα κοινῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν Θραῦκα Θάμυριν. ὥς δὲ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου τὸν μὲν ἢ νόσος ἢ λοιμώδης ἠρήμωσε, Ζήθῳ δὲ τὸν παῖδα ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ τεκοῦσα κατὰ δὴ τινα ἁμαρτίαν, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζήθος, οὕτω Λάϊον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατάγουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

[5.9] The punishment of Amphion is dealt with in the epic poem Minyad, which treats both of Amphion and also of Thamyras of Thrace. The houses of both Amphion and Zethus were visited by bereavement; Amphion's was left desolate by plague, and the son of Zethus was killed through some mistake or other of his mother. Zethus himself died of a broken heart, and so Laius was restored by the Thebans to the kingdom.

[10] Λαῖψ δὲ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχοντι Ἰοκάστην μάντευμα ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐκ τοῦ παιδός οἱ τὴν τελευτήν, εἰ τέκοι τινὰ Ἰοκάστη, γενήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Οἰδίποδα ἐκτίθησιν· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτενεῖν ἔμελλεν, ὥς ἠϋξήθη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἔγημε. παῖδας δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐ δοκῶ οἱ γενέσθαι, μάρτυρι Ὁμήρῳ χρώμενος, ὃς ἐποίησεν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ

[5.10] When Laius was king and married to Iocasta, an oracle came from Delphi that, if Iocasta bore a child, Laius would meet his death at his son's hands. Whereupon Oedipus was exposed, who was fated when he grew up to kill his father; he also married his mother. But I do not think that he had children by her; my witness is Homer, who says in the Odyssey:—

[11] “μητέρα τ’ Οἰδιπόδαο ἴδον, καλὴν Ἐπικάστην,

ἣ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν αἰδρεῖσιν νόοιο

γῆμαμένη ᾧ υἱεῖ· ὁ δ’ ὄν πατέρ’ ἐξεναρίξας

γῆμεν· ἄφαρ δ’ ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.

“Hom. Od 11.271 πῶς οὖν ἐποίησαν ἀνάπυστα ἄφαρ, εἰ δὴ τέσσαρες γενεαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἐπικάστης ἐγένοντο παῖδες τῷ Οἰδίποδι; ἐξ Εὐρυγανείας δὲ τῆς Ὑπέρφαντος ἐγεγόνεσαν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας ἅ Οἰδιπόδια ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ Ὀνασίας Πλαταιᾶσιν ἔγραψε κατηφῇ τὴν Εὐρυγάνειαν ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν παίδων.

[5.11]

And I saw the mother of Oedipodes, fair Epicaste,

Who wrought a dreadful deed unwittingly,

Marrying her son, who slew his father and

Wedded her. But forthwith the gods made it known among men. Hom. Od.

11.271

How could they “have made it known forthwith,” if Epicaste had borne four children to Oedipus? But the mother of these children was Euryganeia, daughter of Hyperphas. Among the proofs of this are the words of the author of the poem called the Oedipodia; and moreover, Onasias painted a picture at Plataea of Euryganeia bowed with grief because of the fight between her children.

[12] Πολυνείκης δὲ περιόντος μὲν καὶ ἄρχοντος Οἰδίποδος ὑπεξῆλθεν ἐκ Θηβῶν δέει μὴ τελεσθεῖεν ἐπὶ σφίσιν αἱ κατὰ τὸ πατρός· ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ θυγατέρα Ἀδράστου λαβὼν κατήλθεν ἐς Θήβας μετάπεμπος ὑπὸ Ἑτεοκλέους μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Οἰδίποδος. κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς διαφορὰν προήχθη τῷ Ἑτεοκλεῖ, καὶ οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον ἔφυγε· δεηθεὶς δὲ Ἀδράστου δοῦναι οἱ δύνανται τὴν καταξουσάν, τὴν τε στρατιὰν ἀπόλλυσι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα αὐτὸς μονομαχεῖ κατὰ πρόκλησιν.

[5.12] Polyneices retired from Thebes while Oedipus was still alive and reigning, in fear lest the curses of the father should be brought to pass upon

the sons. He went to Argos and married a daughter of Adrastus, but returned to Thebes, being fetched by Eteocles after the death of Oedipus. On his return he quarrelled with Eteocles, and so went into exile a second time. He begged Adrastus to give him a force to effect his return, but lost his army and fought a duel with Eteocles as the result of a challenge.

[13] καὶ οἱ μὲν μονομαχοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἐς δὲ Λαοδάμαντα τὸν Ἐτεοκλέους καθηκούσης τῆς βασιλείας Κρέων ὁ Μενοικέως ἐδυνάστευεν ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν παῖδα. ἤδη δὲ Λαοδάμαντος ἠϋξημένου καὶ ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν, δεύτερον τότε ἄγουσι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας: ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων περὶ Γλίσαντα, ὡς ἐς χεῖρας συνῆλθον, Αἰγιαλέα μὲν τὸν Ἀδράστου Λαοδάμας ἀποκτίννυσιν, κρατησάντων δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἀργείων Λαοδάμας σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔπεσθαι Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς Ἴλλυριούς.

[5.13] Both fell in the duel, and the kingdom devolved on Laodamas, son of Eteocles; Creon, the son of Menoeceus, was in power as regent and guardian of Laodamas. When the latter had grown up and held the kingship, the Argives led their army for the second time against Thebes. The Thebans encamped over against them at Glisas. When they joined in battle, Aegialeus, the son of Adrastus, was killed by Laodamas but the Argives were victorious in the fight, and Laodamas, with any Theban willing to accompany him, withdrew when night came to Illyria.

[14] τὰς δὲ Θήβας ἐλόντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι

παραδιδόασιν Θερσάνδρῳ Πολυνείκους παιδί. ὡς δὲ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Τροίαν στρατεύουσιν ἡ διαμαρτία τοῦ πλοῦ γίνεται καὶ ἡ πληγὴ ἡ περὶ Μυσιάν, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν Θέρσανδρον κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Τηλέφου, μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ: καὶ οἱ τὸ μνημα ἐς Καῖκου πεδίου ἐλαύνοντί ἐστιν ἐν Ἐλαίᾳ πόλει, λίθος ὁ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς:

[5.14] The Argives captured Thebes and handed it over to Thersander, son of Polyneices. When the expedition under Agamemnon against Troy mistook its course and the reverse in Mysia occurred, Thersander too met his death at the hands of Telephus. He had shown himself the bravest Greek at the battle; his tomb, the stone in the open part of the market-place, is in the city Elaea on the way to the plain of the Caicus, and the natives say that they sacrifice to him as to a hero.

[15] καὶ ἐναγίζειν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι φασιν αὐτῷ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Θερσάνδρου καὶ δεύτερα ἐπὶ τε Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἀθροιζομένου στόλου Πηνέλεων ἄρχοντα εἶλοντο, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πω Τισαμενὸς ἦν ὁ Θερσάνδρου: Πηνέλεω δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Τηλέφου Τισαμενὸν βασιλέα αἰροῦνται, Θερσάνδρου τε ὄντα καὶ Δημωνάσσης τῆς Ἀμφιαράου. τῶν δὲ Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαῖτου καὶ Οἰδίποδος Τισαμενῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο μνημα, Αὐτεσίῳ δὲ τῷ Τισαμενοῦ, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Δωριέας μετόκησε τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος.

[5.15] On the death of Thersander, when a second expedition was being mustered to fight Alexander at Troy, Peneleos was chosen to command it, because Tisamenus, the son of Thersander, was not yet old enough. When Peneleos was killed by Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, Tisamenus was chosen king, who was the son of Thersander and of Demonassa, the daughter of Amphiaraus. The Furies of Laius and Oedipus did not vent their wrath on Tisamenus, but they did on his son Autesion, so that, at the bidding of the oracle, he migrated to the Dorians.

THEBES, HISTORY

[16] Αὐτεσίωνος δὲ ἀπελθόντος, οὕτω βασιλέα εἵλοντο Δαμασίχθονα Ὀφέλτου τοῦ Πηνέλεω. τούτου δὲ ἦν τοῦ Δαμασίχθονος Πτολεμαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Ξάνθος, ὃν Ἀνδρόπομπος μονομαχήσαντά οἱ δόλω καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κτείνει. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν διὰ πλειόνων πολιτεύεσθαι μηδὲ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἡρτῆσθαι τὰ πάντα ἄμεινον ἐφαίνετο τοῖς Θηβαίοις.

[5.16] On the departure of Autesion, Damasichthon was chosen to be king, who was a son of Opheltes, the son of Peneleos. This Damasichthon had a son Ptolemy, who was the father of Xanthus. Xanthus fought a duel with Andropompus, who killed him by craft and not in fair fight. Hereafter the Thebans thought it better to entrust the government to several people, rather than to let everything depend on one man.

6. τῶν δέ σφισιν ἐν ἀγῶσι πολέμου γενομένων εὐτυχημάτων, καὶ ὥς ἐτέρως, τοσάδε φανερώτατα ὄντα εὗρισκον. ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μάχῃ

Πλαταιεῦσιν ἀμυνάντων, ὅτε σφᾶς ἐπέλαβεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄρων πολεμῆσαι τῆς χώρας: προσέπταισαν δὲ καὶ δεύτερον Ἀθηναίοις ἀντιταξάμενοι περὶ Πλάταιαν, ἥνικα δοκοῦσιν ἐλέσθαι τὰ βασιλέως Ξέρξου πρὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν.

[6.1] VI. Of the successes and failures of the Thebans in battle I found the most famous to be the following. They were overcome in battle by the Athenians, who had come to the aid of the Plataeans, when a war had arisen about the boundaries of their territory. They met with a second disaster when arrayed against the Athenians at Plataea, at the time when they are considered to have chosen the cause of King Xerxes rather than that of Greece.

[2] τῆς δὲ αἰτίας ταύτης δημοσίᾳ σφίσι οὐ μέτεστιν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις ὀλιγαρχία καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία τηνικαῦτα ἴσχυεν: εἰ γοῦν Πεισιστράτου τυραννοῦντος ἔτι ἢ τῶν παίδων Ἀθήνησιν ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ βάρβαρος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατέλαβεν ἂν ἔγκλημα μηδισμοῦ.

[6.2] The Theban people are in no way responsible for this choice, as at that time an oligarchy was in power at Thebes and not their ancestral form of government. In the same way, if it had been while Peisistratus or his sons still held Athens under a despotism that the foreigner had invaded Greece, the Athenians too would certainly have been accused of favouring Persia.

[3] ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ Θηβαίοις νίκη κατ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ τῷ Ταναγραίων ἐγένετο, καὶ Ἱπποκράτης τε ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος, ὃς στρατηγὸς ἦν Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἔπεσε. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ἀπελθόντος τοῦ Μήδου καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου τὰ ἐκ Θηβῶν εἶχεν ἐπιτηδεῖως· διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καταλυθέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ Κορινθίων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον προήχθησαν.

[6.3] Afterwards, however, the Thebans won a victory over the Athenians at Delium in the territory of Tanagra, where the Athenian general Hippocrates, son of Ariphron, perished with the greater part of the army. During the period that began with the departure of the Persians and ended with the war between Athens and the Peloponnesus, the relations between Thebes and the Lacedaemonians were friendly. But when the war was fought out and the Athenian navy destroyed, after a brief interval Thebes along with Corinth was involved in the war with Lacedaemon.

[4] κρατηθέντες δὲ μάχῃ περὶ Κόρινθόν τε καὶ ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, νικῶσιν αὖθις ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην ὁπόσας γενομένης Ἑλλήσιν ἴσμεν κατὰ Ἑλλήνων· καὶ δεκαδαρχίας τε, ἃς Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατέστησαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἔπαυσαν καὶ ἄρμους τὰς Σπαρτιάτας ἐκβάλλουσιν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Φωικὸν πόλεμον, ὀνομαζόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἱερόν, συνεχῶς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἐπολέμησαν.

[6.4] Overcome in battle at Corinth and Coroncia, they won on the other hand at Leuctra the most famous victory we know of gained by Greeks over Greeks. They put down the boards of ten, which the Lacedaemonians had set up in the cities, and drove out the Spartan governors. Afterwards they also waged for ten years consecutively the Phocian war, called by the Greeks the Sacred war.

[5] εἰρήται δέ μοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ατθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ σφάλμα συμφορὰν γενέσθαι τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι· Θηβαίους δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεόν καταέλαβεν, οἷς γε καὶ ἐσῆχθη ἐς τὴν πόλιν φρουρά. Φιλίππου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον ἡκούσης τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς, Θηβαίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἐξελεῖν τὴν φρουράν· ποιήσασι δὲ ταῦτα προεσήμαιεν αὐτίκα ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἐπιόντα ὀλεθρον, καὶ σφισιν ἐν Δήμητρος ἱερῷ Θεσμοφόρου σημεῖα ἐγένετο ἐναντία ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις·

[6.5] I have already said in my history of Attica that the defeat at Chaeroneia was a disaster for all the Greeks; but it was even more so for the Thebans, as a garrison was brought into their city. When Philip died, and the kingship of Macedonia devolved on Alexander, the Thebans succeeded in destroying the garrison. But as soon as they had done so, heaven warned them of the destruction that was coming on them, and the signs that occurred in the sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver were the opposite of those that occurred before the action at Leuctra.

[6] τότε μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰς θύρας ὑφάσματι ἀράχαι λευκῶ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν

Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἔφοδον μέλανι ἐξύφηναν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὕσαι τέφραν ὁ θεὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπαχθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὰ μεγάλα σφίσιν ἐνεγκεῖν παθήματα.

[6.6] For then spiders spun a white web over the door of the sanctuary, but on the approach of Alexander with his Macedonians the web was black. It is also said that there was a shower of ashes at Athens the year before the war waged against them by Sulla, which brought on them such great sufferings.

7. τότε δὲ τοὺς Θηβαίους γενομένους ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ διαπεσόντας ἐς Ἀθήνας ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατήγαγεν. ἐς δὲ τῶν Θηβῶν τὸν οἰκισμὸν προθυμότεροι μὲν ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδων οἱ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἔχοντες.

[7.1] VII. On this occasion the Thebans were removed from their homes by Alexander, and straggled to Athens; afterwards they were restored by Cassander, son of Antipater. Heartiest in their support of the restoration of Thebes were the Athenians, and they were helped by Messenians and the Arcadians of Megalopolis.

[2] δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὰς Θήβας οἰκίσαι ὁ Κάσσανδρος κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀλεξάνδρου μάλιστα: ἐπεξήλθε δὲ καὶ τὸν πάντα οἶκον Ἀλεξάνδρου φθειρών, ὃς Ὀλυμπιάδα γε παρέβαλε καταλεῦσαι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Μακεδόνων παρωξυσμένοις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν τε ἐκ Βαρσίνης Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐκ Ῥωξάνης ἀπέκτεινεν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς χαίρων τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν: ἐπλήσθη γὰρ ὑδέρῳ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ζῶντι ἐγένοντο εὐλαί.

[7.2] My own view is that in building Thebes Cassander was mainly influenced by hatred of Alexander. He destroyed the whole house of Alexander to the bitter end. Olympias he threw to the exasperated Macedonians to be stoned to death; and the sons of Alexander, Heracles by Barsina and Alexander by Roxana, he killed by poison. But he himself was not to come to a good end. He was filled with dropsy, and from the dropsy came worms while he was yet alive.

[3] τῶν δὲ οἱ παίδων Φίλιππον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ὥς μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπήγαγεν ὑπολαβοῦσα νόσος φθινώδης, Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ὁ μετ' ἐκείνῳ Θεσσαλονίκην τὴν μητέρα ἀποκτίννυσι, Φιλίππου τε οὖσαν τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ Νικασιπόλιδος: ἀπέκτεινε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον νέμειν πλέον εὐνοίας αἰτιασάμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Κασσάνδρου παίδων: ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθεῖλε μὲν δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἐτιμωρήσατο τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ἀνεφάνη μέντοι φονέα ἐξευρηκῶς ἑαυτῷ καὶ οὐ σύμμαχον.

[7.3] Philip, the eldest of his sons, shortly after coming to the throne was seized by a wasting disease which proved fatal. Antipater, the next son, murdered his mother Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, and of

Nicasipolis, charging her with being too fond of Alexander, who was the youngest of Cassander's sons. Getting the support of Demetrius, the son of Antigonos, he deposed with his help and punished his brother Antipater. However, it appeared that in Demetrius he found a murderer and not an ally.

[4] Κασσάνδρῳ μὲν ὅστις δὴ θεῶν τὴν δίκην ἔμελλεν ἀποδώσειν: Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Κασσάνδρου πᾶς ὁ ἀρχαῖος περίβολος ἀνφικίσθη, ἔδει δὲ ἄρα καὶ ὕστερον κακῶν σφᾶς μεγάλων γεύσασθαι. Μιθριδάτῃ γὰρ καταστάντι ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον προσεχώρησαν Θηβαῖοι κατ' ἄλλο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδέν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηναίων δήμου φιλία. Σύλλα δὲ ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν δεῖμα ἔσχε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ ἐγνωσιμάχησάν τε αὐτίκα καὶ ἐτράποντο αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν.

[7.4] So some god was to exact from Cassander a just requital. In the time of Cassander all the ancient circuit of the Theban walls was rebuilt, but fate after all willed that afterwards the Thebans were again to taste the cup of great misfortune. For when Mithridates had begun the war with the Romans, he was joined by the Thebans, for no other reason, in my opinion, except their friendship for the Athenian people. But when Sulla invaded Boeotia, terror seized the Thebans; they at once changed sides, and sought the friendship of the Romans.

[5] Σύλλας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐχρήτο ὅμως τῷ θυμῷ, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐξεῦρεν ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπετέμετο αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας κατὰ πρόφασιν τοιαύτην. ἡνίκα ἤρχετο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου, χρημάτων ἐσπάνιζε: συνέλεξεν οὖν ἕκ τε Ὀλυμπίας ἀναθήματα καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ τὰ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ὅποσα ὑπελίποντο οἱ Φωκεῖς:

[7.5] Sulla nevertheless was angry with them, and among his plans to humble them was to cut away one half of their territory. His pretext was as follows. When he began the war against Mithridates, he was short of funds. So he collected offerings from Olympia, those at Epidaurus, and all those at Delphi that had been left by the Phocians.

[6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διένειμε τῇ στρατιᾷ, τοῖς θεοῖς δὲ ἀντέδωκεν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων γῆς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς Θηβαΐδος. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἀφαίρετον χώραν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων χάριτι ἀνέσωσαντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προήχθησαν: καὶ σφισιν ἡ μὲν κάτω πόλις πᾶσα ἔρημος ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πλὴν τὰ ἱερά, τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν οἰκοῦσι Θήβας καὶ οὐ Καδμείαν καλουμένην.

[7.6] These he divided among his soldiery, and repaid the gods with half of the Theban territory. Although by favour of the Romans the Thebans afterwards recovered the land of which they had been deprived, yet from this point they sank into the greatest depths of weakness. The lower city of Thebes is all deserted to-day, except the sanctuaries, and the people live on the citadel, which they call Thebes and not Cadmeia.

8. διαβεβηκότι δὲ ἤδη τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως δέκα μάλιστα ἀφεστηκότι σταδίου Ποτνιαῶν ἐστὶν ἐρείπια καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλσος Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ παρὰ τὰς Ποτνιαῖς * * τὰς θεὰς ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ εἰρημένῳ δρῶσι καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα καθέστηκε σφισι καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγαλα καλούμενα ἀφιάσιν ὕς τῶν νεογνῶν: τοὺς δὲ ὕς τούτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τοῦ ἔτους ὥραν ἐν Δωδώνῃ φασὶν ἐπὶ * * λόγῳ τῷδε ἄλλος πού τις πεισθήσεται.

[8.1] VIII. Across the Asopus, about ten stades distant from the city, are the ruins of Potniae, in which is a grove of Demeter and the Maid. The images at the river that flows past Potniae. . . they name the goddesses. At an appointed time they perform their accustomed ritual, one part of which is to let loose young pigs into what are called "the halls." At the same time next year these pigs appear, they say, in Dodona. This story others can believe if they wish.

[2] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Διονύσον ναός ἐστὶν Αἰγοβόλου. θύοντες γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προήχθησάν ποτε ὑπὸ μέθης ἐς ὕβριν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν ἱερέα ἀποκτείνουσιν: ἀποκτείναντας δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπέλαβε νόσος λοιμώδης, καὶ σφισιν ἀφίκετο ἴαμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τῷ Διονύσῳ θύειν παῖδα ὠραῖον: ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον τὸν θεὸν φασὶν αἶγα ἱερεῖον ὑπαλλάξαι σφίσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός. δέικνυται δὲ ἐν Ποτνιαῖς καὶ φρέαρ: τὰς δὲ ἵππους τὰς ἐπιχωρίους τοῦ ὕδατος πιούσας τούτου μανῆναι λέγουσιν.

[8.2] Here there is also a temple of Dionysus Goat-shooter. For once, when they were sacrificing to the god, they grew so violent with wine that they actually killed the priest of Dionysus. Immediately after the murder they were visited by a pestilence, and the Delphic oracle said that to cure it they must sacrifice a boy in the bloom of youth. A few years afterwards, so they say, the god substituted a goat as a victim in place of their boy. In Potniae is also shown a well. The mares of the country are said on drinking this water to become mad.

[3] ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ποτνιαῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Θήβας ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ περίβολος τῆς ὁδοῦ τε οὐ μέγας καὶ κίονες ἐν αὐτῷ: διαστῆναι δὲ Ἀμφιαράῳ τὴν γῆν ταύτη νομίζουσιν, ἐπιλέγοντες καὶ τάδε ἔτι, μήτε ὄρνιθας ἐπὶ τῶν κίωνων καθέζεσθαι τούτων μήτε πόαν τὴν ἐνταῦθα μήτε ἡμερον ζῶον μήτε τῶν ἀγρίων νέμεσθαι.

[8.3] On the way from Potniae to Thebes there is on the right of the road a small enclosure with pillars in it. Here they think the earth opened to receive Amphiaras, and they add further that neither do birds sit upon these pillars, nor will a beast, tame or wild, graze on the grass that grows here.

THEBES

[4] Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, μένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι. τεθῆναι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπυνθανόμην σφίσιν ἀπὸ τε Ἡλέκτρας ἀδελφῆς Κάδμου καὶ Προϊτίσιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: ἡλικίαν δὲ Προίτου καὶ τὸ ἀνωτέρω γένος χαλεπὰ ἦν εὐρεῖν. τὰς δὲ Νηίστας

ὄνομασθῆναί φασιν ἐπὶ τῷδε. ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς νήτην καλοῦσι τὴν ἐσχάτην: ταύτην οὖν τὴν χορδὴν Ἀμφίονα ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις ἀνευρεῖν λέγουσιν. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὡς Ζήθου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφιόνος τῷ παιδί ὄνομα Νῆις γένοιτο, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Νήϊδος τὰς πύλας κληθῆναι ταύτας.

[8.4] In the circuit of the ancient wall of Thebes were gates seven in number, and these remain to-day. One got its name, I learned, from Electra, the sister of Cadmus, and another, the Proetidian, from a native of Thebes. He was Proetus, but I found it difficult to discover his date and lineage. The Neistan gate, they say, got its name for the following reason. The last of the harp's strings they call nete, and Amphion invented it, they say, at this gate. I have also heard that the son of Zethus, the brother of Amphion, was named Neis, and that after him was this gate called.

[5] πύλας δὲ Κρηναίας, τὰς δὲ Ὑψίστας ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ὀνομάζουσι: * * * πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ὑψίσταις Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐστὶν Ὑψίστου. τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις πύλας ὀνομάζουσιν Ὠγυγίας, τελευταῖαι δὲ εἰσιν Ὀμολωίδες: ἐφαίνετο δὲ εἶναι μοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα νεώτατον ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις, αἱ δὲ Ὠγύγιοι τὸ ἀρχαιότατον.

[8.5] The Crenaeon gate and the Hypsistan they so name for the following reason. . . and by the Hypsistan is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Hypsistus (Most High). Next after these gates is the one called Ogygian, and lastly the Homoloid gate. It appeared to me too that the name of the last was the most recent, and that of the Ogygian the most ancient.

[6] τὰς δὲ Ὀμολωίδας κληθῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ τοιῷδε. ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Ἀργείων μάχῃ πρὸς Γλίσαντι ἐκρατήθησαν, τότε ὁμοῦ Λαοδάμαντι τῷ Ἐτεοκλέους ὑπεξίασιν οἱ πολλοί: τούτων οὖν μοῖρα τὴν μὲν ἐς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς πορείαν ἀπάκνησε, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀμόλην, ὅρων τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν καὶ εὐγεῶν μάλιστα καὶ ὕδασιν ἐπιρρεομένην.

[8.6] The name Homoloid is derived, they say, from the following circumstance. When the Thebans were beaten in battle by the Argives near Glisas, most of them withdrew along with Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. A portion of them shrank from the journey to Illyria, and turning aside to Thessaly they seized Homole, the most fertile and best-watered of the Thessalian mountains.

[7] Θερσάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πολυνείκου ἀνακαλεσαμένου σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, τὰς πύλας διὰ ὧν τὴν κάθοδον ἐποιοῦντο ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀμόλης ὀνομάζουσιν Ὀμολωίδας. ἐρχομένην δὲ ἐκ Πλαταίας ἔσοδος ἐς τὰς Θήβας κατὰ πύλας ἐστὶν Ἠλέκτρας, καὶ ταύτῃ Καπανέα τὸν Ἰππόνου βιαιοτέρας ποιοῦμενον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τὰς προσβολὰς βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ λέγουσι.

[8.7] When they were recalled to their homes by Thersander, the son of Polyneices, they called the gate, through which they passed on their return, the Homoloid gate after Homole. The entry into Thebes from Plataea is by the

Electran gate. At this, so they say, Capaneus, the son of Hipponous, was struck by lightning as he was making a more furious attack upon the fortifications.

9. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τοῦτον, ὃν ἐπολέμησαν Ἀργεῖοι, νομίζω πάντων, ὅσοι πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἐπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, γενέσθαι λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον. ὁ μὲν γε Ἑλευσινίων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων πρὸς Μινύας, τὴν τε ἔφοδον δι' ὀλίγου τῶν ἐπιστρατευσαμένων καὶ ἐν μάχῃ παρέσχοντο μιᾷ τὴν κρίσιν, ἐς ὁμολογίας τε αὐτίκα ἐτράποντο καὶ σπονδάς:

[9.1] IX. This war between Argos and Thebes was, in my opinion, the most memorable of all those waged by Greeks against Greeks in what is called the heroic age. In the case of the war between the Eleusinians and the rest of the Athenians, and likewise in that between the Thebans and the Minyans, the attackers had but a short distance through which to pass to the fight, and one battle decided the war, immediately after which hostilities ceased and peace was made.

[2] ὁ δὲ Ἀργείων στρατὸς ἐς Βοιωτίαν τε μέσῃν ἀφίκετο ἐκ μέσης Πελοποννήσου καὶ ὁ Ἄδραστος ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων συμμαχικὰ ἤθροισεν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις μισθοφορικὰ ἦλθε παρὰ Φωκέων καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μινυάδος χώρας οἱ Φλεγυαί. γενομένης δὲ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσμενίῳ μάχης ἐκρατήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῇ συμβολῇ, καὶ ὡς ἐτράποντο, καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος:

[9.2] But the Argive army marched from mid-Peloponnesus to mid-Boeotia, while Adrastus collected his allied forces out of Arcadia and from the Messenians, and likewise mercenaries came to the help of the Thebans from Phocis, and the Phlegyans from the Minyan country. When the battle took place at the Ismenian sanctuary, the Thebans were worsted in the encounter, and after the rout took refuge within their fortifications.

[3] ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τῶν Πελοποννησίων μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ποιουμένων δὲ θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ τὰς προσβολάς, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους βάλλοντες φονεύουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κρατοῦσι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεξελθόντες τεταραγμένοις, ὥς τὸ σύμπαν στρατεύμα πλὴν Ἀδράστου φθαρῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἄνευ κακῶν μεγάλων, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν σὺν ὀλέθρῳ τῶν κρατησάντων Καδμείαν ὀνομάζουσι νίκην.

[9.3] As the Peloponnesians did not know how to assail the walls, and attacked with greater spirit than knowledge, many of them were killed by missiles hurled from the walls by the Thebans, who afterwards sallied forth and overcame the rest while they were in disorder, so that the whole army was destroyed with the exception of Adrastus. But the action was attended by severe losses to the Thebans, and from that time they term a Cadmean victory one that brings destruction to the victors.

[4] ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὁμοῦ Θερσάνδρῳ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας οὓς Ἐπιγόνους καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες; δῆλοι δὲ εἰσι καὶ τούτοις οὐ τὸ Ἀργολικὸν μόνον οὐδὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἠκολουθηκότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Μεγαρέων ἐπικληθέντες ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν: ἤμυναν δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις οἱ πρόσκοι, καὶ μάχῃ πρὸς Γλίσαντι ἀπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο ἰσχυρά.

[9.4] A few years afterwards Thebes was attacked by Thersander and those whom the Greeks call Epigoni (Born later). It is clear that they too were accompanied not only by the Argives, Messenians and Arcadians, but also by allies from Corinth and Megara invited to help them. Thebes too was defended by their neighbors, and a battle at Glisas was fiercely contested on both sides.

[5] τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ὥς ἠττήθησαν ὁμοῦ Λαοδάμαντι ἐκδιδράσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες πολιορκία παρέστησαν. ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον καὶ ἔπη Θηβαΐς: τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα Καλλίνος ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι, Καλλίνῳ δὲ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγου κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν: ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποιήσιν ταύτην μετὰ γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Ὀδυσσέα ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.

πολέμου μὲν δῆ, ὃν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Οἰδίποδος παίδων ἔνεκα ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη:

[9.5] Some of the Thebans escaped with Laodamas immediately after their defeat; those who remained behind were besieged and taken. About this war an epic poem also was written called the Thebaid. This poem is mentioned by Callinus, who says that the author was Homer, and many good authorities agree with his judgment. With the exception of the Iliad and Odyssey I rate the Thebaid more highly than any other poem. So much for the war waged by the Argives against the Thebans on account of the sons of Oedipus.

10. πολυάνδριον δὲ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστί: κεῖνται δὲ ὀπόσους κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἀντιτεταγμένους. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀποφαίνουσι χωρίον ἔνθα Κάδμον λέγουσιν — ὅτῳ πιστά — τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ τῇ κρήνῃ, τοὺς ὀδόντας σπεύραντα, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀδόντων ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν.

[10.1] X. Not far from the gate is a common tomb, where lie all those who met their death when fighting against Alexander and the Macedonians. Hard by they show a place where, it is said, Cadmus (he may believe the story who likes) sowed the teeth of the dragon, which he slew at the fountain, from which teeth men came up out of the earth.

[2] ἔστι δὲ λόφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν πυλῶν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος: καλεῖται δὲ ὁ τε λόφος καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσμήνιος, παραρρέοντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἰσμηνοῦ. πρῶτα μὲν δὴ λίθου κατὰ τὴν ἑσοδὸν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὀνομαζόμενοι Πρόναοι: ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φειδίας, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν λέγεται Σκόπας: μετὰ δὲ ὁ

ναὸς ὠκοδόμηται. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα μεγέθει τε ἴσον τῷ ἐν Βραγχίдайς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ εἶδος οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον· ὅστις δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τούτων τὸ ἕτερον εἶδε καὶ τὸν εἰργασμένον ἐπύθετο, οὐ μεγάλη οἱ σοφία καὶ τὸ ἕτερον θεασασμένῳ Κανάχου ποίημα ὄν ἐπίστασθαι. διαφέρουσι δὲ τοσόνδε· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Βραγχίдайς χαλκοῦ, ὁ δὲ Ἰσμηνίος ἐστὶ κέδρου.

[10.2] On the right of the gate is a hill sacred to Apollo. Both the hill and the god are called Ismenian, as the river Ismenus flows by the place. First at the entrance are Athena and Hermes, stone figures and named Pronai (Of the fore-temple). The Hermes is said to have been made by Pheidias, the Athena by Scopas. The temple is built behind. The image is in size equal to that at Branchidae; and does not differ from it at all in shape. Whoever has seen one of these two images, and learnt who was the artist, does not need much skill to discern, when he looks at the other, that it is a work of Canachus. The only difference is that the image at Branchidae is of bronze, while the Ismenian is of cedar-wood.

[3] ἔστι δ' ἐνταῦθα λίθος ἐφ' ᾧ Μαντῶ φασὶ τὴν Τειρεσίου καθέζεσθαι. οὗτος μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου κεῖται, καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Μαντοῦς δίφρος· ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ λίθου πεποιημένας εἰκόνας Ἡνιόχης εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Πύρρας λέγουσι, θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κρέοντος, ὃς ἐδυνάστευεν ἐπιτροπεύων Λαοδάμαντα τὸν Ἐτεοκλέους.

[10.3] Here there is a stone, on which, they say, used to sit Manto, the daughter of Teiresias. This stone lies before the entrance, and they still call it Manto's chair. On the right of the temple are statues of women made of stone, said to be portraits of Henioche and Pyrrha, daughters of Creon, who reigned as guardian of Laodamas, the son of Eteocles.

[4] τόδε γε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι γινόμενον οἶδα ἐν Θήβαις· τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ παῖδα οἴκου τε δοκίμου καὶ αὐτὸν εὖ μὲν εἶδους, εὖ δὲ ἔχοντα καὶ ῥώμης, ἱερέα ἐνιαύσιον ποιοῦσιν· ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ δαφναφόρος, στεφάνους γὰρ φύλλων δάφνης φοροῦσιν οἱ παῖδες. εἰ μὲν οὖν πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθέστηκεν ἀναθεῖναι δαφνηφορήσαντας χαλκοῦν τῷ θεῷ τρίποδα, οὐκ ἔχω δηλώσαι, δοκῶ δὲ οὐ πᾶσιν εἶναι νόμον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐώρων αὐτόθι ἀνακειμένους· οἱ δ' οὖν εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν παιδῶν ἀνατιθέασιν. ἐπιφανὴς δὲ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τε ἀρχαιότητι καὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος τῇ δόξῃ τρίπους ἐστὶν Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ Ἡρακλεῖ δαφνηφορήσαντι.

[10.4] The following custom is, to my knowledge, still carried out in Thebes. A boy of noble family, who is himself both handsome and strong, is chosen priest of Ismenian Apollo for a year. He is called Laurel-bearer, for the boys wear wreaths of laurel leaves. I cannot say for certain whether all alike who have worn the laurel dedicate by custom a bronze tripod to the god; but I do not think that it is the rule for all, because I did not see many votive tripods there. But the wealthier of the boys do certainly dedicate them. Most remarkable both for its age and for the fame of him who dedicated it is a

tripod dedicated by Amphitryon for Heracles after he had worn the laurel.

[5] ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου τὴν κρήνην ἴδοις ἄν, ἥντινα Ἄρεώς φασιν ἱερὰν εἶναι καὶ δράκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐπιτετάχθαι φύλακα τῇ πηγῇ. πρὸς ταύτῃ τῇ κρήνῃ τάφος ἐστὶ Καάνθου· Μελίας δὲ ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ παῖδα εἶναι Κάανθον λέγουσι, σταλῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ζητήσοντα ἡρπασμένην τὴν ἀδελφήν. ὥς δὲ Απόλλωνα εὐρὼν ἔχοντα τὴν Μελίαν οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἀφελέσθαι, πῦρ ἐτόλμησεν ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐνεῖναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦτο ὃ νῦν καλοῦσιν Ἰσμήνιον· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ θεός, καθά φασιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, τοξεύει.

[10.5] Higher up than the Ismenian sanctuary you may see the fountain which they say is sacred to Ares, and they add that a dragon was posted by Ares as a sentry over the spring. By this fountain is the grave of Caanthus. They say that he was brother to Melia and son to Ocean, and that he was commissioned by his father to seek his sister, who had been carried away. Finding that Apollo had Melia, and being unable to get her from him, he dared to set fire to the precinct of Apollo that is now called the Ismenian sanctuary. The god, according to the Thebans, shot him.

[6] Καάνθου μὲν ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶ μνημα, Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Μελίας γενέσθαι λέγουσι Τήνερον καὶ Ἰσμηνόν· Τηνέρω μὲν Ἀπόλλων μαντικὴν δίδωσι, τοῦ δὲ Ἰσμηνίου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχεν ὁ ποταμός. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα ἦν ἀνώνυμος, εἰ δὴ καὶ Λάδων ἐκαλεῖτο πρὶν Ἰσμηνὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος.

[10.6] Here then is the tomb of Caanthus. They say that Apollo had sons by Melia, to wit, Tenerus and Ismenus. To Tenerus Apollo gave the art of divination, and from Ismenus the river got its name. Not that the river was nameless before, if indeed it was called Ladon before Ismenus was born to Apollo.

11. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῶν πυλῶν, ἃς ὀνομάζουσιν Ἥλεκτρας, οἰκίας ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἐνθα οἰκῆσαι φασιν Ἀμφιτρύωνα διὰ τὸν Ἥλεκτρώωνος θάνατον φεύγοντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος· καὶ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης ἐστὶν ἐτι ὁ θάλαμος ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις δῆλος. οἰκοδομησαὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀμφιτρώωνι Τροφώνιον φασὶ καὶ Ἀγαμήδην, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆναι τόδε: “Ἀμφιτρώων ὅτ' ἔμελλ' ἀγαγέσθαι δεῦρο γυναῖκα

Ἀλκμήνην, θάλαμόν γ' εἰλίξατο τοῦτον ἑαυτῷ:

Ἀγχάσιος δ' ἐποίησε Τροφώνιος ἡδ' Ἀγαμήδης.

“

[11.1] XI. On the left of the gate named Electran are the ruins of a house where they say Amphitryon came to live when exiled from Tiryns because of the death of Electryon; and the chamber of Alcmena is still plainly to be seen among the ruins. They say that it was built for Amphitryon by Trophonius and Agamedes, and that on it was written the following inscription:—

When Amphitryon was about to bring hither his bride

Alcmena, he chose this as a chamber for himself.

Anchasian Trophonius and Agamedes made it.

[2] τοῦτο μὲν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι γραφῆναι λέγουσιν: ἐπιδεικνύουσι δὲ Ἡρακλέους τῶν παιδῶν τῶν ἐκ Μεγάρας μνημα, οὐδέν τι ἀλλοίως τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον λέγοντες ἢ Σησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος καὶ Πανύασσις ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησαν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, ὥς Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς μανίας καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνα ἐμελλεν ἀποκτινύναι, πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὕπνος ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λίθου τῆς πληγῆς: Ἀθηναῖν δὲ εἶναι τὴν ἐπαφεῖσάν οἱ τὸν λίθον τοῦτον ὄντινα Σωφρονιστῆρα ὀνομάζουσιν.

[11.2] Such was the inscription that the Thebans say was written here. They show also the tomb of the children of Heracles by Megara. Their account of the death of these is in no way different from that in the poems of Panyassis and of Stesichorus of Himera. But the Thebans add that Heracles in his madness was about to kill Amphitryon as well, but before he could do so he was rendered unconscious by the blow of the stone. Athena, they say, threw at him this stone, which they name Chastiser.

[3] ἐνταῦθ' αἰσιν ἐπὶ τύπου γυναικῶν εἰκόνες: ἀμυδρότερα ἤδη τὰ ἀγάλματα: ταύτας καλοῦσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Φαρμακίδας, πεμθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας φασὶν ἐμπόδια εἶναι ταῖς ὥδισιν Ἀλκμήνης. αἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπεῖχον Ἀλκμήνην μὴ τεκεῖν: Τειρεσίου δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἰστορίδι σόφισμα ἔπεισιν ἐς τὰς Φαρμακίδας, ἐς ἐπήκοον αὐτῶν ὀλολύξαι, τετοκέναι γὰρ τὴν Ἀλκμήνην: οὕτω τὰς μὲν ἀπατηθείσας ἀπελθεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἀλκμήνην τεκεῖν φασιν.

[11.3] Here are portraits of women in relief, but the figures are by this time rather indistinct. The Thebans call them Witches, adding that they were sent by Hera to hinder the birth-pangs of Alcmena. So these kept Alcmena from bringing forth her child. But Historis, the daughter of Teiresias, thought of a trick to deceive the Witches, and she uttered a loud cry of joy in their hearing, that Alcmena had been delivered. So the story goes that the Witches were deceived and went away, and Alcmena brought forth her child.

[4] ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλεῖόν ἐστιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ τὸ μὲν λίθου λευκοῦ Πρόμαχος καλούμενον, ἔργον δὲ Ξενοκρίτου καὶ Εὐβίου Θηβαίων: τὸ δὲ ξόανον τὸ ἀρχαῖον Θηβαῖοι τε εἶναι Δαιδάλου νενομίκασι καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο ἔχειν οὕτω. τοῦτον ἀνέθηκεν αὐτός, ὥς λέγεται, Δαίδαλος ἐκτίνων εὐεργεσίας χάριν. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἔφευγεν ἐκ Κρήτης πλοῖα οὐ μεγάλα αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ Ἰκάρῳ ποιησάμενος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, ὃ μὴ πω τοῖς τότε ἐξεύρητο, ἰστία ἐπιτεχνησάμενος, ὥς τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ τὴν εἰρεσίαν φθάνοιεν ἐπιφόρῳ τῷ ἀνέμῳ χρώμενοι, τότε αὐτὸς μὲν σώζεται Δαίδαλος,

[11.4] Here is a sanctuary of Heracles. The image, of white marble, is called Champion, and the Thebans Xenocritus and Eubius were the artists. But the ancient wooden image is thought by the Thebans to be by Daedalus, and the same opinion occurred to me. It was dedicated, they say, by Daedalus himself, as a thank-offering for a benefit. For when he was fleeing from Crete in small

vessels which he had made for himself and his son Icarus, he devised for the ships sails, an invention as yet unknown to the men of those times, so as to take advantage of a favorable wind and outsail the oared fleet of Minos. Daedalus himself was saved,

[5] Ἰκάρῳ δὲ κυβερνῶντι ἀμαθέστερον ἀνατραπῆναι τὴν ναῦν λέγουσιν: ἀποπνιγέντα δὲ ἐξήνεγκεν ὁ κλύδων ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ Σάμου νῆσον ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνώνυμον.

ἐπιτυχὼν δὲ Ἡρακλῆς γνωρίζει τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ ἔθαψεν ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι αὐτῷ χῶμα οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἐστὶν ἀνεχούσης ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰκάρου τούτου ὄνομα ἦ τε νῆσος καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν θάλασσα ἔσχηκε.

[11.5] but the ship of Icarus is said to have overturned, as he was a clumsy helmsman. The drowned man was carried ashore by the current to the island, then without a name, that lies off Samos. Heracles came across the body and recognized it, giving it burial where even to-day a small mound still stands to Icarus on a promontory jutting out into the Aegean. After this Icarus are named both the island and the sea around it.

[6] Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἄθλων: καὶ σφισι τὰ ἐς τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐνδεῖ τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφάλῳ καὶ ὡς ἐκάθηρεν Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Ἥλειαν χώραν, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ἡ πρὸς Ἀνταῖον πάλῃ πεποιήται. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ὁ Λύκου καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τυραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καταλύσαντες — ὀρμηθεῖσι γάρ σφισιν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐγένετο ἡ κάθοδος — Ἀθηναῖν καὶ Ἡρακλέα κολοσσοὺς ἐπὶ λίθου τύπου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν, ἔργα δὲ Ἀλκαμένους, ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον.

[11.6] The carvings on the gables at Thebes are by Praxiteles, and include most of what are called the twelve labours. The slaughter of the Stymphalian birds and the cleansing of the land of Elis by Heracles are omitted; in their place is represented the wrestling with Antaeus. Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, and the Athenians who with him put down the tyranny of the Thirty, set out from Thebes when they returned to Athens, and therefore they dedicated in the sanctuary of Heracles colossal figures of Athena and Heracles, carved by Alcamenes in relief out of Pentelic marble.

[7] τοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλείου γυμνάσιον ἔχεται καὶ στάδιον, ἀμφοτέρω ἐπώνυμα τοῦ θεοῦ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Σωφρονιστῆρα λίθον βωμός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν Σποδίου, πεποιήται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν ἱερείων. μαντικὴ δὲ καθέστηκεν αὐτόθι ἀπὸ κληδόνων, ἥ δὴ καὶ Σμυρναίους μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρωμένους οἶδα: ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Σμυρναίοις ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους Κληδόνων ἱερόν.

[11.7] Adjoining the sanctuary of Heracles are a gymnasium and a race-course, both being named after the god. Beyond the Chastiser stone is an altar of Apollo surnamed God of Ashes; it is made out of the ashes of the victims. The customary mode of divination here is from voices, which is used by the

Smyrnaeans, to my knowledge, more than by any other Greeks. For at Smyrna also there is a sanctuary of Voices outside the wall and beyond the city.

12. τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι Θηβαῖοι τῷ Σποδίῳ ταύρους ἔθουν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· καὶ ποτε παρούσης σφίσι τῆς ἑορτῆς ἢ τε ὥρα κατήπειγε τῆς θυσίας καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον οὐχ ἦκον· οὕτω δὴ παρατυχούσης ἀμάξης τὸν ἕτερον τῶν βοῶν τῷ θεῷ θύουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐργάτας βοῦς θύειν νομίζουσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν λόγος, ὡς ἀπίνοντι ἐκ Δελφῶν Κάδμω τὴν ἐπὶ Φωκέων βοῦς γένοιτο ἡγεμὼν τῆς πορείας, τὴν δὲ βοῦν ταύτην παρὰ βουκόλων εἶναι τῶν Πελάγοντος ὠνητήν· ἐπὶ δὲ ἑκατέρᾳ τῆς βοῦς πλευρᾷ σημεῖον ἐπεῖναι λευκὸν εἰκασμένον κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης, ὅποτε εἴη πλήρης.

[12.1] XII. The Thebans in ancient days used to sacrifice bulls to Apollo of the Ashes. Once when the festival was being held, the hour of the sacrifice was near but those sent to fetch the bull had not arrived. And so, as a wagon happened to be near by, they sacrificed to the god one of the oxen, and ever since it has been the custom to sacrifice working oxen. The following story also is current among the Thebans. As Cadmus was leaving Delphi by the road to Phocis, a cow, it is said, guided him on his way. This cow was one bought from the herdsmen of Pelagon, and on each of her sides was a white mark like the orb of a full moon.

[2] ἔδει δὲ ἄρα Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μαντείαν, ἔνθα ἢ βοῦς ἐμελλε καμοῦσα ὀκλάσειν· ἀποφαίνουσιν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ Κάδμον λέγουσι. τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσιν ἐς γῆν ἀφικέσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαίδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοίνικα ὄντα, ἔστιν ἐναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὅγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σαῖς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν.

[12.2] Now the oracle of the god had said that Cadmus and the host with him were to make their dwelling where the cow was going to sink down in weariness. So this is one of the places that they point out. Here there is in the open an altar and an image of Athena, said to have been dedicated by Cadmus. Those who think that the Cadmus who came to the Theban land was an Egyptian, and not a Phoenician, have their opinion contradicted by the name of this Athena, because she is called by the Phoenician name of Onga, and not by the Egyptian name of Sais.

[3] φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, καθότι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀγορά σφισιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιήται, Κάδμου τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκίαν εἶναι· θαλάμων δὲ ἀποφαίνουσι τοῦ μὲν Ἀρμονίας ἐρείπια καὶ ὃν Σεμέλης φασὶν εἶναι, τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἄβατον φυλάσσουν ἀνθρώποις. Ἑλλήνων δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεχομένοις ἄσαι Μούσας ἐς τὸν Ἀρμονίας γάμον τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔνθα δὴ φασὶ τὰς θεὰς ἄσαι.

[12.3] The Thebans assert that on the part of their citadel, where to-day stands their market-place, was in ancient times the house of Cadmus. They point out

the ruins of the bridal-chamber of Harmonia, and of one which they say was Semele's into the latter they allow no man to step even now. Those Greeks who allow that the Muses sang at the wedding of Harmonia, can point to the spot in the market-place where it is said that the goddesses sang.

[4] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὡς ὁμοῦ τῷ κεραυνῷ βληθέντι ἐς τὸν Σεμέλης θάλαμον πέσοι ξύλον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ: Πολύδωρον δὲ τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο χαλκῷ λέγουσιν ἐπικοσμήσαντα Διόνυσον καλέσαι Κάδμον. πλησίον δὲ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα, καὶ τοῦτο Ὀνασιμήδης ἐποίησε δι' ὅλου πληρὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ: τὸν βωμὸν δὲ οἱ παῖδες εἰργάσαντο οἱ Πραξιτέλους.

[12.4] There is also a story that along with the thunderbolt hurled at the bridalchamber of Semele there fell a log from heaven. They say that Polydorus adorned this log with bronze and called it Dionysus Cadmus. Near is an image of Dionysus; Onasimedes made it of solid bronze. The altar was built by the sons of Praxiteles.

[5] ἀνδριάς τέ ἐστι Προνόμου ἀνδρὸς αὐλήσαντος ἐπαγωγότατα ἐς τοὺς πολλούς. τέως μὲν γε ιδέας αὐλῶν τρεῖς ἐκτῶντο οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ τοῖς μὲν αὐλημα ἠϋλοῦν τὸ Δώριον, διάφοροι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἁρμονίαν τὴν Φρύγιον ἐπεποίηντο οἱ αὐλοί, τὸ δὲ καλούμενον Λύδιον ἐν αὐλοῖς ἠϋλεῖτο ἄλλοις: Πρόνομος δὲ ἦν ὃς πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν αὐλοὺς ἐς ἅπαν ἁρμονίας εἶδος ἔχοντας ἐπιτηδεῖως, πρῶτος δὲ διάφορα ἐς τοσοῦτο μέλη ἐπ' αὐλοῖς ἠϋλησε τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

[12.5] There is a statue of Pronomus, a very great favorite with the people for his playing on the flute. For a time flute-players had three forms of the flute. On one they played Dorian music; for Phrygian melodies flutes of a different pattern were made; what is called the Lydian mode was played on flutes of a third kind. It was Pronomus who first devised a flute equally suited for every kind of melody, and was the first to play on the same instrument music so vastly different in form.

[6] λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς κινήσει σώματος περισσῶς δὴ τι ἕτερεπε τὰ θέατρα: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄσμα πεποιημένον ἐστὶ ἐς προσόδιον ἐς Δῆλον τοῖς ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ Χαλκιδεῦσι. τοῦτόν τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τὸν Πολύμνιδος ἀνέθεσαν.

[12.6] It is also said that he gave his audience untold delight by the expression of his face and by the movement of his whole body. He also composed for the Chalcidians on the Euripus a processional tune for their use in Delos. So the Thebans set up here a statue of this man, and like-wise one of Epaminondas, son of Polymnis.

EPAMINONDAS OF THEBES, HISTORY

13. τῷ δ' Ἐπαμινώνδῃ τὰ μὲν τῶν προγόνων ὑπῆρχεν ἐς γένους δόξαν, ὁ δὲ οἱ πατὴρ χρημάτων ἔνεκα μέσου ἀνδρὸς ἀπέδει Θηβαίου: διδάγματα δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ἐπιχώρια ἔμαθεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον καὶ ὡς ἤδη μειράκιον ἦν ἐφοίτησεν

ὥς Λῦσιν, ἄνδρα γένος μὲν Ταραντῖνον, ἐπιστάμενον δὲ τοὺς Πυθαγόρου τοῦ Σαμίου λόγους. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας, ἡνίκα ἐπολέμουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μαντινεῦσι, πεμφθῆναι σὺν ἄλλοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκ Θηβῶν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαμύνειν: ἔχοντα δὲ τραύματα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Πελοπίδα ἐξέσωσεν ἐς ἅπαν ἀφικόμενος κινδύνου.

[13.1] XIII. Epaminondas had famous ancestors, but his father had less wealth than a Theban of ordinary means. He was most thoroughly taught all the subjects of the national education, and when a young man went to receive instruction from Lysis, a Tarentine by descent, learned in the philosophy of Pythagoras the Samian. When Lacedaemon was at war with Mantinea, Epaminondas is said to have been sent with certain others from Thebes to help the Lacedaemonians. In the battle Pelopidas received wounds, but his life was saved by Epaminondas at the greatest risk to his own.

[2] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐς Σπάρτην ἦκοντα Ἐπαμινώνδαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι συντίθεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔφασαν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου καλουμένην, τηνικαῦτα Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἤρετο Ἀγησίλαος, εἰ κατὰ πόλιν ὁμνῦναι Βοιωτοὺς ἐάσουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης: ‘οὐ πρότερόν γε’ εἶπεν ‘ὦ Σπαρτιάται, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ὁμνύοντας κατὰ πόλιν ἴδωμεν τοὺς ὑμετέρους’.

[13.2] Later on, when Epaminondas had come to Sparta as an envoy, what time the Lacedaemonians said they were concluding with the Greeks the peace called the Peace of Antalcidas, Agesilaus asked him whether they would allow each Boeotian city to swear to the peace separately. He replied: “No, Spartans, not before we see your vassals taking the oath city by city.”

[3] ὥς δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἐξήρτο ἤδη πόλεμος καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυνάμει καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἤεσαν, Ἐπαμινώνδας μὲν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἀντεκάθητο ὑπὲρ τῆς Κηφισίδος λίμνης ὥς ποιησομένων ταύτῃ Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐσβολήν, Κλεόμβροτος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἀμβρόσσου τρέπεται τῆς Φωκῆων: ἀποκτείνας δὲ Χαϊρέαν, ὃς φυλάσσειν διετέτακτο τὰς παρόδους, καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Θηβαίους, ὑπερέβη καὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα ἀφικνεῖται τὰ Βοιώτια.

[13.3] When the war between Lacedaemon and Thebes had already broken out, and the Lacedaemonians were advancing to attack the Thebans with a force of their own men and of their allies, Epaminondas with a part of the army occupied to meet them a position above the Cephisian lake, under the impression that at this point the Peloponnesians would make their invasion. But Cleombrotus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, turned towards Ambrossus in Phocis. He massacred a Theban force under Chaereas, who was under orders to guard the passes, crossed the high ground and reached Leuctra in Boeotia.

[4] ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτῷ Κλεομβρότῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τῷ κοινῷ σημεία

ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς ἐξόδους πρόβατα εἶπετο θεοῖς τε εἶναι θυσίας καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων καλλιερεῖν: ταῖς δὲ ποιμναις ἡγεμόνες τῆς πορείας ἦσαν αἶγες, κατοιάδας οἱ ποιμένες ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτάς. τότε οὖν ὀρμήσαντες ἐς τὴν ποιμνὴν λύκοι τοῖς μὲν προβάτοις ἐγίνοντο οὐδὲν βλάβος, οἱ δὲ τὰς αἶγας τὰς κατοιάδας ἔκτεινον.

[13.4] Here heaven sent signs to the Lacedaemonian people and to Cleombrotus personally. The Lacedaemonian kings were accompanied on their expeditions by sheep, to serve as sacrifices to the gods and to give fair omens before battles. The flocks were led on the march by she-goats, called katoiades by the herdsmen. On this occasion, then, the wolves dashed on the flock, did no harm at all to the sheep, but killed the goats called katoiades.

[5] ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ μῆνιμα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων εἶναι τῶν Σκεδάσου. Σκεδάσῳ γὰρ περὶ Λεῦκτρα οἰκοῦντι θυγατέρες Μολπία γίνεται καὶ Ἰππώ: ταύτας ἐς ὥραν ἤδη προηκούσας Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνδρες βιάζονται παρὰ θέμιδας καὶ Φρουραρχίδας καὶ Παρθένιος. καὶ αἱ τε παρθένοι παραντίκα — οὐ γὰρ σφισιν ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῆς ὕβρεως — ἀπάγχουσιν αὐτάς: καὶ ὁ Σκέδασος, ὥς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντι οὐδεμία ἐγένετο αὐτῷ δίκη, οὕτως ἐς τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐπανήκων αὐτὸν διεργάζεται.

[13.5] It was also said that the wrath of the daughters of Scedasus fell upon the Lacedaemonians. Scedasus, who lived near Leuctra, had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo. These in the bloom of their youth were wickedly outraged by two Lacedaemonians, Phrurarchidas and Parthenius. The maidens, unable to bear the shame of their violation, immediately hanged themselves. Scedasus repaired to Lacedaemon, but meeting with no justice returned to Leuctra and committed suicide.

[6] τότε δὲ ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας Σκεδάσῳ καὶ ταῖς παισὶν ἐνήγιζέ τε καὶ εὐχέτο, ὥς οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θηβαίων ἢ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκείνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσόμενον. τῶν δὲ βοιωταρχούντων οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνοντο αἱ γνώμαι, διεστηκυῖαι δὲ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων: Ἐπαμινώνδα μὲν γὰρ ἤρεσκε καὶ Μάλγιδι καὶ Ξενοκράτει κατὰ τάχος πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, Δαμοκλείδας δὲ καὶ Δαμόφιλος καὶ Σιμάγγελος συμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ εἶον, ἐκέλευον δὲ ὑπεκθεμένους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ὥς πολιορκησομένων αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζεσθαι.

[13.6] Well, on this occasion Epaminondas sacrificed with prayers to Scedasus and his girls, implying that the battle would be to avenge them no less than to secure the salvation of Thebes. The Boeotarchs were not agreed, but differed widely in their opinions. For Epaminondas, Malgis and Xenocrates were minded to do battle with the Lacedaemonians at once, but Damocleidas, Damophilus and Simangelus were against joining in battle, and urged that they should put wives and children safely out of the way in Attica, and prepare to undergo a siege themselves.

[7] τῶν μὲν δὴ ἕξ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦν κεχωρισμένα τὰ βουλευόμενα: προσγενομένης

δὲ ψήφου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν τοῦ ἐβδόμου τῶν Βοιωτάρχων, ὃς ἐφρούρει μὲν τὴν κατὰ τὸν Κιθαῖρωνα ἐσβολήν, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν οἱ Βραχυλλίδης, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, προσθεμένου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν, τότε καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδέδοκτο ἀγωνίᾳ διακρίνεσθαι.

[13.7] So divergent were the views of the six. The seventh Boeotarch, whose name was Brachyllides, was guarding the pass by Cithaeron, and on his return to the army added his vote to the side of Epaminondas, and then there was a unanimous decision to try the ordeal of battle.

[8] τῷ δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ καὶ ἐς ἄλλους Βοιωτῶν ὑποπτα ἦν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς Θεσπιεῖς καὶ περισσότερον: δείσας οὖν μὴ σφᾶς παρὰ τὸ ἔργον προδῶσιν, ἀποχώρησιν παρείχεν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν οἴκαδε: καὶ οἱ Θεσπιεῖς τε ἀπαλλάσσονται πανδημει καὶ εἴ τισιν ἄλλοις Βοιωτῶν ὑπὴν δύσνοια ἐς τοὺς Θηβαίους.

[13.8] But Epaminondas had his suspicions of some of the Boeotians especially of the Thespians. Fearing, therefore, lest they should desert during the engagement, he permitted all who would to leave the camp and go home. The Thespians left with all their forces, as did any other Boeotians who felt annoyed with the Thebans.

[9] ὡς δὲ ἐς χειρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄτε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενοι τὸ ἔχθος μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυντο, οὔτε κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἐθέλοντες, ἐνδιδόντες δὲ ὅπη σφίσιν οἱ πολέμιοι προσφέροιντο. αὐτοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θηβαίους ἐξ ἴσου καθίστη τοὺς μὲν ἐμπειρία τε ἢ προϋπάρχουσα καὶ ἅμα αἰδουμένους μὴ καταλῦσαι τῆς Σπάρτης τὸ ἀξίωμα, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐφεστηκότα ἐώρων.

[13.9] When the battle joined, the allies of the Lacedaemonians, who had hitherto been not the best of friends, now showed most clearly their hostility, by their reluctance to stand their ground, and by giving way wherever the enemy attacked them. The Lacedaemonians themselves and the Thebans were not badly matched adversaries. The former had their previous experience, and their shame of lessening the reputation of Sparta; the Thebans realized that what was at stake was their country, their wives and their children.

[10] ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι τε Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτεθνήκει Κλεόμβροτος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένους ἐπελάμβανεν ἀνάγκη μὴ ἐνδιδόναι: παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰσχιστον ἐδέδοκτο εἶναι βασιλέως νεκρὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδράσι πολεμίοις γενόμενον περιποθῆναι.

[13.10] But when king Cleombrotus with several Lacedaemonian magistrates had fallen, the Spartans were bound by necessity not to give way, in spite of their distress. For among the Lacedaemonians it was considered the greatest disgrace to allow the body of a king to come into the hands of enemies.

[11] Θηβαίοις μὲν ἡ νίκη κατείργαστο ἐπιφανέστατα πασῶν ὁπόσας κατὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀνείλοντο Ἕλληνες· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας διενοοῦντο ὥς θάγοντες καὶ ἀποστέλλουσι κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Ἐπαμινώνδας δέ, ἐπιστάμενος ὥς ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὰς συμφορὰς αἰέ ποτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεφύκασιν, ἔφασκεν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν προτέροις αὐτῶν διδόναι τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἀνελομένοις οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡξίου θάπτειν τοὺς αὐτῶν.

[13.11] The victory of Thebes was the most famous ever won by Greeks over Greeks. The Lacedaemonians on the following day were minded to bury their dead, and sent a herald to the Thebans. But Epaminondas, knowing that the Lacedaemonians were always inclined to cover up their disasters, said that he permitted their allies first to take up their dead, and only when these had done so did he approve of the Lacedaemonians' burying their own dead.

[12] ὥς δὲ τῶν συμμάχων οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀνηροῦντο ἅτε οὐ τεθνεῶτός σφισιν οὐδενός, τῶν δὲ ὀλίγον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὸ διεφθαρμένον, οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε ἔθαπτον τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἥδη Σπαρτιάτας ἐξελήλεγκτο εἶναι τοὺς κειμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ Θηβαίων τε καὶ ὅσοι παρέμειναν Βοιωτῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ χίλιοι.

[13.12] Some of the allies took up no dead at all, as not a man of them had fallen; others had but slight loss to report. So when the Lacedaemonians proceeded to bury their own, it was at once proved that the fallen were Spartans. The loss of the Thebans and of such Boeotians as remained loyal amounted to forty-seven, but of the Lacedaemonians themselves there fell more than a thousand men.

14. τὸ μὲν δὴ παραντίκα ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας μετὰ τὴν μάχην Πελοποννησίων τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀπιέναι προειπὼν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν τοῖς Λεῦκτροις εἶχεν ἀπειλημένους· ὥς δὲ ἤκουε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Σπαρτιάτας βοηθήσοντας τοῖς σφετέροις ἐς Λεῦκτρα ἰέναι πανδημεί, δίδωσιν οὕτω τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους ἔφη τε ἄμεινον ἔσσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀπόσασθαι.

[14.1] XIV. After the battle Epaminondas for a while, having proclaimed that the other Peloponnesians should depart home, kept the Lacedaemonians cooped up in Leuctra. But when reports came that the Spartans in the city were marching to a man to the help of their countrymen at Leuctra, Epaminondas allowed his enemy to depart under a truce, saying that it would be better for the Boeotians to shift the war from Boeotia to Lacedaemon.

[2] Θεσπιεῦσι δέ, ὑφορωμένοις τὴν τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῶν Θηβαίων δυσμένειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι αὐτῶν τύχην, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἔδοξεν ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀναφεύγειν δὲ ἐς Κερησσόν. ἔστι δὲ ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ὁ Κερησσός ἐν τῇ Θεσπιέων, ἐς ὃ καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ ἀνεσκευάσαντο κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τὴν Θεσσαλῶν· οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ τότε, ὥς ἐλεῖν τὸν Κερησσόν σφισι πειρωμένοις ἐφαίνετο ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον, ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δελφοὺς παρὰ τὸν θεόν, καὶ

[14.2] The Thespians, apprehensive because of the ancient hostility of Thebes and its present good fortune, resolved to abandon their city and to seek a refuge in Ceressus. It is a stronghold in the land of the Thespians, in which once in days of old they had established themselves to meet the invasion of the Thessalians. On that occasion the Thessalians tried to take Ceressus, but success seemed hopeless. So they consulted the god at Delphi,

[3] αὐτοῖς γίνεται μάντευμα τοιόνδε:”Λεῦκτρά τέ μοι σκιάοντα μέλει καὶ Ἀλήσιον οὐδας,

καὶ μοι τὼ Σκεδάσου μέλετον δυσπενθέε κούρα.

ἔνθα μάχη πολύδακρυς ἐπέρχεται: οὐδέ τις αὐτὴν

φράσσεται ἀνθρώπων, πρὶν κούριον ἀγλαὸν ἦβην

Δωριέες ὀλέσωσ’, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

τούτάκι δ’ ἔστι Κερησσὸς ἀλώσιμος, ἄλλοτε δ’ οὐχί.

“

[14.3] and received the following response:—

A care to me is shady Leuctra, and so is the Alesian soil;

A care to me are the two sorrowful girls of Scedasus.

There a tearful battle is nigh, and no one will foretell it,

Until the Dorians have lost their glorious youth,

When the day of fate has come.

Then may Ceressus be captured, but at no other time.

[4] τότε δὲ ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὡς τοὺς Θεσπιεῖς καταφεύγοντας ἐς τὸν Κερησσὸν ἐξεῖλε, πρὸς τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παραυτίκα ἔσπευδεν ἄτε καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων προθύμως μεταπεμπομένων. ἐλθὼν δὲ Ἀργεῖους μὲν προσελάβετο ἐκουσίους συμμάχους, Μαντινέας δὲ κατὰ κόμας ὑπὸ Ἀγησιπόλειδος διωκισμένους ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήγαγεν αὐθις πόλιν: τὰ δὲ πολίσματα τὰ Ἀρκάδων ὅποσα εἶχεν ἀσθενῶς καταλῦσαι πείσας τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, πατρίδα ἐν κοινῷ σφισιν ὥκισεν, ἣ Μεγάλη καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι καλεῖται πόλις.

[14.4] On the latter occasion Epaminondas captured the Thespians who had taken refuge in Ceressus, and immediately afterwards devoted his attention to the situation in the Peloponnesus, to which also the Arcadians were eagerly inviting him. On his arrival he won the willing support of Argos, while he collected again into their ancient city the Mantineans, who had been scattered into village communities by Agesipolis. He persuaded the Arcadians to destroy all their weak towns, and built them a home where they could live together, which even at the present day is called Megalopolis (Great City).

[5] ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος βοιωταρχοῦντι Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ διήνυστο, τεθνάναι δὲ ἐτέτακτο ἐπιλαβόντα ἄνδρα τῆς ἀρχῆς: ὁ οὖν Ἐπαμινώνδας ὑπεριδὼν ὡς οὐκ ὄντα ἐν καιρῷ τὸν νόμον ἐβιοωτάρχει καὶ ἀφικόμενος τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν

Σπάρτην, ὥς οὐκ ἀντεπῆγεν Ἀγησίλαος μαχοῦμενος, οὕτω πρὸς τὸν οἰκισμὸν τρέπεται Μεσσήνης. καὶ οἰκιστὴς Μεσσηνίοις τοῖς νῦν ἐστὶν Ἐπαμινώνδας· καὶ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν ἐδήλωσε τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα Μεσσηνίους.

[14.5] The period of his office as Boeotarch had now expired, and death was the penalty fixed if a man exceeded it. So Epaminondas, disregarding the law as out of date, remained in office, marched to Sparta with his army, and when Agesilaus did not come out to meet him, turned to the founding of Messene. Epaminondas, was the founder of the modern Messene, and the history of its foundation I have included in my account of the Messenians themselves.

[6] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων σύμμαχοι κατέτρεχον διασκεδασθέντες χώραν τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ ἥρπαζον τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς· τοῦτο Ἐπαμινώνδα παρέστησεν ὀπίσω Θηβαίους ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἀπαγαγεῖν. καὶ ὥς προῖων τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ Λέχαιον ἐγίνετο καὶ διεξιέναι τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ στενὰ καὶ δύσβατα ἔμελλεν, Ἴφικράτης ὁ Τιμοθέου πελταστὰς καὶ ἄλλην Ἀθηναίων ἔχων δύναμιν ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς Θηβαίοις.

[14.6] Meanwhile the allies of Thebes scattered and overran the Laconian territory, pillaging what it contained. This persuaded Epaminondas to lead the Thebans back to Boeotia. In his advance with the army he came over against Lechaeum, and was about to cross the narrow and difficult parts of the road, when Iphicrates, the son of Timotheus, attacked the Thebans with a force of targeteers and other Athenians.

[7] Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους τρέπεται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἀφικόμενος Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἄστυ, ὥς ἐπεξιέναι μαχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκώλυεν Ἴφικράτης, ὁ δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὰς Θήβας ἀπῆλυνε. καὶ δίκην μὲν ἔφυγεν ὑπὲρ θανάτου, διότι ἐβιωτάρχησεν ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου· λέγονται δὲ οἱ δικάζειν λαχόντες οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ θέσθαι τὴν ψῆφον.

[14.7] Epaminondas put his assailants to flight and came right up to the very city of Athens, but as Iphicrates dissuaded the Athenians from coming out to fight, he proceeded to march back to Thebes. Epaminondas stood his trial on a capital charge for holding the office of Boeotarch when his tenure had already expired. It is said that the jury appointed to try him did not even record their votes on the charge.

15. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ δυναστεύων Ἀλέξανδρος Πελοπίδαν ἐλθόντα — ἀφίκετο δὲ ὥς παρὰ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ τε εὖνουν αὐτῷ καὶ Θηβαίων φίλον τῷ κοινῷ — παραγενόμενον δὴ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος δῆσας εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ὕβρεως· Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐπεξιέναι παραυτίκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὥρμητο. ἡγεμόνας μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐξόδου Κλεομένην καὶ Ὑπατον ἐποιήσαντο βιωταρχοῦντας ἐν τῷ τότε· Ἐπαμινώνδα δὲ συνέβαινεν ἐν τοῖς στρατευομένοις τετάχθαι.

[15.1] XV. After these things when Alexander held sway in Thessaly, Pelopidas came to him, under the impression that he was well-disposed to him

personally as well as a friend to the Theban commonwealth, but on his arrival was treacherously and insolently thrown into prison and kept there by Alexander. The Thebans at once set out to attack Alexander, and made leaders of the expedition Cleomenes and Hypatus, who were Boeotarchs at that time; Epaminondas was serving in the ranks.

[2] γεγονυίας δὲ ἐκτὸς Πυλῶν οἱ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτίθεται σφισιν ἐν δυσχωρίαις λοχήσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· ὥς δὲ ἐφαίνετο ἄπορα εἶναι τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας, οὕτω δὴ ὃ τε λοιπὸς στρατὸς ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ οἱ Βοιωτάρχαι παραχωροῦσιν ἐκουσίως τῆς ἀρχῆς· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὔτε ἔτι ἐθάρρει τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγοῦντα ὁρῶν τοῖς ἐναντίοις Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ ἐκὼν Πελοπίδαν ἀφήσιν.

[15.2] When the force had reached the other side of Thermopylae, Alexander surprised and attacked it on difficult ground. As there appeared to be no means of safety, the rest of the army chose Epaminondas to be leader, and the Boeotarchs of their own accord resigned the command. Alexander lost confidence in winning the war when he saw Epaminondas at the head of his opponents, and of his own accord set free Pelopidas.

[3] ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ἀπὴν ὁ Ἐπαμινώδης, Ὁρχομενίους Θηβαῖοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους ἐκ τῆς χώρας· συμφορὰν δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν Ὁρχομενίων ἐνόμιζεν ὁ Ἐπαμινώδης καὶ οὐ ποτ' ἂν ἐξεργασθῆναι τόλμημα τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ γε παρόντος ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ Θηβαίων.

[15.3] In the absence of Epaminondas the Thebans removed the Orchomenians from their land. Epaminondas regarded their removal as a disaster, and declared that had he been present never would the Thebans have been guilty of such an outrage.

[4] ὥς δὲ βοιωταρχεῖν αὐθις ἤρητο καὶ στρατῷ Βοιωτῶν ἀφίκετο αὐθις ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἐκράτησε μὲν περὶ Λέχαιον Λακεδαιμονίους μάχῃ, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀχαιῶν Πελληνέας καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὓς Χαβρίας ἦγεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. Θηβαίοις δὲ ἦν καθεστηκὸς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, ὁπόσους αἰχμαλώτους ἔλοιεν, ἀφιέναι χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν φεύγοντας ζημιοῦν θανάτῳ· πόλισμα οὖν ἐλὼν Σικυωνίων Φοιβίαν, ἔνθα ἦσαν τὸ πολὺ οἱ Βοιωτῆες φυγάδες συνηγμένοι, ἀφίησι τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἄλλην σφίσιν ἦν ἔτυχε πατρίδα ἐπονομάζων ἐκάστω.

[15.4] Elected again to be Boeotarch, and again invading the Peloponnesus with an army of Boeotians, he overcame the Lacedaemonians in a battle at Lechaeum, and with them Achaeans of Pellene and Athenians led from Athens by Chabrias. The Thebans had a rule that they should set free for a ransom all their prisoners except such as were Boeotian fugitives; these they punished with death. So when he captured the Sicyonian town of Phoebia, in which were gathered most of the Boeotian fugitives, he assigned to each of those whom he captured in it a new nationality, any that occurred to him, and set them free.

[5] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς Μαντίνειαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, νικῶν καὶ τότε ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἀπέθανεν Ἀθηναῖος· καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἱπέων μάχῃ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος γέγραπται φονεύων Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφῶντος, Ξενοφῶντος δὴ τοῦ Κύρου ὁδοῦ μετασχόντος ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ ὀπίσω τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἡγησαμένου.

[15.5] On reaching Mantinea with his army, he was killed in the hour of victory by an Athenian. In the painting at Athens of the battle of the cavalry the man who is killing Epaminondas is Grylus, the son of the Xenophon who took part in the expedition of Cyrus against king Artaxerxes and led the Greeks back to the sea.

[6] τῷ δὲ ἀνδριάντι τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου καὶ ἐλεγεία ἔπεστιν ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν λέγοντα καὶ ὅτι Μεσσήνης γένοιτο οἰκιστῆς καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὑπάρξειεν ἐλευθερία δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἐλεγεία: ἡμετέρας βουλαῖς Σπάρτη μὲν ἐκείρατο δόξαν,

Μεσσήνη δ' ἱερὴ τέκνα χρόνῳ δέχεται:

Θήβης δ' ὅπλοισιν Μεγάλη πόλις ἐστεφάνωται,

αὐτόνομος δ' Ἑλλάς πᾶς ἐν ἐλευθερίῃ.

“

τούτῳ μὲν τοσαῦτα ἦν ἐς δόξαν:

[15.6] On the statue of Epaminondas is an inscription in elegiac verse relating among other things that he founded Messene, and that through him the Greeks won freedom. The elegiac verses are these:—

By my counsels was Sparta shorn of her glory,

And holy Messene received at last her children.

By the arms of Thebe was Megalopolis encircled with walls,

And all Greece won independence and freedom.

16. οὐ πόρρῳ δέ ἐστι ναὸς Ἄμμωνος, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε μὲν Πίνδαρος, Καλάμιδος δέ ἐστιν ἔργον. ἀπέπεμψε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Ἀμμωνίου τῷ Ἀμμωνι ὕμνον· οὗτος καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν ὁ ὕμνος ἐν τριγώνῳ στήλῃ παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, ὃν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου τῷ Ἀμμωνι ἀνέθηκε. Θηβαίοις δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τὸ ἱερὸν οἰωνοσκοπεῖόν τε Τειρεσίου καλούμενον καὶ πλησίον Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν:

[16.1] XVI. Such were the claims to fame of Epaminondas. Not far away is a temple of Ammon; the image, a work of Calamis, was dedicated by Pindar, who also sent to the Ammonians of Libya a hymn to Ammon. This hymn I found still carved on a triangular slab by the side of the altar dedicated to Ammon by Ptolemy the son of Lagus. After the sanctuary of Ammon at Thebes comes what is called the bird-observatory of Teiresias, and near it is a sanctuary of Fortune, who carries the child Wealth.

[2] φέρει μὲν δὴ Πλοῦτον παῖδα: ὥς δὲ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι, χεῖρας μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος καὶ πρόσωπον Ξενοφῶν εἰργάσατο Ἀθηναῖος, Καλλιστόνικος δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιχώριος. σοφὸν μὲν δὴ καὶ τούτοις τὸ βούλευμα, ἐσθεῖναι Πλοῦτον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἅτε μητρὶ ἢ τροφῷ τῇ Τύχῃ, σοφὸν δὲ οὐχ ἦσσαν τὸ Κηφισοδότου: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τῆς Εἰρήνης τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναίοις Πλοῦτον ἔχουσιν πεποίηκεν.

[16.2] According to the Thebans, the hands and face of the image were made by Xenophon the Athenian, the rest of it by Callistonicus, a native. It was a clever idea of these artists to place Wealth in the arms of Fortune, and so to suggest that she is his mother or nurse. Equally clever was the conception of Cephisodotus, who made the image of Peace for the Athenians with Wealth in her arms.

[3] Ἀφροδίτης δὲ Θηβαίοις ξόανά ἐστιν οὕτω δὴ ἀρχαῖα ὥστε καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἀρμονίας εἶναι φασιν αὐτά, ἐργασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροστολίων, ἃ ταῖς Κάδμου ναυσὶν ἦν ξύλου πεποιημένα. καλοῦσι δὲ Οὐρανίαν, τὴν δὲ αὐτῶν Πάνδημον καὶ Ἀποστροφίαν τὴν τρίτην: ἔθετο δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἢ Ἀρμονία, τὴν μὲν Οὐρανίαν ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καθαρῷ καὶ

[16.3] At Thebes are three wooden images of Aphrodite, so very ancient that they are actually said to be votive offerings of Harmonia, and the story is that they were made out of the wooden figure-heads on the ships of Cadmus. They call the first Heavenly, the second Common, and the third Rejecter. Harmoinea gave to Aphrodite the surname of Heavenly

[4] ἀπηλλαγμένῳ πόθου σωμάτων, Πάνδημον δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς μίξεσι, τρίτα δὲ Ἀποστροφίαν, ἵνα ἐπιθυμίας τε ἀνόμου καὶ ἔργων ἀνοσίων ἀποστρέφῃ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων: πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐν βαρβάροις ἥπιστατο ἢ Ἀρμονία, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἤδη τετολμημένα, ὅποια καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀδωνίδος μητρὶ καὶ ἐς Φαίδραν τε τὴν Μίνω καὶ ἐς τὸν Θρᾶκα Τηρέα ἄδεται.

[16.4] to signify a love pure and free from bodily lust; that of Common, to denote sexual intercourse; the third, that of Rejecter, that mankind might reject unlawful passion and sinful acts. For Harmonia knew of many crimes already perpetrated not only among foreigners but even by Greeks, similar to those attributed later by legend to the mother of Adonis, to Phaedra, the daughter of Minos, and to the Thracian Tereus.

[5] τὸ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Θεσμοφόρου Κάδμου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων οἰκίαν ποτὲ εἶναι λέγουσι: Δήμητρος δὲ ἄγαλμα ὅσον ἐς στέρνα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. καὶ ἀσπίδες ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκεινται χαλκαῖ: Λακεδαιμονίων δέ, ὅποσοι τῶν ἐν τέλει περὶ Λεῦκτρα ἐτελεύτησαν, φασὶν εἶναι.

[16.5] The sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver is said to have been at one time the house of Cadmus and his descendants. The image of Demeter is visible down to the chest. Here have been dedicated bronze shields, said to be those of Lacedaemonian officers who fell at Leuctra.

[6] πρὸς δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις Προϊτίσι θέατρον ᾠκοδομῆται, καὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ θεάτρου Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λυσίου· Θηβαίων γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνδρας ἔχομένους ὑπὸ Θρακῶν, ὡς ἀγόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλιαρτίαν ἐγίνοντο, ἔλυσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι σφισι τοὺς Θραῦκας παρέδωκεν ὑπνωμένους. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων φασὶν εἶναι Σεμέλης· ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐκάστου τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύναι φασὶν ἐν ἡμέραις τακταῖς.

[16.6] Near the Proetidian gate is built a theater, and quite close to the theater is a temple of Dionysus surnamed Deliverer. For when some Theban prisoners in the hands of Thracians had reached Haliartia on their march, they were delivered by the god, who gave up the sleeping Thracians to be put to death. One of the two images here the Thebans say is Semele. Once in each year, they say, they open the sanctuary on stated days.

[7] καὶ οἰκίας τῆς Λύκου τὰ ἐρείπια καὶ Σεμέλης μνημὰ ἐστὶν, Ἀλκμήνης δὲ οὐ μνημα· γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ὡς ἀπέθανε λίθον φασὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι· διάφορα δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἀλλήλοις λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες. Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ μνημάτα πεποιήται τῶν Ἀμφίονος παίδων, χωρὶς μὲν τῶν ἀρσένων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ταῖς παρθένους.

[16.7] There are also ruins of the house of Lycus, and the tomb of Semele, but Alcmena has no tomb. It is said that on her death she was turned from human form to a stone, but the Theban account does not agree with the Megarian. The Greek legends generally have for the most part different versions. Here too at Thebes are the tombs of the children of Amphion. The boys lie apart; the girls are buried by themselves.

17. πλησίον δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐστὶν Εὐκλείας· Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον. ταφῆναι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θυγατέρας Ἀντιποίνου λέγουσιν Ἀνδρόκλειαν τε καὶ Ἀλκίδα. μελλούσης γὰρ πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους γίνεσθαι μάχης Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, λόγιόν σφισιν ἦλθεν ἔσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου κράτος ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοχειρίᾳ θελήσαντος, ὃς ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν ἐπιφανέστατος κατὰ γένους ἀξίωμα ᾤ. Ἀντιποίνῳ μὲν οὖν — τούτῳ γὰρ τὰ ἐς τοὺς προγόνους μάλιστα ὑπῆρχεν ἔνδοξα — οὐχ ἡδὺν ἦν ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸ τοῦ δήμου, ταῖς δὲ Ἀντιποίνου θυγατράσιν ἤρεσκε· διεργασάμεναι δὲ αὐτὰς τιμὰς ἀντὶ τούτων ἔχουσι.

[17.1] XVII. Near is the temple of Artemis of Fair Fame. The image was made by Scopas. They say that within the sanctuary were buried Androcleia and Aleis, daughters of Antipoenus. For when Heracles and the Thebans were about to engage in battle with the Orchomenians, an oracle was delivered to them that success in the war would be theirs if their citizen of the most noble descent would consent to die by his own hand. Now Antipoenus, who had the most famous ancestors, was loath to die for the people, but his daughters were quite ready to do so. So they took their own lives and are honored therefor.

[2] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος λέων ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθε λίθον πεποιημένος· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλεῖς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα

αὐτῶν Ἐργῖνον τὸν Κλυμένου νικήσας τῇ μάχῃ. πλησίον δὲ Ἀπόλλων τέ ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν Βοηδρόμιος καὶ Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς καλούμενος, Πινδάρου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνάθημα. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ πυρὰ τῶν Ἀμφίονος παίδων ἡμῖς σταδίου μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν τάφων: μένει δὲ ἡ τέφρα καὶ ἐς τότε ἐτι ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς.

[17.2] Before the temple of Artemis of Fair Fame is a lion made of stone, said to have been dedicated by Heracles after he had conquered in the battle the Orchomenians and their king, Erginus son of Clymenus. Near it is Apollo surnamed Rescuer, and Hermes called of the Market-place, another of the votive offerings of Pindar. The pyre of the children of Amphion is about half a stade from the graves. The ashes from the pyre are still there.

[3] πλησίον δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀνάθημα δύο ἀγάλματα λίθινα λέγουσιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Ζωστηρίας: λαβεῖν γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα, ἡνίκα Εὐβοεῦσι καὶ Χαλκῶδοντι ἐμελλεν ἀντιτάξεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἐνδύειν τὰ ὅπλα ἐκάλουν ἄρα οἱ παλαιοὶ ζώσασθαι: καὶ δὴ Ὅμηρον, Ἄρει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιήσαντα εἰκέναι τὴν ζώνην, τῶν ὅπλων τὴν σκευὴν φασιν εἰκάζειν.

[17.3] Near this are two stone images of Athena, surnamed Girder, said to have been dedicated by Amphitryon. For here, they say, he put on his armour when he was about to give battle to Chalcodon and the Euboeans. It seems that the ancients used the verb “to gird oneself” in the sense of “to put on one’s armour,” and so they say that when Homer compares Agamemnon to Ares “in respect of his girdle,” he is really saying that they were alike in the fashion of their armour.

[4] Ζήθῳ δὲ μνήμα καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐν κοινῷ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα. ὑφαιρεῖσθαι δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς γῆς οἱ Τιθορέαν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ἔχοντες, ἐθέλουσι δέ, ἐπειδὰν τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ταῦρον ὁ ἥλιος διεξίη: τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντες γῆν τῷ Ἀντιόπης μνήματι περιάψωσι, Τιθορεεῦσιν οἷσει καρπὸν ἢ χώρα, Θηβαίοις δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρουρὰν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τότε ἔχουσι τοῦ μνήματος.

[17.4] The tomb shared by Zethus and Amphion is a small mound of earth. The inhabitants of Tithorea in Phocis like to steal earth from it when the sun is passing through the constellation Taurus. For if at that time they take earth from the mound and set it on Antiope’s tomb, the land of Tithorea will yield a harvest, but that of Thebes be less fertile. For this reason the Thebans at that time keep watch over the tomb.

[5] ταῦτα δὲ αἱ πόλεις αὗται πεπιστεύκασιν ἐκ χρησμῶν τῶν Βάκιδος, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τάδε ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς: “ἀλλ’ ὁπότεν Τιθορεὺς Ἀμφιονί τε Ζήθῳ τε

χύτλα καὶ εὐχολὰς μειλίγματ’ ἐνὶ χθονὶ χεύη

θελγομένου ταύροιο κλυτοῦ μένει ἡελίοιο,

καὶ τότε δὴ πεφύλαξο πόλει κακὸν οὐκ ἀλαπαδόν

ἐρχόμενον: καρποὶ γὰρ ἀποφθινύθουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ

γαίης δασσαμένων, Φώκου δ' ἐπὶ σῆμα φερόντων.

“

[17.5] Both these cities hold this belief, and they do so because of the oracles of Bacis, in which are the lines:—

But when a man of Tithorea to Amphion and to Zethus
Pours on the earth peace-offerings of libation and prayer,
When Taurus is warmed by the might of the glorious sun,
Beware then of no slight disaster threatening the city;
For the harvest wastes away in it,
When they take of the earth, and bring it to the tomb of Phocus.

[6] Φώκου δὲ μνημα ὁ Βάκις εἶρηκεν ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιᾷδε. ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λύκου Διόνυσον θεῶν μάλιστα ἤγεν ἐν τιμῇ· παθούσης δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ λεγόμενα Διόνυσος νεμεσᾷ τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ. ἐπίφθονοι δὲ ἀεὶ πως παρὰ θεῶν αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν εἰσι· λέγουσιν Ἀντιόπην μανῆναι καὶ ἐκστᾶσαν τῶν φρενῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πλανᾶσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φῶκον δὲ τὸν Ὀρνυτίωνος τοῦ Σισύφου περιτυχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἰασάμενον· καὶ δὴ ὁ τάφος ἐν κοινῷ τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ καὶ Φώκῳ πεποιήται.

[17.6] Bacis calls it the tomb of Phocus for the following reason. The wife of Lycus worshipped Dionysus more than any other deity. When she had suffered what the story says she suffered, Dionysus was angry with Antiope. For some reason extravagant punishments always arouse the resentment of the gods. They say that Antiope went mad, and when out of her wits roamed all over Greece; but Phocus, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus, chanced to meet her, cured her madness, and then married her.

[7] τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τὸ Ἀμφίονος μνημα λίθους, οἱ κάτωθεν ὑποβέβληνται μηδὲ ἄλλως εἰργασμένοι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, ἐκεῖνας εἶναι φασὶ τὰς πέτρας αἱ τῇ ᾠδῇ τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἠκολούθησαν· τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα λέγεται καὶ περὶ Ὀρφέως, ὡς καθαρχοῦντι ἔποιτο αὐτῷ τὰ θηρία.

[17.7] So Antiope and Phocus share the same grave. The roughly quarried stones, laid along the tomb of Amphion at its base, are said to be the very rocks that followed the singing of Amphion. A similar story is told of Orpheus, how wild creatures followed him as he played the harp.

PROETIDIAN GATE OF THEBES

18. ἐκ Θηβῶν δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Χαλκίδα κατὰ πύλας ταύτας ἐστὶ τὰς Προιτίδας. τάφος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λεωφόρῳ δέικνυται Μελανίππου, Θηβαίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀγαθοῦ τὰ πολεμικά· καὶ ἡνίκα ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, Τυδέα ὁ Μελάνιππος οὗτος καὶ ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀδράστου Μηκιστέα ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ οἱ καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμφιαράου γενέσθαι λέγουσι.

[18.1] XVIII. The road from Thebes to Chalcis is by this Proetidian gate. On the highway is pointed out the grave of Melanippus, one of the very best of the

soldiers of Thebes. When the Argive invasion occurred this Melanippus killed Tydeus, as well as Mecisteus, one of the brothers of Adrastus, while he himself, they say, met his death at the hands of Amphiaras.

[2] τούτου δὲ ἐγγύτατα τρεῖς εἰσιν ἀργοὶ λίθοι: Θηβαίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες Τυδέα φασὶν εἶναι τὸν ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, ταφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μαίονος, καὶ ἐς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ λόγου παρέσχον τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔπος “Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβησι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει.

“Hom. II 14.114

[18.2] Quite close to it are three unwrought stones. The Theban antiquaries assert that the man lying here is Tydeus, and that his burial was carried out by Maeon. As proof of their assertion they quoted a line of the Iliad:–

Of Tydeus, who at Thebes is covered by a heap of earth. Hom. II. 14.114

[3] ἐξῆς δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν Οἰδίποδος παίδων μνήματα: καὶ τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δρώμενα οὐ θεασάμενος πιστὰ ὅμως ὑπέειληφα εἶναι. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐναγίζειν τοῖς Οἰδίποδος: τούτοις δὲ ἐναγίζοντων αὐτῶν τὴν φλόγα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς καπνὸν διχῇ διίστασθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἐπηγάγοντο ὧν λέγουσιν ἐς πίστιν ἰδόντα ἄλλο τοιόνδε.

[18.3] Adjoining are the tombs of the children of Oedipus. The ritual observed at them I have never seen, but I regard it as credible. For the Thebans say that among those called heroes to whom they offer sacrifice are the children of Oedipus. As the sacrifice is being offered, the flame, so they say, and the smoke from it divide themselves into two. I was led to believe their story by the fact that I have seen a similar wonder. It was this.

[4] ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Καῖκου πόλισμά ἐστι Πιονίαι, τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ἐνταῦθα Πίονιν τῶν τινα ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἡρακλέους φασὶν εἶναι: μελλόντων δὲ ἐναγίζειν αὐτῷ καπνὸς αὐτόματος ἄνεισιν ἐκ τοῦ τάφου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συμβαίνοντα εἶδον, Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ Τειρεσίου μνῆμα ἀποφαίνουσι, πέντε μάλιστα καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἢ Οἰδίποδος τοῖς παισὶν ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος: ὁμολογοῦντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συμβῆναι Τειρεσίᾳ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ, τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι κενὸν μνῆμα.

[18.4] In Mysia beyond the Caicus is a town called Pioniae, the founder of which according to the inhabitants was Pionis, one of the descendants of Heracles. When they are going to sacrifice to him as to a hero, smoke of itself rises up out of the grave. This occurrence, then, I have seen happening. The Thebans show also the tomb of Teiresias, about fifteen stades from the grave of the children of Oedipus. The Thebans themselves agree that Teiresias met his end in Haliartia, and admit that the monument at Thebes is a cenotaph.

[5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορος Θηβαίοις τάφος τοῦ Πριάμου πρὸς Οἰδιποδία καλουμένη κρήνῃ, κομίσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅστ’ ἐξ Ἰλίου φασὶν ἐπὶ τοιῷδε μαντεύματι: “Θηβαῖοι Κάδμοιο πόλιν καταναιετάοντες,

αἷ κ' ἐθέλητε πάτραν οἰκεῖν σὺν ἀμύμονι πλούτῳ,

Ἐκτορος ὅστέα Πριαμίδου κομίσαντες ἐς οἴκους

ἐξ Ἀσίας Διὸς ἐννεσίησ' ἥρωα σέβεσθαι.

“

[18.5] There is also at Thebes the grave of Hector, the son of Priam. It is near the spring called the Fountain of Oedipus, and the Thebans say that they brought Hector's bones from Troy because of the following oracle:—

Ye Thebans who dwell in the city of Cadmus,

If you wish blameless wealth for the country in which you live,

Bring to your homes the bones of Hector, Priam's son,

From Asia, and reverence him as a hero, according to the bidding of Zeus.

[6] τῇ δὲ Οἰδιποδία κρήνη τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐς αὐτὴν τὸ αἷμα ἐνίψατο Οἰδίπους τοῦ πατρὸς φόνου. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πηγῇ τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀσφοδίκου· καὶ ὁ Ἀσφοδίκος οὗτος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους Παρθενοπαῖον τὸν Ταλαοῦ, καθὰ οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἐν Θηβαΐδι ἔπη τὰ ἐς τὴν Παρθενοπαίου τελευτὴν Περικλύμενον τὸν ἀνελόντα φησὶν εἶναι.

[18.6] The Fountain of Oedipus was so named because Oedipus washed off into it the blood of his murdered father. Hard by the spring is the grave of Asphodicius. He it was who in the fighting with the Argives killed Parthenopaeus, the son of Talaus. This is the Theban account, but according to the passage in the Thebaid which tells of the death of Parthenopaeus it was Periclymenus who killed him.

TEUMESSUS

19. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ λεωφόρῳ χωρίον ἐστὶ Τευμησσός· Εὐρώπην δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς κρυφθῆναι φασιν ἐνταῦθα. ἕτερος δὲ ἐς ἀλώπεκα ἐπὶ κλησὶν Τευμησσίαν λόγος ἐστίν, ὡς ἐκ μηνίματος Διονύσου τὸ θηρίον ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τραφεῖη Θηβαίων, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ κυνός, ὃν Πρόκριδι τῇ Ἐρεχθέως ἔδωκεν Ἄρτεμις, ἀλίσκεσθαι μέλλουσα αὐτὴ τε λίθος ἐγένετο ἢ ἀλώπηξ καὶ ὁ κύων οὗτος. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Τευμησσῷ Τελχινίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν αὐτῆς ἔστιν εἰκάζειν ὡς τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ ποτὲ οἰκήσαντων Τελχίνων ἀφικομένη μοῖρα ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς Τελχινίας.

[19.1] XIX. On this highway is a place called Teumessus, where it is said that Europa was hidden by Zeus. There is also another legend, which tells of a fox called the Teumessian fox, how owing to the wrath of Dionysus the beast was reared to destroy the Thebans, and how, when about to be caught by the hound given by Artemis to Procris the daughter of Erechtheus, the fox was turned into a stone, as was likewise this hound. In Teumessus there is also a sanctuary of Telchinian Athena, which contains no image. As to her surname, we may hazard the conjecture that a division of the Telchinians who once dwelt in Cyprus came to Boeotia and established a sanctuary of Telchinian

GLISAS & MT HYPASTUS

[2] Τευμησσοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίους προελθόντι ἐπὶ τὰ Γλίσαντός ἐστιν ἐρείπια, πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χῶμα οὐ μέγα ὕλη τε ἀγρία σύσκιον καὶ ἡμέροις δένδροις. ἐτάφησαν δὲ αὐτόθι οἱ μετὰ Αἰγιαλέως ποιησάμενοι τοῦ Ἀδράστου τὴν ἐς Θήβας στρατείαν, ἄλλοι τε Ἀργείων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ Πρόμαχος ὁ Παρθενοπαίου· τῷ δὲ Αἰγιαλεῖ γενέσθαι τὸ μνημα ἐν Παγαῖς πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐδήλωσα.

[19.2] Seven stades from Teumessus on the left are the ruins of Glisas, and before them on the right of the way a small mound shaded by cultivated trees and a wood of wild ones. Here were buried Promachus, the son of Parthenopaeus, and other Argive officers, who joined with Aegialeus, the son of Adrastus, in the expedition against Thebes. That the tomb of Aegialeus is at Pegae I have already stated in an earlier part of my history that deals with Megara.

[3] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Γλίσαντα εὐθεῖαν ἐκ Θηβῶν λίθοις χωρίον περιεχόμενον λογάσιν Ὁφεως καλοῦσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι κεφαλὴν, τὸν ὄφιν τοῦτον — ὅστις δὴ ἦν — ἀνασχεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τοῦ φωλεοῦ λέγοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν, Τειρεσίαν δὲ ἐπιτυχόντα ἀποκόψαι μαχαίρᾳ. τὸ μὲν δὴ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐπὶ λόγῳ καλεῖται τοιῷδε· ὑπὲρ δὲ Γλίσαντός ἐστιν ὄρος Ὑπάτος καλούμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς Ὑπάτου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα· τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν τὸν χεῖμαρρον Θερμώδοντα ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ ἐπὶ τε Τευμησσὸν καὶ ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Χαλκίδα Χαλκῶδοντος μνημῖα ἐστίν, ὃς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Ἀμφιτρύωνος μάχης πρὸς Θηβαίους Εὐβοεῦσι γενομένης.

[19.3] On the straight road from Thebes to Glisas is a place surrounded by unhewn stones, called by the Thebans the Snake's Head. This snake, whatever it was, popped its head, they say, out of its hole here, and Teiresias, chancing to meet it, cut off the head with his sword. This then is how the place got its name. Above Glisas is a mountain called Supreme, and on it a temple and image of Supreme Zeus. The river, a torrent, they call the Thermodon. Returning to Teumessus and the road to Chalcis, you come to the tomb of Chalcodon, who was killed by Amphitryon in a fight between the Thebans and the Euboeans.

HARMA & MYCALESSUS

[4] ἐξῆς δὲ πόλεων ἐρείπια ἐστίν Ἄρματος καὶ Μυκαλησσοῦ· καὶ τῇ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο ἀφανισθέντος, ὥς οἱ Ταναγραῖοι φασιν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀμφιαράῳ τοῦ ἄρματος καὶ οὐχ ὅπου λέγουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· Μυκαλησσὸν δὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὀνομασθῆναι, διότι ἡ βοῦς ἐνταῦθα ἐμυκήσατο ἢ Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἄγουσα ἐς Θήβας. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον ἐγένετο ἡ Μυκαλησσὸς ἀνάστατος, τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἔχοντα ἐδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου.

[19.4] Adjoining are the ruins of the cities Harma (Chariot) and Mycalessus.

The former got its name, according to the people of Tanagra, because the chariot of Amphiarus disappeared here, and not where the Thebans say it did. Both peoples agree that Mycalessus was so named because the cow lowed (emykesato) here that was guiding Cadmus and his host to Thebes. How Mycalessus was laid waste I have related in that part of my history that deals with the Athenians.

[5] πρὸς θάλασσαν δὲ τῆς Μυκαλησσοῦ Δήμητρος Μυκαλησσίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν: κλείεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ ἐκάστη καὶ αὖθις ἀνοίγεσθαι φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι τῶν Ἰδαίων καλουμένων Δακτύλων. δεικνύται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ θαῦμα τοιόνδε: πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν ποδῶν τιθέασιν ὅσα ἐν ὁπώρα πέφυκε γίνεσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ διὰ παντὸς μένει τεθηλότα τοῦ ἔτους.

[19.5] On the way to the coast of Mycalessus is a sanctuary of Mycalessian Demeter. They say that each night it is shut up and opened again by Heracles, and that Heracles is one of what are called the Idaean Dactyls. Here is shown the following marvel. Before the feet of the image they place all the fruits of autumn, and these remain fresh throughout all the year.

[6] τοῦ δὲ Εὐρίπου τὴν Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτῶν διείργοντος τῆς τε Δήμητρος ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μυκαλησσίας καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ἐστὶν Αὐλὶς: ὀνομασθῆναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὠγύγου θυγατρὸς φασιν αὐτήν. ναὸς δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου λευκοῦ, τὸ μὲν δᾶδας φέρον, τὸ δὲ ἔοικε τοξευούσῃ. φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ μελλόντων ἐκ μαντείας τῆς Κάλχαντος Ἰφιγένειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων θύειν, τὴν θεὸν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἔλαφον τὸ ἱερεῖον ποιῆσαι.

[19.6] At this place the Euripus separates Euboea from Boeotia. On the right is the sanctuary of Mycalessian Demeter, and a little farther on is Aulis, said to have been named after the daughter of Ogygus. Here there is a temple of Artemis with two images of white marble; one carries torches, and the other is like to one shooting an arrow. The story is that when, in obedience to the soothsaying of Calchas, the Greeks were about to sacrifice Iphigeneia on the altar, the goddess substituted a deer to be the victim instead of her. They preserve in the temple what still survives of the

[7] πλατάνου δέ, ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, τὸ ἔτι τοῦ ξύλου περιὸν φυλάσσουσιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ἐν Αὐλίδι πνεῦμα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐπιφόρον, φανέντος δὲ ἐξαίφνης ἀνέμου σφίσιν οὐρίου θύειν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὃ τι ἕκαστος εἶχε, θήλεά τε ἱερεῖα καὶ ἄρσενα ὁμοίως: καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου διαμεμένηκεν ἐν Αὐλίδι πάντα τὰ ἱερεῖα εἶναι δόκιμα. δεικνύται δὲ καὶ ἡ πηγὴ, παρ' ἣν ἡ πλάτανος ἐπεφύκει, καὶ ἐπὶ λόφου πλησίον τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος σκηνῆς οὐδὸς χαλκοῦς:

[19.7] plane-tree mentioned by Homer in the Iliad. The story is that the Greeks were kept at Aulis by contrary winds, and when suddenly a favouring breeze sprang up, each sacrificed to Artemis the victim he had to hand, female and

male alike. From that time the rule has held good at Aulis that oil victims are permissible. There is also shown the spring, by which the plane-tree grew, and on a hill near by the bronze threshold of Agamemnon's tent.

[8] φοίνικες δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πεφύκασιν, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν ἐδώδιμον παρεχόμενοι καρπὸν ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τῶν φοινίκων καρποῦ πεπανώτερον. ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἐν τῇ Αὐλίδι οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πολλοί, γῆς δὲ εἰσιν οὗτοι κεραμεῖς· νέμονται δὲ Ταναγραῖοι ταύτην τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ὅση περὶ Μυκαλησσὸν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἄρμα.

[19.8] In front of the sanctuary grow palm-trees, the fruit of which, though not wholly edible like the dates of Palestine, yet are riper than those of Ionia. There are but few inhabitants of Aulis, and these are potters. This land, and that about Mycalessus and Harma, is tilled by the people of Tanagra.

TANAGRA

20. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ταναγραίας ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καλούμενον Δήλιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. Ταναγραῖοι δὲ οἰκιστὴν σφισι Ποίμανδρον γενέσθαι λέγουσι Χαιρησίλῳ παῖδα τοῦ Ἰασίου τοῦ Ἐλευθῆρος, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Αἰθούσης εἶναι τῆς Ποσειδῶνος. Ποίμανδρον δὲ γυναῖκά φασιν ἀγαγέσθαι Τάναγραν θυγατέρα Αἰόλου· Κορίννη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιημένα Ἄσωποῦ παῖδα εἶναι.

[20.1] XX. Within the territory of Tanagra is what is called Delium on Sea. In it are images of Artemis and Leto. The people of Tanagra say that their founder was Poemander, the son of Chaeresilaus, the son of Iasius, the son of Eleuther, who, they say, was the son of Apollo by Aethusa, the daughter of Poseidon. It is said that Poemander married Tanagra, a daughter of Aeolus. But in a poem of Corinna she is said to be a daughter of Asopus.

[2] ταύτης τοῦ βίου προελθούσης ἐπὶ μακρότατον τοὺς περιοίκους φασὶν ἀφελόντας τὸ ὄνομα τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτὴν καλεῖν Γραῖαν καὶ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὴν πόλιν· διαμεῖναι τε τὸ ὄνομα ἐς τοσοῦτον ὥς καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ ποιῆσαι”Θέσπειαν Γραῖαν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν.

“Hom. Il 2.498 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνεσώσαντο.

[20.2] There is a story that, as she reached extreme old age, her neighbors ceased to call her by this name, and gave the name of Graea (old woman), first to the woman herself, and in course of time to the city. The name, they say, persisted so long that even Homer says in the Catalogue:–

Thespeia, Graea, and wide Mycalessus. Hom. Il. 2.498

Later, however, it recovered its old name.

[3] ἔστι δ’ Ὠρίωνος μνήμα ἐν Τανάγρα καὶ ὄρος Κηρύκιον, ἔνθα Ἑρμῆν τεχθῆναι λέγουσι, Πόλος τε ὀνομαζόμενον χωρίον· ἐνταῦθα Ἀτλαντα καθήμενον πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς φασὶ καὶ τὰ οὐράνια, πεποιῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρῳ περὶ τούτου,”Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅστε θαλάσσης

πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δὲ τε κίονας αὐτός

μακράς, αἱ γαῖαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν.

“Hom. Od 1.152

[20.3] There is in Tanagra the tomb of Orion, and Mount Cerycius, the reputed birthplace of Hermes, and also a place called Polus. Here they say that Atlas sat and meditated deeply upon hell and heaven, as Homer says of him:–

Daughter of baneful Atlas, who knows the depths

Of every sea, while he himself holds up the tall pillars,

Which keep apart earth and heaven. Hom. Od. 1.152

[4] ἐν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ναῷ θεάς μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄξιον λίθου τε ὃν Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος, θαῦμα δὲ παρέχεται μεῖζον ἔτι ὁ Τρίτων. ὁ μὲν δὴ σεμνότερος ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος τὰς γυναῖκάς φησι τὰς Ταναγραίων πρὸ τῶν Διονύσου ὀργίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβῆναι καθαρσίῳ ἕνεκα, νηχομέναις δὲ ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν Τρίτωνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εὐξασθαι Διόνυσόν σφισιν ἀφικέσθαι βοηθόν, ὑπακοῦσαι τε δὴ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ Τρίτωνος κρατῆσαι τῇ μάχῃ:

[20.4] In the temple of Dionysus the image too is worth seeing, being of Parian marble and a work of Calamis. But a greater marvel still is the Triton. The grander of the two versions of the Triton legend relates that the women of Tanagra before the orgies of Dionysus went down to the sea to be purified, were attacked by the Triton as they were swimming, and prayed that Dionysus would come to their aid. The god, it is said, heard their cry and overcame the Triton in the fight.

[5] ὁ δὲ ἕτερος λόγος ἀξιώματι μὲν ἀποδεῖ τοῦ προτέρου, πιθανώτερος δέ ἐστι. φησὶ γὰρ δὴ οὗτος, ὅποσα ἐλαύνοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν βοσκήματα, ὡς ἐλόχα τε ὁ Τρίτων καὶ ἥρπαζεν: ἐπιχειρεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν πλοίων τοῖς λεπτοῖς, ἐς ὃ οἱ Ταναγραῖοι κρατῆρα οἴνου προτιθέασιν αὐτῷ. καὶ τὸν αὐτίκα ἔρχεσθαι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς, πίνοντα δὲ ἐρριφθαι κατὰ τῆς ἡόνος ὑπνωμένον, Ταναγραῖον δὲ ἄνδρα πελέκει παίσαντα ἀποκόψαι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴ. ὅτι δὲ μεθυσθέντα εἶλον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὑπὸ Διονύσου νομίζουσιν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν.

[20.5] The other version is less grand but more credible. It says that the Triton would waylay and lift all the cattle that were driven to the sea. He used even to attack small vessels, until the people of Tanagra set out for him a bowl of wine. They say that, attracted by the smell, he came at once, drank the wine, flung himself on the shore and slept, and that a man of Tanagra struck him on the neck with an axe and chopped off his head. for this reason the image has no head. And because they caught him drunk, it is supposed that it was Dionysus who killed him.

21. εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον Τρίτωνα ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων θαύμασι, μεγέθει τοῦ παρὰ Ταναγραίοις ἀποδέοντα. παρέχονται δὲ ιδέαν οἱ Τρίτωνες: ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κόμην οἷα τὰ βατράχια τὰ ἐν ταῖς λίμναις χροάν τε καὶ ὅτι τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποκρίναις μίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα φολίδι λεπτῇ πέφρικέ σφισι κατὰ ἰχθὺν ῥίνην. βράγχια δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ὠσίν ἔχουσι καὶ ῥῖνα ἀνθρώπου, στόμα δὲ εὐρύτερον καὶ ὀδόντας θηρίου: τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν γλαυκὰ καὶ χεῖρές εἰσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δάκτυλοι καὶ ὄνυχες τοῖς ἐπιθέμασιν ἐμπερεῖς τῶν κόχλων: ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὴν γαστέρα οὐρά σφισιν ἀντὶ ποδῶν οἷα περ τοῖς δελφῖσιν ἐστίν.

[21.1] XXI. I saw another Triton among the curiosities at Rome, less in size than the one at Tanagra. The Tritons have the following appearance. On their heads they grow hair like that of marsh frogs not only in color, but also in the impossibility of separating one hair from another. The rest of their body is rough with fine scales just as is the shark. Under their ears they have gills and a man's nose; but the mouth is broader and the teeth are those of a beast. Their eyes seem to me blue, and they have hands, fingers, and nails like the shells of the murex. Under the breast and belly is a tail like a dolphin's instead of feet.

ON FABULOUS ANIMALS

[2] εἶδον δὲ καὶ ταύρους τοὺς τε Αἰθιοπικούς, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι ὀνομάζουσι ῥινόκερος, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐπ' ἄκρα τῇ ῥίνι ἐν ἐκάστῳ κέρασ καὶ ἄλλο ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ οὐ μέγα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν κέρατά ἐστι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Παιόνων — οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ Παιόνων ἔς τε τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα δασεῖς καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ στέρνον μάλιστά εἰσι καὶ τὴν γένυν — καμήλους τε Ἰνδικὰς χρῶμα εἰκασμένας παρδάλεσιν.

[21.2] I saw also the Ethiopian bulls, called rhinoceroses owing to the fact that each has one horn (ceras) at the end of the nose (rhis), over which is another

but smaller one, but there is no trace of horns on their heads. I saw too the Paeonian bulls, which are shaggy all over, but especially about the chest and lower jaw. I saw also Indian camels with the color of leopards.

[3] ἔστι δὲ ἄλκη καλούμενον θηρίον, εἶδος μὲν ἐλάφου καὶ καμήλου μεταξύ, γίνεται δὲ ἐν τῇ Κελτῶν γῇ. θηρίων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνην ἀνιχνεύσαι καὶ προῖδεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων, σταλεῖσι δὲ ἐς ἄγραν ἄλλων καὶ τήνδε ἐς χεῖρά ποτε δαίμων ἄγει: ὁσφράται μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πολὺ ἔτι ἀπέχουσα, ὥς φασι, καταδύεται δὲ ἐς φάραγγας καὶ σπήλαια τὰ βαθύτατα. οἱ θηρεύοντες οὖν, ὅποτε ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, σταδίων τὴν πεδιάδα χιλίων ἢ καὶ ὄρος περιλαβόντες, τὸν κύκλον μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως διαλύσουσιν, ἐπισυνιόντες δὲ αἰεὶ τὰ ἐντὸς γινόμενα τοῦ κύκλου πάντα αἰροῦσι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰς ἄλκας: εἰ δὲ μὴ τύχοι ταύτη φωλεύουσα, ἑτέρα γε ἄλκην ἐλεῖν ἔστιν οὐδεμία μηχανή.

[21.3] There is also a beast called the elk, in form between a deer and a camel, which breeds in the land of the Celts. Of all the beasts we know it alone cannot be tracked or seen at a distance by man; sometimes, however, when men are out hunting other game they fall in with an elk by luck. Now they say that it smells man even at a great distance, and dashes down into ravines or the deepest caverns. So the hunters surround the plain or mountain in a circuit of at least a thousand stades, and, taking care not to break the circle, they keep on narrowing the area enclosed, and so catch all the beasts inside, the elks included. But if there chance to be no lair within, there is no other way of catching the elk.

[4] θηρίον δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ Κτησίῳ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς — μαρτιχόρα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων φησὶν ἀνδροφάγον λελέχθαι — εἶναι πείθεται τὸν τίγριν: ὁδόντας δὲ αὐτὸ τριστοίχους καθ' ἑκατέραν τὴν γένυν καὶ κέντρα ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἔχειν τῆς οὐρᾶς, τούτοις δὲ τοῖς κέντροις ἐγγύθεν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς πορρωτέρω τοξότου ἀνδρὸς οἰστῷ ἴσον, ταύτην οὐκ ἀληθῆ τὴν φήμην οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δέξασθαι δοκοῦσί μοι παρ' ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς τὸ θηρίον δέϊματος.

[21.4] The beast described by Ctesias in his Indian history, which he says is called martichoras by the Indians and man-eater by the Greeks, I am inclined to think is the tiger. But that it has three rows of teeth along each jaw and spikes at the tip of its tail with which it defends itself at close quarters, while it hurls them like an archer's arrows at more distant enemies; all this is, I think, a false story that the Indians pass on from one to another owing to their excessive dread of the beast.

[5] ἡπατήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν χροάν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅποτε κατὰ τοῦ ἡλίου φανείη σφίσιν ὁ τίγρις τὴν αὐγήν, ἐρυθρὸς τ' ἐδόκει καὶ ὁμόχρους ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὠκύτητος ἢ — εἰ μὴ θέοι — διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς συνεχές, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐκ ἐγγύθεν γινόμενης τῆς θεάς. δοκῶ δέ, εἰ καὶ Λιβύης τις ἢ τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἢ Ἀράβων γῆς ἐπέρχοντο τὰ ἔσχατα ἐθέλων θηρία ὁπόσα παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐξευρεῖν, τὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν εὐρήσειν, τὰ δὲ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχειν

φανείσθαι οἱ:

[21.5] They were also deceived about its color, and whenever the tiger showed itself in the light of the sun it appeared to be a homogeneous red, either because of its speed, or, if it were not running, because of its continual twists and turns, especially when it was not seen at close quarters. And I think that if one were to traverse the most remote parts of Libya, India or Arabia, in search of such beasts as are found in Greece, some he would not discover at all, and others would have a different appearance.

[6] οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνθρωπος μόνον ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀέρι καὶ τῇ γῇ διαφόροις οὔσι διάφορον κτάται καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν πάσχοι τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ θηρία αἱ ἀσπίδες τοῦτο μὲν ἔχουσιν αἱ Λίβυσσαι παρὰ τὰς Αἰγυπτίας τὴν χροάν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Αἰθιοπία μελαίνας τὰς ἀσπίδας οὐ μείον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ γῇ τρέφει. οὕτω χρὴ πάντα τινὰ μήτε ἐπίδρομον τὴν γνώμην μήτε ἀπίστως ἔχειν ἐς τὰ σπανιώτερα, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἐγὼ περωτοῦς ὄφεις οὐ θεασάμενος πείθομαι: πείθομαι δὲ ὅτι ἀνὴρ Φρυγὲς ἤγαγεν ἐς Ἰωνίαν σκορπίον ταῖς ἀκρίσιν ὁμοιότατα περὰ ἔχοντα.

[21.6] For man is not the only creature that has a different appearance in different climates and in different countries; the others too obey the same rule. For instance, the Libyan asps have a different colors compared with the Egyptian, while in Ethiopia are bred asps quite as black as the men. So everyone should be neither over-hasty in one's judgments, nor incredulous when considering rarities. For instance, though I have never seen winged snakes I believe that they exist, as I believe that a Phrygian brought to Ionia a scorpion with wings exactly like those of locusts.

22. ἐν Τανάγρα δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου Θέμιδος ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν ναῶν Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρτεμίδι τε καὶ Λητώ. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ τε Κριοφόρου καὶ ὃν Πρόμαχον καλοῦσι, τοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Ἑρμῆς σφισιν ἀποτρέψαι νόσον λοιμώδη περὶ τὸ τεῖχος κριὸν περιενεγκόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κάλამις ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ φέροντα κριὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων: ὃς δ' ἂν εἶναι τῶν ἐφήβων προκριθῇ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστος, οὗτος ἐν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τῇ ἑορτῇ περίεισιν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἔχων ἄρνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων:

[22.1] XXII. Beside the sanctuary of Dionysus at Tanagra are three temples, one of Themis, another of Aphrodite, and the third of Apollo; with Apollo are joined Artemis and Leto. There are sanctuaries of Hermes Ram-bearer and of Hermes called Champion. They account for the former surname by a story that Hermes averted a pestilence from the city by carrying a ram round the walls; to commemorate this Calamis made an image of Hermes carrying a ram upon his shoulders. Whichever of the youths is judged to be the most handsome goes round the walls at the feast of Hermes, carrying a lamb on his shoulders.

[2] τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν λέγουσι τὸν Πρόμαχον Ἑρετριέων ναυσὶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἐς τὴν

Ταναγραίαν σχόντων τούς τε ἐφήβους ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ αὐτὸν ὅτε ἔφηβον στλεγγίδι ἀμυνόμενον μάλιστα ἐργάσασθαι τῶν Εὐβοέων τροπὴν. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῦ Προμάχου τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς τε ἀνδράχου τοῦ ὑπόλοιπον: τραφῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δένδρῳ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τούτῳ νομίζουσιν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ θέατρον τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ στοὰ πεποιῖται. εὗ δέ μοι Ταναγραῖοι νομίσαι τὰ ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστα δοκοῦσιν Ἑλλήνων: χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι σφίσι, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἐν καθαρῷ τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων.

[22.2] Hermes Champion is said, on the occasion when an Eretrian fleet put into Tanagra from Euboea, to have led out the youths to the battle; he himself, armed with a scraper like a youth, was chiefly responsible for the rout of the Euboeans. In the sanctuary of the Champion is kept all that is left of the wild strawberry-tree under which they believe that Hermes was nourished. Near by is a theater and by it a portico. I consider that the people of Tanagra have better arrangements for the worship of the gods than any other Greeks. For their houses are in one place, while the sanctuaries are apart beyond the houses in a clear space where no men live.

[3] Κορίννης δέ, ἡ μόνη δὴ ἐν Τανάγρα ἄσματα ἐποίησε, ταύτης ἔστι μὲν μνημα ἐν περιφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ γραφή, ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἣ Κόριννα ἀναδουμένη τῆς νίκης ἔνεκα ἣν Πίνδαρον ἄσματι ἐνίκησεν ἐν Θήβαις. φαίνεται δέ μοι νικῆσαι τῆς διαλέκτου τε ἔνεκα, ὅτι ἦδεν οὐ τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι ὥσπερ ὁ Πίνδαρος ἀλλὰ ὅποια συνήσειν ἔμελλον Αἰολεῖς, καὶ ὅτι ἦν γυναικῶν τότε δὴ καλλίστη τὸ εἶδος, εἴ τι τῇ εἰκόνι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι.

[22.3] Corinna, the only lyric poetess of Tanagra, has her tomb in a, conspicuous part of the city, and in the gymnasium is a painting of Corinna binding her head with a fillet for the victory she won over Pindar at Thebes with a lyric poem. I believe that her victory was partly due to the dialect she used, for she composed, not in Doric speech like Pindar, but in one Aeolians would understand, and partly to her being, if one may judge from the likeness, the most beautiful woman of her time.

[4] ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένη δύο ἐνταῦθα ἀλεκτρυόνων, οἳ τε μάχιμοι καὶ οἱ κόσσυφοι καλούμενοι. τούτων τῶν κοσσύφων μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐστὶν ὄρνιθας, χροὰ δὲ ἐμφερῆς κόρακι, κάλλαια δὲ καὶ ὁ λόφος κατὰ ἀνεμώνην μάλιστα: λευκὰ δὲ σημεῖα οὐ μέγала ἐπὶ τε ἄκρῳ τῷ ῥάμφει καὶ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἔχουσι τῆς οὐρᾶς.

[22.4] Here there are two breeds of cocks, the fighters and the blackbirds, as they are called. The size of these blackbirds is the same as that of the Lydian birds, but in color they are like crows, while wattles and comb are very like the anemone. They have small, white markings on the end of the beak and at the end of the tail.

[5] οὗτοι μὲν τοιοῦτο παρέχονται τὸ εἶδος, τῆς δὲ Βοιωτίας τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Εὐρίπου Μεσσάπιον ὄρος καλούμενον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδών· γενέσθαι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀνθηδόνης νύμφης, οἱ δὲ Ἄνθαν δυναστεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα, Ποσειδῶνός τε παῖδα καὶ Ἀλκυόνης τῆς Ἄτλαντος. Ἀνθηδονίοις δὲ μάλιστα πού κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλεως Καβείρων ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσπος περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ, πλησίον δὲ Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου λευκοῦ:

[22.5] Such is the appearance of the blackbirds. Within Boeotia to the left of the Euripus is Mount Messapius, at the foot of which on the coast is the Boeotian city of Anthedon. Some say that the city received its name from a nymph called Anthedon, while others say that one Anthas was despot here, a son of Poseidon by Alcyone, the daughter of Atlas. Just about the center of Anthedon is a sanctuary of the Cabeiri, with a grove around it, near which is a temple of Demeter and her daughter, with images of white marble.

[6] Διονύσου τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται καὶ ἄγαλμα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον. ἐνταῦθ' αἰεὶ μὲν τάφοι τῶν Ἰφιμεδείας καὶ Ἀλωέως παίδων· γενέσθαι δὲ σφισι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὅμηρος πεποιήκασιν καὶ Πίνδαρος, προστίθῃσι δὲ Πίνδαρος, ὥς ἐπιλάβοι τὸ χρεὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν Νάξῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Πάρου κειμένη. τούτων τε δὴ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀνθηδόνι μνήματα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ καλούμενον Γλαύκου πήδημα:

[22.6] There are a sanctuary and an image of Dionysus in front of the city on the side towards the mainland. Here are the graves of the children of Iphimedeia and Aloeus. They met their end at the hands of Apollo according to both Homer and Pindar, the latter adding that their doom overtook them in Naxos, which lies off Paros. Their tombs then are in Anthedon, and by the sea is what is called the Leap of Glaucus.

[7] εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀλίεα, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς πόας ἔφαγε, δαίμονα ἐν θαλάσῃ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐς τότε προλέγειν οἱ τε ἄλλοι πιστὰ ἡγνῆται καὶ οἱ τὴν θάλασσαν πλέοντες πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὴν Γλαύκου μαντικὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον λέγουσι. Πινδάρῳ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλῳ πυθανομένοις παρὰ Ἀνθηδονίων, τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπῆλθεν ἄσαι τὰ ἐς Γλαῦκον, Αἰσχύλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐς ποίησιν δράματος ἐξήρκεσε.

[22.7] That Glaucus was a fisherman, who, on eating of the grass, turned into a deity of the sea and ever since has foretold to men the future, is a belief generally accepted; in particular, seafaring men tell every year many a tale about the soothsaying of Glaucus. Pindar and Aeschylus got a story about Glaucus from the people of Anthedon. Pindar has not thought fit to say much about him in his odes, but the story actually supplied Aeschylus with material for a play.

PROETIDIAN GATE OF THEBES

23. Θηβαίοις δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶ τῶν Προϊτίδων καὶ τὸ Ἰολάου καλούμενον

γυμνάσιον καὶ στάδιον κατὰ ταῦτὰ τῷ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ γῆς
χῶμα: ἐνταῦθα δεικνύται καὶ ἡρῶον Ἰολάου. τελευτῆσαι δὲ ἐν Σαρδοὶ τὸν τε
Ἰόλαον αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θεσπιέων τοὺς συνδιαβάβαντας ὁμολογοῦσι
καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

[23.1] XXIII. In front of the Proetidian gate at Thebes is the gymnasium called the Gymnasium of Iolaus and also a race-course, a bank of earth like those at Olympia and Epidaurus. Here there is also shown a hero-shrine of Iolaus. That Iolaus himself died at Sardis along with the Athenians and Thespians who made the crossing with him is admitted even by the Thebans themselves.

[2] ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ δρόμος ἵππων καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Πινδάρου
μνημᾶ ἐστὶ. Πίνδαρον δὲ ἡλικίαν ὄντα νεανίσκον καὶ ἰόντα ἐς Θεσπιάς θέρους
ᾧρα καύματος περὶ μεσοῦσαν μάλιστα ἡμέραν κόπος καὶ ὕπνος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
κατελάμβανεν: ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς εἶχε κατακλίνεται βραχὺ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, μέλισσαι
δὲ αὐτῷ καθεύδοντι προσεπέτοντό τε καὶ ἔπλασσον πρὸς τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ κηροῦ.

[23.2] Crossing over the right side of the course you come to a race-course for horses, in which is the tomb of Pindar.

THE POET PINDAR, HISTORY

When Pindar was a young man he was once on his way to Thespiæ in the hot season. At about noon he was seized with fatigue and the drowsiness that follows it, so just as he was, he lay down a little way above the road. As he slept bees alighted on him and plastered his lips with their wax.

[3] ἀρχὴ μὲν Πινδάρῳ ποιεῖν ᾠσματα ἐγένετο τοιαύτη: εὐδοκιμοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν
ἤδη ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐς πλεον δόξης ἤρεν ἡ Πυθία ἀνειπούσα Δελφοῖς,
ὀπόσων ἀπῆρχοντο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, μοῖραν καὶ Πινδάρῳ τὴν ἴσιν ἀπάντων
νέμειν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτος ὄψιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προήκοντι ἐς γῆρας:
ἐπιστάσα ἡ Περσεφόνη οἱ καθεύδοντι οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὕμνηθῆναι μόνῃ θεῶν ὑπὸ
Πινδάρου, ποιήσιν μέντοι καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ᾠσμα Πίνδαρον ἐλθόντα ὡς αὐτὴν.

[23.3] Such was the beginning of Pindar's career as a lyric poet. When his reputation had already spread throughout Greece he was raised to a greater height of fame by an order of the Pythian priestess, who bade the Delphians give to Pindar one half of all the first-fruits they offered to Apollo. It is also said that on reaching old age a vision came to him in a dream. As he slept Persephone stood by him and declared that she alone of the deities had not been honored by Pindar with a hymn, but that Pindar would compose an ode to her also when he had come to her.

[4] τὸν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ χρεὼν ἐπιλαμβάνει πρὶν ἐξῆκεν ἡμέραν δεκάτην ἀπὸ τοῦ
ὀνειράτος, ἣν δὲ ἐν Θήβαις γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις γένους ἔνεκα προσήκουσα
Πινδάρῳ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μεμελετηκυῖα ᾄδεν τῶν ᾠμάτων: αὕτη Πίνδαρος
ἐνύπνιον τῇ πρεσβύτιδι ἐπιστάς ὕμνον ἦσεν ἐς Περσεφόνην, ἡ δὲ αὐτίκα ὡς
ἀπέλιπεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὕπνος, ἔγραψε ταῦτα ὀπόσα τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἤκουσεν
ᾄδοντος. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ᾠματι ἄλλαι τε ἐς τὸν Ἄϊδην εἰσὶν ἐπικλήσεις καὶ ὁ

χρυσήνιος, δηλαὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κόρης τῇ ἀρπαγῇ.

[23.4] Pindar died at once, before ten days had passed since the dream. But there was in Thebes an old woman related by birth to Pindar who had practised singing most of his odes. By her side in a dream stood Pindar, and sang a hymn to Persephone. Immediately on waking out of her sleep she wrote down all she had heard him singing in her dream. In this song, among the epithets he applies to Hades is “golden-reined” – a clear reference to the rape of Persephone.

ACRAEPHNIUM & MT PTOUS

[5] ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Ἀκραίφνιον ἐστὶν ὁδὸς τὰ πλείω πεδιάς. εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μοῖραν τῆς Θηβαΐδος τὴν πόλιν φασὶ καὶ ὕστερον διαπεσόντας Θηβαίων ἐς αὐτὴν ἄνδρας εὗρισκον, ἥνίκα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐποίει τὰς Θήβας ἀναστάτους: ὑπὸ δὲ ἀσθενείας καὶ γήρωος οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποσωθῆναι δυνηθέντες ἐνταῦθα ὤκησαν. κεῖται μὲν τὸ πόλισμα ἐν ὄρει τῷ Πτῶ, θέας δὲ ἄξια ἐνταῦθα Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα.

[23.5] From this point to Acraephnum is mainly flat. They say that originally the city formed part of the territory belonging to Thebes, and I learned that in later times men of Thebes escaped to it, at the time when Alexander destroyed Thebes. Weak and old, they could not even get safely away to Attica, but made their homes here. The town lies on Mount Ptous, and there are here a temple and image of Dionysus that are worth seeing.

[6] προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε πού καὶ δέκα σταδίου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι τοῦ Πτῶου τὸ ἱερόν. εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς παῖδα τὸν Πτῶον, ἀφ’ οὗ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ κλησις καὶ τῷ ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἄσιος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἶρηκε. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐπιστρατείας καὶ ὀλέθρου τοῦ Θηβαίων μαντεῖον ἦν αὐτόθι ἀψευδές: καὶ ποτε ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα — ὄνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι Μῦν — , τοῦτον ἀποσταλέντα ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου τὸν Μῦν ἐπερέσθαι τε φωνῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ οἱ χρῆσαι τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ἑλληνίσαντα οὐδὲ αὐτόν, διαλέκτῳ τῇ Καρικῇ.

[23.6] About fifteen stades away from the city on the right is the sanctuary of Ptoan Apollo. We are told by Asius in his epic that Ptous, who gave a surname to Apollo and the name to the mountain, was a son of Athamas by Themisto. Before the expedition of the Macedonians under Alexander, in which Thebes was destroyed, there was here an oracle that never lied. Once too a mail of Europus, of the name of Mys, who was sent by Mardonius, inquired of the god in his own language, and the god too gave a response, not in Greek but in the Carian speech.

LARYMNA

[7] ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πτῶον ἔστιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Βοιωτῶν πόλις Λάρυμνα, γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα φασὶν ἀπὸ Λαρύμνης τῆς Κύνου: τοὺς δὲ ἀνωτέρω προγόνους δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἔχοντα ἐς Λοκροὺς τοῦ λόγου. καὶ

συνετέλει δὲ ἐς Ὀποῦντα ἢ Λάρυμνα τὸ ἀρχαῖον· Θηβαίων δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἰσχύος προελθόντων, τηνικαῦτα ἐκουσίως μετετάξαντο ἐς Βοιωτούς. Διονύσου δὲ ἐνταῦθα ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν πεποιήται. λίμνην δὲ σφισίν ἐστιν ἀγχιβαθής, καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ὧν παρέχεται θήραν ἀγρίων.

[23.7] On crossing Mount Ptous you come to Larymna, a Boeotian city on the coast, said to have been named after Larymna, the daughter of Cynus. Her earlier ancestors I shall give in my account of Locris. Of old Larymna belonged to Opus, but when Thebes rose to great power the citizens of their own accord joined the Boeotians. Here there is a temple of Dionysus with a standing image. The town has a harbor with deep water near the shore, and on the mountains commanding the city wild boars can be hunted.

LAKE COPAIS

24. ἐξ Ἀκραφνίου δὲ ἰόντι εὐθεῖαν ἐπὶ λίμνην τὴν Κηφισίδα — οἱ δὲ Κωπαῖδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν αὐτὴν — πεδῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθαμάντιον· οἰκῆσαι δὲ Ἀθάμαντα ἐν αὐτῷ φασιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν λίμνην ὃ τε ποταμὸς ὁ Κηφισὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Λιλαίας τῆς Φωκῆων καὶ διαπλεύσαντί εἰσι Κῶπαι. κεῖνται δὲ αἱ Κῶπαι πόλισμα ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ, τούτου δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποιήσατο ἐν καταλόγῳ μνήμην· ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερά.

[24.1] XXIV. On the straight road from Acraephnum to the Cephisian, or as it is also called, the Copaic Lake, is what is styled the Athamantian Plain, on which, they say, Athamas made his home. Into the lake flows the river Cephisus, which rises at Lilaea in Phocis, and on sailing across it you come to Copae, a town lying on the shore of the lake. Homer mentions it in the Catalogue. Here is a sanctuary of Demeter, one of Dionysus and a third of Serapis.

[2] λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ πολίσματα ἄλλα πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ποτὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐλευσῖνα οἰκεῖσθαι, καὶ ὥς ὥρα χειμῶνος ἐπικλύσασα ἠφάνισεν αὐτὰ ἡ λίμνη. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἰχθῦς οἱ ἐν τῇ Κηφισίδι οὐδέν τι διάφορον ἐς ἄλλους ἰχθῦς τοὺς λιμναίους ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐγχέλεις αὐτόθι καὶ μεγέθει μέγιστα καὶ ἐσθίειν εἰσὶν ἥδιστα.

[24.2] According to the Boeotians there were once other inhabited towns near the lake, Athens and Eleusis, but there occurred a flood one winter which destroyed them. The fish of the Cephisian Lake are in general no different from those of other lakes, but the eels there are of great size and very pleasant to the palate.

OLMONES & HYETTUS

[3] Κωπῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίους προελθόντι ὥς δώδεκα εἰσὶν Ὀλμωνες, Ὀλμωνῶν δὲ ἐπτὰ πού στάδια Ὑηττος ἀφέστηκε κῶμαι νῦν τε οὔσαι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς· μοίρας δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῆς Ὁρχομενίας εἰσὶ καὶ αὗται καὶ πεδῖον τὸ Ἀθαμάντιον. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐς Ὑηττον ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον καὶ Ὀλμον τὸν

Σισύφου λεγόμενα ἤκουον, προσέεται καὶ αὐτὰ τῇ Ὀρχομενίᾳ συγγραφῇ: θέας δὲ ἄξιον ἐν μὲν Ὀλμωσιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχύτατον παρεῖχον οὐδέν, ἐν Ὑήττῳ δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἰάματα εὖρασθαι παρὰ τούτου τοῖς κάμνουσιν ἔστιν, ὄντος οὐχὶ ἀγάματος σὺν τέχνῃ, λίθου δὲ ἀργοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

[24.3] On the left of Copae about twelve stades from it is Olmones, and some seven stades distant from Olmones is Hyettus both right from their foundation to the present day have been villages. In my view Hyettus, as well as the Athamantian plain, belongs to the district of Orchomenus. All the stories I heard about Hyettus the Argive and Olmus, the son of Sisyphus, I shall include in my history of Orchomenus. In Olmones they did not show me anything that was in the least worth seeing, but in Hyettus is a temple of Heracles, from whom the sick may get cures. There is an image not carefully carved, but of unwrought stone after the ancient fashion.

CYRTONES & CORSEIA

[4] Ὑήττου δὲ στάδια ὥς εἴκοσιν ἀπέχουσι Κύρτωνες: τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα τῷ πολίσματί φασιν εἶναι Κυρτώνην. ὤκισται δὲ ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ναὸς τε καὶ ἄλσος: ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτεμίδος ἐστίν. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐκ πέτρας ἀνερχόμενον: νυμφῶν δὲ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ καὶ ἄλσος οὐ μέγα ἐστίν, ἡμερα δὲ ὁμοίως πάντα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει δένδρα.

[24.4] About twenty stades away from Hyettus is Cyrtones. The ancient name of the town was, they say, Cyrtone. It is built on a high mountain, and here are a temple and grove of Apollo. There are also standing images of Apollo and Artemis. There is here too a cool stream of water rising from a rock. By the spring is a sanctuary of the nymphs, and a small grove, in which all the trees alike are cultivated.

[5] ἐκ δὲ Κυρτώνων ὑπερβάλλοντι τὸ ὄρος πόλισμά ἐστι Κορσεία, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ δένδρων ἄλσος οὐχ ἡμέρων: πρῖνοι τὸ πολὺ εἰσιν. Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἄλσους ἔστηκε. τοῦτο ἀπέχει Κορσείας ὅσον τε ἡμισυ σταδίου. καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλὸν ποταμὸς Πλατάνιος καλούμενος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν: ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔσχατοι ταύτῃ πόλισμα οἰκοῦσιν Ἀλὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ, ἣ τὴν Λοκρίδα ἡπειρον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐβοίας διείργει.

[24.5] Going out of Cyrtones, as you cross the mountain you come to Corseia, under which is a grove of trees that are not cultivated, being mostly evergreen oaks. A small image of Hermes stands in the open part of the grove. This is distant from Corseia about half a stade. On descending to the level you reach a river called the Platanus, which flows into the sea. On the right of the river the last of the Boeotians in this part dwell in Halae-on-Sea, which separates the Locrian mainland from Euboea.

25. Θηβαίοις δὲ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγύτατα τῶν Νηιστῶν Μενοικέως μνήμα τοῦ Κρέοντος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ἐκουσίως αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ μάντευμα τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἡνίκα Πολυνείκης καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἀφίκοντο ἐξ Ἄργους. τοῦ δὲ Μενοικέως ἐπιπέφυκε ροιὰ τῷ μνήματι· τοῦ καρποῦ δὲ ὄντος πεπεῖρου διαρρήξαντί σοι τὸ ἐκτὸς λοιπὸν ἐστὶν εὗρεῖν τὸ ἔνδον αἵματι ἐμφερές. αὕτη μὲν δὴ τεθελὸς δένδρον ἐστὶν ἡ ροιὰ· ἄμπελον δὲ φῦναι μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παρὰ σφίσι πρῶτοις φασὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀποφῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπόμνημα εἶχον.

[25.1] XXV. Very near to the Neistan gate at Thebes is the tomb of Menoeceus, the son of Creon. He committed suicide in obedience to the oracle from Delphi, at the time when Polyneices and the host with him arrived from Argos. On the tomb of Menoeceus grows a pomegranate-tree. If you break through the outer part of the ripe fruit, you will then find the inside like blood. This pomegranate-tree is still flourishing. The Thebans assert that they were the first men among whom the vine grew, but they have now no memorial of it to show.

[2] τοῦ δὲ Μενοικέως οὐ πόρρω τάφου τοὺς παῖδας λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδος μονομαχήσαντας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων· σημεῖον δὲ τῆς μάχης αὐτῶν κίων, καὶ ἀσπίς ἔπεστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθου. δείκνυται δὲ τι χωρίον ἔνθα Ἦραν Θηβαῖοί φασιν Ἡρακλεῖ παιδί ἔτι ἐπισχεῖν γάλα κατὰ δὴ τινὰ ἀπάτην ἐκ Διός· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ σύμπας οὗτος τόπος Σῦρμα Ἀντιγόνης· ὥς γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Πολυνείκου ἀρασθαί οἱ προθυμουμένη νεκρὸν οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ῥαστώνη, δεύτερα ἐπενόησεν ἔλκειν αὐτόν, ἐς ὃ εἴλκυσε τε καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους ἐξημμένην τὴν πυράν.

[25.2] Not far from the grave of Menoeceus is the place where they say the sons of Oedipus killed each other in a duel. The scene of their fight is marked by a pillar, upon which is a stone shield. There is shown a place where according to the Thebans Hera was deceived by Zeus into giving the breast to Heracles when he was a baby. The whole of this place is called the Dragging of Antigone. For when she found that she had not the strength to lift the body of Polyneices, in spite of her eager efforts, a second plan occurred to her, to drag him. So she dragged him right up to the burning pyre of Eteocles and threw him on it.

[3] διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν καλούμενον ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τῆς Λύκου Δίρκην — ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ ἔχει λόγος Ἀντιόπην κακοῦσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιόπης παίδων συμβῆναι τῇ Δίρκῃ τὴν τελευταίην — , διαβᾶσιν οὖν τὴν Δίρκην οἰκίας τε ἐρείπια τῆς Πινδάρου καὶ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ἱερὸν, Πινδάρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀριστομήδους τε καὶ Σωκράτους Θηβαίων. μιᾷ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστων ἐτῶν ἡμέρα καὶ οὐ πέρα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοίγειν νομίζουσιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀφικέσθαι τε ἐξεγεγόνει τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον λίθου τοῦ Πεντελεῆσι καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν θρόνον.

[25.3] There is a river called Dirce after the wife of Lycus. The story goes that Antiope was ill-treated by this Dirce, and therefore the children of Antiope put Dirce to death. Crossing the river you reach the ruins of the house of Pindar, and a sanctuary of the Mother Dindymene. Pindar dedicated the image, and Aristomedes and Socrates, sculptors of Thebes, made it. Their custom is to open the sanctuary on one day in each year, and no more. It was my fortune to arrive on that day, and I saw the image, which, like the throne, is of Pentelic marble.

[4] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Νηιστῶν τὸ μὲν Θέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου, τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς Μοιρῶν, τὸ δὲ Ἀγοραίου Διός: οὗτος μὲν δὴ λίθου πεποιήται, ταῖς Μοίραις δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάλματα. καὶ ἀπωτέρω μικρὸν Ἡρακλῆς ἔστηκεν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Ῥινοκολούστης ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων, ὅτι τῶν κηρύκων, ὡς οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπέτεμεν ἐπὶ λώβῃ τὰς ῥίνας, οἱ παρὰ Ὀρχομενίων ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ δασμοῦ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν.

[25.4] Along the road from the Neistan gate are three sanctuaries. There is a sanctuary of Themis, with an image of white marble; adjoining it is a sanctuary of the Fates, while the third is of Zeus of the Market. Zeus is made of stone; the Fates have no images. A little farther off in the open stands Heracles, surnamed Nose-docker; the reason for the name is, as the Thebans say, that Heracles cut off the noses, as an insult, of the heralds who came from Orchomenus to demand the tribute.

THE CABEIRIUM

[5] σταδίους δὲ αὐτόθεν πέντε προελθόντι καὶ εἴκοσι Δήμητρος Καβειραίας καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἄλλος: ἐσελθεῖν δὲ τοῖς τελεσθεῖσιν ἔστι. τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐπτά που σταδίους τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφέςτηκεν. οἵτινες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ Κάβειροι καὶ ὅποιά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ Μητρὶ τὰ δρώμενα, σιωπὴν ἄγοντι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συγγνώμη παρὰ ἀνδρῶν φιληκῶν ἔστω μοι.

[25.5] Advancing from here twenty-five stades you come to a grove of Cabeirean Demeter and the Maid. The initiated are permitted to enter it. The sanctuary of the Cabeiri is some seven stades distant from this grove. I must ask the curious to forgive me if I keep silence as to who the Cabeiri are, and what is the nature of the ritual performed in honor of them and of the Mother.

[6] τοσοῦτο δὲ δηλώσαι με καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐκώλυσεν οὐδέν, ἥντινα λέγουσιν ἀρχὴν οἱ Θηβαῖοι γενέσθαι τοῖς δρωμένοις. πόλιν γάρ ποτε ἐν τούτῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἄνδρας ὀνομαζομένους Καβείρους, Προμηθεὶ δὲ ἐνὶ τῶν Καβείρων καὶ Αἰτναίῳ τῷ Προμηθέως ἀφικομένην Δήμητρα ἐς γνῶσιν παρακαταθέσθαι σφίσιν: ἥτις μὲν δὴ ἦν ἡ παρακαταθήκη καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν γινόμενα, οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ὅσιόν μοι γράφειν, Δήμητρος δ' οὖν Καβειραίους δῶρόν ἐστιν ἡ τελετή.

[25.6] But there is nothing to prevent my declaring to all what the Thebans say was the origin of the ritual. They say that once there was in this place a city,

with inhabitants called Cabeiri; and that Demeter came to know Prometheus, one of the Cabeiri, and Aetnaelis his son, and entrusted something to their keeping. What was entrusted to them, and what happened to it, seemed to me a sin to put into writing, but at any rate the rites are a gift of Demeter to the Cabeiri.

[7] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐπιγόνων στρατείαν καὶ ἄλωσιν τῶν Θηβῶν ἀνέστησαν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ Καβειραῖοι, ἐξελείφθη δὲ ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ καὶ ἡ τελετή. Πελαργὴν δὲ ὕστερον τὴν Ποτνιέως καὶ Ἴσθμιάδην Πελαργῇ συνοικοῦντα καταστήσασθαι μὲν τὰ ὄργια αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, μετενεγκεῖν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλεξιάρουν καλούμενον:

[25.7] At the time of the invasion of the Epigoni and the taking of Thebes, the Cabeiri were expelled from their homes by the Argives and the rites for a while ceased to be performed. But they go on to say that afterwards Pelarge, the daughter of Potnieus, and Isthmiades her husband established the mysteries here to begin with, but transferred them to the place called Alexiarus.

[8] ὅτι δὲ τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἐμύησεν ἡ Πελαργὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων, Τηλώνδης καὶ ὅσοι γένους τοῦ Καβειριτῶν ἐλείποντο κατῆλθον αὐθις ἐς τὴν Καβειραίαν. Πελαργῇ μὲν δὴ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δωδώνης καὶ ἄλλα ἔμελλεν ἐς τιμὴν καταστήσασθαι καὶ ἡ θυσία, φέρον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἱερεῖον: τὸ δὲ μήνιμα τὸ ἐκ τῶν Καβείρων ἀπαραίτητόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὥς ἐπέδειξε δὴ πολλαχῇ.

[25.8] But because Pelarge conducted the initiation outside the ancient borders, Telondes and those who were left of the clan of the Cabeiri returned again to Cabeiraea. Various honors were to be established for Pelarge by Telondes in accordance with an oracle from Dodona, one being the sacrifice of a pregnant victim. The wrath of the Cabeiri no man may placate, as has been proved on many occasions.

[9] τὰ γὰρ δὴ δρώμενα ἐν Θήβαις ἐτόλμησαν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ κατὰ ταῦτα ἰδιῶται δρᾶσαι, καὶ σφᾶς οὐ μετὰ πολὺν ἐπέλαβεν ἡ δίκη. ὅσοι δὲ ὁμοῦ Μαρδονίῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Ξέρξου περὶ Βοιωτίαν ἐλείφθησαν, τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Καβείρων τάχα μὲν που καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐλπίδι, τὸ πλεόν δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὀλιγωρίᾳ, τούτοις παραφρονῆσαι τε συνέπεσεν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀπώλοντο ἐς θάλασσαν τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ἑαυτοὺς ῥίπτοντες.

[25.9] For certain private people dared to perform in Naupactus the ritual just as it was done in Thebes, and soon afterwards justice overtook them. Then, again, certain men of the army of Xerxes left behind with Mardonius in Boeotia entered the sanctuary of the Cabeiri, perhaps in the hope of great wealth, but rather, I suspect, to show their contempt of its gods; all these immediately were struck with madness, and flung themselves to their deaths into the sea or from the tops of precipices.

[10] Ἀλεξάνδρου δέ, ὡς ἐνίκησε τῇ μάχῃ, Θήβας τε αὐτὰς καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν Θηβαΐδα διδόντος πυρί, ἄνδρες τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐλθόντες ἐς τῶν Καβεϊρῶν τὸ ἱερὸν ἄτε ἐν γῇ τῇ πολεμία κεραυνοῖς τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστραπαῖς ἐφθάρησαν.

[25.10] Again, when Alexander after his victory wasted with fire all the Thebaid, including Thebes itself, some men from Macedonia entered the sanctuary of the Cabeiri, as it was in enemy territory, and were destroyed by thunder and lightning from heaven.

26. οὕτω μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅγιον: τοῦ Καβερίου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ πεδῖον ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμον Τηνέρου μάντεως, ὃν Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Μελίας νομίζουσι, καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν μέγα ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἴπποδέτου: τοὺς τε γὰρ Ὀρχομενίους φασὶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀφίχθαι στρατιᾷ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα νύκτωρ τοὺς ἵππους λαβόντα συνδησαί σφισι τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρμασι.

[26.1] XXVI. So sacred this sanctuary has been from the beginning. On the right of the sanctuary is a plain named after Tenerus the seer, whom they hold to be a son of Apollo by Melia; there is also a large sanctuary of Heracles surnamed Hippodetus (Binder of Horses). For they say that the Orchomenians came to this place with an army, and that Heracles by night took their chariot-horses and bound them tight.

MT PHIX

[2] προελθόντων δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶν ὅθεν τὴν Σφίγγα λέγουσιν ὀρμαῖσθαι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἀρπαζομένων αἰνιγμα ἄδουσαν: οἱ δὲ κατὰ ληστείαν σὺν δυνάμει ναυτικῇ πλανωμένην φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀνθηδόνι σχεῖν θάλασσαν, καταλαβοῦσαν δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρπαγαῖς χρῆσθαι, πρὶν ἐξεῖλεν Οἰδίπους αὐτὴν ὑπερβαλόμενος πλήθει στρατιᾶς ἣν ἀφίκετο ἔχων ἐκ Κορίνθου.

[26.2] Farther on we come to the mountain from which they say the Sphinx, chanting a riddle, sallied to bring death upon those she caught. Others say that roving with a force of ships on a piratical expedition she put in at Anthedon, seized the mountain I mentioned, and used it for plundering raids until Oedipus overwhelmed her by the superior numbers of the army he had with him on his arrival from Corinth.

[3] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς νόθη Λαΐου θυγάτηρ εἴη, καὶ ὡς τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν Κάδμῳ δοθέντα ἐκ Δελφῶν διδάξειεν αὐτὴν κατὰ εὐνοίαν ὁ Λαῖος: ἐπίστασθαι δὲ πλὴν τοὺς βασιλέας οὐδένα ἄλλον τὸ μάντευμα. ὁπότε οὖν τῇ Σφιγγὶ ἀμφισβητήσων τις ἀφίκοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς — γενέσθαι γὰρ τῷ Λαΐῳ ἐκ παλλακῶν υἱοὺς καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐς Ἐπικάστην μόνην καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔχειν παῖδας — , τὴν οὖν Σφίγγα χρῆσθαι σοφίσμασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὡς τὸν Κάδμῳ γενόμενον χρησμὸν εἶδεῖεν ἂν Λαΐου γε ὄντες:

[26.3] There is another version of the story which makes her the natural daughter of Laius, who, because he was fond of her, told her the oracle delivered to Cadmus from Delphi. No one, they say, except the kings knew

the oracle. Now Laius (the story goes on to say) had sons by concubines, and the oracle delivered from Delphi applied only to Epicaste and her sons. So when any of her brothers came in order to claim the throne from the Sphinx, she resorted to trickery in dealing with them, saying that if they were sons of Laius they should know the oracle that came to Cadmus.

[4] οὐκ ἔχοντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνασθαι θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ἅτε οὐ προσηκόντως ἀμφισβητοῦντας γένους τε καὶ ἀρχῆς. Οἰδίπους δὲ ἄρα ἀφίκετο ὑπὸ ὀνείρατος δεδιδαγμένος τὸν χρησμόν.

[26.4] When they could not answer she would punish them with death, on the ground that they had no valid claim to the kingdom or to relationship. But Oedipus came because it appears he had been told the oracle in a dream.

ONCHESTUS

[5] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα σταδίου πόλεως ἐρείπια Ὀγχηστοῦ· φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ὀγχηστόν. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ποσειδῶνος ἐλείπετο Ὀγχηστίου καὶ τὸ ἄλσος, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπήνεσε.

[26.5] Distant from this mountain fifteen stades are the ruins of the city Onchestus. They say that here dwelt Onchestus, a son of Poseidon. In my day there remained a temple and image of Onchestian Poseidon, and the grove which Homer too praised.

THESPIAE

[6] τραπομένῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καβειρίου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ προελθόντι ὡς πεντήκοντα σταδίους Θέσπια ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ὥκισται. θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι Θέσπιαν λέγουσιν Ἀσωποῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Θέσπιόν φασιν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντα τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει δοῦναι:

[26.6] Taking a turn left from the Cabeirian sanctuary, and advancing about fifty stades, you come to Thespieae, built at the foot of Mount Helicon. They say that Thespia was a daughter of Asopus, who gave her name to the city, while others say that Thespius, who was descended from Erechtheus, came from Athens and was the man after whom the city was called.

[7] γεγονέναι δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑρεχθέως αὐτόν. Θεσπιεῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει Σαώτου Διός ἐστι χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα: ἐπιλέγουσι δὲ ὡς λυμαινομένου τὴν πόλιν ποτὲ αὐτοῖς δράκοντος προστάξειεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κλήρω τῶν ἐφήβων κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον λαχόντα δίδοσθαι τῷ θηρίῳ. τῶν μὲν δὴ διαφθαρέντων μνημονεῦειν τὰ ὀνόματα οὗ φασιν: ἐπὶ δὲ Κλεοστράτῳ λαχόντι τὸν ἐραστήν αὐτοῦ Μενέστρατον λέγουσιν ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι.

[26.7] In Thespieae is a bronze image of Zeus Saviour. They say about it that when a dragon once was devastating their city, the god commanded that every year one of their youths, upon whom the lot fell, should be offered to the monster. Now the names of those who perished they say that they do not

remember. But when the lot fell on Cleostratus, his lover Menestratus, they say, devised a trick.

[8] χαλκοῦν θώρακα ἐποίησατο ἔχοντα ἐπὶ ἐκάστη τῶν φολίδων ἄγκιστρον ἐς τὸ ἄνω νεῦον· τοῦτον τὸν θώρακα ἐνδὺς παρέδωκε τῷ δράκοντι ἐκουσίως αὐτόν, παραδοὺς δὲ ἀπολεῖσθαι τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλε τὸ θηρίον. ἀντὶ τούτου μὲν τῷ Διὶ γέγονεν ἐπὶ κλησις Σαώτης· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ Διονύσου καὶ αὐθις Τύχης, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ὑγείας * *, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Ἐργάνην καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ Πλοῦτόν οἱ παρεστηκότα ἐποίησε * * *.

[26.8] He had made a bronze breastplate, with a fish-hook, the point turned outwards, upon each of its plates. Clad in this breastplate he gave himself up, of his own free will, to the dragon, convinced that having done so he would, though destroyed himself, prove the destroyer of the monster. This is why the Zeus has been surnamed Saviour. The image of Dionysus, and also that of Fortune, and in another place that of Health . . . But the Athena Worker, as well as Wealth, who stands beside her, was made by. . .

27. θεῶν δὲ οἱ Θεσπιεῖς τιμῶσιν Ἑρωτα μάλιστα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ σφισιν ἄγαλμα παλαιότατόν ἐστιν ἀργὸς λίθος. ὅστις δὲ ὁ καταστησάμενος Θεσπιεῦσιν Ἑρωτα θεῶν σέβεσθαι μάλιστα, οὐκ οἶδα. σέβονται δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσαν καὶ Ἑλλησποντίων Παριανοί, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἀποικισμένοι, τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τελοῦντες ἐς Ῥωμαίους.

[27.1] XXVII. Of the gods the Thespians have from the beginning honored Love most, and they have a very ancient image of him, an unwrought stone. Who established among the Thespians the custom of worshipping Love more than any other god I do not know. He is worshipped equally by the people of Parium on the Hellespont, who were originally colonists from Erythrae in Ionia, but to-day are subject to the Romans.

[2] Ἑρωτα δὲ ἄνθρωποι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νεώτατον θεῶν εἶναι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης παῖδα ἡγνῆται· Λύκιος δὲ Ὡλήν, ὃς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἐποίησεν Ἑλλήσιν, οὗτος ὁ Ὡλήν ἐν Εἰλειθυίας ὕμνῳ μητέρα Ἑρωτος τὴν Εἰλειθυιάν φησιν εἶναι. Ὡλήνος δὲ ὕστερον Πάμφως τε ἔπη καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐποίησαν· καὶ σφισιν ἀμφοτέροις πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐς Ἑρωτα, ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις Λυκομίδαι καὶ ταῦτα ᾄδωσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπελεξάμην ἀνδρὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν δαδουχοῦντι. καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐ πρόσω ποιήσομαι μνήμην· Ἡσιόδον δὲ ἢ τὸν Ἡσιόδῳ Θεογονίαν ἐσπούησαντα οἶδα γράψαντα ὥς Χάος πρῶτον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Γῇ τε καὶ Τάρταρος καὶ Ἑρὼς γένοιτο:

[27.2] Most men consider Love to be the youngest of the gods and the son of Aphrodite. But Olen the Lycian, who composed the oldest Greek hymns, says in a hymn to Eileithyia that she was the mother of Love. Later than Olen, both Pamphos and Orpheus wrote hexameter verse, and composed poems on Love, in order that they might be among those sung by the Lycomidae to accompany the ritual. I read them after conversation with a Torchbearer. Of these things I will make no further mention. Hesiod, or he who wrote the Theogony fathered

on Hesiod, writes, I know, that Chaos was born first, and after Chaos, Earth, Tartarus and Love.

[3] Σαπφώ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία πολλά τε καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐς Ἑρωτα ἦσε. Θεσπιεῦσι δὲ ὕστερον χαλκοῦν εἰργάσατο Ἑρωτα Λύσιππος, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τούτου Πραξιτέλης λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσι. καὶ ὅσα μὲν εἶχεν ἐς Φρύνην καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Πραξιτέλει τῆς γυναικὸς σόφισμα, ἐτέρωθι ἤδη μοι δεδήλωται· πρῶτον δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα κινῆσαι τοῦ Ἑρωτος λέγουσι Γάιον δυναστεύσαντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κλαυδίου δὲ ὀπίσω Θεσπιεῦσιν ἀποτέμψαντος Νέρωνα αὐθις δευτέρα ἀνάσπαστον ποιῆσαι.

[27.3] Sappho of Lesbos wrote many poems about Love, but they are not consistent. Later on Lysippus made a bronze Love for the Thespians, and previously Praxiteles one of Pentelic marble. The story of Phryne and the trick she played on Praxiteles I have related in another place. The first to remove the image of Love, it is said, was Gaius the Roman Emperor; Claudius, they say, sent it back to Thespieae, but Nero carried it away a second time.

[4] καὶ τὸν μὲν φλόξ αὐτόθι διέφθειρε· τῶν δὲ ἀσεβησάντων ἐς τὸν θεὸν ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ στρατιώτῃ διδοὺς αἰεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σύνθημα μετὰ ὑποῦλου χλευασίας ἐς τοσοῦτο προήγαγε θυμοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὥστε σύνθημα διδόντα αὐτὸν διεργάζεται, Νέρωνι δὲ παρὲς ἢ τὰ ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐς γυναικας γαμετὰς ἐναγῇ τε καὶ ἀνέραστα τολμήματα. τὸν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἑρωτα ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος Μηνόδωρος, τὸ ἔργον τὸ Πραξιτέλους μιμούμενος.

[27.4] At Rome the image perished by fire. Of the pair who sinned against the god, Gaius was killed by a private soldier, just as he was giving the password; he had made the soldier very angry by always giving the same password with a covert sneer. The other, Nero, in addition to his violence to his mother, committed accursed and hateful crimes against his wedded wives. The modern Love at Thespieae was made by the Athenian Menodorus, who copied the work of Praxiteles.

[5] ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοῦ Πραξιτέλους Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Φρύνης ἐστὶν εἰκόν, λίθου καὶ ἡ Φρύνη καὶ ἡ θεός· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι Ἀφροδίτης Μελαινίδος ἱερὸν καὶ θέατρον τε καὶ ἀγορὰ θέας ἄξια· ἐνταῦθα Ἡσίοδος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς. τῆς ἀγορᾶς τε οὐ πόρρω Νίκη τε χαλκοῦ καὶ ναὸς Μουσῶν ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ μικρὰ λίθου πεποιημένα.

[27.5] Here too are statues made by Praxiteles himself, one of Aphrodite and one of Phryne, both Phryne and the goddess being of stone. Elsewhere too is a sanctuary of Black Aphrodite, with a theater and a market-place, well worth seeing. Here is set up Hesiod in bronze. Not far from the market-place is a Victory of bronze and a small temple of the Muses. In it are small images made of stone.

[6] καὶ Ἡρακλέους Θεσπιεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτοῦ παρθένος, ἔστ'

ἀν ἐπιλάβῃ τὸ χρεὼν αὐτῇν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τοιόνδε, Ἡρακλέα ταῖς θυγατράσι πεντήκοντα οὖσαις ταῖς Θεστίου συγγενέσθαι πάσαις πλὴν μιᾶς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί: ταύτην δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλησαι οἱ τὴν μίαν μιχθῆναι: τὸν δὲ ὕβρισθῆναι νομίζοντα δικάσαι μένειν παρθένον πάντα αὐτῇν τὸν βίον ἱερωμένην αὐτῷ.

[27.6] At Thespieae is also a sanctuary of Heracles. The priestess there is a virgin, who acts as such until she dies. The reason of this is said to be as follows. Heracles, they say, had intercourse with the fifty daughters of Thestius, except one, in a single night. She was the only one who refused to have connection with him. Heracles, thinking that he had been insulted, condemned her to remain a virgin all her life, serving him as his priest.

[7] ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον λόγον, ὥς διὰ πασῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶν Θεστίου παρθένων διεξέλθοι τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί καὶ ὥς ἄρσενας παῖδας αὐτῷ πᾶσαι τέκοιεν, διδύμους δὲ ἢ τε νεωτάτη καὶ ἢ πρεσβυτάτη: ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡγήσομαι πιστόν, Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ὀργῆς ἀνδρὸς φίλου θυγατρὶ ἀφικέσθαι: πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡνίκα ἔτι ἦν μετ' ἀνθρώπων, τιμωρούμενός τε ἄλλους ὕβριζοντας καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γε κατεστήσατο αὐτῷ ναόν τε καὶ ἱερείαν ὥσπερ δὴ θεός.

[27.7] I have heard another story, how Heracles had connection with all the virgin daughters of Thestius in one and the same night, and how they all bore him sons, the youngest and the eldest bearing twins. But I cannot think it credible that Heracles would rise to such a pitch of wrath against a daughter of a friend. Moreover, while he was still among men, punishing them for insolence, and especially such as were impious towards the gods, he would not himself have set up a temple and appointed a priestess to himself, just as though he were a god.

[8] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφαίνεται μοι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος, καὶ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ καλουμένου τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἐρυθραίους τοὺς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ Τυρίους ἱερὰ ἔχοντας εὑρίσκον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἡγνόνουν τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅπου γε αὐτοὶ τῆς Μυκαλησσίας Δήμητρος Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἰδαίῳ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγουσιν.

[27.8] As a matter of fact this sanctuary seemed to me too old to be of the time of Heracles the son of Amphitryon, and to belong to Heracles called one of the Idaean Dactyls, to whom I found the people of Erythrae in Ionia and of Tyre possessed sanctuaries. Nevertheless, the Boeotians were not unacquainted with this name of Heracles, seeing that they themselves say that the sanctuary of Demeter of Mycalessus has been entrusted to Idaean Heracles.

MT HELICON

28. ὁ δὲ Ἑλικῶν ὄρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐστὶν εὐγεῶς καὶ δένδρων ἡμέρων ἀνάπλεως: καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀνδράχνου θάμνοι παρέχονται τῶν

πανταχοῦ καρπὸν αἰξίν ἥδιστον. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες καὶ ἀπάσας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τὰς πόας καὶ τὰς ῥίζας ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου θανάτῳ φύεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὄφεσι τὸν ἰὸν ποιοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀσθενέστερον αἰ νομαί, ὥστε καὶ διαφεύγουσι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ δηχθέντες, ἢν ἀνδρὶ Λίβυι γένους τοῦ Ψύλλων ἢ καὶ ἄλλως προσφόροις ἐπιτύχωσι τοῖς φαρμάκοις.

[28.1] XXVIII. Helicon is one of the mountains of Greece with the most fertile soil and the greatest number of cultivated trees. The wild-strawberry bushes supply to the goats sweeter fruit than that growing anywhere else. The dwellers around Helicon say that all the grasses too and roots growing on the mountain are not at all poisonous to men. Moreover, the food makes the poison of the snakes too less deadly, so that most of those bitten escape with their lives, should they fall in with a Libyan of the race of the Psyllians, or with any suitable remedies.

[2] ἔστι μὲν δὴ ὁ ἰὸς τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις τῶν ὄφεων καὶ ἄλλως ὀλέθριος ἔς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ ζῶα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα, συντελοῦσι δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς ἰσχύν σφισι τοῦ ἰοῦ καὶ αἰ νομαί, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀκούσας οἶδα Φοίνικος ὡς ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ τῇ Φοινίκης ἀγριωτέρους τοὺς ἔχεις ποιοῦσιν αἱ ῥίζαι. ἔφη δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸς ἀποφεύγοντα ὀρμὴν ἔχεως, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τι ἀναδραμεῖν δένδρον, τὸν δὲ ἔχιν, ὡς ἦλθεν ὕστερος, ἀποπνεῦσαι πρὸς τὸ δένδρον τοῦ ἰοῦ καὶ οὐ ζῆν ἔτι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

[28.2] Now the poison of the most venomous snakes is of itself deadly to men and all animals alike, but what they feed on contributes very much to the strength of their poison; for instance, I learnt from a Phoenician that the roots they eat make more venomous the vipers in the highland of Phoenicia. He said that he had himself seen a man trying to escape from the rush of a viper; the man, he said, ran up a tree, but the viper, coming up too late, puffed some of its poison towards the tree, and the man died instantaneously.

[3] τοῦτου μὲν τοιαῦτα ἤκουσα: ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀράβων ὅσοι τῶν ἔχεων περὶ τὰ δένδρα τὰ πάλσαμα οἰκοῦσι, τοιάδε ἄλλα ἐς αὐτοὺς συμβαίνοντα οἶδα. μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ μυρσίνης θάμνον τὰ πάλσαμά ἐστι, φύλλα δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόαν τὸ σάμψουχον: ἔχεων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ κατὰ ποσοὺς καὶ πλείονες καὶ ἐλάσσονες ὑπὸ ἑκαστον αὐλίζονται δένδρον: τροφή γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ τῶν παλσάμων ἐστὶν ὁπὸς ἡδίστη, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλως τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν φυτῶν χαίρουσιν.

[28.3] Such was the story I heard from him. Those vipers in Arabia that nest around the balsam trees have, I know, the following peculiarities. The balsams are about as big as a myrtle bush, and their leaves are like those of the herb marjoram. The vipers of Arabia lodge in certain numbers, larger or smaller, under each tree. For the balsam-juice is the food they like most, and moreover they are fond of the shade of the bushes.

[4] ἐπὰν οὖν συλλέγειν τοῦ παλσάμου τὸν ὀπὸν ἀφίκεται τοῖς Ἀραβιν ὥρα, ξύλων δύο ἑκαστος σκυτάλας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχεις ἐσφέρει, κροτοῦντες δὲ τὰ ξύλα

ἀπελάνουσι τοὺς ἔχεις· ἀποκτείνειν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἱεροὺς τῶν παλσάμων νομίζοντες. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ ἔχων δηγθῆναι τῷ συμβῆ, τὸ μὲν τραῦμά ἐστιν ὅποιον καὶ ὑπὸ σιδήρου, δεῖμα δὲ ἄπεστι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ· ἅτε γὰρ σιτουμένοις τοῖς ἔχουσι μύρων τὸ εὐοσμώτατον, μετακεράννυται σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ θανατώδους ἐς τὸ ἡπιώτερον ὁ ἰός.

[28.4] So when the time has come for the Arabians to collect the juice of the balsam, each man takes two sticks to the vipers, and by striking them together they drive the vipers away. Kill them they will not, considering them sacred to the balsam. And even if a man should have the misfortune to be bitten by the vipers, though the wound is like the cut of a knife, nevertheless there is no fear from the poison. For as the vipers feed on the most fragrant of perfumes, their poison is mitigated and less deadly.

THE MUSEUM OF HELICON

29. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχοντά ἐστιν οὕτω, θῦσαι δὲ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μούσαις πρώτους καὶ ἐπονομάσαι τὸ ὄρος ἱερὸν εἶναι Μουσῶν Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Ὠτον λέγουσιν, οἰκίσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀσκρην· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἥγησίνους ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐποίησεν, “Ἀσκρη δ’ αὖ παρέλεκτο Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,

ἦ δὴ οἱ τέκε παῖδα περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν

Οἴοκλον, ὃς πρῶτος μετ’ Ἀλωέος ἔκτισε παῖδων

Ἀσκρην, ἣ θ’ Ἑλικῶνος ἔχει πόδα πιδακόμεντα.

“Hegesinus Atthis, unknown location.

[29.1] XXIX. Such is the truth about these things. The first to sacrifice on Helicon to the Muses and to call the mountain sacred to the Muses were, they say, Ephialtes and Otus, who also founded Ascrea. To this also Hegesinus alludes in his poem Atthis:—

And again with Ascrea lay Poseidon Earth-shaker,

Who when the year revolved bore him a son

Oeoclus, who first with the children of Aloeus founded

Ascrea, which lies at the foot of Helicon, rich in springs. Hegesinus, Atthis, unknown location.

[2] ταύτην τοῦ Ἥγησίνου τὴν ποίησιν οὐκ ἐπελεξάμην, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἄρα ἐκλελοιπυῖα ἦν πρὶν ἢ ἐμέ γενέσθαι· Κάλλιππος δὲ Κορίνθιος ἐν τῇ ἐς Ὀρχομενίους συγγραφῇ μαρτύρια ποιεῖται τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἥγησίνου ἔπη, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πεποιήμεθα παρ’ αὐτοῦ Καλλίππου διδαχθέντες. Ἀσκρις μὲν δὴ πύργος εἰς ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο ἐς μνήμην, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλωέως παῖδες ἀριθμόν τε Μούσας ἐνόμισαν εἶναι τρεῖς καὶ ὀνόματα αὐταῖς ἔθεντο Μελέτην καὶ Μνήμην καὶ Ἀοιδήν.

[29.2] This poem of Hegesinus I have not read, for it was no longer extant when I was born. But Callippus of Corinth in his history of Orchomenus uses the verses of Hegesinus as evidence in support of his own views, and I too have

done likewise, using the quotation of Callippus himself. Of Ascrea in my day nothing memorable was left except one tower. The sons of Aloeus held that the Muses were three in number, and gave them the names of Melete (Practice), Mneme (Memory) and Aoede (Song).

[3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερόν φασι Πίερον Μακεδόνα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ὠνόμασται τὸ ὄρος, τοῦτον ἐλθόντα ἐς Θεσπιάς ἐννέα τε Μούσας καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ νῦν μεταθέσθαι σφίσι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐνόμιζεν οὕτως ὁ Πίερος ἢ σοφώτερά οἱ εἶναι φανέντα ἢ κατὰ τι μάντευμα ἢ παρά του διδασκῶν τῶν Θρακῶν: δεξιώτερον γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐδόκει τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι πάλαι τὸ Θράκιον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐς τὰ θεῖα ὀλίγωρον.

[29.3] But they say that afterwards Pierus, a Macedonian, after whom the mountain in Macedonia was named, came to Thespieae and established nine Muses, changing their names to the present ones. Pierus was of this opinion either because it seemed to him wiser, or because an oracle so ordered, or having so learned from one of the Thracians. For the Thracians had the reputation of old of being more clever than the Macedonians, and in particular of being not so careless in religious matters.

[4] εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ αὐτῷ θυγατέρας ἐννέα Πιέρῳ γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἅπερ ταῖς θεαῖς τεθῆναι καὶ ταύταις, καὶ ὅσοι Μουσῶν παῖδες ἐκλήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, θυγατρίδους εἶναι σφᾶς Πιέρου: Μίμνερμος δέ, ἐλεγεία ἐς τὴν μάχην ποιήσας τὴν Σμυρναίων πρὸς Γύγην τε καὶ Λυδοῦς, φησὶν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ θυγατέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιοτέρας Μούσας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας.

[29.4] There are some who say that Pierus himself had nine daughters, that their names were the same as those of the goddesses, and that those whom the Greeks called the children of the Muses were sons of the daughters of Pierus. Mimnermus, who composed elegiac verses about the battle between the Smyrnaeans and the Lydians under Gyges, says in the preface that the elder Muses are daughters of Uranus, and that there are other and younger Muses, children of Zeus.

[5] ἐν Ἑλικῶνι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος ἰόντι τῶν Μουσῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀγανίπη πηγὴ — θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἀγανίπην τοῦ Τερμησσοῦ λέγουσι, ρεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Τερμησσοῦς περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα —, τὴν δὲ εὐθείαν ἐρχομένῳ πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος ἔστιν εἰκὼν Εὐφήμης ἐπειρασμένη λίθῳ: τροφὸν δὲ εἶναι τὴν Εὐφήμην λέγουσι τῶν Μουσῶν.

[29.5] On Helicon, on the left as you go to the grove of the Muses, is the spring Aganippe; they say that Aganippe was a daughter of the Termessus, which flows round Helicon. As you go along the straight road to the grove is a portrait of Eupheme carved in relief on a stone. She was, they say, the nurse of the Muses.

[6] ταύτης τε οὖν εἰκὼν καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Λίνος ἔστιν ἐν πέτρᾳ μικρᾷ σπηλαίου

τρόπον εἰργασμένη: τούτῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πρὸ τῆς θυσίας τῶν Μουσῶν ἐναγίζουσι. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὁ Λίνος οὗτος παῖς μὲν Οὐρανίας εἶη καὶ Ἀμφιμάρου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, μεγίστην δὲ τῶν τε ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον ἐγένοντο λάβοι δόξαν ἐπὶ μουσικῇ, καὶ ὡς Ἀπόλλων ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτὸν ἐξισούμενον κατὰ τὴν ᾠδὴν.

[29.6] So her portrait is here, and after it is Linus on a small rock worked into the shape of a cave. To Linus every year they sacrifice as to a hero before they sacrifice to the Muses. It is said that this Linus was a son of Urania and Amphimarus, a son of Poseidon, that he won a reputation for music greater than that of any contemporary or predecessor, and that Apollo killed him for being his rival in singing.

[7] ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Λίνου τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος διηλθεν ἄρα καὶ ἄχρι τῆς βαρβάρου πάσης, ὡς καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις ἄσμα γενέσθαι Λίνον: καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ ἄσμα Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ Μανέρων. οἱ δὲ Ἕλλησιν ἔπη ποιήσαντες, Ὅμηρος μὲν, ἅτε ἄσμα Ἕλλησιν ὃν ἐπιστάμενος τοῦ Λίνου τὰ παθήματα, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἔφη τῇ ἀσπίδι ἄλλα τε ἐργάσασθαι τὸν Ἥφαιστον καὶ κιθαρωδὸν παῖδα ἄδοντα τὰ ἐς Λίνον: “τοῖσι δ' ἐνὶ μέσσοισι πάις φόρμιγγι λιγείη

ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε, Λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν:

“Hom. II 18.569-701

[29.7] On the death of Linus, mourning for him spread, it seems, to all the foreign world, so that even among the Egyptians there came to be a Linus song, in the Egyptian language called Maneros. Of the Greek poets, Homer shows that he knew that the sufferings of Linus were the theme of a Greek song when he says that Hephaestus, among the other scenes he worked upon the shield of Achilles, represented a boy harpist singing the Linus song:—

In the midst of them a boy on a clear-toned lyre
Played with great charm, and to his playing sang of beautiful Linus. Hom. II.
18.569-70

[8] Πάμφως δέ, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, οὗτος ἀκμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ πένθους Οἰτόλινον ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν. Σαπφὼ δὲ ἢ Λεσβία τοῦ Οἰτόλινου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Πάμφω μαθοῦσα Ἀδωνιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Οἰτόλινον ἦσεν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ λέγουσι παρὰ σφίσι ταφῆναι τὸν Λίνον, καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὸ πταῖσμα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου κατὰ δὴ τινα ὄψιν ὀνειράτος τὰ ὁστὰ ἀνελόμενος τοῦ Λίνου κομίσσειεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν:

[29.8] Pamphos, who composed the oldest Athenian hymns, called him Oetolinus (Linus doomed) at the time when the mourning for Linus was at its height. Sappho of Lesbos, who learnt the name of Oetolinus from the epic poetry of Pamphos, sang of both Adonis and Oetolinus together. The Thebans assert that Linus was buried among them, and that after the Greek defeat at

Chaeroneia, Philip the son of Amyntas, in obedience to a vision in a dream, took up the bones of Linus and conveyed them to Macedonia;

[9] ἐκεῖνον μὲν δὴ αὐθις ἐξ ἐνυπνίων ἄλλων ὀπίσω τοῦ Λίνου τὰ ὅσῃα ἐς Θήβας ἀποστεῖλαι, τὰ δὲ ἐπιθήματα τοῦ τάφου, καὶ ὅσα σημεῖα ἄλλα ἦν, ἀνὰ χρόνον φασὶν ἀφανισθῆναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, ὡς τοῦ Λίνου τούτου γένοιτο ὕστερον ἕτερος Λίνος καλούμενος Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον μουσικῆς ὄντα. ἔπη δὲ οὔτε ὁ Ἀμφιμάρου Λίνος οὔτε ὁ τούτου γενόμενος ὕστερον ἐποίησαν: ἡ καὶ ποιηθέντα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα οὐκ ἤλθεν.

[29.9] other visions induced him to send the bones of Linus back to Thebes. But all that was over the grave, and whatever marks were on it, vanished, they say, with the lapse of time. Other tales are told by the Thebans, how that later than this Linus there was born another, called the son of Ismenius, a teacher of music, and how Heracles, while still a child, killed him. But hexameter poetry was written neither by Linus the son of Amphimarus nor by the later Linus; or if it was, it has not survived for posterity.

30. ταῖς Μούσαις δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν πρῶτά ἐστι Κηφισοδότου τέχνη πάσαις, προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺν τρεῖς μὲν εἰσιν αὐθις Κηφισοδότου, Στρογγυλίωνος δὲ ἕτερα τοσαῦτα, ἀνδρὸς βοῦς καὶ ἵππους ἄριστα εἰργασμένου: τὰς δὲ ὑπολοίπους τρεῖς ἐποίησεν Ὀλυμπιοσθένης. καὶ Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι καὶ Ἑρμῆς μαχόμενοι περὶ τῆς λύρας, καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ μὲν Λυσίππου, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε Σύλλας τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ὀρθόν, ἔργον τῶν Μύρωνος θεᾶς μάλιστα ἄξιον μετὰ γε τὸν Ἀθήνησιν Ἑρεχθεά: ἀνέθηκε δὲ οὐκ οἰκοθεν, Ὀρχομενίους δὲ ἀφελόμενος τοὺς Μινύας. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενον θυμιάμασιν ἄλλοτρίοις τὸ θεῖον σέβεσθαι.

[30.1] XXX. The first images of the Muses are of them all, from the hand of Cephisodotus, while a little farther on are three, also from the hand of Cephisodotus, and three more by Strongylion, an excellent artist of oxen and horses. The remaining three were made by Olympiosthenes. There is also on Helicon a bronze Apollo fighting with Hermes for the lyre. There is also a Dionysus by Lysippus; the standing image, however, of Dionysus, that Sulla dedicated, is the most noteworthy of the works of Myron after the Erechtheus at Athens. What he dedicated was not his own; he took it away from the Minyae of Orchomenus. This is an illustration of the Greek proverb, “to worship the gods with other people’s incense.”

[2] ποιητὰς δὲ ἡ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπὶ μουσικῇ, τοσῶνδε εἰκόνας ἀνέθεσαν: Θάμυριν μὲν αὐτὸν τε ἤδη τυφλὸν καὶ λύρας κατεαγυίας ἐφαπτόμενον, Ἀρίων δὲ ὁ Μηθυμναῖός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δελφίνος. ὁ δὲ Σακάδα τοῦ Ἀργεῖου τὸν ἀνδριάντα πλάσας, οὐ συνεῖς Πινδάρου τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν προοίμιον, ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μῆκος τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τῶν αὐλῶν μείζονα τὸν αὐλητήν.

[30.2] Of poets or famous musicians they have set up likenesses of the following. There is Thamyris himself, when already blind, with a broken lyre

in his hand, and Arion of Methymna upon a dolphin. The sculptor who made the statue of Sacadas of Argos, not understanding the prelude of Pindar about him, has made the flute-player with a body no bigger than his flute.

[3] κάθεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδος κιθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχων, οὐδέν τι οἰκεῖον Ἡσιόδῳ φόρημα: δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ἦδε. περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὀμήρου πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐ μοι γράφειν ἤδὺν ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἐπῶν καθεστήκεσαν.

[30.3] Hesiod too sits holding a harp upon his knees, a thing not at all appropriate for Hesiod to carry, for his own verses make it clear that he sang holding a laurel wand. As to the age of Hesiod and Homer, I have conducted very careful researches into this matter, but I do not like to write on the subject, as I know the quarrelsome nature of those especially who constitute the modern school of epic criticism.

[4] Ὀρφεὶ δὲ τῷ Θρακί πεποιήται μὲν παρεστῶσα αὐτῷ Τελετή, πεποιήται δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν λίθου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ θηρία ἀκούοντα ἄδοντος. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πιστεύουσιν οὐκ ὄντα Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀρφέα Καλλιόπης τε εἶναι Μούσης καὶ οὐ τῆς Πιέρου καὶ οἱ τὰ θηρία ἰέναι πρὸς τὸ μέλος ψυχαγωγούμενα, ἐλθεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἄϊδην ζῶντα αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν κάτω θεῶν τὴν γυναῖκα αἰτοῦντα. ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν

ὑπερεβάλετο ἐπῶν κόσμῳ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἰσχύος οἷα πιστευόμενος εὐρηκέναι τελετὰς θεῶν καὶ ἔργων ἀνοσίων καθαρμούς νόσων τε ἰάματα καὶ τροπὰς μηνιμάτων θείων.

[30.4] By the side of Orpheus the Thracian stands a statue of Telete, and around him are beasts of stone and bronze listening to his singing. There are many untruths believed by the Greeks, one of which is that Orpheus was a son of the Muse Calliope, and not of the daughter of Pierus, that the beasts followed him fascinated by his songs, and that he went down alive to Hades to ask for his wife from the gods below. In my opinion Orpheus excelled his predecessors in the beauty of his verse, and reached a high degree of power because he was believed to have discovered mysteries, purification from sins, cures of diseases and means of averting divine wrath.

[5] τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας φασὶ τῶν Θρακῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν μὲν αὐτῷ θάνατον, ὅτι σφῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀκολουθεῖν ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ πλανωμένῳ, φόβῳ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ τολμᾶν: ὥς δὲ ἐνεφορήσαντο οἶνον, ἐξεργάζονται τὸ τόλμημα, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ τούτου κατέστη μεθυσκομένους ἐς τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασὶ κεραυνωθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν Ὀρφεῖ: κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐ πρότερον ἀκηκοότας ἀνθρώπους.

[30.5] But they say that the women of the Thracians plotted his death, because he had persuaded their husbands to accompany him in his wanderings, but

dared not carry out their intention through fear of their husbands. Flushed with wine, however, they dared the deed, and hereafter the custom of their men has been to march to battle drunk. Some say that Orpheus came to his end by being struck by a thunderbolt, hurled at him by the god because he revealed sayings in the mysteries to men who had not heard them before.

[6] ἄλλοις δὲ εἰρημένον ἐστὶν ὡς προαποθανούσης οἱ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄορνον δι' αὐτὴν τὸ ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ἀφίκετο: εἶναι γὰρ πάλαι νεκυομαντεῖον αὐτόθι: νομίζοντα δὲ οἱ ἔπεσθαι τῆς Εὐρυδίκης τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἁμαρτύνοντα ὡς ἐπεστράφη, αὐτόχειρα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Θρᾷκες, ὅσαι τῶν ἀηδόνων ἔχουσι νεοσσιᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ὀρφέως, ταύτας ἥδιον καὶ μεῖζόν τι ᾄδειν.

[30.6] Others have said that his wife died before him, and that for her sake he came to Aornum in Thesprotis, where of old was an oracle of the dead. He thought, they say, that the soul of Eurydice followed him, but turning round he lost her, and committed suicide for grief. The Thracians say that such nightingales as nest on the grave of Orpheus sing more sweetly and louder than others.

[7] Μακεδόνων δὲ οἱ χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Πιερίαν ἔχοντες καὶ πόλιν Δίον, φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γενέσθαι τὴν τελευταίην ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὀρφεϊ: ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Δίου τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος καὶ στάδια προεληλυθότι εἴκοσι κίων τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐπιθήμα ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ὕδρία λίθου, ἔχει δὲ τὰ ὀστά τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἢ ὕδρία, καθὰ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

[30.7] The Macedonians who dwell in the district below Mount Pieria and the city of Dium say that it was here that Orpheus met his end at the hands of the women. Going from Dium along the road to the mountain, and advancing twenty stades, you come to a pillar on the right surmounted by a stone urn, which according to the natives contains the bones of Orpheus.

[8] ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ

ποταμὸς Ἑλικών: ἄχρι σταδίων ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε προελθόντι τὸ ρεῦμα ἀφανίζεται τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τῆς γῆς: διαλιπὼν δὲ μάλιστα δύο καὶ εἴκοσι στάδια ἄνεισι τὸ ὕδωρ αὐθις, καὶ ὄνομα Βαφύρας ἀντὶ Ἑλικῶνος λαβὼν κάτεισιν ἐς θάλασσαν ναυσίπορος. τοῦτον οἱ Διασταὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιρρεῖν διὰ παντὸς τῇ γῇ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασι: τὰς γυναῖκας δὲ αἱ τὸν Ὀρφέα ἀπέκτειναν ἐναπονόμισθαι οἱ θελῆσαι τὸ αἷμα, καταδύναί τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοῦ φόνου καθάρσιν τὸ ὕδωρ παράσχηται.

[30.8] There is also a river called Helicon. After a course of seventy-five stades the stream hereupon disappears under the earth. After a gap of about twenty-two stades the water rises again, and under the name of Baphyra instead of Helicon flows into the sea as a navigable river. The people of Dium say that at first this river flowed on land throughout its course. But, they go on to say, the women who killed Orpheus wished to wash off in it the blood-stains, and

thereat the river sank underground, so as not to lend its waters to cleanse manslaughter.

[9] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐν Λαρίσῃ λόγον, ὥς ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ. πόλις οἰκοῖτο Λίβηθρα, ἣ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας τέτραπται τὸ ὄρος, καὶ εἶναι οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως μνήμα: ἀφικέσθαι δὲ τοῖς Λιβηθρίοις παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου μάντευμα ἐκ Θράκης, ἐπειδὴν ἴδῃ τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἥλιος, τηνικαῦτα ὑπὸ συὸς ἀπολεῖσθαι Λιβηθρίοις τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν δι' οὐ πολλῆς φροντίδος ἐποιοῦντο τὸν χρησμόν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι θηρίον οὕτω μέγα καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες ὥς ἐλεῖν σφισι τὴν πόλιν, συὶ δὲ θρασύτητος μετεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσχύος.

[30.9] In Larisa I heard another story, how that on Olympus is a city Libethra, where the mountain faces, Macedonia, not far from which city is the tomb of Orpheus. The Libethrians, it is said, received out of Thrace an oracle from Dionysus, stating that when the sun should see the bones of Orpheus, then the city of Libethra would be destroyed by a boar. The citizens paid little regard to the oracle, thinking that no other beast was big or mighty enough to take their city, while a boar was bold rather than powerful.

[10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει τῷ θεῷ, συνέβαινέ σφισι τοιάδε. ποιμὴν περὶ μεσοῦσαν μάλιστα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπικλίνων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ Ὀρφέως τὸν τάφον, ὁ μὲν ἐκάθευδεν ὁ ποιμὴν, ἐπῆρει δὲ οἱ καὶ καθεύδοντι ἔπη τε ᾄδειν τῶν Ὀρφέως καὶ μέγα καὶ ἡδὺ φωνεῖν. οἱ οὖν ἐγγύτατα νέμοντες ἢ καὶ ἀροῦντες ἕκαστοι τὰ ἔργα ἀπολείποντες ἡθροίζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιμένου τὴν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ᾠδὴν: καί ποτε ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐρίζοντες ὅστις ἐγγύτατα ἔσται τῷ ποιμένι ἀνατρέπουσι τὸν κίονα, καὶ κατεάγῃ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεσοῦσα ἡ θήκη καὶ εἶδεν ἥλιος ὃ τι ἦν τῶν ὀστέων τοῦ Ὀρφέως λοιπόν.

[30.10] But when it seemed good to the god the following events befell the citizens. About midday a shepherd was asleep leaning against the grave of Orpheus, and even as he slept he began to sing poetry of Orpheus in a loud and sweet voice. Those who were pasturing or tilling nearest to him left their several tasks and gathered together to hear the shepherd sing in his sleep. And jostling one another and striving who could get nearest the shepherd they overturned the pillar, the urn fell from it and broke, and the sun saw whatever was left of the bones of Orpheus.

[11] αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπερχομένῃ νυκτὶ ὃ τε θεὸς κατέχει πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Σῦς — τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπόν χειμάρρων καὶ ὁ Σῦς ἐστί —, τότε οὖν οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς κατέβαλε μὲν τὰ τείχη Λιβηθρίοις, θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ καὶ οἴκους ἀνέτρεψεν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπέπνιξε δὲ τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ζῷα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα. ἀπολλυμένων δὲ ἡδὴ Λιβηθρίων, οὕτως οἱ ἐν Δίῳ Μακεδόνες κατὰ γε τὸν λόγον τοῦ Λαρισαίου ξένου ἐς τὴν ἐαυτῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίζουσι τοῦ Ὀρφέως.

[30.11] Immediately when night came the god sent heavy rain, and the river Sys (Boar), one of the torrents about Olympus, on this occasion threw down the

walls of Libethra, overturning sanctuaries of gods and houses of men, and drowning the inhabitants and all the animals in the city. When Libethra was now a city of ruin, the Macedonians in Diium, according to my friend of Larisa, carried the bones of Orpheus to their own country.

[12] ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἤδη, τοὺς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους οἶδεν ὄντας ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βραχύτατον καὶ τὸ σὺμπαν οὐκ ἐς ἀριθμὸν πολλὸν πεποιημένους· Λυκομίδαί δὲ ἴσασι τε καὶ ἐπάδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις. κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροντο ἂν μετὰ γε Ὀμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους, τιμῇ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἐκείνων ἤκουσι.

[30.12] Whoever has devoted himself to the study of poetry knows that the hymns of Orpheus are all very short, and that the total number of them is not great. The Lycomidae know them and chant them over the ritual of the mysteries. For poetic beauty they may be said to come next to the hymns of Homer, while they have been even more honored by the gods.

31. καὶ Ἀρσινόης ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι εἰκὼν, ἣν Πτολεμαῖος ἔγνημεν ἀδελφὸς ὢν. τὴν δὲ Ἀρσινόην στρουθὸς φέρει χαλκῇ τῶν ἀπτήνων· περὰ μὲν γε καὶ αὐταὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς ἄλλαις φύουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ βάρους καὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐχ οἷα τέ ἐστὶν ἀνέχειν σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀέρα τὰ πτερά.

[31.1] XXXI. On Helicon there is also a statue of Arsinoe, who married Ptolemy her brother. She is being carried by a bronze ostrich. Ostriches grow wings just like other birds, but their bodies are so heavy and large that the wings cannot lift them into the air.

[2] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Τηλέφῳ τῷ Ἡρακλέους γάλα ἐστὶν ἔλαφος παιδί μικρῷ διδοῦσα καὶ βοῦς τε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Πριάπου θεᾶς ἄξιον. τούτῳ τιμαὶ τῷ θεῷ δέδονται μὲν καὶ ἄλλως, ἔνθα εἰσὶν αἰγῶν νομαὶ καὶ προβάτων ἢ καὶ ἔσμοι μελισσῶν· Λαμψακηνοὶ δὲ ἐς πλεόν ἢ θεοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζουσι, Διονύσου τε αὐτὸν παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λέγοντες.

[31.2] Here too is Telephus, the son of Heracles, represented as a baby being suckled by a deer. By his side is an ox, and an image of Priapus worth seeing. This god is worshipped where goats and sheep pasture or there are swarms of bees; but by the people of Lampsacus he is more revered than any other god, being called by them a son of Dionysus and Aphrodite.

[3] ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἑλικῶνι καὶ ἄλλοι τρίποδες κεῖνται καὶ ἀρχαιότατος, ὃν ἐν Χαλκίδι λαβεῖν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ λέγουσιν Ἡσίοδον νικήσαντα ᾧδῃ. περιοικοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ ἐορτὴν τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσπιεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι Μουσεῖα· ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἑρωτι, ἅθλα οὐ μουσικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς τιθέντες. ἐπαναβάντι δὲ στάδια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλσους τούτου ὡς εἴκοσιν ἔστιν ἢ τοῦ Ἴππου καλουμένη κρήνη· ταύτην τὸν Βελλεροφόντου ποιῆσαι φασιν ἵππον ἐπιψάσαντα ὀπλῇ τῆς γῆς.

[31.3] On Helicon tripods have been dedicated, of which the oldest is the one which it is said Hesiod received for winning the prize for song at Chalcis on

the Euripus. Men too live round about the grove, and here the Thespians celebrate a festival, and also games called the Museia. They celebrate other games in honor of Love, offering prizes not only for music but also for athletic events. Ascending about twenty stades from this grove is what is called the Horse's Fountain (Hippocrene). It was made, they say, by the horse of Bellerophon striking the ground with his hoof.

[4] Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες παρειλημμένα δόξη λέγουσιν ὥς ἄλλο Ἡσίοδος ποιήσειεν οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ Ἔργα: καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐς τὰς Μούσας ἀφαιροῦσι προοίμιον, ἀρχὴν τῆς ποιήσεως εἶναι τὸ ἐς τὰς Ἑρίδας λέγοντες: καὶ μοι μόλυβδον ἐδείκνυσαν, ἔνθα ἡ πηγὴ, τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελυμασμένον:

[31.4] The Boeotians dwelling around Helicon hold the tradition that Hesiod wrote nothing but the Works, and even of this they reject the prelude to the Muses, saying that the poem begins with the account of the Strifes. They showed me also a tablet of lead where the spring is, mostly defaced by time, on which is engraved the Works.

[5] ἐγγέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ Ἔργα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα κεχωρισμένη τῆς προτέρας, ὥς πολὺν τινα ἐπὶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἀριθμὸν ποιήσειεν, ἐς γυναῖκάς τε ᾄδόμενα καὶ ἄς μεγάλας ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἠοίας, καὶ Θεογονίαν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν μάντιν Μελάμποδα, καὶ ὥς Θησεὺς ἐς τὸν Ἀἰδην ὁμοῦ Πειρίθῳ καταβαίῃ παραινέσεις τε Χίρωνος ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὴ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ Ἔργοις τε καὶ ἡμέραις. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι καὶ ὥς μαντικὴν Ἡσίοδος διδασχθεῖη παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων: καὶ ἔστιν ἔπη Μαντικά, ὅποσα τε ἐπελεξάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐξηγήσεις ἐπὶ τέρασιν.

[31.5] There is another tradition, very different from the first, that Hesiod wrote a great number of poems; the one on women, the one called the Great Eoae, the Theogony, the poem on the seer Melampus, the one on the descent to Hades of Theseus and Perithous, the Precepts of Chiron, professing to be for the instruction of Achilles, and other poems besides the Works and Days. These same Boeotians say that Hesiod learnt seercraft from the Acarnanians, and there are extant a poem called Mantica (Seercraft), which I myself have read, and interpretations of portents.

[6] ἐναντία δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡσίοδου τὴν τελευτὴν ἔστιν εἰρημένα. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παῖδες τοῦ Γανύκτορος Κτίμενος καὶ Ἄντιφος ἔφυγον ἐς Μολυκρίαν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου διὰ τοῦ Ἡσίοδου τὸν φόνον καὶ αὐτόθι ἀσεβήσασιν ἐς Ποσειδῶνα ἐγένετο τῇ Μολυκρίδι σφίσιν ἡ δίκη, τάδε μὲν καὶ οἱ πάντες κατὰ ταῦτα εἰρήκασιν: τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν τῶν νεανίσκων οἱ μὲν ἄλλου τοῦ φασιν αἰσχύναντος Ἡσίοδον λαβεῖν οὐκ ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ ἀδικήματος δόξαν, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἡσίοδον καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔπη διάφορα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο εἴρηται:

[31.6] Opposite stories are also told of Hesiod's death. All agree that Ctimenus

and Antiphus, the sons of Ganymetor, fled from Naupactus to Molycria because of the murder of Hesiod, that here they sinned against Poseidon, and that in Molycria their punishment was inflicted. The sister of the young men had been ravished; some say the deed was Hesiod's, and others that Hesiod was wrongly thought guilty of another's crime. So widely different are the traditions of Hesiod himself and his poems.

[7] ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρᾳ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ὁ Λάμιος. Θεσπιέων δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἢ Δονακῶν ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενος; ἐνταῦθά ἐστι Ναρκίσσου πηγὴ, καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον ἰδεῖν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ φασίν, οὐ συνέντα δὲ ὅτι ἐώρα σκιὰν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λαθεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐρασθέντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ οἱ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτήν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παντάπασιν εὐήθες, ἡλικίας ἤδη τινὰ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἤκοντα ὥς ὑπὸ ἔρωτος ἀλίσκεσθαι μηδὲ ὁποῖόν τι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁποῖόν τι ἀνθρώπου σκιά διαγνῶναι:

[31.7] On the summit of Helicon is a small river called the Lamus.

DONACON

In the territory of the Thespians is a place called Donacon (Reed-bed). Here is the spring of Narcissus. They say that Narcissus looked into this water, and not understanding that he saw his own reflection, unconsciously fell in love with himself, and died of love at the spring. But it is utter stupidity to imagine that a man old enough to fall in love was incapable of distinguishing a man from a man's reflection.

[8] ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἕτερος ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, ἥσσαν μὲν τοῦ προτέρου γνώριμος, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ἀδελφὴν γενέσθαι Ναρκίσσω δίδυμον, τά τε ἄλλα ἐς ἅπαν ὅμοιον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὡσαύτως κόμην εἶναι καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐοικυῖαν αὐτοὺς ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν ἰέναι μετὰ ἀλλήλων: Νάρκισσον δὲ ἐρασθῆναι τῆς ἀδελφῆς, καὶ ὥς ἀπέθανεν ἡ παῖς, φοιτῶντα ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν συνιέναι μὲν ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκιὰν ἐώρα, εἶναι δὲ οἱ καὶ συνιέντι ῥαστώνην τοῦ ἔρωτος ἅτε οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ σκιὰν δοξάζοντι ἀλλὰ εἰκόνα ὁρᾶν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

[31.8] There is another story about Narcissus, less popular indeed than the other, but not without some support. It is said that Narcissus had a twin sister; they were exactly alike in appearance, their hair was the same, they wore similar clothes, and went hunting together. The story goes on that Narcissus fell in love with his sister, and when the girl died, would go to the spring, knowing that it was his reflection that he saw, but in spite of this knowledge finding some relief for his love in imagining that he saw, not his own reflection, but the likeness of his sister.

[9] νάρκισσον δὲ ἄνθος ἢ γῇ καὶ πρότερον ἔφυνεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, εἰ τοῖς Πάμφω τεκμαίρεσθαι χρή τι ἡμᾶς ἔπει: γεγονῶς γὰρ πολλοῖς πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἢ Νάρκισσος ὁ Θεσπιεὺς Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρός φησιν ἀρπασθῆναι παίζουσιν καὶ ἄνθη συλλέγουσαν, ἀρπασθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἴοις ἀπατηθεῖσαν ἀλλὰ

ναρκίσσοις.

[31.9] The flower narcissus grew, in my opinion, before this, if we are to judge by the verses of Pamphos. This poet was born many years before Narcissus the Thespian, and he says that the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, was carried off when she was playing and gathering flowers, and that the flowers by which she was deceived into being carried off were not violets, but the narcissus.

CREUSIS, THISBE & TIPHA

32. τοῖς δὲ ἐν Κρεύσιδι, ἐπινείῳ τῷ Θεσπιέων, οἰκοῦσιν ἐν κοινῷ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, ἐν ιδιώτου δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἄγαλμα ἦν Διονύσου γύψου πεποιημένον καὶ ἐπικεκοσμημένον γραφῇ. πλοῦς δὲ ἐς Κρεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου σκολιός τε καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ εὐδίας· ἄκραι τε γὰρ ἀνέχουσιν ὥς μὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς θαλάσσης περαιοῦσθαι καὶ ἅμα ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταπνέουσιν ἄνεμοι βίαιοι.

[32.1] XXXII. Creusis, the harbor of Thespieae, has nothing to show publicly, but at the home of a private person I found an image of Dionysus made of gypsum and adorned with painting. The voyage from the Peloponnesus to Creusis is winding and, besides, not a calm one. For capes jut out so that a straight sea-crossing is impossible, and at the same time violent gales blow down from the mountains.

[2] πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Κρεύσιδος οὐκ ἄνω, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Βοιωτίαν, πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θίσβη. πρῶτα μὲν ὄρος ἐστὶ πρὸς θαλάσση, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπερβαλόντα πεδίον σε ἐκδέχεται καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄλλο ὄρος· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρεΐαις ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις. Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶ λίθου, καὶ Ἡράκλεια ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι.

[32.2] Sailing from Creusis, not out to sea, but along Boeotia, you reach on the right a city called Thisbe. First there is a mountain by the sea; on crossing it you will come to a plain, and after that to another mountain, at the foot of which is the city. Here there is a sanctuary of Heracles with a standing image of stone, and they hold a festival called the Heracleia.

[3] τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐκώλυεν οὐδὲν ἂν λίμνην ὑπὸ πλήθους εἶναι τοῦ ὕδατος, εἰ μὴ διὰ μέσου χῶμά σφισιν ἐπεποιήτο ἰσχυρόν· καὶ οὕτω παρὰ ἔτος ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χώματος ἐκτρέπουσι τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα αὐτοῦ γεωργοῦσι. Θίσβην δὲ λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον εἶναι νύμφην, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν.

[32.3] Nothing would prevent the plain between the mountains becoming a lake owing to the volume of the water, had they not made a strong dyke right through it. So every other year they divert the water to the farther side of the dyke, and farm the other side. Thisbe, they say, was a nymph of the country, from whom the city has received its name.

[4] παραπλέοντι δὲ αὐτόθεν πόλισμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ θαλάσση Τίφα:

Ἡρακλεῖόν τε Τιφαιεῦσιν ἔστι καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον. οὗτοι Βοιωτῶν μάλιστα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὰ θαλάσσια ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι σοφοί, Τίφυν ἄνδρα μνημονεύοντες ἐπιχώριον ὡς προκριθεῖη γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀργοῦς κυβερνήτης: ἀποφαίνουσι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔνθα ἐκ Κόλχων ὀπίσω κομιζομένην ὁρμίσασθαι τὴν Ἀργὴν λέγουσιν.

[32.4] Sailing from here you come to Típha, a small town by the sea. The townsfolk have a sanctuary of Heracles and hold an annual festival. They claim to have been from of old the best sailors in Boeotia, and remind you that Típhys, who was chosen to steer the Argo, was a fellow-townsmen. They point out also the place before the city where they say Argo anchored on her return from Colchis.

HALIARTUS

[5] ἀπὸ δὲ Θεσπίας ἰόντι ἄνω πρὸς ἡπειρον ἔστιν Ἀλιάρτος. ὅστις δὲ Ἀλιάρτου γέγονε καὶ Κορωνείας οἰκιστής, οὗ με ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Ὀρχομενίους ἐχόντων εἰκὸς ἦν χωρίζειν: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου φρονήσασιν Ἀλιαρτίοις τὰ Ἑλλήνων μοῖρα τῆς Ξέρξου στρατιᾶς γῆν τέ σφισιν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεξῆλθε καίουσα. ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ δὲ ἔστι Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου μνήμα: προσβαλὼν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος στρατιᾶς ἐκ τε Θηβῶν ἐνούσης ἔνδον καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐπεξελθόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

[32.5] As you go inland from Thespieae you come to Haliartus. The question who became founder of Haliartus and Coroneia I cannot separate from my account of Orchomenus.

LYSANDER OF SPARTA, HISTORY

At the Persian invasion the people of Haliartus sided with the Greeks, and so a division of the army of Xerxes overran and burnt both their territory and their city. In Haliartus is the tomb of Lysander the Lacedaemonian. For having attacked the walls of Haliartus, in which were troops from Thebes and Athens, he fell in the fighting that followed a sortie of the enemy.

[6] Λύσανδρον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαινέσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ πικρῶς ἔστι μέμψασθαι. σοφίαν μὲν γε τοιαύτην ἐπεδείξατο: ἡγούμενος Πελοποννησίων ταῖς τριήρεσιν Ἀντίοχον κυβερνήτην ὄντα Ἀλκιβιάδου, φυλάξας Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀπόντα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, τηνικαῦτα τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐπηγάγετο ἐς ἐλπίδα ὡς ὄντα ἀξιόμαχον ναυμαχῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἀναγαγόμενον ὑπὸ θράσους τε καὶ ἀλαζονίας ἐνίκησεν αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κολοφωνίων ἄστεως.

[32.6] Lysander in some ways is worthy of the greatest praise, in others of the sharpest blame. He certainly showed cleverness in the following ways. When in command of the Peloponnesian triremes he waited till Alcibiades was away from the fleet, and then led on Antiochus, the pilot of Alcibiades, to believe that he was a match for the Lacedaemonians at sea, and when in the rashness of vainglory he put out to sea, Lysander overcame him not far from the city of

[7] ὥς δὲ καὶ δεύτερα ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀφίκετο ἐκ Σπάρτης, ἡμερώσατο μὲν οὕτω Κύρον ὥς χρήματα, ὅποτε ἐς τὸ ναυτικὸν αἰτοίη, παρεῖναι οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονα: ὁρμούντων δὲ ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς Ἀθηναίων, εἶλεν αὐτῶν τὰ πλοῖα, ἐσκεδασμένους ἐπὶ τε ὕδωρ τοὺς ναύτας καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγορὰν φυλάζας. παρέσχετο δὲ καὶ ἔργον τοιόνδε ἐς δικαιοσύνην.

[32.7] And when for the second time he arrived from Sparta to take charge of the triremes, he so tamed Cyrus that, whenever he asked for money to pay the fleet, he received it in good time and without stint. When the Athenian fleet of one hundred ships anchored at Aegospotami, waiting until the sailors were scattered to get water and provisions, he thus captured their vessels. He showed the following example of justice.

[8] Αὐτολύκῳ τῷ παγκρατιάσαντι, οὗ δὴ καὶ εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν πρυτανείῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ὅτου δὴ κτήματος Ἐτεόνικος ἦλθεν ὁ Σπαρτιάτης: ὥς δὲ ἄρα λέγων ἠλίσκετο οὐ δίκαια — ἦν γὰρ δὴ τηνικαῦτα Ἀθηναίοις τῶν τριάκοντα ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ παρῆν ἔτι ὁ Λύσανδρος — τούτων ἔνεκα Ἐτεόνικος πληγῶν τε ἄρχειν ἐπήρθη καὶ ἀμυνάμενον τὸν Αὐτόλυκον ἦγεν ἐπὶ Λύσανδρον, παντάπασιν ἐκείνον ἐς χάριν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δικάσειν ἐλπίζων: Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀδικεῖν Ἐτεόνικον κατέγνω καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν ἀτιμάσας τῷ λόγῳ.

[32.8] Autolycus the pancratiast, whose statue I saw in the Prytaneium of the Athenians, had a dispute about some piece of property with Eteonicus of Sparta. When Eteonicus was convicted of making unjust statements, as the rule of the Thirty was then supreme at Athens, and Lysander had not yet departed, Eteonicus was encouraged to make an unprovoked assault, and when Autolycus resisted, summoned him before Lysander, confidently expecting that judgment would be given in his favour. But Lysander gave judgment against Eteonicus and dismissed him with a reprimand.

[9] τάδε μὲν Λυσάνδρῳ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ὑπάρχοντα ἦν, ἄλλα δὲ τοσάδε ὀνειδίη. Φιλοκλέα γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς καὶ αὐτὸν στρατηγοῦντα καὶ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τετρακισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους ὄντας ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Λύσανδρος καὶ σφισιν οὐδὲ ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐπήνεγκε γῆν, ὃ καὶ Μήδων τοῖς ἀποβάσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ὑπῆρξε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἐκ βασιλέως Ξέρξου. μείζονα δὲ ἔτι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὀνειδίη γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τε δεκαδαρχίαις ἃς κατέστησε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἀρμοσταις.

[32.9] All this redounds to the credit of Lysander, but the following incidents are a reproach. Philocles, the Athenian commander-in-chief at Aegospotami, along with four thousand other Athenian prisoners, were put to death by Lysander, who even refused them burial afterwards, a thing which even the Persians who landed at Marathon received from the Athenians, and the

Lacedaemonians themselves who fell at Thermopylae received from King Xerxes. Lysander brought a yet deeper disgrace upon the Lacedaemonians by the Commissions of Ten he set over the cities and by the Laconian governors.

[10] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ χρήματα οὐ νομιζόντων κτᾶσθαι κατὰ δὴ τι μάντευμα, ὥς ἢ φιλοχρηματία μόνη γένοιτο ἂν ἀπώλεια τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ὁ δὲ καὶ χρημάτων πόθον σφίσις ἐνεποίησεν ἰσχυρόν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαις τε ἐπόμενος καὶ δικάζων νόμῳ γε τῷ ἐκείνων βλάβος κρίνω Λακεδαιμονίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ὀφέλειαν γενέσθαι Λύσανδρον:

[32.10] Again, an oracle had warned the Lacedaemonians that only love of money could destroy Sparta, and so they were not used to acquiring wealth, yet Lysander aroused in the Spartans a strong desire for riches. I for my part follow the Persians, and judge by the Persian law, and decide that Lysander brought on the Lacedaemonians more harm than benefit.

33. ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ δὲ τοῦ τε Λυσάνδρου μνῆμα καὶ Κέκροπος τοῦ Πανδίωνός ἐστιν ἡρῶν.

τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Τιλφούσιον καὶ ἡ Τιλφοῦσα καλουμένη πηγὴ σταδίους μάλιστα Ἀλιάρτου πεντήκοντα ἀπέχουσι. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἀργεῖους μετὰ τῶν Πολυνεῖκους παίδων ἐλόντας Θήβας ἐς Δελφοὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν λαφύρων καὶ Τειρεσίαν ἄγειν, καὶ — εἶχετο γὰρ δίψῃ — καθ' ὁδὸν φασιν αὐτὸν πίνοντα ἀπὸ τῆς Τιλφούσης ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν: καὶ ἔστι τάφος αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ.

[33.1] XXXIII. In Haliartus too there is the tomb of Lysander and a hero-shrine of Cecrops the son of Pandion.

MT TILPHUSIUS

Mount Tilphusius and the spring called Tilphusa are about fifty stades away from Haliartus. The Greeks declare that the Argives, along with the sons of Polyneices, after capturing Thebes, were bringing Teiresias and some other of the spoil to the god at Delphi, when Teiresias, being thirsty, drank by the wayside of the Tilphusa, and forthwith gave up the ghost; his grave is by the spring.

[2] τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ Τειρεσίου δοθῆναι μὲν φασι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων, προστάξαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἰωνίας ἐς τὴν Κολοφωνίαν περαιωθῆναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτόθι συνώκησεν ἡ Μαντῶ Ῥακίῳ Κρητί: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς Τειρεσίαν, ἐτῶν τε ἀριθμὸν ὧν γεγράφασιν αὐτὸν βιώναι καὶ ὥς ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐς ἄνδρα ἡλλάγη καὶ ὅτι Ὀμηρος ἐποίησεν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ συνετὸν εἶναι γνῶμην Τειρεσίαν τῶν ἐν Ἄϊδου μόνον, ταῦτα μὲν καὶ οἱ πάντες ἴσασιν ἀκοῇ.

[33.2] They say that the daughter of Teiresias was given to Apollo by the Argives, and at the command of the god crossed with ships to the Colophonian land in what is now called Ionia. Manto there married Rhacius, a

Cretan. The rest of the history of Teiresias is known to all as a tradition: the number of years it is recorded that he lived, how he changed from a woman to a man, and that Homer in the *Odyssey* represents Teiresias as the only one in Hades endowed with intelligence.

HALIARTUS CONT.

[3] Ἀλιαρτίοις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ θεῶν ἱερὸν ᾧς Πραξιδικᾶς καλοῦσιν: ἐνταῦθα ὁμνύουσι μὲν, ποιοῦνται δὲ οὐκ ἐπιδρομον τὸν ὄρκον. ταύταις μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῷ Τιλφουσίῳ τὸ ἱερόν: ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ δὲ εἰσι ναοί, καὶ σφισιν οὐκ ἀγάλματα ἔνεστιν, οὐκ ὄροφος ἔπεστιν: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἷς τις ἐποιήθησαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἡδυνάμην πυθέσθαι.

[33.3] At Haliartus there is in the open a sanctuary of the goddesses they call Praxidicae (those who exact punishments). Here they swear, but they do not make the oath rashly. The sanctuary of the goddesses is near Mount Tilphusius. In Haliartus are temples, with no images inside, and without roofs. I could not discover either to whom these temples were built.

RIVER LOPHIS

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ ποταμὸς Λόφης. λέγεται δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐχμηρᾶς οὔσης τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕδατος οὐκ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρα τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐλθόντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπερέσθαι τρόπον ὄντινα ὕδωρ εὐρήσουσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ: τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν προστάσσειν, ὅς ἂν ἐπανήκοντι ἐς Ἀλιάρτον ἐντύχη οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, τούτου δεῖν φονέα γενέσθαι αὐτόν. ἐντυχεῖν τε δὴ αὐτῷ παραγενομένῳ τὸν υἱὸν Λόφιν καὶ τὸν οὐ μελλήσαντα τῷ ξίφει τὸν νεανίσκον παῖσαι: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἔτι ἔμπνουν περιθεῖν, ὅπου δὲ ῥυῆναι τὸ αἷμα, ὕδωρ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεῖναι τὴν γῆν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Λόφης:

[33.4] In the land of Haliartus there is a river Lophis. It is said that the land was originally arid and without water, so that one of the rulers came to Delphi and asked in what way they would find water in the land. The Pythian priestess, they say, commanded him to kill the man who should first meet him on his return to Haliartus. On his arrival he was met by his son Lophis, and at once smote the youth with his sword. Still living, the lad ran about, and where the blood ran water rose up from the earth. Wherefore the river is called Lophis.

ALALCOMENIA

[5] Ἀλαλκομεναὶ δὲ κώμη μὲν ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη, κεῖται δὲ ὄρους οὐκ ἄγαν ὑψηλοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἐσχάτοις. γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀλαλκομενέως ἀνδρὸς αὐτόχθονος, ὑπὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθηναίων τραφῆναι λέγουσιν: οἱ δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὴν Ἀλαλκομενίαν τῶν Ἰγύγου θυγατέρων φασίν. ἀπατέρῳ δὲ τῆς κώμης ἐπεποιήτο ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νᾶος καὶ ἀγάλμα ἀρχαῖον ἐλέφαντος.

[33.5] Alalcomenae is a small village, and it lies at the very foot of a mountain of no great height. Its name, some say, is derived from Alalcomeneus, an

aboriginal, by whom Athena was brought up; others declare that Alalcomenia was one of the daughters of Ogygus. At some distance from the village on the level ground has been made a temple of Athena with an ancient image of ivory.

[6] Σύλλα δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἀνήμερα καὶ ἥθους ἀλλότρια τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, εὐοικότα δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἐς Θηβαίους τε καὶ Ὀρχομενίους: προσεξειργάσατο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαλκομεναῖς, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα αὐτὸ συλήσας. τοῦτον μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔς τε Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων ἐκμανέντα ἐπέλαβεν ἀχαριστοτάτη νόσος πασῶν: φθειρῶν γὰρ ἦνθησεν, ἥ τε πρότερον εὐτυχία δοκοῦσα ἐς τοιοῦτο περιῆλθεν αὐτῷ τέλος. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαλκομεναῖς ἡμελήθη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἅτε ἡρημωμένον τῆς θεοῦ.

[33.6] Sulla's treatment of the Athenians was savage and foreign to the Roman character, but quite consistent with his treatment of Thebes and Orchomenus. But in Alalcomenae he added yet another to his crimes by stealing the image of Athena itself. After these mad outrages against the Greek cities and the gods of the Greeks he was attacked by the most foul of diseases. He broke out into lice, and what was formerly accounted his good fortune came to such an end. The sanctuary at Alalcomenae, deprived of the goddess, was hereafter neglected.

[7] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τοιόνδε ἐς κατάλυσιν τοῦ ναοῦ: κισσός οἱ προσπεφυκὼς μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς διέλυσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν καὶ διέσπα τοὺς λίθους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγας χεῖμαρρος: ὀνομάζουσι δὲ Τρίτωνα αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τραφῆναι παρὰ ποταμῷ Τρίτωνι ἔχει λόγος, ὡς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Τρίτωνα ὄντα καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Λιβύων, ὃς ἐς τὴν πρὸς Λιβύη θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐκ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης.

[33.7] In my time yet another incident added to the ruin of the temple. A large and strong ivy-tree grew over it, loosening the stones from their joints and tearing them apart. Here too there flows a river, a small torrent. They call it Triton, because the story is that beside a river Triton Athena was reared, the implication being that the Triton was this and not the river in Libya, which flows into the Libyan sea out of lake Tritonis.

CORONEIA

34. πρὶν δὲ ἐς Κορώνειαν ἐξ Ἀλαλκομενῶν ἀφικέσθαι, τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστι τὸ ἱερὸν: καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰτωνίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος, καὶ ἐς τὸν κοινὸν συνίασιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σύλλογον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτωνίας καὶ Διὸς ἔστιν ἀγάλματα: τέχνη δὲ Ἀγορακρίτου, μαθητοῦ τε καὶ ἐρωμένου Φειδίου. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Χαρίτων ἀγάλματα ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.

[34.1] XXXIV. Before reaching Coroneia from Alalcomenae we come to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena. It is named after Itonius the son of Amphictyon, and here the Boeotians gather for their general assembly. In the temple are

bronze images of Itonian Athena and Zeus; the artist was Agoracritus, pupil and loved one of Pheidias. In my time they dedicated too images of the Graces.

[2] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε, Ἰοδάμαν ἱερωμένην τῇ θεᾷ νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐσελθεῖν καὶ αὐτῇ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φανῆναι, τῷ χιτῶνι δὲ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν Μεδούσης ἐπεῖναι τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλῇν: Ἰοδάμαν δέ, ὡς εἶδε, γενέσθαι λίθον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτιθεῖσα γυνὴ πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοδάμας τὸν βωμὸν ἐς τρεῖς ἐπιλέγει τῇ Βοιωτῶν φωνῇ Ἰοδάμαν ζῆν καὶ αἰτεῖν πῦρ.

[34.2] The following tale, too, is told. Iodama, who served the goddess as priestess, entered the precinct by night, where there appeared to her Athena, upon whose tunic was worked the head of Medusa the Gorgon. When Iodama saw it, she was turned to stone. For this reason a woman puts fire every day on the altar of Iodama, and as she does this she thrice repeats in the Boeotian dialect that Iodama is living and asking for fire.

[3] Κορώνεια δὲ παρείχeto μὲν ἐς μνήμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἑρμοῦ βωμὸν Ἐπιμηλίου, τὸν δὲ ἀνέμων. κατωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον, Πυθοδώρου τέχνη Θηβαίου, φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ Σειρήνας: τὰς γὰρ δὴ Ἀχελόου θυγατέρας ἀναπεισθείσας φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἥρας καταστῆναι πρὸς τὰς Μούσας ἐς ᾧδης ἔργον: αἱ δὲ ὡς ἐνίκησαν, ἀποτίλασαι τῶν Σειρήνων τὰ περὰ ποιήσασθαι στεφάνους ἀπ' αὐτῶν λέγονται.

[34.3] On the market-place of Coroneia I found two remarkable things, an altar of Hermes Epimelius (Keeper of flocks) and an altar of the winds. A little lower down is a sanctuary of Hera with an ancient image, the work of Pythodorus of Thebes; in her hand she carries Sirens. For the story goes that the daughters of Achelous were persuaded by Hera to compete with the Muses in singing. The Muses won, plucked out the Sirens' feathers (so they say) and made crowns for themselves out of them.

MT LIBETHRIUS & MT LAPHYSTIUS

[4] Κορωνείας δὲ σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ὅρος ἀπέχει τὸ Λιβήθριον, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μουσῶν τε καὶ νυμφῶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐστὶ Λιβηθρίων: καὶ πηγαὶ — τὴν μὲν Λιβηθριάδα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα †Πέτρα — γυναικὸς μαστοῖς εἰσὶν εἰκασμένοι, καὶ ὅμοιον γάλακτι ὕδωρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνεισιν.

[34.4] Some forty stades from Coroneia is Mount Libethrius, on which are images of the Muses and Nymphs surnamed Libethrian. There are springs too, one named Libethrias and the other Rock (Petra), which are shaped like a woman's breasts, and from them rises water like milk.

[5] ἐς δὲ τὸ ὅρος τὸ Λαφύστιον καὶ ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαφυστίου τὸ τέμενός εἰσιν ἐκ Κορωνείας στάδιοι μάλιστα εἴκοσι. λίθου μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν: Ἀθάμαντος δὲ θύειν Φρίξον καὶ Ἑλλήν ἐνταῦθα μέλλοντος πεμφθῆναι κριὸν τοῖς παισὶ φασὶν ὑπὸ Διὸς ἔχοντα τὸ ἔριον χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τούτου. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἐστὶν Ἡρακλῆς Χάρον ἐπὶ κλησιν: ἐνταῦθα δὲ

οἱ Βοιωτοὶ λέγουσιν ἀναβῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἄγοντα τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα. ἐκ δὲ Λαφυστίου κατιόντι ἐς τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἱερὸν ποταμὸς ἐστὶ Φάλαρος ἐς τὴν Κηφισίδα ἐκδιδοὺς λίμνην.

[34.5] The distance from Coroneia to Mount Laphystius and the precinct of Laphystian Zeus is about twenty stades. The image is of stone. They say that when Athamas was about to sacrifice here Phrixus and Helle, a ram with his fleece of gold was sent by Zeus to the children, and that on the back of this ram they made good their escape. Higher up is a Heracles surnamed Charops (With bright eyes). Here, say the Boeotians, Heracles ascended with the hound of Hades. On the way down from Mount Laphystius to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena is the river Phalarus, which runs into the Cephisian lake.

ORCHOMENUS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[6] τοῦ δὲ ὄρους τοῦ Λαφυστίου πέραν ἐστὶν Ὀρχομενός, εἴ τις Ἑλλήσιν ἄλλη πόλιν ἐπιφανῆς καὶ αὕτη ἐς δόξαν. εὐδαιμονίας δὲ ποτε ἐπὶ μέγιστον προαχθεῖσαν ἔμελλεν ἄρα ὑποδέξεσθαι τέλος καὶ ταύτην οὐ πολὺ τι ἀποδέον ἢ Μυκῆνας τε καὶ Δῆλον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων τοιαῦτ' ἦν ὅποσα καὶ μνημονεύουσιν. Ἄνδρέα πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα Πηνειοῦ παῖδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγουσιν ἐποικῆσαι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν γῆν Ἀνδρηίδα ὀνομασθῆναι:

[34.6] Over against Mount Laphystius is Orchomenus, as famous a city as any in Greece. Once raised to the greatest heights of prosperity, it too was fated to fall almost as low as Mycenae and Delos. Its ancient history is confined to the following traditions. They say that Andreus, son of the river Peneius, was the first to settle here, and after him the land Andreis was named.

[7] παραγενομένου δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν Ἀθάμαντος, ἀπένειμε τῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἀθάμαντι τὴν τε περὶ τὸ Λαφύστιον χώραν καὶ τὴν νῦν Κορώνειαν καὶ Ἀλιαρτίαν. Ἀθάμας δὲ ἄτε οὐδένα οἱ παίδων τῶν ἀρσένων λελεῖφθαι νομίζων — τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Λέαρχόν τε καὶ Μελικέρτην ἐτόλμησεν αὐτός, Λεύκωνι δὲ ὑπὸ νόσου τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, Φρίξον δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἢ αὐτὸν περιόντα ἢ γένος ὑπολειπόμενον Φρίξου — τούτων ἔνεκα ἐποιήσατο Ἀλιάρτον καὶ Κόρωνον τοὺς Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Σισύφου: Σισύφου γὰρ ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Ἀθάμας.

[34.7] When Athamas joined him, he assigned to him, of his own land, the territory round Mount Laphystius with what are now the territories of Coroneia and Haliartus. Athamas, thinking that none of his male children were left, adopted Haliartus and Coronus, the sons of Thersander, the son of Sisyphus, his brother. For he himself had put to death Learchus and Melicertes; Leucon had fallen sick and died; while as for Phrixus, Athamas did not know if he survived or had descendants surviving.

[8] ὕστερον δὲ ἀναστρέψαντος ἐκ Κόλχων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ Φρίξου φασίν, οἱ δὲ Πρέσβωνος — γεγονέναι δὲ Φρίξω τὸν Πρέσβωνα ἐκ τῆς Αἰήτου θυγατρὸς — οὕτω συγχωροῦσιν οἱ Θερσάνδρου παῖδες οἶκον μὲν τὸν Ἀθάμαντος Ἀθάμαντι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ ἐκείνου

προσῆκιν: αὐτοὶ δὲ — μοῖραν γὰρ δίδωσιν σφισιν Ἀθάμας τῆς γῆς — Ἀλιάρτου καὶ Κορωνείας ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί.

[34.8] When later Phrixus himself, according to some, or Presbon, according to others, returned from Colchis – Presbon was a son of Phrixus by the daughter of Aeetes – the sons of Thersander agreed that the house of Athamas belonged to Athamas and his descendants, while they themselves became founders of Haliartus and Coroneia, for Athamas gave them a part of his land.

[9] πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων Ἄνδρεὺς Εὐίππην θυγατέρα Λεύκωνος λαμβάνει παρὰ Ἀθάμαντος γυναῖκα, καὶ υἱὸς Ἐτεοκλῆς αὐτῷ γίνεται, Κηφισοῦ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν φήμην, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ποιησάντων τινὲς Κηφισιάδην τὸν Ἐτεοκλέα ἐκάλεσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν.

[34.9] Even before this Andreus took to wife from Athamas Euippe, daughter of Leucon, and had a son, Eteocles. According to the report of the citizens, Eteocles was the son of the river Cephissus, wherefore some of the poets in their verses called him Cephisiades.

[10] οὗτος ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Ἐτεοκλῆς, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἀνδρέως ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα εἶασε, φυλὰς δὲ Κηφισιάδα, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἄλμῳ τῷ Σισύφου δίδωσιν οἰκῆσαι τῆς χώρας οὐ πολλήν, καὶ κώμη τότε ἐκλήθησαν Ἄλμωνες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄλμου τούτου: χρόνῳ δὲ ἐξένικησεν ὕστερον ὄνομα εἶναι τῇ κώμῃ Ὀλμωνα.

[34.10] When this Eteocles became king, he let the country be still called after Andreus, but he established two tribes, naming one Cephisias, and the other after himself. When Almus, the son of Sisypheus, came to him, he gave him to dwell in a little of the land, and a village was then called Almones after this Almus. Afterwards the name of the village that was generally adopted was Olmones.

35. τὸν δὲ Ἐτεοκλέα λέγουσιν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ Χάρισιν ἀνθρώπων θῆσαι πρῶτον. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τρεῖς εἶναι Χάριτας κατεστήσατο ἴσασιν, ὀνόματα δὲ οἷα ἔθετο αὐταῖς οὐ μνημονεύουσιν: ἐπεὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γε εἶναι Χάριτας δύο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνα ιδρύσασθαι τὸν Ταυγέτης φασὶν αὐτάς καὶ ὀνόματα θέσθαι Κλήταν καὶ Φαένναν.

[35.1] XXXV. The Boeotians say that Eteocles was the first man to sacrifice to the Graces. Moreover, they are aware that he established three as the number of the Graces, but they have no tradition of the names he gave them. The Lacedaemonians, however, say that the Graces are two, and that they were instituted by Lacedaemon, son of Taygete, who gave them the names of Clea and Phaenna.

[2] εἰκότα μὲν δὴ Χάρισιν ὀνόματα καὶ ταῦτα, εἰκότα δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις: τιμῶσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Χάριτας Αὐξὼ καὶ Ἥγεμόνην. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Καρποῦς ἐστὶν οὐ Χάριτος ἀλλὰ Ὠρας ὄνομα: τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν Ὠρῶν νέμουσιν ὁμοῦ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ τιμὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, θαλλῶ τὴν θεὸν

ὀνομάζοντες.

[35.2] These are appropriate names for Graces, as are those given by the Athenians, who from of old have worshipped two Graces, Auxo and Hegemone. Carpo is the name, not of a Grace, but of a Season. The other Season is worshipped together with Pandrosus by the Athenians, who call the goddess Thallo.

[3] παρὰ δὲ Ἐτεοκλέους τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου μαθόντες τρισὶν ἤδη νομίζομεν Χάρισιν εὐχεσθαι: καὶ Ἀγγελίων τε καὶ Τεκταῖος ἴῳσοι γε Διονύσου ἦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐργασάμενοι Δηλίοις τρεῖς ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ Χάριτας: καὶ Ἀθήνησι πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐσόδου Χάριτές εἰσι καὶ αὗται τρεῖς, παρὰ δὲ αὐταῖς τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπόρρητον.

[35.3] It was from Eteocles of Orchomenus that we learned the custom of praying to three Graces. And Angelion and Tectaus, sons of Dionysus, who made the image of Apollo for the Delians, set three Graces in his hand. Again, at Athens, before the entrance to the Acropolis, the Graces are three in number; by their side are celebrated mysteries which must not be divulged to the many.

[4] Πάμφως μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν ἦσεν ἐς Χάριτας, πέρα δὲ οὔτε ἀριθμοῦ πέρι οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεποιημένον: Ὅμηρος δὲ — ἐμνημόνευσε γὰρ Χαρίτων καὶ οὗτος — τὴν μὲν Ἥφαίστου γυναῖκα εἶναι λέγει καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῇ τίθεται Χάριν, Πασιθέας δὲ εἶναί φησιν ἐραστὴν Ὑπνον, ἐν δὲ Ὑπνου τοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν”ἥ μὲν μοι δώσειν Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτερῶν.

“Hom. Il 14.270-6 τοῦτου δὲ ἔνεκα ὑπόνοια δὴ παρέστη τισὶν ὡς Χάριτας ἄρα καὶ πρεσβυτέρας οἶδεν ἄλλας Ὅμηρος.

[35.4] Pamphos was the first we know of to sing about the Graces, but his poetry contains no information either as to their number or about their names. Homer (he too refers to the Graces) makes one the wife of Hephaestus, giving her the name of Grace. He also says that Sleep was a lover of Pasithea, and in the speech of Sleep there is this verse:—

Verily that he would give me one of the younger Graces. Hom. Il. 14.270-276

Hence some have suspected that Homer knew of older Graces as well.

[5] Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐν Θεογονίᾳ — προσέειπε δὲ ὅτῳ φίλον τὴν Θεογονίαν — , ἐν δ’ οὖν τῇ ποιήσει ταύτῃ τὰς Χάριτάς φησιν εἶναι Διός τε καὶ Εὐρυνόμης καὶ σφισιν ὀνόματα Εὐφροσύνην τε καὶ Ἀγλαΐαν εἶναι καὶ Θαλίαν. κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ ἐν ἔπεσιν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ὀνομακρίτου. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ οὔτε ἀριθμὸν Χαρίτων οὔτε ὀνόματα εἰπὼν Αἴγλης εἶναι θυγατέρας καὶ Ἥλιου φησὶν αὐτάς. Ἑρμῆσιάνακι δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐλεγείᾳ γράψαντι τοσόνδε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρότερον δόξαν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πεποιημένον, ὥς ἡ Πειθὼ Χαρίτων εἷη καὶ αὐτὴ μία.

[35.5] Hesiod in the Theogony (though the authorship is doubtful, this poem is

good evidence) says that the Graces are daughters of Zeus and Eurynome, giving them the names of Euphrosyne, Aglaia and Thalia. The poem of Onomacritus agrees with this account. Antimachus, while giving neither the number of the Graces nor their names, says that they are daughters of Aegle and the Sun. The elegiac poet Hermesianax disagrees with his predecessors in that he makes Persuasion also one of the Graces.

[6] ὅστις δὲ ἦν ἀνθρώπων ὁ γυμνὰς πρῶτος Χάριτας ἦτοι πλάσας ἢ γραφῇ μιμησάμενος, οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐγένετο πυθέσθαι με, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἀρχαιότερα ἐχούσας ἐσθῆτα οἱ τε πλάσται καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν οἱ ζωγράφοι· καὶ Σμυρναίοις τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Νεμέσεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων χρυσοῦ Χάριτες ἀνάκεινται, τέχνη Βουπάλου, τοῦτο δὲ σφισιν ἐν τῷ Ὠιδεῖῳ Χάριτός ἐστιν εἰκὼν, Ἀπελλοῦ γραφή, Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ὡσαύτως ἐν τῷ Ἀττάλου θαλάμῳ, Βουπάλου καὶ αὐται:

[35.6] Who it was who first represented the Graces naked, whether in sculpture or in painting, I could not discover. During the earlier period, certainly, sculptors and painters alike represented them draped. At Smyrna, for instance, in the sanctuary of the Nemeses, above the images have been dedicated Graces of gold, the work of Bupalus; and in the Music Hall in the same city there is a portrait of a Grace, painted by Apelles. At Pergamus likewise, in the chamber of Attalus, are other images of Graces made by Bupalus;

[7] καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ Πυθίῳ Χάριτες καὶ ἐνταυθὰ εἰσι Πυθαγόρου γράψαντος Παρίου· Σωκράτης τε ὁ Σωφρονίσκου πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐσόδου Χαρίτων εἰργάσατο ἀγάλματα Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα ἐν ἐσθῆτι, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον — οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ — μεταβεβλήκασιν τὸ σχῆμα αὐταῖς· Χάριτας γοῦν οἱ κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπλάσσαν τε καὶ ἔγραφον γυμνάς.

[35.7] and near what is called the Pythium there is a portrait of Graces, painted by Pythagoras the Parian. Socrates too, son of Sophroniscus, made images of Graces for the Athenians, which are before the entrance to the Acropolis. All these are alike draped; but later artists, I do not know the reason, have changed the way of portraying them. Certainly to-day sculptors and painters represent Graces naked.

36. γενομένης δὲ Ἐτεοκλεί τῆς τελευτῆς ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἄλμου γένος. Ἄλμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν θυγατέρες Χρυσογένεια ἐγένετο καὶ Χρύση· Χρύσης δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ἄρεως ἔχει φήμη γενέσθαι Φλεγύαν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἐτεοκλέους ἀποθανόντος ἁπαιδος ὁ Φλεγύας ἔσχεν οὗτος. τῇ μὲν δὴ χώρα τῇ πάσῃ Φλεγυαντίδα ὄνομα εἶναι μετέθεντο ἀντὶ Ἀνδρηίδος,

[36.1] XXXVI. When Eteocles died the kingdom devolved on the family of Almus. Almus himself had daughters born to him, Chrysogeneia and Chryse. Tradition has it that Chryse, daughter of Almus, had by Ares a son Phlegyas, who, as Eteocles died childless, got the throne. To the whole country they gave the name of Phlegyantia instead of Andria,

[2] πόλις δὲ ἐγένετο ἥ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκισθεῖσα ἡ Ἀνδρηῖς καὶ προσέκτισεν ὁ Φλεγύας ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀρίστους Ἑλλήνων συλλέξας ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ἀπέστησάν τε ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ὀρχομενίων ὑπὸ ἀνοίας καὶ τόλμης οἱ Φλεγυαὶ καὶ ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς προσοίκους· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συλήσοντες στρατεύουσι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὅτε καὶ Φιλάμμων λογάσιν Ἀργείων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βοηθήσας αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀργείων λογάδες.

[36.2] and besides the originally founded city of Andreis, Phlegyas founded another, which he named after himself, collecting into it the best soldiers in Greece. In course of time the foolhardy and reckless Phlegyans seceded from Orchomenus and began to ravage their neighbors. At last they even marched against the sanctuary at Delphi to raid it, when Philammon with picked men of Argos went out to meet them, but he and his picked men perished in the engagement.

[3] τοὺς δὲ Φλεγύας πολέμῳ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χαίρειν μαρτυρεῖ μοι καὶ ἔπη τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι περὶ Ἄρεως καὶ Φόβου τοῦ Ἄρεως πεποιημένα, τῷ μὲν ἄρ' εἰς Ἐφύρους πόλεμον μετὰ θωρήσσεσθον

ἢ μετὰ Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας:

“Hom. Il 13.301-2 Ἐφύρους δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ἡπεῖρῳ λέγει. τὸ μὲν δὴ Φλεγυῶν γένος ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων ὁ θεὸς κεραυνοῖς συνεχέσι καὶ ἰσχυροῖς σεισμοῖς· τοὺς δὲ ὑπολειπομένους νόσος ἐπιτεσοῦσα ἔφθειρε λοιμώδης, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα διαφεύγουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

[36.3] That the Phlegyans took more pleasure in war than any other Greeks is also shown by the lines of the Iliad dealing with Ares and his son Panic:—

They twain were arming themselves for war to go to the Ephyrians,
Or to the great-hearted Phlegyans. Hom. Il. 13.301-2

By Ephyrians in this passage Homer means, I think, those in Thesprotis. The Phlegyan race was completely overthrown by the god with continual thunderbolts and violent earthquakes. The remnant were wasted by an epidemic of plague, but a few of them escaped to Phocis.

[4] Φλεγύα δὲ οὐ γενομένων παίδων ἐκδέχεται Χρύσης τὴν ἀρχήν, Χρυσογενείας τε ὦν τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. τούτῳ δὲ υἱὸς γίνεται τῷ Χρύσῃ Μινύας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μινυαὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὧν ἦρχεν ὀνομάζονται. πρόσοδοι δὲ ἐγίνοντο τῷ Μινύᾳ τηλικαῦται μέγεθος ὥς ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλούτῳ· θησαυρόν τε ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἴσμεν Μινύας πρῶτος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν χρημάτων ὠκοδομήσατο.

[36.4] Phlegyas had no sons, and Chryses succeeded to the throne, a son of Poseidon by Chrysogeneia, daughter of Almus. This Chryses had a son called Minyas, and after him the people over whom he ruled are still called Minyans.

The revenues that Minyas received were so great that he surpassed his predecessors in wealth, and he was the first man we know of to build a treasury to receive his riches.

[5] Ἑλληνας δὲ ἄρα εἰσι δεινοὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια ἐν θαύματι τίθεσθαι μείζονι ἢ τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὅποτε γε ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν πυραμίδας μὲν τὰς παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἐξηγήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, θησαυρὸν δὲ τὸν Μινύου καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἤγαγον μνήμης, οὐδὲν ὄντα ἐλάττονος θαύματος.

[36.5] The Greeks appear apt to regard with greater wonder foreign sights than sights at home. For whereas distinguished historians have described the Egyptian pyramids with the minutest detail, they have not made even the briefest mention of the treasury of Minyas and the walls of Tiryns, though these are no less marvellous.

[6] Μινύου δὲ ἦν Ὀρχομενός, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἢ τε πόλις Ὀρχομενός καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκλήθησαν Ὀρχομενιοί· διέμεινε δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον καὶ Μινύας ἐπονομάζεσθαι σφᾶς ἐς διάκρισιν ἀπὸ Ὀρχομενίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν βασιλεύοντα Ὑήττος ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ἄργους, φεύγων ἐπὶ τῷ Μολούρου φόνῳ τοῦ Ἀρίσβαντος, ὄντινα ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ γυναικὶ ἐλὼν γαμετῇ· καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς χώρας ἀπένειμεν Ὀρχομενὸς ὅση νῦν περὶ τε Ὑήττον ἐστὶ τὴν κώμην καὶ ἡ ταύτη προσεχῆς.

[36.6] Minyas had a son Orchomenus, in whose reign the city was called Orchomenus and the men Orchomenians. Nevertheless, they continued to bear the additional name of Minyans, to distinguish them from the Orchomenians in Arcadia. To this Orchomenus during his kingship came Hyettus from Argos, who was an exile because of the slaying of Molurus, son of Arisbas, whom he caught with his wedded wife and killed. Orchomenus assigned to him such of the land as is now around the village Hyettus, and the land adjacent to this.

[7] Ὑήττου δὲ ἐποιήσατο μνήμην καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη συνθεὶς ἅς μεγάλας Ὑοίας καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνας: Ὑήττος δὲ Μόλουρον Ἀρίσβαντος φίλον υἱόν

κτείνας ἐν μεγάροις εὐνῆς ἔνεχ' ἥς ἀλόχοιο,

οἶκον ἀποπρολιπὼν φεῦγ' Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο,

ἶξεν δ' Ὀρχομενὸν Μινυήιον· καὶ μιν ὃ γ' ἥρωας

δέξατο καὶ κτεάνων μοῖραν πόρεν ὡς ἐπιεικές.

“The Great Eoeae, unknown location.

[36.7] Hyettus is also mentioned by the poet who composed the poem called by the Greeks the Great Eoeae:—

And Hyettus killed Molurus, the dear son of Arisbas,
In the halls, because of his wife's bed;

Leaving his home he fled from horse-breeding Argos,
And reached Minyan Orchomenus, and the hero
Welcomed him, and bestowed on him a portion of his possessions, as was
fitting.

The Great Eoeae, unknown location.

[8] πρῶτος δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ὑήττος δίκην μοιχείας λαβὼν δηλὸς ἐστὶ· καὶ χρόνον ὕστερον Δράκοντος Ἀθηναίοις θεσμοθετήσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου κατέστη νόμων, οὓς ἔγραφεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄλλων τε ὁπόσων ἄδειαν εἶναι χρή καὶ δὴ καὶ τιμωρίας μοιχοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τῶν Μινυῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἤδη προήκτο, ὥστε καὶ Νηλεὺς Κρητέως βασιλεύων Πύλου γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ Χλωρίν Ἀμφίωνος τοῦ Ἰασίου.

[36.8] This Hyettus was the first man known to have exacted punishment from an adulterer. Later on, when Dracon was legislator for the Athenians, it was enacted in the laws which he drew up for the Athenians that the punishment of an adulterer should be one of the acts condoned by the State. So high did the reputation of the Minyans stand, that even Neleus, son of Cretheus, who was king of Pylus, took a wife from Orchomenus, namely Chloris, daughter of Amphion, son of Iasius.

37. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα παυσθῆναι καὶ τὸ Ἄλμου γένος· οὐχ ὑπολείπεται γὰρ παῖδα Ὀρχομενός, καὶ οὕτως ἐς Κλύμενον τὸν Πρέσβωνος τοῦ Φρίξου περιήλθεν ἡ ἀρχή. Κλυμένου δὲ γίνονται παῖδες, πρεσβύτατος μὲν Ἐργίνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Στράτιος καὶ Ἄρρων καὶ Πύλεος, νεώτατος δὲ Ἀζεύς. Κλύμενον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ὀγχηστίου Ποσειδῶνος Θηβαίων φονεύουσιν ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀφορμῆς μικρᾶς ἐς ἅπαν θυμοῦ προαχθέντες· Ἐργίνος δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Κλυμένου παίδων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει.

[37.1] XXXVII. But it was destined for the race of Almus too to come to an end. For Orchomenus left no child, and so the kingdom devolved on Clymenus, son of Presbon, son of Phrixus. Sons were born to Clymenus; the eldest was Erginus, the next after him were Stratius, Arrhon and Pyleus, while the youngest was Azeus. Clymenus was murdered at the feast of Onchestian Poseidon by men of Thebes, whom a trivial cause had thrown into a violent passion. So Erginus, the eldest of the sons of Glymenus, received the kingdom.

[2] δύναμιν δὲ αὐτίκα αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ συλλέξαντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· καὶ μάχη μὲν ἐκράτησαν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου χωροῦσιν ἐς ὁμολογίαν Θηβαίους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον τελεῖν δασμὸν τοῦ Κλυμένου φόνου. Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐπιτραφέντος ἐν Θήβαις, οὕτω τοῦ δασμοῦ τε ἡλευθερώθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ Μινυαὶ μεγάλως τῷ πολέμῳ προσέπταισαν·

[37.2] Immediately he and his brothers gathered a force and attacked Thebes. Victorious in the battle, they then came to an agreement that the Thebans should pay tribute each year for the murder of Clymenus. But when Heracles had grown to manhood in Thebes, the Thebans were thus relieved of the

tribute, and the Minyans suffered a grievous defeat in the war.

[3] Ἐργῖνος δὲ ἄτε κεκακωμένων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐποιήσατο εἰρήνην, πλοῦτον δὲ τὸν πρότερον καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκείνην ἀνασώσασθαι ζητῶν ἡμέλησεν ἀπάντων ὁμοίως τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε καὶ ἔλαθεν ἄγαμος καὶ ἄπαις ἀφικόμενος ἐς γῆρας. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ χρήματα συνείλεκτο, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησέν οἱ γενέσθαι παῖδας:

[37.3] Erginus, as his citizens had been utterly crushed, made peace with Heracles, but in his efforts to restore his former wealth and prosperity neglected everything else, so that unconsciously he came to a wifeless and childless old age. But when he had gathered riches, the desire seized him to have children.

[4] ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐρομένῳ περὶ παίδων χρᾶ τάδε ἡ Πυθία: “Ἐργῖνε Κλυμένοιο πάι Πρεσβωνιάδαο,

ὅψ’ ἦλθες γενεὴν διζήμενος, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν

ἰστοβοῆι γέροντι νέην ποτίβαλλε κορώνην.

“λαβόντι δὲ αὐτῷ νέαν γυναῖκα κατὰ τὸ μάντευμα Τροφώνιος γίνεται καὶ Ἀγαμήδης.

[37.4] So going to Delphi he inquired of the oracle about children, and the Pythian priestess gave this reply:—

Erginus, son of Clymenus Presboniades,

Late thou camest seeking offspring, but even now

To the old plough-tree put a new tip.

O obeying the oracle he took to himself a young wife, and had children, Trophonius and Agamedes.

[5] λέγεται δὲ ὁ Τροφώνιος Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι καὶ οὐκ Ἐργίνου: καὶ ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅστις παρὰ Τροφώνιον ἦλθε διὰ μαντευσόμενος. τούτους φασίν, ὥς ηὔξηθησαν, γενέσθαι δεινούς θεοῖς τε ἱερὰ κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ βασιλεία ἀνθρώποις: καὶ γὰρ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησαν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὑριεῖ τὸν θησαυρόν. ἐποίησαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τῶν λίθων ἓνα εἶναι σφισιν ἀφαιρεῖν κατὰ τὸ ἐκτός: καὶ οἱ μὲν αἰεὶ τι ἀπὸ τῶν τιθεμένων ἐλάμβανον: Ὑριεὺς δὲ εἶχετο ἀφασίᾳ, κλεῖς μὲν καὶ σημεῖα τὰ ἄλλα ὁρῶν ἀκίνητα, τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν αἰεὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλάττονα.

[37.5] Trophonius is said to have been a son of Apollo, not of Erginus. This I am inclined to believe, as does everyone who has gone to Trophonius to inquire of his oracle. They say that these, when they grew up, proved clever at building sanctuaries for the gods and palaces for men. For they built the temple for Apollo at Delphi and the treasury for Hyrieus. One of the stones in it they made so that they could take it away from the outside. So they kept on removing something from the store. Hyrieus was dumbfounded when he saw keys and seals untampered with, while the treasure kept on getting less.

[6] ἴστησιν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγγείων, ἐν οἷς ὁ τε ἄργυρος ἐνῆν καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς οἱ, πάγας ἢ τι καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τὸν ἐσελθόντα καὶ ἀπτόμενον τῶν χρημάτων καθέξειν ἔμελλεν. ἐσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τὸν μὲν ὁ δεσμὸς κατεῖχε, Τροφώνιος δὲ ἀπέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅπως μὴ ἡμέρας ἐπισχούσης ἐκεῖνος γένοιτο ἐν αἰκίαις καὶ αὐτὸς μηνυθεῖη μετέχων τοῦ τολμήματος.

[37.6] So he set over the vessels, in which were his silver and gold, snares or other contrivance, to arrest any who should enter and lay hands on the treasure. Agamedes entered and was kept fast in the trap, but Trophonius cut off his head, lest when day came his brother should be tortured, and he himself be informed of as being concerned in the crime.

[7] καὶ Τροφώνιον μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐδέξατο ἡ γῆ διαστᾶσα, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῷ ἐν Λεβαδεΐᾳ βόθρος τε Ἀγαμήδους καλούμενος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ στήλη: τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῶν Ὀρχομενίων ἔσχεν Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος Ἄρεως εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μητρὸς δὲ Ἀστυόχης ἦσαν τῆς Ἄκτορος τοῦ Ἀζέως τοῦ Κλυμένου: καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἡγεμόσι Μινῶαι στρατεύουσιν ἐς Τροίαν.

[37.7] The earth opened and swallowed up Trophonius at the point in the grove at Lebadeia where is what is called the pit of Agamedes, with a slab beside it. The kingdom of Orchomenus was taken by Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, said to be sons of Ares, while their mother was Astyoche, daughter of Actor, son of Azeus, son of Clymenus. Under the leadership of these the Minyans marched against Troy.

[8] μετέσχον Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ τοῖς Κόδρου παισὶν ἐς Ἰωνίαν τοῦ στόλου. γενομένους δὲ ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Θηβαίων κατήγαγεν αὐθις ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἔμελλεν αἰεὶ ρέψειν.

[37.8] Orchomenians also joined with the sons of Codrus in the expedition to Ionia. When expelled from their city by the Thebans they were restored again to Orchomenus by Philip the son of Amyntas. But Providence was to drag them ever lower and lower into decay.

ORCHOMENUS

38. Ὀρχομενίοις δὲ πεποιήται καὶ Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερόν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πέτρας σέβουσὶ τε μάλιστα καὶ τῷ Ἐτεοκλεῖ αὐτὰς πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φασιν: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ σὺν κόσμῳ πεποιημένα ἀνετέθη μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, λίθου δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα.

[38.1] XXXVIII. At Orchomenus is a sanctuary of Dionysus, but the oldest is one of the Graces. They worship the stones most, and say that they fell for Eteocles out of heaven. The artistic images were dedicated in my time, and they too are of stone.

[2] ἔστι δέ σφισι καὶ κρήνη θεάς ἀξία: καταβαίνουνσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὕδωρ οἶσοντες. θησαυρὸς δὲ ὁ Μινύου, θαῦμα ὃν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρωθι οὐδενὸς ὕστερον, πεποιήται τρόπον τοιόνδε: λίθου μὲν εἶργασται, σχῆμα δὲ περιφερές ἐστιν αὐτῷ, κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη: τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἀρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι.

[38.2] They have also a fountain worth seeing, and go down to it to fetch water. The treasury of Minyas, a wonder second to none either in Greece itself or elsewhere, has been built in the following way. It is made of stone; its shape is round, rising to a rather blunt apex; they say that the highest stone is the keystone of the whole building.

[3] τάφοι δὲ Μινύου τε καὶ Ἡσιόδου: καταδέξασθαι δὲ φασιν οὕτω τοῦ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ὀστᾶ. νόσου καταλαμβανούσης λοιμῶδους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀποστέλλουσι θεωροὺς παρὰ τὸν θεόν: τούτοις δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Πυθίαν, Ἡσιόδου τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπακτίας ἀγαγοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶναι σφισιν οὐδὲν ἴαμα. τότε δὲ ἐπερέσθαι δεύτερα, ὅπου τῆς Ναυπακτίας αὐτὰ ἐξευρήσουσι: καὶ αὖθις τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν ὡς μνήσοι κορώνῃ σφίσιν.

[38.3] There are graves of Minyas and Hesiod. They say that they thus recovered the bones of Hesiod. A pestilence fell on men and beasts, so that they sent envoys to the god. To these, it is said, the Pythian priestess made answer that to bring the bones of Hesiod from the land of Naupactus to the land of Orchomenus was their one and only remedy. Whereupon the envoys asked a further question, where in the land of Naupactus they would find the bones; to which the Pythian priestess answered again that a crow would indicate to them the place.

[4] οὕτω τοῖς θεοπρόποις ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν πέτραν τε οὐ πόρρω τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ φασὶν ὀφθῆναι: καὶ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ εὗρον ἐν χηραμῷ τῆς πέτρας. καὶ ἐλεγεία ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἐπεγέγραπτο: “Ἀσκηρὴ μὲν πατρὶς πολυλήϊος, ἀλλὰ θανόντος

ὀστέα πληξίππων γῆ Μινυῶν κατέχει

Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλεῖστον ἐν Ἑλλάδι κῦδος ὀρεῖται

ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνῳ σοφίης.

“

[38.4] So when the envoys landed, they saw, it is said, a rock not far from the road, with the bird upon the rock; the bones of Hesiod they found in a cleft of the rock. Elegiac verses are inscribed on the tomb:—

Ascra rich in corn was his native land, but when Hesiod died,
The land of the horse-striking Minyans holds his bones,
Whose fame will rise very high in Greece
When men are judged by the touchstone of artistry.

[5] περὶ δὲ Ἀκταίωνος λεγόμενα ἦν Ὀρχομενίοις λυμαίνεσθαι τὴν γῆν πέτρας ἔχον εἰδῶλον: ὥς δὲ ἐχρῶντο ἐν Δελφοῖς, κελεύει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ἀνευρόντας εἶ τι ἦν Ἀκταίωνος λοιπὸν κρύψαι γῇ, κελεύει δὲ καὶ τοῦ εἰδώλου χαλκῇν ποιησαμένους εἰκόνα πρὸς πέτρα σιδήρῳ δῆσαι. τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς δεδεμένον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον: καὶ τῷ Ἀκταίῳ ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

[38.5] About Actaeon the Orchomenians had the following story. A ghost, they say, carrying a rock was ravaging the land. When they inquired at Delphi, the god bade them discover the remains of Actaeon and bury them in the earth. He also bade them make a bronze likeness of the ghost and fasten it to a rock with iron. I have myself seen this image thus fastened. They also sacrifice every year to Actaeon as to a hero.

NEAR ORCHOMENUS

[6] σταδίους δὲ ἀφέστηκεν ἑπτὰ Ὀρχομενοῦ ναὸς τε Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα. ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Μέλανός εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί, καὶ ὁ Μέλας ἐς λίμνην καὶ οὗτος τὴν Κηφισίδα ἐκδίδωσιν. ἐπέχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλως τῆς Ὀρχομενίας τὸ πολὺ ἢ λίμνη, χειμῶνος δὲ ὥρα νότου τὰ πλείω πνεύσαντος ἔπεισιν ἐπὶ πλεον τῆς χώρας τὸ ὕδωρ.

[38.6] Seven stades from Orchomenus is a temple of Heracles with a small image. Here is the source of the river Melas (black), one of the streams running into the Cephisian Lake. The lake at all times covers the greater part of the Orchomenian territory, but in the winter season, after the south-west wind has generally prevailed, the water spreads over a yet greater extent of the territory.

[7] Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Κηφισὸν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀποστραφῆναι τὸ Ὀρχομενίον: τέως δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιέναι, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸ χάσμα ἐμφράξαι τὸ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐπίσταται μὲν οὖν καὶ Ὅμηρος λίμνην ἄλλως τὴν Κηφισίδα οὔσαν καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους πεποιημένην, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε εἶρηκε”λίμνη κεκλιμένος Κηφισίδι:

“Hom. II 5.709

[38.7] The Thebans declare that the river Cephissus was diverted into the Orchomenian plain by Heracles, and that for a time it passed under the mountain and entered the sea, until Heracles blocked up the chasm through the mountain. Now Homer too knows that the Cephisian Lake was a lake of itself, and not made by Heracles. Wherefore Homer says:—

Sloping towards the Cephisian Lake. Hom. II. 5.709

[8] ἔχει δὲ οὐδὲ εἰκότα λόγον τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους μὴ καὶ τὸ χάσμα ἐξευρεῖν καὶ

τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναρρήξαντας τὸ ἔργον ἀποδοῦναι τὴν διέξοδον τῷ Κηφισῷ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ἄχρι τῶν Τρωικῶν χρήμασιν ἀδυνάτως εἶχον. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἀχιλλέως ἀποκρίσει πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρέσβεις:”οὐδ’ ὅς’ ἐς Ὅρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται,

“Hom. Il 9.381 δῆλα δῆπουθεν ὥς καὶ τότε προσιόντων τοῖς Ὅρχομενίοις χρημάτων πολλῶν.

[38.8] It is not likely either that the Orchomenians would not have discovered the chasm, and, breaking down the work put up by Heracles, have given back to the Gephisus its ancient passage, since right down to the Trojan war they were a wealthy people. There is evidence in my favour in the passage of Homer where Achilles replies to the envoys from Agamemnon:—

Not even the wealth that comes to Orchomenus, Hom. Il. 9.381

a line that clearly shows that even then the revenues coming to Orchomenus were large.

ASPLEDON

[9] Ἀσπληδόνα δὲ ἐκλιπεῖν τοὺς οἰκήτοράς φασιν ὕδατος σπανίζοντος: γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀσπληδόνοιο τῇ πόλει, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι νύμφης τε Μιδείας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ ἔπη σφίσιν ἃ ἐποίησε Χερσίας, ἀνὴρ Ὅρχομενίος:”ἐκ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἀγακλειτῆς τε Μιδείης

Ἀσπληδὼν γένεθ’ υἱὸς ἀν’ εὐρύχορον πτολίεθρον.

“Chersias of Orchomenus, unknown location.

[38.9] They say that Aspledon was left by the inhabitants because of a shortage of water. They say also that the city got its name from Aspledon, who was a son of the nymph Mideia and Poseidon. Their view is confirmed by some verses composed by Chersias, a man of Orchomenus:—

To Poseidon and glorious Mideia was born Aspledon in the spacious city. Chersias of Orchomenus, unknown location.

[10] τοῦδε τοῦ Χερσίου τῶν ἐπῶν οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι κατ’ ἐμὲ μνήμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς Ὅρχομενίους: τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χερσίου καὶ ἐπίγραμμα οἱ Ὅρχομενιοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡσιόδου τάφῳ μνημονεύουσιν.

[10] The poem of Chersias was no longer extant in my day, but these verses are quoted by Callippus in the same history of Orchomenus. The Orchomenians have a tradition that this Chersias wrote also the inscription on the grave of Hesiod.

LEBADEIA & THE ORACLE OF TROPHONIUS

39. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῶν ὁρῶν Φωκεῖς ὑπερουκοῦσιν Ὅρχομενίων, ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ Λεβάδειά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁμορος. αὕτη τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ᾠκεῖτο ἐπὶ

μετεώρου καὶ ὠνομάζετο Μίδεια ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσπληδόνης μητρὸς· Λεβάδου δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἀφικομένου κατέβησάν τε ἐς τὸ χθαμαλὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκλήθη Λεβάδεια ἡ πόλις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. πατέρα δὲ τοῦ Λεβάδου, καὶ καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἴσασιν ἄλλο ἢ γυναῖκα εἶναι Λεβάδου Λαονίκην.

[39.1] XXXIX. On the side towards the mountains the boundary of Orchomenus is Phocis, but on the plain it is Lebadeia. Originally this city stood on high ground, and was called Mideia after the mother of Aspledon. But when Lebadus came to it from Athens, the inhabitants went down to the low ground, and the city was named Lebadeia after him. Who was the father of Lebadus, and why he came, they do not know; they know only that the wife of Lebadus was Laonice.

[2] κεκόσμηται μὲν δὴ τὰ ἄλλα σφίσιν ἡ πόλις ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα εὐδαίμοσι, διείργει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Τροφωνίου ποταμὸς Ἑρκυνα. φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα Ἑρκυναν ὁμοῦ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παίζουσιν καὶ ἔχουσιν χῆνα ἀφεῖναι τοῦτον ἄκουσαν· ἐς δὲ ἄντρον κοῖλον ἐσπῆντος καὶ ὑπὸ λίθον ἀποκρύψαντος αὐτὸν ἐσελθοῦσα ἡ Κόρη λαμβάνει τὸν ὄρνιθα ὑπὸ τῷ λίθῳ κατακειμένον· ρύηναί τε δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ὅθεν ἀνείλετο ἡ Κόρη τὸν λίθον καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν Ἑρκυναν.

[39.2] The city is no less adorned than the most prosperous of the Greek cities, and it is separated from the grove of Trophonius by the river Hercyna. They say that here Hercyna, when playing with the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, held a goose which against her will she let loose. The bird flew into a hollow cave and hid under a stone; the Maid entered and took the bird as it lay under the stone. The water flowed, they say, from the place where the Maid took up the stone, and hence the river received the name of Hercyna.

[3] καὶ ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ναὸς Ἑρκύνης, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος χῆνα ἔχουσα ἐν ταῖς χερσίν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τε αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὀρθά, περιειλιγμένοι δὲ εἰσιν αὐτῶν τοῖς σκῆπτροις δράκοντες. ταῦτα εἰκάσαι μὲν ἂν τις Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε εἶναι καὶ Ὑγείας, εἶεν δ' ἂν Τροφώνιος καὶ Ἑρκυνα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τοὺς δράκοντας Ἀσκληπιοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ Τροφώνιου νομίζουσιν ἱεροὺς εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ μνημῆα ἐστὶν Ἀρκεσιλάου· Λήϊτον δὲ ἀνακομίσαι φασὶ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου τὰ ὀστέα ἐκ Τροίας.

[39.3] On the bank of the river there is a temple of Hercyna, in which is a maiden holding a goose in her arms. In the cave are the sources of the river and images standing, and serpents are coiled around their scepters. One might conjecture the images to be of Asclepius and Health, but they might be Trophonius and Hercyna, because they think that serpents are just as much sacred to Trophonius as to Asclepius. By the side of the river is the tomb of Arcesilaus, whose bones, they say, were carried back from Troy by Leitus.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει Τροφωνίου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶν, Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ τοῦτο εἰκασμένον· Πραξιτέλης δὲ ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Εὐρώπης καὶ Ζεὺς Ὑέτιος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.

ἀναβᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα καὶ Διὸς Βασιλέως ναός. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον ἀφείκασιν ἡμίεργον· ἐν δὲ ἑτέρῳ ναῷ Κρόνου καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.

[39.4] The most famous things in the grove are a temple and image of Trophonius; the image, made by Praxiteles, is after the likeness of Asclepius. There is also a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Europa, and a Zeus Rain-god in the open. If you go up to the oracle, and thence onwards up the mountain, you come to what is called the Maid's Hunting and a temple of King Zeus. This temple they have left half finished, either because of its size or because of the long succession of the wars. In a second temple are images of Cronus, Hera and Zeus. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo.

[5] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον τοιαύδε γίνεται. ἐπειδὴν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τοῦ Τροφωνίου κατιέναι δόξη, πρῶτα μὲν τεταγμένων ἡμερῶν δίαιταν ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχει, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα Δαίμονός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀγαθῆς· διαιτώμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ τε ἄλλα καθαρεύει καὶ λουτρῶν εἴργεται θερμῶν, τὸ δὲ λουτρὸν ὁ ποταμός ἐστιν ἢ Ἐρκυνα· καὶ οἱ καὶ κρέα ἄφθονά ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν, θύει γὰρ δὴ ὁ κατιὼν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Τροφωνίῳ καὶ τοῦ Τροφωνίου τοῖς παισὶ, πρὸς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνί τε καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν Βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἥρᾳ τε Ἡνιόχῃ καὶ Δήμητρὶ ἣν ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐρώπῃν τοῦ Τροφωνίου φασὶν εἶναι τροφόν.

[39.5] What happens at the oracle is as follows. When a man has made up his mind to descend to the oracle of Trophonius, he first lodges in a certain building for an appointed number of days, this being sacred to the good Spirit and to good Fortune. While he lodges there, among other regulations for purity he abstains from hot baths, bathing only in the river Hercyna. Meat he has in plenty from the sacrifices, for he who descends sacrifices to Trophonius himself and to the children of Trophonius, to Apollo also and Cronus, to Zeus surnamed King, to Hera Charioteer, and to Demeter whom they surname Europa and say was the nurse of Trophonius.

[6] καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἀνὴρ μάντις παρὼν ἐς τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐνορᾷ, ἐνιδὼν δὲ προθεσπίζει τῷ κατιόντι εἰ δὴ αὐτὸν εὖμενῆς ὁ Τροφώνιος καὶ ὕλως δέξεται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἄλλων ἱερείων τὰ σπλάγχνα οὐχ ὁμοίως δηλοῖ τοῦ Τροφωνίου τὴν γνώμην· ἐν δὲ νυκτὶ ἢ κάτεισιν ἕκαστος, ἐν ταύτῃ κριὸν θύουσιν ἐς βόθρον, ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸν Ἀγαμήδην. θυμάτων δὲ τῶν πρότερον πεφηνότων αἰσίων λόγος ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ κριοῦ τὰ σπλάγχνα τὸ αὐτὸ θέλοι λέγειν· ὁμολογούντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, τότε ἕκαστος ἤδη κάτεισιν εὐελπὺς, κάτεισι δὲ οὕτω.

[39.6] At each sacrifice a diviner is present, who looks into the entrails of the victim, and after an inspection prophesies to the person descending whether Trophonius will give him a kind and gracious reception. The entrails of the other victims do not declare the mind of Trophonius so much as a ram, which each inquirer sacrifices over a pit on the night he descends, calling upon

Agamedes. Even though the previous sacrifices have appeared propitious, no account is taken of them unless the entrails of this ram indicate the same; but if they agree, then the inquirer descends in good hope. The procedure of the descent is this.

[7] πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ αὐτὸν ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν Ἑρκυναν, ἀγαγόντες δὲ ἐλαίῳ χρίουσι καὶ λούουσι δύο παῖδες τῶν ἀστῶν ἑτὶ τρία πού καὶ δέκα γεγονότες, οὓς Ἑρμᾶς ἐπονομάζουσιν: οὗτοι τὸν καταβαίνοντά εἰσιν οἱ λούοντες καὶ ὅποσα χρὴ διακονούμενοι ἅτε παῖδες. τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐπὶ δὲ ὕδατος πηγᾷς ἄγεται: αἱ δὲ ἐγγύτατά εἰσιν ἀλλήλων.

[39.7] First, during the night he is taken to the river Hercyna by two boys of the citizens about thirteen years old, named Hermae, who after taking him there anoint him with oil and wash him. It is these who wash the descender, and do all the other necessary services as his attendant boys. After this he is taken by the priests, not at once to the oracle, but to fountains of water very near to each other.

[8] ἐνταῦθα δὴ χρὴ πιεῖν αὐτὸν Λήθης τε ὕδωρ καλούμενον, ἵνα λήθῃ γένηται οἱ πάντων ἃ τέως ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄλλο αὖθις ὕδωρ πίνειν Μνημοσύνης: ἀπὸ τούτου τε μνημονεύει τὰ ὀφθέντα οἱ καταβάντι. θεασάμενος δὲ ἄγαλμα ὃ ποιῆσαι Δαίδαλόν φασιν — ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ ἐπιδείκνυται πλὴν ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν Τροφώνιον μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι — τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα ἰδὼν καὶ θεραπεύσας τε καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον, χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκῶς λινοῦν καὶ ταινίαις τὸν χιτῶνα ἐπιζωσθεὶς καὶ ὑποδησάμενος ἐπιχωρίας κρηπίδας.

[39.8] Here he must drink water called the water of Forgetfulness, that he may forget all that he has been thinking of hitherto, and afterwards he drinks of another water, the water of Memory, which causes him to remember what he sees after his descent. After looking at the image which they say was made by Daedalus (it is not shown by the priests save to such as are going to visit Trophonius), having seen it, worshipped it and prayed, he proceeds to the oracle, dressed in a linen tunic, with ribbons girding it, and wearing the boots of the country.

[9] ἔστι δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους. κρηπὶς μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβέβληται λίθου λευκοῦ, περίοδος δὲ τῆς κρηπίδος κατὰ ἄλων τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἐστίν, ὕψος δὲ ἀποδέουσα δύο εἶναι πῆχεις: ἐφεσθήκασιν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι ὀβελοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ χαλκοὶ καὶ αἱ συνέχουσιν σφᾶς ζῶναι, διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν θύραι πεποιήνται. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς χάσμα γῆς ἐστίν οὐκ αὐτόματον ἀλλὰ σὺν τέχνῃ καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ὠκοδομημένον.

[39.9] The oracle is on the mountain, beyond the grove. Round it is a circular basement of white marble, the circumference of which is about that of the smallest threshing floor, while its height is just short of two cubits. On the basement stand spikes, which, like the cross-bars holding them together, are of

bronze, while through them has been made a double door. Within the enclosure is a chasm in the earth, not natural, but artificially constructed after the most accurate masonry.

[10] τοῦ δὲ οἰκοδομήματος τούτου τὸ σχῆμα εἵκασται κριβάνῳ: τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἢ διάμετρος αὐτοῦ τέσσαρας παρέχοντο ἂν ὡς εἰκάσαι πήχεις: βάθος δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκάζοι τις ἐς πλεόν ὅκτῳ καθήκειν πηχῶν. κατάβασις δὲ οὐκ ἔστι πεποιημένη σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος: ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἔρχεται παρὰ τὸν Τροφώνιον, κλίμακα αὐτῷ κομίζουσι στενὴν καὶ ἐλαφράν. καταβάντι δὲ ἐστὶν ὁπὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἐδάφους καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος: σπιθαμῶν τὸ εὖρος δύο, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἐφαίνετο εἶναι σπιθαμῆς.

[39.10] The shape of this structure is like that of a bread-oven. Its breadth across the middle one might conjecture to be about four cubits, and its depth also could not be estimated to extend to more than eight cubits. They have made no way of descent to the bottom, but when a man comes to Trophonius, they bring him a narrow, light ladder. After going down he finds a hole between the floor and the structure. Its breadth appeared to be two spans, and its height one span.

[11] ὁ οὖν κατιῶν κατακλίνας ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἔχων μάζας μεμαγμένας μέλιτι προεμβάλλει τε ἐς τὴν ὁπὴν τοὺς πόδας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιχωρεῖ, τὰ γόνατά οἱ τῆς ὁπῆς ἐντὸς γενέσθαι προθυμούμενος: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα αὐτίκα ἐφειλκύσθη τε καὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἐπέδραμεν, ὥσπερ ποταμῶν ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ὠκύτατος συνδεθέντα ὑπὸ δίνης ἀποκρύψειεν ἂν ἄνθρωπον. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀδύτου γενομένοις οὐχ εἷς οὐδὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ἐστὶν ὅτῳ διδάσκονται τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλὰ πού τις καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἄλλος ἤκουσεν. ἀναστρέψαι δὲ ὀπίσω τοῖς καταβάσι διὰ στομίῳ τε ἔστι τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ προεκθεόντων σφίσι τῶν ποδῶν.

[39.11] The descender lies with his back on the ground, holding barley-cakes kneaded with honey, thrusts his feet into the hole and himself follows, trying hard to get his knees into the hole. After his knees the rest of his body is at once swiftly drawn in, just as the largest and most rapid river will catch a man in its eddy and carry him under. After this those who have entered the shrine learn the future, not in one and the same way in all cases, but by sight sometimes and at other times by hearing. The return upwards is by the same mouth, the feet darting out first.

[12] ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐδένα τῶν καταβάντων λέγουσιν ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν Δημητρίου τινὰ δορυφόρων: τοῦτον δὲ οὔτε ποιῆσαι περὶ τὸ ἱερόν φασιν οὐδὲν τῶν νενομισμένων οὔτε χρησόμενον τῷ θεῷ καταβῆναι, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον ἐκκομεῖν ἐλπίσαντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τούτου τὸν νεκρὸν ἐτέρωθι ἀναφανῆναι καὶ οὐ κατὰ στόμα ἐκβληθῆναι τὸ ἱερόν. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον λεγομένων καὶ ἄλλων εἰρητᾷ μοι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα:

[39.12] They say that no one who has made the descent has been killed, save only one of the bodyguard of Demetrius. But they declare that he performed

none of the usual rites in the sanctuary, and that he descended, not to consult the god but in the hope of stealing gold and silver from the shrine. It is said that the body of this man appeared in a different place, and was not cast out at the sacred mouth. Other tales are told about the fellow, but I have given the one most worthy of consideration.

[13] τὸν δὲ ἀναβάντα παρὰ τοῦ Τροφωνίου παραλαβόντες αὐθις οἱ ἱερεῖς καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ θρόνον Μνημοσύνης μὲν καλούμενον, κεῖται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀδύτου, καθεσθέντα δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνερωτῶσιν ὅποσα εἶδε τε καὶ ἐπύθετο: μαθόντες δὲ ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτὸν ἤδη τοῖς προσήκουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον διητᾶτο παρά τε Τύχῃ καὶ Δαίμονι ἀγαθοῖς, ἐς τοῦτο ἀράμενοι κομίζουσι κάτωχόν τε ἔτι τῷ δείματι καὶ ἀγνώτῳ ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν πέλας. ὕστερον μέντοι τά τε ἄλλα οὐδέν τι φρονήσει μείον ἢ πρότερον καὶ γέλως ἐπάνεισιν οἱ.

[39.13] After his ascent from Trophonius the inquirer is again taken in hand by the priests, who set him upon a chair called the chair of Memory, which stands not far from the shrine, and they ask of him, when seated there, all he has seen or learned. After gaining this information they then entrust him to his relatives. These lift him, paralyzed with terror and unconscious both of himself and of his surroundings, and carry him to the building where he lodged before with Good Fortune and the Good Spirit. Afterwards, however, he will recover all his faculties, and the power to laugh will return to him.

[14] γράφω δὲ οὐκ ἀκοὴν ἀλλὰ ἐτέρους τε ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Τροφωνίῳ χρησάμενος. τοὺς δὲ ἐς τοῦ Τροφωνίου κατελθόντας, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς, ὅποσα ἤκουσεν ἕκαστος ἢ εἶδεν, ἀναθεῖναι γεγραμμένα ἐν πίνακι. λείπεται δ' ἔτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἀσπίς: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια ἐγένετο, ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τοῦ λόγου.

[39.14] What I write is not hearsay; I have myself inquired of Trophonius and seen other inquirers. Those who have descended into the shrine of Trophonius are obliged to dedicate a tablet on which is written all that each has heard or seen. The shield also of Aristomenes is still preserved here. Its story I have already given in a former part of my work.

40. τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τοῦτο οὐ πεπυσμένοι πρότερον ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαῦδε ἔγνωσαν. θεωροὺς ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφούς: οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφισιν ἔτος δεύτερον ὕεν ὁ θεός. τούτοις αἰτοῦσιν ἐπανόρθωμα τοῦ αὐχμοῦ προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία παρὰ Τροφώνιον ἐς Λεβάδειαν ἐλθοῦσιν εὔρασθαι παρὰ ἐκείνου τὸ ἴαμα.

[40.1] XL. This oracle was once unknown to the Boeotians, but they learned of it in the following way. As there had been no rain for a year and more, they sent to Delphi envoys from each city. These asked for a cure for the drought, and were bidden by the Pythian priestess to go to Trophonius at Lebadeia and to discover the remedy from him.

[2] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λεβάρδειαν ἐλθόντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο εὑρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐξ Ἀκραϕνίου πόλεως Σάων — οὗτος δὲ ἦν καὶ ἡλικία τῶν θεωρῶν πρεσβύτατος — εἶδεν ἐσμὸν μελισσῶν, καὶ παρέστη οἱ, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἀποτράπωνται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεσθαι. αὐτίκα δὴ τὰς μελίσσας ἐς τοῦτο ἐσπετομένας ὄρᾳ τῆς γῆς, καὶ συνεσῆλθέ σφισιν ἐς τὸ μαντεῖον. τοῦτον τὸν Σάωνα καὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν, καὶ ὅποσα περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δρῶσιν ἄλλα, διδαχθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ Τροφωνίου φασίν.

[40.2] Coming to Lebadeia they could not find the oracle. Thereupon Saon, one of the envoys from the city Acraephnum and the oldest of all the envoys, saw a swarm of bees. It occurred to him to follow himself wheresoever the bees turned. At once he saw the bees flying into the ground here, and he went with them into the oracle. It is said that Trophonius taught this Saon the customary ritual, and all the observances kept at the oracle.

ART WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO DAEDALUS

[3] Δαιδάλου δὲ τῶν ἔργων δύο μὲν ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, Ἡρακλῆς τε ἐν Θήβαις καὶ παρὰ Λεβαδεῦσιν ὁ Τροφώνιος, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα ζόανα ἐν Κρήτῃ, Βριτόμαρτις ἐν Ὀλοῦντι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Κνωσσίοις· παρὰ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀριάδνης χορός, οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι μνήμην ἐποιήσατο, ἐπειργασμένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. καὶ Δηλίοις Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα ζόανον, λελυμασμένον τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου· κάτεισι δὲ ἀντὶ ποδῶν ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα.

[40.3] Of the works of Daedalus there are these two in Boeotia, a Heracles in Thebes and the Trophonius at Lebadeia. There are also two wooden images in Crete, a Britomartis at Olus and an Athena at Cnossus, at which latter place is also Ariadne's Dance, mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, carved in relief on white marble. At Delos, too, there is a small wooden image of Aphrodite, its right hand defaced by time, and with a square base instead of feet.

[4] πείθομαι τοῦτο Ἀριάδνην λαβεῖν παρὰ Δαιδάλου, καὶ ἥνικα ἠκολούθησε τῷ Θησεῖ, τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπεκομίζετο οἴκοθεν· ἀφαιρεθέντα δὲ αὐτῆς τὸν Θησεῶ οὕτω φασίν οἱ Δήλιοι τὸ ζόανον τῆς θεοῦ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ, ἵνα μὴ οἴκαδε ἐπαγόμενος ἐς ἀνάμνησίν τε Ἀριάδνης ἐφέλκηται καὶ ἀεὶ νέας ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι εὐρίσκηται τὰς συμφοράς. πέρα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὑπόλοιπα ὄντα τῶν Δαιδάλου· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνατεθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ ἐς Γέλαν τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ κομισθεῖσιν ἐξ Ὀμφάκης, ἀφανισθῆναι σφισιν ὁ χρόνος καθέστηκεν αἴτιος.

[40.4] I am of opinion that Ariadne got this image from Daedalus, and when she followed Theseus, took it with her from home. Bereft of Ariadne, say the Delians, Theseus dedicated the wooden image of the goddess to the Delian Apollo, lest by taking it home he should be dragged into remembering Ariadne, and so find the grief for his love ever renewed. I know of no other works of Daedalus still in existence. For the images dedicated by the Argives in the Heraeum and those brought from Omphace to Gela in Sicily have

disappeared in course of time.

CHAERONEIA

[5] Λεβαδέων δὲ ἔχονται Χαιρωνεῖς. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ τούτοις Ἄρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι λέγουσιν Αἰόλου τὴν Ἄρνην, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης κληθῆναι καὶ ἐτέραν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλιν· τὸ δὲ νῦν τοῖς Χαιρωνεῦσιν ὄνομα γεγενῆσθαι ἀπὸ Χαίρωνος, ὃν Ἀπόλλωνός φασιν εἶναι, μητέρα δὲ αὐτοῦ Θηρῶ τὴν Φύλαντος εἶναι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἑοίας ποιήσας·

[40.5] Next to Lebadeia comes Chaeroneia. Its name of old was Arne, said to have been a daughter of Aeolus, who gave her name also to a city in Thessaly. The present name of Chaeroneia, they say, is derived from Chaeron, reputed to be a son of Apollo by Thero, a daughter of Phylas. This is confirmed also by the writer of the epic poem, the Great Eoae:—

[6] “Φύλας δ’ ὥπτιεν κούρην κλειτοῦ Ἰολάου

† λειπεφιληνην εἶδος Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν ὅμοιον,

Ἰππότην δέ οἱ υἱὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτικτεν

Θηρῶ τ’ εὐειδῆ, ἱκέλην φαέεσσι σελήνης.

Θηρῶ δ’ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐς ἀγκοίνῃσι πεσοῦσα

γείνατο Χαίρωνος κρατερὸν μένος ἵπποδάμοιο.

“The Great Eoae, unknown location.”Ομηρος δὲ ἐπιστάμενος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Χαίρωνειάν τε ἤδη καὶ Λεβάδειαν καλουμένας, ὅμως τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐχρήσατο ὀνόμασιν ἐς αὐτάς, καθότι καὶ Αἴγυπτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἶπεν, οὐ Νεῖλον.

[40.6]

Phylas wedded a daughter of famous Iolais,

Leipephilene, like in form to the Olympian goddesses;

She bore him in the halls a son Hippotes,

And lovely Thero, like to the moonbeams.

Thero, falling into the embrace of Apollo,

Bore mighty Chaeron, tamer of horses. The Great Eoae, unknown location.

Homer, I think, though he knew that Chaeroneia and Lebadeia were already so called, yet uses their ancient names, just as he speaks of the river Aegyptus, not the Nile.

[7] Χαιρωνεῦσι δὲ δύο ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τρόπαια, ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Σύλλας ἔστησαν Ταξίλον καὶ στρατιὰν τὴν Μιθριδάτου κρατήσαντες. Φίλιππος δὲ οὐκ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντου τρόπαιον οὔτε ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ὀπόσας μάχας ἄλλας βαρβάρους ἢ καὶ Ἑλλήνας ἐνίκησεν· οὐ γάρ τι Μακεδόσιν ἰστάναι τρόπαια ἦν νενομισμένον.

[40.7] In the territory of Chaeroneia are two trophies, which the Romans under Sulla set up to commemorate their victory over the army of Mithridates under

Taxilus. But Philip, son of Amyntas, set up no trophy, neither here nor for any other success, whether won over Greeks or non-Greeks, as the Macedonians were not accustomed to raise trophies.

[8] λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων Καρανὸν βασιλεύοντα ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κρατῆσαι μάχῃ Κισσέως, ὃς ἐδυνάστευεν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ὁμόρῳ· καὶ ὁ μὲν τρόπαιον ὁ Καρανὸς κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἀργείων ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ· ἐπελθόντα δὲ φασὶν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου λέοντα ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸ τρόπαιον καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, συνεῖναι τε γνώμῃ

[40.8] The Macedonians say that Caranus, king of Macedonia, overcame in battle Cisseus, a chieftain in a bordering country. For his victory Caranus set up a trophy after the Argive fashion, but it is said to have been upset by a lion from Olympus, which then vanished.

[9] Καρανὸν δὲ οὐκ εὔβουλεύσασθαι βαρβάρους τοῖς περιοικοῦσιν ἐς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντα ἀδιάλλακτον,

καταστῆναί τε χρῆναι γὰρ μήτε ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ Καρανοῦ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον βασιλευσόντων Μακεδονίας τρόπαια ἴστασθαι, εἰ ἐς εὐνοίαν ποτε τοὺς προσχώρους ὑπάξονται. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἀναστήσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ τρόπαια οὔτε ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς νίκαις.

[40.9] Caranus, they assert, realized that it was a mistaken policy to incur the undying hatred of the non-Greeks dwelling around, and so, they say, the rule was adopted that no king of Macedonia, neither Caranus himself nor any of his successors, should set up trophies, if they were ever to gain the good-will of their neighbors. This story is confirmed by the fact that Alexander set up no trophies, neither for his victory over Dareius nor for those he won in India.

[10] προσιόντων δὲ τῇ πόλει πολυάνδριον Θηβαίων ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀγῶνι ἀποθανόντων. ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα οὐδέν, ἐπίθημα δ' ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ λέων· φέροι δ' ἂν ἐς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα τὸν θυμόν· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄπεστιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐοικότα τῇ τόλμῃ σφίσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος ἠκολούθησε.

[40.10] As you approach the city you see a common grave of the Thebans who were killed in the struggle against Philip. It has no inscription, but is surmounted by a lion, probably a reference to the spirit of the men. That there is no inscription is, in my opinion, because their courage was not favoured by appropriate good fortune.

[11] θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Δίῃ φησιν Ὅμηρος Ἥφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἑρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεΐ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρέα Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, Δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θεióτερον οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ:

[40.11] Of the gods, the people of Chaeroneia honor most the scepter which

Homer says Hephaestus made for Zeus, Hermes received from Zeus and gave to Pelops, Pelops left to Atreus, Atreus to Thyestes, and Agamemnon had from Thyestes. This scepter, then, they worship, calling it Spear. That there is something peculiarly divine about this scepter is most clearly shown by the fame it brings to the Chaeroneans.

[12] φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὐρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὔρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένοις ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἠλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πείθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσία πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὁ ἱερώμενος ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον: καὶ οἱ θυσίαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης.

[40.12] They say that it was discovered on the border of their own country and of Panopeus in Phocis, that with it the Phocians discovered gold, and that they were glad themselves to get the scepter instead of the gold. I am of opinion that it was brought to Phocis by Agamemnon's daughter Electra. It has no public temple made for it, but its priest keeps the scepter for one year in a house. Sacrifices are offered to it every day, and by its side stands a table full of meats and cakes of all sorts.

ART WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO HEPHAESTUS

41. ὅποσα δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ἡφαίστου ποιηταὶ τε ἄδουσι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠκολούθηκεν ἡ φήμη, τούτων, ὅτι μὴ τὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος σκῆπτρον, ἄλλο γε οὐδὲν ἀξιώχρεόν ἐστιν ἐς πίστιν. Λύκιοι μὲν γε ἐν Πατάροις ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος χαλκοῦν ἐπιδεικνύουσι κρατῆρα, ἀνάθημα εἶναι φάμενοι Τηλέφου καὶ ἔργον Ἡφαίστου: καὶ σφᾶς, ὥς γε εἰκός, λέληθε Θεόδωρον καὶ Ῥοϊκὸν Σαμίους εἶναι τοὺς διαχέαντας χαλκὸν πρώτους.

[41.1] XLI. Poets have sung, and the tradition of men has followed them, that Hephaestus made many works of art, but none is authentic except only the scepter of Agamemnon. However, the Lycians in Patara show a bronze bowl in their temple of Apollo, saying that Telephus dedicated it and Hephaestus made it, apparently in ignorance of the fact that the first to melt bronze were the Samians Theodorus and Rhoecus.

[2] Πατρεῖς δὲ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἡφαίστου ποίημά ἐστιν ἡ λάρναξ ἣν Εὐρύπυλος ἤνεγκεν ἐξ Ἰλίου, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐ παρέχουσιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθαι. ἔστι δὲ Ἀμαθοῦς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλις, Ἀδώνιδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον: ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὄρμον Ἀρμονία μὲν δοθέντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐριφύλης, ὅτι αὐτὴ δῶρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρί: ὃν ἀνέθεσαν μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἐς Δελφοὺς οἱ Φηγέως — τρόπον δὲ ὄντινα ἐκτίσαντο αὐτόν, ἐδήλωσεν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἔχοντα —, ἐσυλήθη δὲ ὑπὸ τυράννων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν.

[41.2] The Achaeans of Patrae assert indeed that Hephaestus made the chest

brought by Eurypylus from Troy, but they do not actually exhibit it to view. In Cyprus is a city Amathus, in which is an old sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite. Here they say is dedicated a necklace given originally to Harmonia, but called the necklace of Eriphyle, because it was the bribe she took to betray her husband. It was dedicated at Delphi by the sons of Phegeus (how they got it I have already related in my history of Arcadia), but it was carried off by the tyrants of Phocis.

[3] οὐ μὲν παρὰ Ἀμαθουσίῳ γε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστίν: ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι μὲν γάρ ἐστι λίθοι χλωροὶ συνδέοντος χρυσοῦ σφᾶς ὁ ὄρμος, τὸν δὲ τῇ Ἐριφύλῃ δοθέντα Ὅμηρός φησιν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα πεποιῆσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ἔχει:”ἢ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήντα.

“Hom. Od 11.327

[41.3] However, I do not think that it is in the sanctuary of Adonis at Amathus. For the necklace at Amathus is composed of green stones held together by gold, but the necklace given to Eriphyle was made entirely of gold, according to Homer, who says in the Odyssey:—

Who received precious gold, the price of her own husband. Hom. Od. 11.327

Not that Homer was unaware of necklaces made of various materials.

[4] οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡγνόει τοὺς ὄρμους τοὺς ποικίλους: ἐν μὲν γε τοῖς Εὐμαίου λόγοις πρὸς Ὀδυσσεά, πρὶν ἢ ἐκ Πύλου Τηλέμαχον ἀφικέσθαι σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐστὶν “ἢλυθ’ ἀνὴρ πολυίδρις ἐμοῦ πρὸς δώματα πατρός

χρύσειον ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ’ ἡλέκτροισιν ἔερτο,

“Hom. Od 15.459

[41.4] For example, in the speech of Eumaeus to Odysseus before Telemachus reaches the court from Pylus, he says:—

There came a cunning man to the home of my father,

With a necklace of gold strung with amber in between. Hom. Od. 15.459

[5] καὶ ἐν Πηνελόπης δώροις — ἄλλους τε γὰρ τῶν μνηστήρων δῶρα καὶ Εὐρύμαχον διδόντα Πηνελόπη πεποίηκεν—”ὄρμον δ’ Εὐρύμαχος πολυδαίδαλον αὐτίκ’ ἔνεικε

χρύσειον, ἡλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον, ἡέλιον ὥς:

“Hom. Od 18.295”Εριφύλην δὲ οὐ χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλον δέξασθαι φησιν ὄρμον. οὕτω τὸ εἰκὸς τῷ σκῆπτρῳ πρόσσεστιν εἶναι μόνον ποίημα Ἥφαιστου.

[41.5] Again, in the passage called the gifts of Penelope, for he represents the wooers, Eurymachus among them, offering her gifts, he says:—

And Eurymachus straightway brought a necklace of varied materials,
Of gold strung with pieces of amber, like the sun. Hom. Od. 18.295

But Homer does not say that the necklace given to Eriphyle was of gold varied with stones. So probably the scepter is the only work of Hephaestus.

MT PETRACHUS

[6] ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κρημνὸς Πετραχὸς καλούμενος· Κρόνον δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπατηθῆναι δεξάμενον ἀντὶ Διὸς πέτρων παρὰ τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἄγαλμα Διὸς οὐ μέγα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους.

[41.6] There is beyond the city a crag called Petrachus. Here they hold that Cronus was deceived, and received from Rhea a stone instead of Zeus, and there is a small image of Zeus on the summit of the mountain.

[7] ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Χαιρωνείᾳ μύρα ἀπὸ ἀνθῶν ἔψουσι κρίνου καὶ ρόδου καὶ ναρκίσσου καὶ ἱρεως· ταῦτα ἀλγηδόνων ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις γίνεται. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ρόδων ποιούμενον, εἰ καὶ ἀγάλματα εἰργασμένα ξύλου χρίοις, ρύεται καὶ ταῦτα σηπεδόνο· ἡ δὲ ἱρίς φύεται μὲν ἐν ἔλεσι, μέγεθος δ' ἐστὶν ἴση κρίνω, χροῖαν δὲ οὐ λευκή, καὶ ὀσμὴν ἀποδεῖ κρίνου.

[41.7] Here in Chaeroneia they distil unguents from flowers, namely, the lily, the rose, the narcissus and the iris. These prove to be cures for the pains of men. The unguent from the rose, if it be smeared on wooden images, prevents their decaying. The iris grows in marshes, is in size as large as a lily, but is not white in color, and smells less sweet.

BOOK X.

Φωκικά, Λοκρῶν Ὀζόλων

BOOK X.

PHOCIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

1. γῆς δὲ τῆς Φωκίδος, ὅσον μὲν περὶ Τιθορέαν καὶ Δελφούς ἐστιν αὐτῆς, ἐκ παλαιοτάτου φανερὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο εἰληφυῖα ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος· ἔτεσι δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἐξενίκησε καὶ ἀπάσῃ γενέσθαι τῇ ἐφ' ἡμῶν καλουμένη Φωκίδι, Αἰγινήτων ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν χώραν διαβάντων ὁμοῦ Φώκῳ τῷ Αἰακοῦ.

[1.1] I. It is plain that such part of Phocis as is around Tithorea and Delphi was so named in very ancient days after a Corinthian, Phocus, a son of Ornytion. Not many years afterwards, the name established itself as the received title of what is today called Phocis, when the Aeginetans had disembarked on the land with Phocus the son of Aeacus.

[2] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπαντικρὺ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς, τῇ μὲν ἐς Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν, τῇ δ' ἐπὶ Ἀντίκυραν πόλιν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ κόλπου Λοκροὶ σφᾶς παραθαλασσίους οἱ Ὑποκνημίδιοι κωλύουσιν εἶναι· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ εἰσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπεροικοῦντες, Σκαρφεῖς μὲν τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἐλατείας, ὑπὲρ δὲ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Ἄβας οἱ πόλιν τε Ὀποῦντα καὶ Ὀπουντίων ἐπίνειον νεμόμενοι Κῦνον.

[1.2] Opposite the Peloponnesus, and in the direction of Boeotia, Phocis stretches to the sea, and touches it on one side at Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and on the other at the city of Anticyra. In the direction of the Lamian Gulf there are between Phocis and the sea only the Hypocnemidian Locrians. By these is Phocis bounded in this direction, by Scarpheia on the other side of Elateia, and by Opus and its port Cynus beyond Hyampolis and Abae.

[3] τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα Φωκεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐν κοινῷ· πολέμου γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ μετεσχῆκασι, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐναντία ἐπολέμησαν πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐλάσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπὶ Ἑλληνας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐπεδείξαντο οἱ Φωκεῖς ἔργα ἐς μνήμην. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ὑάμπολιν, ἣ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς προσεδέχοντο ἐμβαλεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὑδρίας κεράμου πεποιημένας κατορύξαντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς γῆν ἐπιφορήσαντες ὑπέμενον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν· οἱ δέ, ἅτε οὐ προπευσμένοι τῶν Φωκέων τὴν τέχνην, ἐπελάσαντες τοὺς ἵππους λανθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑδρίας. ἐνταῦθα ἀπεχλωοῦντο μὲν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ποδῶν ἐσπιπτόντων σφισιν ἐς τὰς ὑδρίας, ἐκτείνοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπέπιπτον οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.

[1.3] The most renowned exploits of the Phocian people were undertaken by the whole nation. They took part in the Trojan war, and fought against the

Thessalians before the Persian invasion of Greece, when they accomplished some noteworthy deeds.

PHOCIS, HISTORY

Expecting that the Thessalians would invade their land at Hyampolis, they buried there earthen water-pots, covered these with earth, and so waited for the Thessalian cavalry. Ignorant of the Phocian stratagem, the Thessalians without knowing it drove their horses on to the water-pots, where stumbling into them the horses were lamed, and threw or killed their riders.

[4] ὥς δὲ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ μείζονι ἢ τὰ πρότερα ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας χρώμενοι τῇ ὀργῇ συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐν οὐ μικρῷ ποιούμενοι δείματι τὴν τε ἄλλην τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὴν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῆς ἵππου τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ αὐτῶν μελέτην τῶν ἱππέων, ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς αἰτοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα κίνδυνον: καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο μάντευμα: “συμβαλέω θνητὸν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον μαχέσασθαι,

νίκην δ’ ἀμφοτέροις δώσω, θνητῷ δέ νυ μᾶλλον.”

[1.4] The Thessalians, more enraged than ever against the Phocians, gathered levies from all their cities and marched out against them. Whereupon the Phocians, greatly terrified at the army of the Thessalians, especially at the number of their cavalry and the practised discipline of both mounts and riders, despatched a mission to Delphi, praying the god that they might escape the danger that threatened them. The oracle given them was this:—

I will match in fight mortal and immortal,
And to both will I give victory, but more to the mortal.

[5] ταῦτα ὥς ἐπύθοντο οἱ Φωκεῖς, λογάδας τριακοσίους καὶ Γέλωνα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄρτι ἀρχομένης νυκτός, προστάξαντές σφισι κατοπτεῦσαι τε τὰ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ὄντινα ἀφανέστατον δύναιτο τρόπον καὶ αὔθις ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἐπανήκειν κατὰ τῶν ὁδῶν τὴν μάλιστα ἄγνωστον, μηδὲ ἐκόντας μάχης ἄρχειν. οὗτοι ὑπὸ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ λογάδες ἀπώλοντο ἄθροοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ ἡγούμενός σφισι Γέλων, συμπατούμενοί τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φονευόμενοι.

[1.5] On receiving this oracle, the Phocians sent three hundred picked men with Gelon in command to make an attack on the enemy. The night was just falling, and the orders given were to reconnoiter without being observed, to return to the main body by the least known route, and to remain strictly on the defensive. These picked men along with their leader Gelon, trampled on by horses and butchered by their enemies, perished to a man at the hands of the Thessalians.

[6] καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ σφῶν

κατάπληξιν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Φωκέων τηλικαύτην ἐνεποίησεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ὅσα τῶν κτημάτων ἄγειν ἦν σφίσιν ἢ φέρειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν ἐς ταὐτὸ συλλέξαντες πυρὰν ὡς μεγίστην ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν τριάκοντα ἀνδρας ἀπολείπουσι:

[1.6] Their disaster created such panic among the Phocians in the camp that they actually gathered together in one spot their women, children, movable property, and also their clothes, gold, silver and images of the gods, and making a vast pyre they left in charge a force of thirty men.

[7] προσετέτακτο δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, εἰ ἡττᾶσθαι τοὺς Φωκέας συμβαίνοι τῇ μάχῃ, τότε δὴ προαποσφάζει μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ὡς ἱερεῖα ἀναθέντας ταῦτα τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν καὶ ἐνέντας πῦρ οὕτως ἥδη διαφθαρῆναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἥτοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ ἐς τὴν ἵππον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἐσπίπτοντας. ἀντὶ τούτου μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ ἀνάλητα βουλευόμενα ἀπόνοια ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζεται Φωκική, τότε δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐποιοῦντο αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔξοδον:

[1.7] These were under orders that, should the Phocians chance to be worsted in the battle, they were first to put to death the women and the children, then to lay them like victims with the valuables on the pyre, and finally to set it alight and perish themselves, either by each other's hands or by charging the cavalry of the Thessalians. Hence all forlorn hopes are called by the Greeks "Phocian despair." On this occasion the Phocians forthwith proceeded to attack the Thessalians.

[8] στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἦσαν σφισι Ῥοῖός τε Ἀμβροσσεὺς καὶ Ὑαμπολίτης Δαῖφάντης, οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ ἵππῳ, δυνάμεως δὲ τῆς πεζῆς ὁ Ἀμβροσσεύς. ὁ δὲ χώραν ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔχων τὴν μεγίστην μάντις ἦν Τελλίας ὁ Ἥλεϊος, καὶ ἐς τὸν Τελλίαν τοῖς Φωκεῦσι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπέκειντο αἱ ἐλπίδες.

[1.8] The commander of their cavalry was Daiphantes of Hyampolis, of their infantry Rhoëus of Ambrossus. But the office of commander-in-chief was held by Tellias, a seer of Elis, upon whom rested all the Phocians' hopes of salvation.

[9] ὡς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἐγίνετο ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα δόξαντα, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ σφίσιν ἐώρων σαλευούσαν καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα ἐς παντοῖα ἀφικνούντο τολμήματα: προσγενομένου δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐκ θεῶν εὐμενοῦς νίκην τῶν τότε ἀνείλοντο ἐπιφανεστάτην.

[1.9] When the battle joined, the Phocians had before their eyes what they had resolved to do to their women and children, and seeing that their own salvation trembled in the balance, they dared the most desperate deeds, and, with the favour of heaven, achieved the most famous victory of that time.

[10] τὸ τε λόγιον τὸ γεγενημένον τοῖς Φωκεῦσι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῖς

πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἐγνώσθη: τὸ γὰρ σύνθημα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγούντων ἐδίδοτο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτωνίας, τοῖς δὲ ὁ ἐπώνυμος Φῶκος. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀναθήματα οἱ Φωκεῖς ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Τελλίαν τότε τὸν μάντιν καὶ ὅσοι μαχομένοις ἄλλοι σφίσιν ἐστρατήγησαν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥρωας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: ἔργα δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες Ἀριστομέδοντός εἰσιν Ἀργείου.

[1.10] Then did all Greece understand the oracle given to the Phocians by Apollo. For the watchword given in battle on every occasion by the Thessalian generals was Itonian Athena, and by the Phocian generals Phocus, from whom the Phocians were named. Because of this engagement the Phocians sent as offerings to Delphi statues of Apollo, of Tellias the seer, and of all their other generals in the battle, together with images of their local heroes. The figures were the work of the Argive Aristomedon.

[11] εὐρέθη δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν οὐκ ἀποδέον σοφία τῶν προτέρων. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀντεκάθητο περὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσβολήν, λογάδες Φωκέων πεντακόσιοι φυλάσσοντες πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, αὐτοὶ τε ἀληλιμμένοι γύψῳ καὶ ἐνδεδυκότες ὅπλα λευκὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γύψῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἐξεργασθῆναι φόνον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν λέγεται πλεῖστον, θειότερόν τι ἡγουμένων ἢ κατὰ ἔφοδον πολεμίων τὸ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ συμβαῖνον. ὁ δὲ Ἥλειος ἦν Τελλίας ὃς καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἐμηχανήσατο ἐς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς.

[1.11] Afterwards the Phocians discovered a stratagem quite as clever as their former ones. For when the armies were lying opposite each other at the pass into Phocis, five hundred picked men of Phocis, waiting until the moon was full, attacked the Thessalians on that night, first smearing themselves with chalk and, in addition to the chalk, putting on white armour. It is said that there then occurred a wholesale slaughter of the Thessalians, who thought this apparition of the night to be too unearthly to be an attack of their enemies. It was Tellias of Elis who devised this stratagem also for the Phocians to use against the Thessalians.

2. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς διέβη, λέγεται τοὺς Φωκέας φρονῆσαι μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὰ βασιλέως, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν Μήδων καὶ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ Πλαταιᾶσι παρατάξασθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ζημιωθῆναι χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων: οὐδὲ ἔχω τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξευρεῖν εἴτε ἀδικήσασιν ἐπεβλήθη σφίσιν εἴτε Θεσσαλοὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μῖσος γενέσθαι τὴν ζημίαν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἥσαν οἱ πράξαντες.

[2.1] II. When the Persian army crossed into Europe, it is said that the Phocians were forced to join the Great King, but deserted the Persian cause and ranged themselves with the Greeks at the battle of Plataea. Subsequently it happened that a fine was inflicted on them by the Amphictyons. I cannot find out the truth of the story, whether the fine was inflicted because of the misdeeds of

the Phocians, or whether the Thessalians exacted the fine from the Phocians because of their ancient hatred.

[2] ἐχόντων δὲ ἀθύμως αὐτῶν πρὸς τῆς ζημίας τὸ μέγεθος, Φιλόμηλος σφᾶς ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Θεοτίμου, Φωκέων οὐδενὸς ἀξιώματι ὕστερος — πατρίς δὲ αὐτῶ Λέδων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἦν πόλεων — οὗτος οὖν ὁ Φιλόμηλος τήν τε ἔκτισιν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον ἀπέφηνε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἀνέπειθε τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαβεῖν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, λέγων καὶ ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ὥς τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐπιτήδεια ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος κατασταίῃ σφίσιν ἐς πόλεμον, περιέσεσθαι καὶ ἀρετῇ σφᾶς καὶ δαπάνῃ χρημάτων.

[2.2] As they were disheartened at the greatness of the fine, Philomelus, son of Theotimus, than whom no Phocian stood higher in rank, his country being Ledon, a city of Phocis, took charge and tried to persuade them to seize the sanctuary at Delphi, pointing out that the amount of the sum to be paid was beyond their resources. He stated, among other plausible arguments, that Athens and Sparta had always been favorable to them, and that if Thebes or any other state made war against them, they would have the better owing to their courage and resources.

[3] ταῦτα τοῦ Φιλομήλου λέγοντος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀκούσια τῷ πλήθει τῶν Φωκέων, εἴτε τὴν γνώμην σφίσι τοῦ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος εἴτε καὶ αὐτοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐπίπροσθεν εὐσεβείας τὰ κέρδη ποιεῖσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν Δελφῶν κατάληψιν ἐποίησαντο οἱ Φωκεῖς Ἡρακλείδου μὲν πρυτανεύοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει πέμπτῃς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἦν Πρῶρος ἐνίκᾳ Κυρηναῖος στάδιον.

[2.3] When Philomelus put all this before them, the Phocians were nothing loath, either because their judgment was blinded by heaven, or because their nature was to put gain before religion. The seizure of Delphi by the Phocians occurred when Heracleides was president at Delphi and Agathocles archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, when Prorus of Cyrene was victorious in the foot-race.

[4] καταλαβοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ξενικά τε αὐτίκα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἡθροίσθη καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι σφίσιν ἐς πόλεμον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καθεστήκεσαν, διάφοροι καὶ τὰ πρότερα ὄντες. χρόνος μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο ὃν ἐπολέμησαν δέκα ἔτη συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ πολέμου μήκει πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ξενικά ἐνίκησε, πολλάκις δὲ ἦν τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπικρατέστερα: γενομένης δὲ κατὰ Νεῶνα πόλιν συμβολῆς ἐτράποντο οἱ Φωκεῖς, καὶ ὁ Φιλόμηλος ρίπτει τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ κατὰ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου κρημενοῦ καὶ ἀφήσιν οὕτω τὴν ψυχὴν: ἐτέτακτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν ἐς τοὺς συλῶντας αὕτη ἡ δίκη.

[2.4] When they had seized the sanctuary, the best mercenaries in Greece at once mustered to join them, while the Thebans, at variance before, declared open war against them. The war lasted ten successive years, and during this

long time victory often fell to the Phocians and their mercenaries, and often the Thebans proved the better. An engagement took place at the town of Neon, in which the Phocians were worsted, and in the rout Philomelus threw himself down a high precipice, and so lost his life. This was the very punishment fixed by the Amphictyons for spoilers of the sanctuary.

[5] μετὰ δὲ Φιλόμηλον τελευτήσαντα Ὀνομάρχῳ μὲν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διδῶσιν οἱ Φωκεῖς, ἐς δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν συμμαχίαν προσεχώρησε Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου· καὶ — ἐκράτησε γὰρ Φίλιππος τῆς συμβολῆς — φεύγων ὁ Ὀνόμαρχος καὶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηκοντίσθη τῶν οἰκείων, ὥς τὴν ἥσάν σφισιν ὑπὸ ἀτολμίας συμβᾶσαν τῆς ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατηγεῖν ἀπειρίας.

[2.5] After the death of Philomelus the Phocians gave the command to Onomarchus, while Philip, son of Amyntas, made an alliance with the Thebans. Philip had the better of the encounter, and Onomarchus fleeing to the coast was there shot down by his own troops, who considered their defeat due to his lack of enterprise and inexperience as a general.

[6] Ὀνομάρχῳ μὲν τέλος τοῦ βίου τοιοῦτον ἐπήγαγεν ὁ δαίμων, στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα εἶλοντο ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ὀνομάρχου Φάυλον. λέγουσι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Φάυλον παρεληλυθέναι τε δὴ ἄρτι ἐπὶ τῶν Φωκέων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος ἰδεῖν τοιάνδε. ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μίμημα ἦν χαλκοῦν ἀνδρὸς χρονιωτέρου, κατερρυηκότος τε ἤδη τὰς σάρκας καὶ τὰ ὅσῃ ὑπολειπομένου μόνα· ἀνάθημα δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Ἱπποκράτους ἐλέγετο εἶναι τοῦ ἱατροῦ. τούτῳ δὴ ἑαυτὸν εἰοικέναι τῷ ἀναθήματι ἔδοξεν ὁ Φάυλος· αὐτίκα δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα αὐτὸν φθοῶδης νόσος ἐπετέλει τοῦ ἐνυπνίου τὴν μαντείαν.

[2.6] Such was the end which fate brought upon Onomarchus, and his brother Phaylus was chosen as commander-in-chief. It is said that no sooner had this Phaylus come to rule over the Phocians when he saw the following vision in a dream. Among the votive offerings to Apollo was a representation in bronze of a man's body in an advanced stage of decay, with the flesh already fallen off, and nothing left but the bones. The Delphians said that it was an offering of Hippocrates the physician. Now the thought came to Phaylus that he resembled this offering. Forthwith he was attacked by a wasting disease, which so fulfilled the omen of the dream.

[7] Φαύλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἐς Φάλαικον τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ περιεχώρησεν ἡ ἐν Φωκεῦσι δυναστεία· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἔσχεν ὁ Φάλαικος αἰτίαν ἰδίᾳ περιποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς. διαβὰς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐς Κρήτην ὁμοῦ Φωκέων τοῖς ἡρημένοις τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ μοῖρα τοῦ ξενικοῦ, Κυδωνία προσκατήμενος — οὐ γάρ οἱ διδόναι χρήματα ἐβούλοντο αἰτοῦντι — τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἀπόλλυσι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο.

[2.7] On the death of Phaylus the sovereignty of the Phocians devolved on Phalaecus his son. Phalaecus, accused of appropriating to his own use the sacred treasures, was deposed, and crossing with a fleet to Crete, accompanied

by such Phocians as sided with him and by a part of his mercenaries, he sat down to besiege Cydonia, which refused to accede to his demand for money, and perished along with the greater part of his army.

3. δεκάτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν ἐπέθηκεν ὁ Φίλιππος πέρας τῷ πολέμῳ, Φωκικῷ τε καὶ ἱερῷ κληθέντι τῷ αὐτῷ, Θεοφίλου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, ὀγδόης δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ἔτει πρώτῳ, ἣν Πολυκλῆς ἐνίκα στάδιον Κυρηναῖος. καὶ ἐς ἑδαφος ἀλοῦσαι κατεβλήθησαν τῶν Φωκέων αἱ πόλεις: ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν Λίλαια καὶ Ὑάμπολις καὶ Ἀντίκυρα καὶ Παραποτάμιοι καὶ Πανοπεὺς τε καὶ Δαυλὶς. τούτων μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὼν ἔνεκα τῶν Ὀμήρου:

[3.1] III. In the tenth year after the seizure of the sanctuary, Philip put an end to the war, which was called both the Phocian War and the Sacred War, in the year when Theophilus was archon at Athens, which was the first of the hundred and eighth Olympiad at which Polycles of Cyrene was victorious in the foot-race. The cities of Phocis were captured and razed to the ground. The tale of them was Lilaia, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus and Daulis. These cities were distinguished in days of old, especially because of the poetry of Homer.

[2] τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στρατιὰ καταπρήσασα ἢ μετὰ Ξέρξου γνωριμωτέρας οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὼν ἔνεκα τῶν Ὀμήρου: τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στρατιὰ καταπρήσασα ἢ μετὰ Ξέρξου γνωριμωτέρας ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐποίησεν, Ἐρωχὸν καὶ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἀμφίκλειαν καὶ Νεῶνας καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Δρυμαίαν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πλὴν γε δὴ Ἐλατείας τὰ πρότερα οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν, Τραχίς τε ἡ Φωκικὴ καὶ Μεδεῶν ὁ Φωκικὸς καὶ Ἐχεδάμεια καὶ Ἄμβροστος καὶ Λέδων καὶ Φλυγόνιον ἔτι καὶ Στῆρις. τότε δὲ κατεσκάφησάν τε αἱ κατειλεγμένοι καὶ ἐς κόμας πλὴν Ἄβας ὀκίσθησαν αἱ ἄλλαι: Ἀβαίοις δὲ ἐκτὸς ἀσεβείας ὑπῆρχε καθεστηκέναι, καὶ οὔτε τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς καταλήψεως οὔτε τοῦ πολέμου μετεσχίκεσαν.

[3.2] The army of Xerxes, burning down certain of these, made them better known in Greece, namely Erochus, Charadra, Amphicleia, Neon, Tithronium and Drymaea. The rest of the Phocian cities, except Elateia, were not famous in former times, I mean Phocian Trachis, Phocian Medeon, Echedameia, Ambrossus, Ledon, Phlygonium and Stiris. On the occasion to which I have referred all the cities enumerated were razed to the ground and their people scattered in villages. The one exception to this treatment was Abae, whose citizens were free from impiety, and had had no share in the seizure of the sanctuary or in the war.

[3] ἀφηρεθήσαν δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ μετεῖναι σφισιν ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ συνόδου τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ τὰς ψήφους αὐτῶν Μακεδόσιν ἔδοσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν αἱ πόλεις ἀνὸκίσθησαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατήχθησαν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνοικισθῆναι τινας ἐκώλυσεν ἀσθένειά τε ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῷ τότε ἔνδεια:

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι σφᾶς ἦσαν οἱ κατάγοντες, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ συμβῆναι παῖσμα Ἑλλήσι.

[3.3] The Phocians were deprived of their share in the Delphic sanctuary and in the Greek assembly, and their votes were given by the Amphictyons to the Macedonians. Subsequently, however, the Phocian cities were rebuilt, and their inhabitants restored from the villages to their native cities, save such as were prevented from being rebuilt by their original weakness and by their want of funds at the period of restoration. It was the Athenians and Thebans who brought back the inhabitants before the disaster of Chaeroneia befell the Greeks.

[4] καὶ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μετέσχον οἱ Φωκεῖς, καὶ ὕστερον περὶ Λάμιαν καὶ ἐν Κραννῶνι ἐναντία Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐμαχέσαντο: Γαλάτας δὲ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν στρατιὰν προθυμότερα ἡμύνοντο Ἑλλήνων, θεῶ τε τιμωροῦντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐς ἀπολογία ἅμα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐγκλημάτων.

[3.4] The Phocians took part in the battle of Chaeroneia, and afterwards fought at Lamia and Crannon against the Macedonians under Antipater. No Greeks were keener defenders against the Gauls and the Celtic invaders than were the Phocians, who considered that they were helping the god of Delphi, and at the same time, I take it, that they were making amends for the old crimes they had committed.

PANOPEUS

4. τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχεν ἐς μνήμην: στάδια δὲ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας εἴκοσιν ἐς Πανοπέας ἐστὶ πόλιν Φωκέων, εἶγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν, οὐ θέατρον οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην, ἀλλὰ ἐν στέγαις κοίλαις κατὰ τὰς καλύβας μάλιστα τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ. ὅμως δὲ ὅροι γε τῆς χώρας εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ὁμόρους, καὶ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον συνέδρους καὶ οὗτοι πέμπουσι τὸν Φωκικόν. καὶ γενέσθαι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπειοῦ πατρός, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ Φωκεῖς, Φλεγῦναι δὲ εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν διαφυγεῖν φασὶ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενίας.

[4.1] IV. Such were the memorable exploits of the Phocians. From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbors, and even send delegates to the Phocian assembly. The name of the city is derived, they say, from the father of Epeius, and they maintain that they are not Phocians, but were originally Phlegyans who fled to Phocis from the land of Orchomenus.

[2] Πανοπέων δὲ τὸν ἀρχαῖον θεώμενοι περίβολον ἑπτὰ εἶναι σταδίων μάλιστα

εικάζομεν: ὑπῆει τε ἐπὼν ἡμᾶς τῶν Ὀμήρου μνήμη ὧν ἐποίησεν ἐς Τιτυόν, καλλίχορον τῶν Πανοπέων ὀνομάσας τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὥς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ τε ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλου νεκρῷ καὶ Σχεδίον τὸν Ἰφίτου βασιλεύοντα Φωκέων καὶ ἀποθανόντα ὑφ' Ἑκτορος κατοικεῖν εἶπεν ἐν τῷ Πανοπεῖ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐφαίνετο ἡμῖν ἔχειν αἰτίαν, φόβῳ τῶν Βοιωτῶν — κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἢ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσβολὴ ῥάστη — ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἅτε φρουρίῳ τῷ Πανοπεῖ χρώμενον:

[4.2] A survey of the ancient circuit of Panopeus led me to guess it to be about seven stades. I was reminded of Homer's verses about Tityos, where he mentions the city of Panopeus with its beautiful dancing-floors, and how in the fight over the body of Patroclus he says that Schedius, son of Iphitus and king of the Phocians, who was killed by Hector, lived in Panopeus. It seemed to me that the reason why the king lived here was fear of the Boeotians; at this point is the easiest pass from Boeotia into Phocis, so the king used Panopeus as a fortified post.

[3] τὸ ἕτερον δὲ οὐκ ἐδυνήθην συμβαλέσθαι πρότερον, ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλλίχορον τὸν Πανοπέα εἶρηκε, πρὶν ἢ ἐδιδάχθην ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καλουμένων Θυιάδων. αἱ δὲ Θυιάδες γυναῖκες μὲν εἰσιν Ἀττικάι, φοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐς τὸν Παρνασσὸν παρὰ ἔτος αὐταῖ τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες Δελφῶν ἄγουσιν ὄργια Διονύσῳ. ταύταις ταῖς Θυιάσι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὁδὸν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ χοροὺς ἰστάναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πανοπεῦσι καθέστηκε: καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις ἢ ἐς τὸν Πανοπέα Ὀμήρου ὑποσημαίνειν τῶν Θυιάδων δοκεῖ τὸν χορόν.

[4.3] The former passage, in which Homer speaks of the beautiful dancing-floors of Panopeus, I could not understand until I was taught by the women whom the Athenians call Thyiads. The Thyiads are Attic women, who with the Delphian women go to Parnassus every other year and celebrate orgies in honor of Dionysus. It is the custom for these Thyiads to hold dances at places, including Panopeus, along the road from Athens. The epithet Homer applies to Panopeus is thought to refer to the dance of the Thyiads.

[4] Πανοπεῦσι δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ πλίνθου τε ὠμῆς οἴκημα οὐ μέγα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἄγαλμα, ὃν Ἀσκληπιόν, οἱ δὲ Προμηθεά εἶναί φασι: καὶ παρέχονται γε τοῦ λόγου μαρτύρια. λίθοι κεῖνται σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ χαράδρᾳ, μέγεθος μὲν ἐκάτερος ὥς φόρτον ἀποχρῶντα ἀμάξης εἶναι, χρῶμα δὲ ἐστὶ πηλοῦ σφισιν, οὐ γεώδους ἀλλ' οἷος ἂν χαράδρας γένοιτο ἢ χειμάρρου ψαμμώδους, παρέχονται δὲ καὶ ὁσμήν ἐγγύτατα χρωτὶ ἀνθρώπου: ταῦτα ἔτι λείπεσθαι τοῦ πηλοῦ λέγουσιν ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἅπαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθεῶς τὸ γένος πλασθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

[4.4] At Panopeus there is by the roadside a small building of unburnt brick, in which is an image of Pentelic marble, said by some to be Asclepius, by others Prometheus. The latter produce evidence of their contention. At the ravine there lie two stones, each of which is big enough to fill a cart. They have the color of clay, not earthy clay, but such as would be found in a ravine or sandy

torrent, and they smell very like the skin of a man. They say that these are remains of the clay out of which the whole race of mankind was fashioned by Prometheus.

[5] ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῇ χαράδρῃ καὶ Τιτυοῦ μνημῆα ἔστι: περίοδος μὲν τοῦ χώματος τρίτον μάλιστα που σταδίου, τὸ δὲ ἔπος τὸ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ “κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ: ὁ δ’ ἐπ’ ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα

“Hom. Od 11.577 οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγέθει πεποιῆσθαι τοῦ Τιτυοῦ φασιν, ἀλλ’ ἐνθα ὁ Τιτύος ἐτέθη, Πλέθρα ἐννέα ὄνομα εἶναι τῷ χωρίῳ.

[4.5] Here at the ravine is the tomb of Tityos. The circumference of the mound is just about one-third of a stade, and they say that the verse in the Odyssey:—

Lying on the ground, and lie lay over nine roods, Hom. Od. 11.577

refers, not to the size of Tityos, but to the place where he lay, the name of which was Nine Roods.

[6] Κλέων δὲ ἀνὴρ Μάγνης, οἱ τῷ Ἑρμῷ προσοικοῦσιν, ἔφασκεν ἐς τὰ παράδοξα ἀπίστους εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἂν μὴ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν γένηται βίον θεάμασιν ἐπιτυχεῖν λόγου μεΐζουσιν: αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Τιτυὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἔφη πείθεσθαι γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν φήμην: τυχεῖν γὰρ δὴ ὦν ἐν Γαδείροις, καὶ ἐκπλεῦσαι μὲν αὐτός τε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πάντα ὄχλον ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ τὸ Ἡρακλέους πρόσταγμα, ὡς δὲ αὐθις ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὰ Γάδαιρα, ἄνδρα εὐρεῖν θαλάσσιον ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐς τὴν γῆν: τοῦτον πλέθρα μὲν πέντε μάλιστα ἐπέχειν, κεραυνωθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καίεσθαι.

[4.6] Cleon of Magnesia on the Hermus used to say that those men were incredulous of wonders who in the course of their own lives had not met yet greater marvels. He declared that Tityos and other monsters had been as tradition says they were. He happened, he said, to be at Cadiz, and he, with the rest of the crowd, sailed forth from the island in accordance with the command of Heracles; on their return to Cadiz they found cast ashore a man of the sea, who was about five roods in size, and burning away, because heaven had blasted him with a thunderbolt.

DAULIS

[7] οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Πανοπέως δὲ ὅσον στάδια εἴκοσι καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπέχει Δαυλῖς. οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωποι πλῆθος μὲν εἰσιν οὐ πολλοί, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ ἀλκῇ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι δοκιμώτατοι Φωκέων. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει τεθῆναι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ Δαυλίδος νύμφης, θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ τὴν Δαυλίδα. τοῖς δὲ ἔστιν εἰρημένον ὡς τὸ χωρίον, ἐνθα ἡ πόλις ὤκισθη, παρείχετο συνεχῇ δένδρα, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ δασέα ὑπὸ τῶν πάλοι δαῦλα: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλον τὰ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἀνθηδονίου γένεια ὑπήνην ὠνομακέναι δαῦλον.

[4.7] So said Cleon. About twenty-seven stades distant from Panopeus is Daulis. The men there are few in number, but for size and strength no

Phocians are more renowned even to this day. They say that the name of the city is derived from Daulis, a nymph, the daughter of the Cephissus. Others say that the place, on which the city was built, was wooded, and that such shaggy places (*dasea*) were called *daula* by the ancients. For this reason, they say, Aeschylus called the beard of Glaucus of Anthedon *hypene daulos*.

[8] ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Δαυλίδι παραθεῖναι τῷ Τηρεῖ τὸν παῖδα αἱ γυναῖκες λέγονται, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ μiasμάτων τοῦτο ἤρξεν. ὁ δὲ ἔποψ ἐς ὃν ἔχει λόγος τὸν Τηρέα ἀλλαγῆναι, οὗτος ὁ ὄρνις μέγεθος μὲν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ὄρτυγα, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ οἱ τὰ πτερὰ ἐς λόφου σχῆμα ἐξῆρται.

[4.8] Here in Daulis the women are said to have served up to Tereus his own son, which act was the first pollution of the dining-table among men. The hoopoe, into which the legend says Tereus was changed, is a bird a little larger than the quail, while the feathers on its head rise into the shape of a crest.

[9] θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ χελιδόνες οὔτε τίκτουσιν οὔτε ἐκλέπουσί γε τὰ ῥά, οὐδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν πρὸς οἰκήματος ὀρόφῳ νεοοσιᾶν χελιδῶν ποιῆσαιτο: λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς ὡς τῇ Φιλομήλῃ καὶ ὄρνιθι οὔσῃ Τηρέως δεῖμα ἐφάνη καὶ οὕτω τῆς πατρίδος ἀπέστη τῆς Τηρέως. Δαυλιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν καὶ ἁγαλμὰ ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον: τὸ δὲ ξόανον τὸ ἔτι παλαιότερον λέγουσιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Πρόκνην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.

[4.9] It is noteworthy that in Phocis swallows neither hatch nor lay eggs; in fact no swallow would even make a nest in the roof of a house. The Phocians say that even when Philomela was a bird she had a terror of Tereus, and so kept away from his country. At Daulis is a sanctuary of Athena with an ancient image. The wooden image, of an even earlier date, the Daulians say was brought from Athens by Procne.

NEAR DAULIS

[10] ἔστι δὲ τῆς Δαυλίας χώρα καλουμένη Τρωνίς: ἐνταῦθα ἥρω ἦρω Ἀρχηγέτου πεποιήται: τὸν δὲ ἥρω τοῦτον Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἀφανῆ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον, οἱ δὲ Φῶκον εἶναι τὸν Ὀρνυτίωνος τοῦ Σισύφου φασίν. ἔχει δ' οὖν ἐπὶ ἡμέρα τε πάσῃ τιμὰς καὶ ἄγοντες ἱερεῖα οἱ Φωκεῖς τὸ μὲν αἷμα δι' ὀπῆς ἐσχέουσιν ἐς τὸν τάφον, τὰ δὲ κρέα ταύτῃ σφίσιν ἀναλοῦν καθέστηκεν.

[4.10] In the territory of Daulis is a place called Tronis. Here has been built a shrine of the Founder hero. This founder is said by some to have been Xanthippus, a distinguished soldier; others say that he was Phocus, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus. At any rate, he is worshipped every day, and the Phocians bring victims and pour the blood into the grave through a hole, but the flesh they are wont to consume on the spot.

5. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος διὰ τῆς Δαυλίδος ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μακροτέρα τῆς ἐκ Δελφῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτ' ἀχαλεπῇ. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δελφῶν εὐθείαν ἀναστρέψαντι ἐκ Δαυλίδος καὶ ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω, ἔστιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καλούμενον Φωκικόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπὸ ἐκάστης πόλεως

συνίασιν οἱ Φωκεῖς.

[5.1] V. There is also an ascent through Daulis to the summit of Parnassus, a longer one than that from Delphi, though not so difficult. Turning back from Daulis to the straight road to Delphi and going forwards, you see on the left of the road a building called the Phocian Building, where assemble the Phocian delegates from each city.

[2] μεγέθει μὲν μέγα τὸ οἶκημα, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ κίονες κατὰ μῆκος εἰσιν ἐστηκότες: ἀναβασμοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κιόνων ἀνήκουσιν ἐς ἐκάτερον τοῖχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν τούτων οἱ συνιόντες τῶν Φωκέων καθέζονται. πρὸς δὲ τῷ πέρατι κίονες μὲν οὐκ εἰσιν οὐδὲ ἀναβασμοί, Διὸς δὲ ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας, τὸ μὲν ἐν θρόνῳ τοῦ Διός, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ ἡ μὲν κατὰ δεξιά, ἡ δὲ κατὰ ἀριστερὰ παρεστῶσα ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ πεποίηται.

[5.2] The building is large, and within are pillars standing throughout its length. From the pillars rise steps to each wall, on which steps the Phocian delegates take their seats. At the end are neither pillars nor steps, but images of Zeus, Athena and Hera. That of Zeus is on a throne; on his right stands Hera, on his left Athena.

THE CLEFT ROAD

[3] προῖων δὲ αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ ὁδὸν ἀφίξῃ καλουμένην Σχιστὴν: ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ ὁδῷ τὰ ἐς τὸν φόνον τοῦ πατρὸς Οἰδίποδι εἰργάσθη. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα παθημάτων τῶν Οἰδίποδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπολειφθῆναι μνημόσυνα. τεχθέντος μὲν γε διαπείραντες διὰ τῶν σφυρῶν κέντρα ἐκτιθέασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα, ὄρος τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα: Κόρινθος δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ χώρα τροφὸς τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἐγένετο: γῇ δὲ ἡ Φωκίς καὶ ὁδὸς ἡ Σχιστὴ τοῦ πατρώου φόνου τὸ μῖasma ὑπεδέξατο: Θηβαίοις δὲ καὶ ἐς πλέον γάμων τέ σφισι τῶν Οἰδίποδος καὶ ἀδικίας τῆς Ἐτεοκλέους ἐστὶν ἡ φήμη.

[5.3] Going forward from here you will come to a road called the Cleft Road, the very road on which Oedipus slew his father. Fate would have it that memorials of the sufferings of Oedipus should be left throughout the length and breadth of Greece. At his birth they pieced his ankles with goads and exposed him on Mount Cithaeron in Plataean territory. Corinth and the land at the Isthmus were the scene of his upbringing. Phocis and the Cleft Road received the pollution of his murdered father's blood. Thebes is even more notorious for the marriage of Oedipus and for the sin of Eteocles.

[4] Οἰδίποδι μὲν ὁδὸς ἡ Σχιστὴ καὶ τόλμημα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ κακῶν ἦρχε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λαῖου μνήματα καὶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπομένου ταῦτα ἔτι ἐν μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς τριόδου ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθοι λογάδες σεσωρευμένοι: Δαμασίστρατον δὲ ἄνδρα ἐν Πλαταιαῖς βασιλεύοντα ἐπιτυχεῖν τε κειμένους τοῖς νεκροῖς καὶ θάψαι φασὶν αὐτούς.

[5.4] The Cleft Road and the rash deed committed on it by Oedipus were the beginning of his troubles, and the tombs of Laius and the servant who

followed him are still just as they were in the very middle of the place where the three roads meet, and over them have been piled unhewn stones. According to the story, it was Damasistratus, king of Plataea, who found the bodies lying and buried them.

DELPHI, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[5] ἡ δὲ λεωφόρος αὐτόθεν ἢ ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ προσάντης γίνεται μᾶλλον καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ χαλεπωτέρα. λέγεται δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ διάφορα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δελφοὺς, πλείω δὲ ἔτι ἐς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ μαντεῖον. φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα Γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ Δαφνίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τετάχθαι πρόμαντιν ὑπὸ τῆς Γῆς:

[5.5] From here the high road to Delphi becomes both steeper and more difficult for the walker. Many and different are the stories told about Delphi, and even more so about the oracle of Apollo. For they say that in the earliest times the oracular seat belonged to Earth, who appointed as prophetess at it Daphnis, one of the nymphs of the mountain.

[6] εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος νυμφῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἑλληνισι ποίησις, ὄνομα μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἔστιν Εὐμολπία, Μουσαίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιοφῆμου προσποιούσι τὰ ἔπη: πεποιημένον οὖν ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις Ποσειδῶνος ἐν κοινῷ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ τὴν μὲν χρᾶν αὐτὴν, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ὑπηρετήν ἐς τὰ μαντεύματα εἶναι Πύρκωνα. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη: "αὐτίκα δὲ Χθονίης φωνὴ πινυτὸν φάτο μῦθον,

σὺν δὲ τε Πύρκων ἀμφίπολος κλυτοῦ Ἑννοσιγαίου.

"Musaeus, Eumolpiaχρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσον τῇ Γῇ μετῆν, δοθῆναι Θέμιδι ὑπ' αὐτῆς λέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ παρὰ Θέμιδος λαβεῖν δωρεάν: Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ μαντείου Καλαύρειαν ἀντιδοῦναί φασιν αὐτὸν τὴν πρὸ Τροιζῆνος.

[5.6] There is extant among the Greeks an hexameter poem, the name of which is Eumolpia, and it is assigned to Musaeus, son of Antiophemus. In it the poet states that the oracle belonged to Poseidon and Earth in common; that Earth gave her oracles herself, but Poseidon used Pyrcon as his mouthpiece in giving responses. The verses are these:—

Forthwith the voice of the Earth-goddess uttered a wise word,
And with her Pyrcon, servant of the renowned Earth-shaker. [Musaeus],
Eumolpia

They say that afterwards Earth gave her share to Themis, who gave it to Apollo as a gift. It is said that he gave to Poseidon Calauria, that lies off Troezen, in exchange for his oracle.

[7] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὥς ἄνδρες ποιμαίνοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν τῷ μαντείῳ, καὶ ἔνθεοί τε ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ καὶ ἐμαντεύσαντο ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος. μεγίστη δὲ καὶ παρὰ πλείστων ἐς Φημονόην δόξα ἐστίν, ὥς πρόμαντις γένοιτο ἡ Φημονόη τοῦ θεοῦ πρώτη καὶ πρώτη τὸ ἐξάμετρον ἦσεν. Βοιωτῶ δὲ ἐπιχωρία γυνὴ

ποιήσασα ὕμνον Δελφοῖς ἔφη κατασκευάσασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ὡλήνα: τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μαντεύσασθαι πρῶτον καὶ ἄσαι πρῶτον τὸ ἐξάμετρον.

[5.7] I have heard too that shepherds feeding their flocks came upon the oracle, were inspired by the vapor, and prophesied as the mouthpiece of Apollo. The most prevalent view, however, is that Phemonoe was the first prophetess of the god, and first sang in hexameter verse. Boeo, a native woman who composed a hymn for the Delphians, said that the oracle was established for the god by comers from the Hyperboreans, Olen and others, and that he was the first to prophesy and the first to chant the hexameter oracles.

[8] πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ Βοιωὶ τοιάδε: “ἐνθα τοι εὐμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων Παγασὸς καὶ δῖος Ἀγνιεύς.

“Boeo, work unknown ἐπαριθμοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ ὕμνου τὸν Ὡλήνα ὠνόμασεν: “Ὡλήν θ’, ὃς γένητο πρῶτος Φοῖβοιο προφάτας,

πρῶτος δ’ ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτάναι’ αἰοιδάν.

“Boeo, work unknown μέντοι τά γε ἦκοντα ἐς μνήμην ἐς ἄλλον τινά, ἐς δὲ γυναικῶν μαντεῖαν ἀνήκει μόνων.

[5.8] The verses of Boeo are:—

Here in truth a mindful oracle was built

By the sons of the Hyperboreans, Pagasus and divine Agyieus. Boeo, work unknown

After enumerating others also of the Hyperboreans, at the end of the hymn she names Olen:—

And Olen, who became the first prophet of Phoebus,

And first fashioned a song of ancient verses. Boeo, work unknown

Tradition, however, reports no other man as prophet, but makes mention of prophetesses only.

[9] ποιηθῆναι δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ ἀρχαιότατον δάφνης φασί, κοιμισθῆναι δὲ τοὺς κλάδους ἀπὸ τῆς δάφνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι: καλύβης δ’ ἂν σχῆμα οὗτός γε ἂν εἴη παρεσχηματισμένος ὁ ναός. δεύτερα δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μελισσῶν τὸν ναὸν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ κηροῦ τῶν μελισσῶν καὶ ἐκ πτερῶν: πεμφθῆναι δὲ ἐς Ὑπερβορέους φασὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

[5.9] They say that the most ancient temple of Apollo was made of laurel, the branches of which were brought from the laurel in Tempe. This temple must have had the form of a hut. The Delphians say that the second temple was made by bees from bees-wax and feathers, and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by Apollo.

[10] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος λόγος, ὥς τὸν ναὸν κατεσκευάσατο ἀνὴρ Δελφός, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Πτερᾶν εἶναι: κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ναῷ τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Πτερᾶ καὶ πόλιν Κρητικὴν προσθήκη γράμματος Ἀπτερεοῦς φασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν αὐξομένην πτέριν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς πόας ταύτης χλωρᾶς ἐτι διεπλέξαντο ναόν, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν προσίεμαι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

[5.10] Another story is current, that the temple was set up by a Delphian, whose name was Pteras, and so the temple received its name from the builder. After this Pteras, so they say, the city in Crete was named, with the addition of a letter, Apterei. The story that the temple was built of the fern (pteris) that grows on the mountains, by interweaving fresh stalks of it, I do not accept at all.

[11] τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν τρίτον τῶν ναῶν, ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐκ χαλκοῦ, θαῦμα οὐδέν, εἴ γε Ἀκρίσιος μὲν θάλαμον χαλκοῦν τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐποιήσατο, Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Χαλκιοίκου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτι λείπεται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ μεγέθους ἔνεκα καὶ κατασκευῆς τῆς ἄλλης θαῦμα οὕσα παρέχεται τὸν ὄροφον χαλκοῦν: οὕτω καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι οὐκ ἂν ἄπο γε τοῦ εικότος εἴη γενέσθαι χαλκοῦν.

[5.11] It is no wonder that the third temple was made of bronze, seeing that Acrisius made a bedchamber of bronze for his daughter, the Lacedaemonians still possess a sanctuary of Athena of the Bronze House, and the Roman forum, a marvel for its size and style, possesses a roof of bronze. So it would not be unlikely that a temple of bronze was made for Apollo.

[12] τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα με οὐκ ἔπειθεν ὁ λόγος ἢ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ναὸν τέχνην εἶναι ἢ τὰ ἐς τὰς ᾠδοὺς τὰς χρυσᾶς, ἃ δὴ Πίνδαρος ἥσεν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ ναῷ: "χρύσειαι δ' ἐξύπερθ' αἰετοῦ

ἄειδον Κηληδόνες.

"Pindar, work unknown οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐς μίμησιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Σειρήνων ἐποίησεν: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τρόπον ὄντινα ἀφανισθῆναι συνέπεσε τῷ ναῷ, κατὰ ταῦτα εἰρημένα εὑρισκον: καὶ γὰρ ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς τακῆναι λέγουσιν.

[5.12] The rest of the story I cannot believe, either that the temple was the work of Hephaestus, or the legend about the golden singers, referred to by Pindar in his verses about this bronze temple:—

Above the pediment sang Golden Charmers. Pindar, work unknown

These words, it seems to me, are but an imitation of Homer's account of the Sirens. Neither did I find the accounts agree of the way this temple disappeared. Some say that it fell into a chasm in the earth, others that it was melted by fire.

[13] τέταρτος δὲ ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου μὲν εἰργάσθη καὶ Ἀγαμήδους, λίθου δὲ αὐτὸν

ποιηθῆναι μνημονεύουσι: κατεκαύθη δὲ Ἐρξικλείδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, πρώτη δὲ τῆς ὀγδότης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτει καὶ πεντηκοστῇ, ἣν Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκα Διόγνητος. τὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῷ θεῷ ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησαν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες χρημάτων, ἀρχιτέκτων δέ τις Σπίνθαρος ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Κορίνθιος.

[5.13] The fourth temple was made by Trophonius and Agamedes; the tradition is that it was made of stone. It was burnt down in the archonship of Erxicleides at Athens, in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, when Diognetus of Crotona was victorious. The modern temple was built for the god by the Amphictyons from the sacred treasures, and the architect was one Spintharus of Corinth.

6. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαιοτάτην οἰκισθῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Παρνασσοῦ, Κλεοδώρας δὲ εἶναι νύμφης παῖδα αὐτόν: καὶ οἱ πατέρας, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων, Ποσειδῶνά τε θεὸν καὶ

Κλέοπομπον ἄνδρα ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τῷ τε ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα τεθῆναι λέγουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Παρνασσίαν ὀνομασθῆναι νάπην: τῶν πετομένων τε ὀρνίθων * * τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαντεῖαν γενέσθαι Παρνασσοῦ τὸ εὔρημα.

[6.1] VI. They say that the oldest city was founded here by Parnassus, a son of Cleodora, a nymph. Like the other heroes, as they are called, he had two fathers; one they say was the god Poseidon, the human father being Cleopompus. After this Parnassus were named, they say, both the mountain and also the Parnassian glen. Augury from flying birds was, it is said, a discovery of Parnassus.

[2] ταύτην μὲν οὖν κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων τῶν κατὰ Δευκαλίωνα συμβάντων: τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι διαφυγεῖν τὸν χειμῶνα ἠδυνήθησαν, λύκων ὠρυγαῖς ἀπεσώθησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τὰ ἄκρα ὑπὸ ἡγεμόσι τῆς πορείας τοῖς θηρίοις, πόλιν δὲ ἦν ἔκτισαν ἐκάλεσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Λυκώρειαν.

[6.2] Now this city, so the story goes on, was flooded by the rains that fell in the time of Deucalion. Such of the inhabitants as were able to escape the storm were led by the howls of wolves to safety on the top of Parnassus, being led on their way by these beasts, and on this account they called the city that they founded Lycoreia (Mountainwolf-city).

[3] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος διάφορος λόγος τῷ προτέρῳ, Ἀπόλλωνι ἐκ νύμφης Κωρυκίας γενέσθαι Λύκωρον, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Λυκώρου πόλιν Λυκώρειαν, τὸ ἄντρον δὲ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ Κωρύκιον ἀπὸ τῆς νύμφης. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, Κελαινῶ θυγατέρα Ὑάμῳ τῷ Λυκώρου γενέσθαι, Δελφὸν δέ, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶ, Κελαινοῦς τε αὐτὸν τῆς Ὑάμου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι.

[6.3] Another and different legend is current that Apollo had a son Lycorus by a

nymph, Corycia, and that after Lycorus was named the city Lycoreia, and after the nymph the Corycian cave. It is also said that Celaeno was daughter to Hyamus, son of Lycorus, and that Delphus, from whom comes the present name of the city, was a son of Celaeno, daughter of Hyamus, by Apollo.

[4] οἱ δὲ Καστάλιόν τε ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα καὶ θυγατέρα ἐθέλουσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Θυίαν, καὶ ἱερᾶσθαι τε τὴν Θυίαν Διονύσῳ πρῶτον καὶ ὄργια ἀγαγεῖν τῷ θεῷ: ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ὅσαι τῷ Διονύσῳ μαίνονται Θυιάδας καλεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων: Ἀπόλλωνος δ' οὖν παῖδα καὶ Θυίας νομίζουσιν εἶναι Δελφόν. οἱ δὲ μητρὸς μὲν Μελαίνης φασιν αὐτόν, θυγατρὸς Κηφισοῦ.

[6.4] Others maintain that Castalius, an aboriginal, had a daughter Thyia, who was the first to be priestess of Dionysus and celebrate orgies in honor of the god. It is said that later on men called after her Thyiads all women who rave in honor of Dionysus. At any rate they hold that Delphus was a son of Apollo and Thyia. Others say that his mother was Melaena, daughter of Cephisus.

[5] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Πυθῶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ Δελφοὺς μόνον ἐκάλεσαν οἱ περιοικοῦντες, καθὰ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐν καταλόγῳ Φωκέων ἐστίν. οἱ μὲν δὴ γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πάντα ἐθέλοντες παῖδα εἶναι Δελφοῦ Πύθην καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου βασιλεύσαντος γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἤγηνται: λόγος δὲ ὃς ἔκει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς, τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοξευθέντα σήπεσθαι φησιν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι Πυθῶ: πύθεσθαι γὰρ δὴ τὰ σηπόμενα οἱ τότε ἔλεγον, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα Ὅμηρος πεποίηκεν ὥς ἡ τῶν Σειρήνων νῆσος ἀνάπλεως ὀστέων εἴη, ὅτι οἱ τῆς ᾠδῆς αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες ἐπύθοντο ἄνθρωποι.

[6.5] Afterwards the dwellers around called the city Pytho, as well as Delphi, just as Homer so calls it in the list of the Phocians. Those who would find pedigrees for everything think that Pythes was a son of Delphus, and that because he was king the city was called Pytho. But the most widespread tradition has it that the victim of Apollo's arrows rotted here, and that this was the reason why the city received the name Pytho. For the men of those days used pythesthai for the verb "to rot," and hence Homer in his poem says that the island of the Sirens was full of bones, because the men who heard their singing rotted (epythonto).

[6] τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ποιηταὶ μὲν δράκοντα εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μαντεῖῳ φύλακα ὑπὸ Γῆς τετάχθαι φασί: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς Κριοῦ δυναστεύοντος ἄνδρὸς περὶ Εὐβοίαν παῖς γένοιτο ὑβριστής, καὶ ἐσύλησε μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ οἴκους ἀνδρῶν εὐδαιμόνων. ὥς δὲ ἐπεστράτεψε καὶ δευτέρον, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Δελφοὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἰκέτευον ἀμῦναι σφισι τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον:

[6.6] The poets say that the victim of Apollo was a dragon posted by Earth to be a guard for the oracle. It is also said that he was a violent son of Crius, a man with authority around Euboea. He pillaged the sanctuary of the god, and he

also pillaged the houses of rich men. But when he was making a second expedition, the Delphians besought Apollo to keep from them the danger that threatened them.

[7] καὶ ἡ Φημονόη πρόμαντις τηνικαῦτα οὕσα ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ σφίσιν ἔχρησεν: ἄγχοῦ δὴ βαρὺν ἰὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι Φοῖβος ἐφήσει

σίντη Παρνησσοῖο: φόνου δέ ἐ Κρήσιοι ἄνδρες

χεῖρας ἀγιστεύουσιν: τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται.

“

[6.7] Phemonoe, the prophetess of that day, gave them an oracle in hexameter verse:—

At close quarters a grievous arrow shall Apollo shoot

At the spoiler of Parnassus; and of his blood-guilt

The Cretans shall cleanse his hands; but the renown shall never die.

7. εἰκε δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι πλείστον ἦδη. οὕτως τε ὁ Εὐβοεὺς ληστής καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Φλεγυῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δυνάμεως μοῖρα τῆς Ξέρξου, καὶ οἱ χρόνον τε ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐν Φωκεῦσι δυνάσται, καὶ ἡ Γαλατῶν στρατιά. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα οὐδὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἐς πάντα ὀλιγορίας ἀπειράτως ἔξειν, ὃς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πεντακοσίας θεῶν τε ἀναμῖξ ἀφείλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς.

[7.1] VII. It seems that from the beginning the sanctuary at Delphi has been plotted against by a vast number of men. Attacks were made against it by this Euboean pirate, and years afterwards by the Phlegyan nation; furthermore by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, by a portion of the army of Xerxes, by the Phocian chieftains, whose attacks on the wealth of the god were the longest and fiercest, and by the Gallic invaders. It was fated too that Delphi was to suffer from the universal irreverence of Nero, who robbed Apollo of five hundred bronze statues, some of gods, some of men.

PYTHIAN GAMES, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2] ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἀγώνισμα γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσι καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ πρῶτον ἄθλα ἔθεσαν, ἅσαι ὕμνον ἐς τὸν θεόν: καὶ ἦσε καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἄδων Χρυσόθεμις ἐκ Κρήτης, οὗ δὴ ὁ πατήρ λέγεται Καρμάνωρ καθῆραι Ἀπόλλωνα. Χρυσοθέμιδος δὲ ὕστερον Φιλάμμωνα τε ᾠδῇ μνημονεύουσι νικήσαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Θάμυριν τὸν Φιλάμμωνος. Ὀρφέα δὲ σεμνολογία τῇ ἐπὶ τελεταῖς καὶ ὑπὸ φρονήματος τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ Μουσαῖον τῇ ἐς πάντα μιμήσει τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι φασιν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι μουσικῆς ἐξετάζεσθαι.

[7.2] The oldest contest and the one for which they first offered prizes was, according to tradition, the singing of a hymn to the god. The man who sang and won the prize was Chrysothemis of Crete, whose father Carmanor is said

to have cleansed Apollo. After Chrysothemis, says tradition, Philammon won with a song, and after him his son Thamyras. But they say that Orpheus, a proud man and conceited about his mysteries, and Musaeus, who copied Orpheus in everything, refused to submit to the competition in musical skill.

[3] φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθῆρα ἀνελέσθαι Πυθικὴν νίκην μέγα καὶ ἡδὺ φωνοῦντα, ἐπεὶ ἄδειν γε αὐτὸν οὐχ αὐτοῦ τὴν ᾠδὴν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος ἅτε οὐ κιθαρίζειν ὁμοῦ τῇ ᾠδῇ δεδιδαγμένον. Ὅμηρος δὲ ἀφίκετο μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐρησόμενος ὅποσα καὶ ἐδεῖτο, ἔμελλε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κιθαρίζειν διδασκόμεντι ἀχρεῖον τὸ μάθημα ὑπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς συμφορᾶς γενήσεσθαι.

[7.3] They say too that Eleuther won a Pythian victory for his loud and sweet voice, for the song that he sang was not of his own composition. The story is that Hesiod too was debarred from competing because he had not learned to accompany his own singing on the harp. Homer too came to Delphi to inquire about his needs, but even though he had learned to play the harp, he would have found the skill useless owing to the loss of his eye-sight.

PYTHIAN GAMES, HISTORY

[4] τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδόης, ἣν Γλαυκίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησε, ταύτης ἔτει τρίτῳ ἄθλα ἔθεσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες κιθαρωδίας μὲν καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλωδίας ἀγώνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν: ἀνηγορεύθησαν δὲ νικῶντες Κεφαλὴν τε Μελάμπους κιθαρωδία καὶ αὐλωδὸς Ἀρκὰς Ἐχέμβροτος, Σακάδας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐλοῖς: ἀνείλετο δὲ ὁ Σακάδας οὗτος καὶ ἄλλας δύο τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύτης πυθιάδας.

[7.4] In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, at which Glaucias of Crotona was victorious, the Amphictyons held contests for harping as from the beginning, but added competitions for flute-playing and for singing to the flute. The conquerors proclaimed were Melampus, a Cephallenian, for harping, and Echembrotus, an Arcadian, for singing to the flute, with Sacadas of Argos for flute-playing. This same Sacadas won victories at the next two Pythian festivals.

[5] ἔθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄθλα τότε ἀθληταῖς πρῶτον, τὰ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πλην τεθρίππου καὶ αὐτοὶ νομοθετήσαντες δολίχου καὶ διαύλου παισὶν εἶναι δρόμον. δευτέρᾳ δὲ πυθιάδι οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄθλοις ἐκάλεσαν ἔτι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, στεφανίτην δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τούτου κατεστήσαντο: καὶ αὐλωδίαν τότε κατέλυσαν, καταγόντες οὐκ εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα εὐφημον: ἡ γὰρ αὐλωδία μέλη τε ἦν αὐλῶν τὰ σκυθρωπότατα καὶ ἐλεγεία θρηνοὶ προσαδόμενα τοῖς αὐλοῖς.

[7.5] On that occasion they also offered for the first time prizes for athletes, the competitions being the same as those at Olympia, except the four-horse chariot, and the Delphians themselves added to the contests running-races for boys, the long course and the double course. At the second Pythian Festival they no longer offered prizes for events, and hereafter gave a crown for

victory. On this occasion they no longer included singing to the flute, thinking that the music was ill-omened to listen to. For the tunes of the flute were most dismal, and the words sung to the tunes were lamentations.

[6] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ἐχεμβρότου τὸ ἀνάθημα, τρίπους χαλκοῦς ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν Θήβαις: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὁ τρίπους εἶχεν:”Ἐχεμβροτος Ἀρκὰς θῆκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ

νικήσας τόδ’ ἄγαλμ’ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἀέθλοις,

”Ἐλλησι δ’ αἰείδων μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους.

“κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς αὐλῳδίας ἐπαύσθη τὸ ἀγώνισμα: προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἵππων δρόμον, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι Κλεισθένης ὁ Σικυῶνος τυραννήσας.

[7.6] What I say is confirmed by the votive offering of Echembrotus, a bronze tripod dedicated to the Heracles at Thebes. The tripod has as its inscription:—

Echembrotus of Arcadia dedicated this pleasant gift to Heracles
When he won a victory at the games of the Amphictyons,
Singing for the Greeks tunes and lamentations.

In this way the competition in singing to the flute was dropped. But they added a chariot-race, and Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race.

[7] ὀγδόῃ δὲ πυθιάδι προσενομοθέτησαν κιθαριστὰς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κρουμάτων τῶν ἀφώνων: καὶ Τεγέατης ἐστεφανοῦτο Ἀγέλαος. τρίτῃ δὲ πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι προστιθέασιν ὀπλίτην δρόμον: καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Τιμαίνετος ἐκ Φλιοῦντος ἀνείλετο τὴν δάφνην, Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὕστερον πέντε ἢ Δαμάρετος Ἡραιεὺς ἐνίκησεν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πυθιάδι καὶ συνωρίδος εἶναι κατεστήσαντο δρόμον: καὶ Ἐξηκεστίδου Φωκέως ἐνίκησεν ἢ συνωρίς. πέμπτῃ δὲ πυθιάδι ἀπὸ ταύτης πώλων ἐξευξαν ὑπὸ ἄρματι: καὶ παρέδραμεν Ὀρφώνδα Θηβαίου τέθριππον.

[7.7] At the eighth Pythian Festival they added a contest for harpists playing without singing; Agelaus of Tegea was crowned. At the twenty-third Pythian Festival they added a race in armour. For this Timaenetus of Phlius won the laurel, five Olympiads after Damaretus of Heraea was victorious. At the forty-eighth Pythian Festival they established a race for two-horse chariots, and the chariot won of Execestides the Phocian. At the fifth Festival after this they yoked foals to a chariot, and the chariot of Orphondas of Thebes came in first.

[8] παγκράτιον δ’ ἐν παισὶ καὶ συνωρίδα τε πώλων καὶ πῶλον κέλητα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον κατεδέξαντο Ἡλείων, τὸ μὲν πρώτη πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα, καὶ Ἰολαΐδας ἐνίκα Θηβαῖος: διαλιπόντες δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης μίαν κέλητι ἔθεσαν δρόμον πῶλῳ, ἐνάτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα συνωρίδι πωλικῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πῶλῳ τῷ κέλητι Λυκόρμας ἀνηγορεύθη Λαρισαῖος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ συνωρίδι Μακεδών: ἔχαιρον γὰρ δὴ Μακεδόνες οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλούμενοι

βασιλεῖς, καθάπερ γε ἦσαν. δάφνης δὲ στέφανος ἐπὶ τῶν Πυθίων τῇ νίκῃ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ τῆς Λάδωνος θυγατρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐρασθῆναι κατέσχηκεν ἡ φήμη.

[7.8] The pancratium for boys, a race for a chariot drawn by two foals, and a race for ridden foals, were many years afterwards introduced from Elis. The first was brought in at the sixty-first Pythian Festival, and Iolaidas of Thebes was victorious. At the next Festival but one they held a race for a ridden foal, and at the sixty-ninth Festival a race for a chariot drawn by two foals; the victor proclaimed for the former was Lycormas of Larisa, for the latter Ptolemy the Macedonian. For the kings of Egypt liked to be called Macedonians, as in fact they were.

The reason why a crown of laurel is the prize for a Pythian victory is in my opinion simply and solely because the prevailing tradition has it that Apollo fell in love with the daughter of Ladon.

AMPHITYONIC LEAGUE, MYTHICAL HISTORY

8. καταστήσασθαι δὲ συνέδριον ἐνταῦθα Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Δευκαλίωνος νομίζουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἐπικλήσιν Ἀμφικτύονας γενέσθαι, Ἀνδροτίων δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔφη συγγραφῇ ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἄρχῃς ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δελφοὺς παρὰ τῶν προσοικούντων συνεδρεύοντες, καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν Ἀμφικτίονας τοὺς συνελθόντας, ἐκνικῆσαι δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὸ νῦν σφισιν ὄνομα.

[8.1] VIII. Some are of opinion that the assembly of the Greeks that meets at Delphi was established by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, and that the delegates were styled Amphictyons after him. But Androtion, in his history of Attica, says that originally the councillors came to Delphi from the neighboring states, that the deputies were styled Amphictions (neighbors), but that as time went on their modern name prevailed.

[2] ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἀμφικτύονος αὐτοῦ φασιν ἐς συνέδριον κοινὸν τοσάδε γένη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ συναχθῆναι, Ἴωνας Δόλοπας Θεσσαλοὺς Αἰνιᾶνας Μάγνητας Μαλιέας Φθιώτας Δωριεῖς Φωκέας Λοκροὺς τῇ Φωκίδι ὁμόρους ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι: καταλαβόντων δὲ Φωκέων τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὕστερον δεκάτῳ ἔτει λαβόντος πέρας τοῦ πολέμου, μεταβολὴν καὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἔσχε. Μακεδόνες μὲν γὰρ τελεῖν ἐς Ἀμφικτύονας εὗραντο, Φωκέων δὲ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετασχόντες ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμφικτυονίας, οἱ μὲν τοῦ τολμήματος ἕνεκα οἱ Φωκεῖς, οἱ δὲ συμμαχίας εὗραντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῆς Φωκέων ζημίαν.

[8.2] They say that Amphictyon himself summoned to the common assembly the following tribes of the Greek people: — Ionians, Dolopes, Thessalians, Aenianians, Magnesians, Malians, Phthiotians, Dorians, Phocians, Locrians who border on Phocis, living at the bottom of Mount Cnemis.

AMPHICTYONIC LEAGUE, HISTORY

But when the Phocians seized the sanctuary, and the war came to an end nine years afterwards, there came a change in the Amphictyonic League. The Macedonians managed to enter it, while the Phocian nation and a section of the Dorians, namely the Lacedaemonians, lost their membership, the Phocians because of their rash crime, the Lacedaemonians as a penalty for allying themselves with the Phocians.

[3] Βρέννου δὲ τὸν Γαλατῶν στρατὸν ἀγαγόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς προθυμίαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Φωκεῖς πλείστην τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ παρέσχοντο, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου μετασχεῖν Ἀμφικτυονίας αὖθις καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἀξίωμα αὐτοῖς ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον. βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὐγουστος μετεῖναι καὶ Νικοπολίταις τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἠθέλησε: Μάγνητας μὲν οὖν καὶ Μαλιεῖς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Φθιώτας Θεσσαλοῖς συντελεῖν, τὰς ψήφους δὲ ὅσαι τούτων τε καὶ Δολόπων — οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν Δολόπων γένος — Νικοπολίτας φέρειν.

[8.3] When Brennus led the Gallic army against Delphi, no Greeks showed greater zeal for the war than the Phocians, and for this conduct of theirs recovered their membership of the League, as well as their old reputation. The emperor Augustus willed that the Nicopolitans, whose city is near Actium, should be members of the Amphictyonic League, that the Magnesians moreover and the Malians, together with the Aenianians and Phthiotians, should be numbered with the Thessalians, and that all their votes, together with those of the Dolopes, who were no longer a separate people, should be assigned to the Nicopolitans.

[4] οἱ δὲ Ἀμφικτύονες οἱ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τριάκοντα ἀριθμῷ ἦσαν: ἐκ Νικοπόλεως μὲν καὶ Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλῶν, ἀπὸ ἐκάστων ἀριθμῷ ἦσαν ἕξ, ἐκ δὲ Βοιωτῶν — Θεσσαλίαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα ὥκησαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο — καὶ ἐκ Φωκέων τε καὶ Δελφῶν, παρὰ τούτων δύο ἐκάστων: εἷς δ' ἐκ Δωρίδος τῆς ἀρχαίας.

[8.4] The Amphictyons to-day number thirty. Nicopolis, Macedonia and Thessaly each send six deputies; the Boeotians, who in more ancient days inhabited Thessaly and were then called Aeolians, the Phocians and the Delphians, each send two; ancient Doris sends one.

[5] πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ Λοκροὶ οἱ τε καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι καὶ οἱ πέραν Εὐβοίας ἓνα ἑκάτεροι, καὶ Εὐβοεὺς ἐστὶν εἷς: Πελοποννησίων δὲ ἐξ Ἄργους καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ Κορίνθου σὺν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐστὶν εἷς καὶ εἷς Ἀθηναῖος. αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις Ἀθῆναι καὶ Δελφοὶ καὶ ἡ Νικόπολις, αὗται μὲν ἀποστέλλουσι συνεδρεύοντας ἐς Ἀμφικτυονίαν πᾶσαν: ἀπὸ δὲ ἐθνῶν τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐκάστη πόλει ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ ἐν χρόνου περιόδῳ συντελεῖν ἔστιν.

[8.5] The Ozolian Locrians, and the Locrians opposite Euboea, send one each; there is also one from Euboea. Of the Peloponnesians, the Argives, Sicyonians, Corinthians and Megarians send one, as Nicopolis send deputies

to every meeting of the Amphictyonic League; but each city of the nations mentioned has the privilege of sending members in turn after the lapse of periodic intervals.

DELPHI

[6] ἐσελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν ἐφεξῆς ναοί: καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτῶν ἐρείπια ἦν, ὁ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ κενὸς καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἀνδριάντων: ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βασιλευσάντων εἶχεν οὐ πολλῶν τινῶν εἰκόνας, ὁ τέταρτος δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καλεῖται Προνοίας. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τὸ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἀνάθημά ἐστι, μεγέθει τοῦ ἔνδον ἀγάλματος μεῖζον. οἱ δὲ Μεσσαλιῶται Φωκαέων εἰσὶν ἄποικοι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, μοῖρα καὶ αὕτη τῶν ποτε Ἄρπαγον τὸν Μῆδον φυγόντων ἐκ Φωκαίας: γενόμενοι δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπικρατέστεροι Καρχηδονίων τὴν τε γῆν ἦν ἔχουσιν ἐκτίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀφίκοντο εὐδαιμονίας.

[8.6] When you enter the city you see temples in a row. The first of them was in ruins, and the one next to it had neither images nor statues. The third had statues of a few Roman emperors; the fourth is called the temple of Athena Forethought. Of its two images the one in the fore-temple is a votive offering of the Massiliots, and is larger than the one inside the temple. The Massiliots are a colony of Phocaea in Ionia, and their city was founded by some of those who ran away from Phocaea when attacked by Harpagus the Persian. They proved superior to the Carthaginians in a sea war, acquired the territory they now hold, and reached great prosperity.

[7] τῶν μὲν δὴ Μασσαλιωτῶν χαλκοῦν τὸ ἀνάθημά ἐστι: χρυσοῦ δὲ ἀσπίδα ὑπὸ Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Προνοίᾳ δοθεῖσαν, ἐλέγετο ὑπὸ τῶν Δελφῶν ὡς Φιλόμηλος αὐτὴν ἐσύλησε. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Προνοίας Φυλάκου τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος: καὶ ὁ Φύλακος οὗτος ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἔχει φήμην κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατεῖαν σφίσιν ἀμῦναι τὴν Περσῶν.

[8.7] The votive offering of the Massiliots is of bronze. The gold shield given to Athena Forethought by Croesus the Lydian was said by the Delphians to have been stolen by Philomelus. Near the sanctuary of Forethought is a precinct of the hero Phylacus. This Phylacus is reported by the Delphians to have defended them at the time of the Persian invasion.

[8] ἐν δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ πεφυκέναι ποτὲ ἀγρίαν φασὶν ὕλην, καὶ Ὀδυσσεά, ἥνικα ὡς τὸν Αὐτόλυκον ἀφικόμενος μετὰ τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τῶν παίδων ἐθήρευε, τότε αὐτὸν τὸ τραῦμα τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γόνατος ἐνταῦθα σχεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σός. τραπομένῳ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ ὑποκαταβάντι οὐ πλέον ἔμοι δοκεῖν ἢ τρία στάδια, ποταμός ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενος Πλεῖστος: οὗτος ὁ Πλεῖστος ἐπὶ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν καὶ τὴν ταύτην κάτεισι θάλασσαν.

[8.8] They say that in the open part of the gymnasium there once grew a wild wood, and that Odysseus, when as the guest of Autolycus he was hunting with

the sons of Autolycus, received here from the wild boar the wound above the knee. Turning to the left from the gymnasium and going down not more, I think, than three stades, you come to a river named Pleistus. This Pleistus descends to Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and flows into the sea there.

[9] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου τὴν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνιόντι ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Κασταλίας, καὶ πιεῖν ἢ δὴ καὶ λοῦσθαι καλόν. δοῦναι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πηγῇ γυναῖκα λέγουσιν ἐπιχωρίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρα Καστάλιον· Πανύασσις δὲ ὁ Πολυάρχου πεποιηκὼς ἐς Ἡρακλέα ἔπη θυγατέρα Ἀχελώου τὴν Κασταλίαν φησὶν εἶναι. λέγει γὰρ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους·”Παρνησσὸν νιφόεντα θοοῖς διὰ ποσσὶ περήσας

ἵκετο Κασταλίας Ἀχελωΐδος ἄμβροτον ὕδωρ.

“Panyassis, work unknown

[8.9] Ascending from the gymnasium along the way to the sanctuary you reach, on the right of the way, the water of Castalia, which is sweet to drink and pleasant to bathe in. Some say that the spring was named after a native woman, others after a man called Castalius. But Panyassis, son of Polyarchus, who composed an epic poem on Heracles, says that Castalia was a daughter of Achelous. For about Heracles he says:—

Crossing with swift feet snowy Parnassus he reached the immortal water of Castalia, daughter of Achelous. Panyassis, work unknown

[10] ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ Κασταλίᾳ ποταμοῦ δῶρον εἶναι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ. τοῦτο ἐποίησε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν προοιμίῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα· βεβαιοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Λιλαίεις, οἱ ἐς τοῦ Κηφισοῦ τὴν πηγὴν πέμματα ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα νομίζουσιν ἀφιάσιν ἐν τισιν εἰρημέναις ἡμέραις, καὶ αὐθις ἐν τῇ Κασταλίᾳ φασὶν αὐτὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι.

[8.10] I have heard another account, that the water was a gift to Castalia from the river Cephisus. So Alcaeus has it in his prelude to Apollo. The strongest confirmation of this view is a custom of the Lilaeans, who on certain specified days throw into the spring of the Cephisus cakes of the district and other things ordained by use, and it is said that these reappear in Castalia.

9. Δελφοῖς δὲ ἡ πόλις ἄναντες διὰ πάσης παρέχεται σχῆμα, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ τῇ πόλει τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς περίβολος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. οὗτος δὲ μεγέθει μέγας καὶ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ ἁστεώος ἐστί· τέτμηνται δὲ καὶ ἔξοδοι δι’ αὐτοῦ συνεχεῖς. ὅποσα δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων εἶναι μοι λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἐφαίνετο, ποιησόμεθα

αὐτῶν μνήμην.

[9.1] IX. The city of Delphi, both the sacred enclosure of Apollo and the city generally, lies altogether on sloping ground. The enclosure is very large, and is on the highest part of the city. Passages run through it, close to one another. I will mention which of the votive offerings seemed to me most worthy of

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI

[2] ἀθλητὰς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσαι ἀγωνισταὶ μουσικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐγίνοντο μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ, μετὰ τῆς οὐ πάνυ τι ἡγοῦμαι σπουδῆς ἀξίους: ἀθλητὰς δὲ ὅποσοι τι καὶ ὑπελείποντο ἐς δόξαν, ἐν λόγῳ σφᾶς ἐδήλωσα τῷ ἐς Ἡλείους. Φαῦλῳ δὲ Κροτωνιάτῃ — Ὀλυμπίασι μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ νίκη, τὰς δὲ Πυθοῖ πεντάθλου δύο ἀνείλετο καὶ σταδίου τὴν τρίτην: ἐναυμάχησε δὲ καὶ ἐναντία τοῦ Μήδου ναῦν τε παρασκευασάμενος οἰκείαν καὶ Κροτωνιατῶν ὅποσοι ἐπεδήμουν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀνεβίβασεν — τοῦτου ἔστιν ἀνδριάς ἐν Δελφοῖς. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Κροτωνιάτην οὕτως εἶχεν, ἐσελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ τέμενος

[9.2] The athletes and competitors in music that the majority of mankind have neglected, are, I think, scarcely worthy of serious attention; and the athletes who have left a reputation behind them I have set forth in my account of Elis. There is a statue at Delphi of Phaylus of Crotona. He won no victory at Olympia, but his victories at Pytho were two in the pentathlum and one in the foot-race. He also fought at sea against the Persian, in a ship of his own, equipped by himself and manned by citizens of Crotona who were staying in Greece.

[3] χαλκοῦς ταῦρος τέχνη μὲν Θεοπρόπου ἔστιν Αἰγινήτου, Κορκυραίων δὲ ἀνάθημα. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ταῦρος ἐν τῇ Κορκύρᾳ καταλιπὼν τὰς ἄλλας βοῦς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς κατερχόμενος ἐμυκᾶτο ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ: γινομένου δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρᾳ πάσῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάτεισιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ εἶδεν ἰχθύων τῶν θύννων ἀτέκμαρτόν τι ἀριθμῷ πλῆθος.

[9.3] Such is the story of the athlete of Crotona. On entering the enclosure you come to a bronze bull, a votive offering of the Corcyraeans made by Theopropus of Aegina. The story is that in Corcyra a bull, leaving the cows, would go down from the pasture and bellow on the shore. As the same thing happened every day, the herdsman went down to the sea and saw a countless number of tunny-fish.

[4] καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆλα τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορκυραίοις ἐποίησεν: οἱ δὲ — ἐλεῖν γὰρ τοὺς θύννους προαιρούμενοι τὴν ἄλλως ταλαιπωρίαν εἶχον — θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς: καὶ οὕτω Ποσειδῶνι τε ἐκείνον θύουσι τὸν ταῦρον καὶ αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν αἱροῦσι τοὺς ἰχθῦς, καὶ σφισι τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔστιν ἡ δεκάτη τῆς ἄγρας.

[9.4] He reported the matter to the Corcyraeans, who, finding their labour lost in trying to catch the tunnies, sent envoys to Delphi. So they sacrificed the bull to Poseidon, and straightway after the sacrifice they caught the fish, and dedicated their offerings at Olympia and at Delphi with a tithe of their catch.

[5] ἐφεξῆς δὲ Τεγεατῶν ἀναθήματα ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ καὶ Νίκη καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τῶν ἡρώων, Καλλιστώ τε ἡ Λυκάονος καὶ Ἀρκὰς ὁ

ἐπόνυμος τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος παῖδες Ἑλατος καὶ Ἀφείδας καὶ Ἀζάν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Τρίφυλος· τούτῳ δὲ ἦν οὐκ Ἐρατὼ τῷ Τριφύλῳ μήτηρ, ἀλλὰ Λαοδάμεια ἡ Ἀμύκλα τοῦ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι βασιλεύσαντος· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Ἑρασος Τριφύλου παῖς.

[9.5] Next to this are offerings of the Tegeans from spoils of the Lacedaemonians: an Apollo, a Victory, the heroes of the country, Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, Arcas, who gave Arcadia its name, Elatus, Apheidas, and Azan, the sons of Arcas, and also Triphylus. The mother of this Triphylus was not Erato, but Laodameia, the daughter of Amyclas, king of Lacedaemon. There is also a statue dedicated of Erasus, son of Triphylus.

[6] οἱ δὲ εἰργασμένοι τὰ ἀγάλματα Πausανίας ἐστὶν Ἀπολλωνιάτης, οὗτος μὲν τὸν τε Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Καλλιστώ, τὴν δὲ Νίκην καὶ τοῦ Ἀρκάδος τὴν εἰκόνα ὁ Σικυώνιος Δαίδαλος· Ἀντιφάνης δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Σαμόλας Ἀρκάς, οὗτος μὲν τὸν Τρίφυλον καὶ Ἀζάνα, Ἑλατον δὲ καὶ Ἀφείδαντά τε καὶ Ἑρασον ὁ Ἀργεῖος. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ Τεγεᾶται ἔπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοῦς, Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτε ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐστρατεύσαντο αἰχμαλώτους ἐλόντες:

[9.6] They who made the images are as follows: The Apollo and Callisto were made by Pausanias of Apollonia; the Victory and the likeness of Arcas by Daedalus of Sicyon; Triphylus and Azan by Samolas the Arcadian; Elatus, Apheidas and Erasus by Antiphanes of Argos. These offerings were sent by the Tegeans to Delphi after they took prisoners the Lacedaemonians that attacked their city.

[7] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τούτων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Διόσκουροι καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Λύσανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Ἀγίας τε ὃς τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τότε ἐμαντεύετο καὶ Ἑρμῶν ὁ τὴν ναῦν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν στρατηγίδα κυβερνῶν.

[9.7] Opposite these are offerings of the Lacedaemonians from spoils of the Athenians: the Dioscuri, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and beside these Poseidon, Lysander, son of Aristocritus, represented as being crowned by Poseidon, Agias, soothsayer to Lysander on the occasion of his victory, and Hermon, who steered his flag-ship.

[8] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἑρμῶνα Θεόκοσμος ποιήσιν ἔμελλεν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἅτε ὑπὸ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐγγραφέντα ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν· οἱ δὲ Διόσκουροι Ἀντιφάνους εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ μάντις τέχνη Πίσωνος ἐκ Καλαυρείας τῆς Τροιζηνίων· Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ καὶ Δαμέας, ὁ μὲν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τε καὶ Ποσειδῶνα εἰργάσατο, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Λύσανδρον, Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν Δία:

[9.8] This statue of Hermon was not unnaturally made by Theocosmus of Megara, who had been enrolled as a citizen of that city. The Dioscuri were made by Antiphanes of Argos; the soothsayer by Pison, from Calauria, in the

territory of Troezen; the Artemis, Poseidon and also Lysander by Dameas; the Apollo and Zeus by Athenodorus. The last two artists were Arcadians from Cleitor.

[9] οὗτοι δὲ Ἀρκάδες εἰσὶν ἐκ Κλείτορος. ἀνάκεινται δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν τῶν κατελεγμένων ὅσοι συγκατειργάσαντο τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἢ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχησάντων, εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε: Ἄρακος μὲν καὶ Ἐριάνθης, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, ὁ δὲ Ἐριάνθης Βοιωτίας * * * ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίμαντος, ἐντεῦθεν μὲν Ἀστυκράτης, Χῖοι δὲ Κηφισοκλῆς καὶ Ἑρμόφαντός τε καὶ Ἰκέσιος, Τίμαρχος δὲ καὶ Διαγόρας Ῥόδιοι, Κνίδιος δὲ Θεόδαμος, ἐκ δὲ Ἐφέσου Κιμμέριος, καὶ Μιλήσιος Αἰαντίδης.

[9.9] Behind the offerings enumerated are statues of those who, whether Spartans or Spartan allies, assisted Lysander at Aegospotami. They are these:—Aracus of Lacedaemon, Erianthes a Boeotian . . . above Mimas, whence came Astycrates, Cephisocles, Hermophantus and Hicesius of Chios; Timarchus and Diagoras of Rhodes; Theodamus of Cnidus; Cimmerius of Ephesus and Aeantides of Miletus.

[10] τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐποίησε Τίσανδρος, τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς Ἄλυπος Σικυώνιος, Θεόπομπον Μύνδιον καὶ Κλεομήδην Σάμιον καὶ ἐξ Εὐβοίας Ἀριστοκλέα τε Καρύστιον καὶ Αὐτόνομον Ἐρετριά καὶ Ἀριστόφαντον Κορίνθιον καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον Τροιζήνιον καὶ ἐξ Ἐπιδάουρου Δίωνα τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι. ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων Ἀξιόνικός ἐστιν Ἀχαιὸς ἐκ Πελλήνης, ἐκ δὲ Ἑρμιόνος Θεάρης, καὶ Φωκεὺς τε Πυρριάς καὶ Κώμων Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Ἀγασιμένης Σικυώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Κορίνθου τε καὶ Λευκάδος Τηλυκράτης καὶ Πυθόδοτος Κορίνθιος καὶ Ἀμβρακιώτης Εὐαντίδας: τελευτᾷ δὲ Ἐπικυδίδας καὶ Ἐτεόνικος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι: Πατροκλέους δὲ καὶ Κανάχου φασὶν ἔργα.

[9.10] These were made by Tisander, but the next were made by Alypus of Sicyon, namely:—Theopompus the Myndian, Cleomedes of Samos, the two Euboeans Aristocles of Carystus and Autonomus of Eretria, Aristophantus of Corinth, Apollodorus of Troezen, and Dion from Epidaurus in Argolis. Next to these come the Achaean Axionicus from Pellene, Theares of Hermion, Pyrrhias the Phocian, Comon of Megara, Agasimenes of Sicyon, Telycrates the Leucadian, Pythodotus of Corinth and Euantidas the Ambraciot; last come the Lacedaemonians Epicydidas and Eteonicus. These, they say, are works of Patrocles and Canachus.

[11] τὴν δὲ πληγὴν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς οὐ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου συμβῆναι σφισιν ὁμολογοῦσι: προδοθῆναι γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγησάντων, Τυδέα δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἀδείμαντον οἱ τὰ δῶρα ἐδέξαντο παρὰ Λυσάνδρου. καὶ ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ λόγου Σιβύλλης παρέχονται τὸν χρησμόν: “καὶ τότε Ἀθηναίοισι βαρύντονα κήδεα θήσει

Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, οὐπὲρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,

νηυσὶ φερεπτολέμοισι μάχην καὶ δηιοτῆτα

ὀλλυμέναις δολεροῖσι τρόποις, κακότητι νομήων.

“τὰ δὲ ἕτερα ἐκ Μουσαίου χρησμῶν μνημονεύουσι:”καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισιν ἐπέρχεται ἄγριος ὄμβρος

ἡγεμόνων κακότητι, παραιφασίη δέ τις ἔσται

ἥττης: οὐ λήσουσι πόλιν, τίσουσι δὲ ποινήν.

“

[9.11] The Athenians refuse to confess that their defeat at Aegospotami was fairly inflicted, maintaining that they were betrayed by Tydeus and Adeimantus, their generals, who had been bribed, they say, with money by Lysander. As a proof of this assertion they quote the following oracle of the Sibyl:—

And then on the Athenians will be laid grievous troubles
By Zeus the high-thunderer, whose might is the greatest,
On the war-ships battle and fighting,
As they are destroyed by treacherous tricks, through the baseness of the captains.

The other evidence that they quote is taken from the oracles of Musaeus:—

For on the Athenians comes a wild rain
Through the baseness of their leaders, but some consolation will there be
For the defeat; they shall not escape the notice of the city, but shall pay the penalty.

[12] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω: τὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καλουμένης Θυρέας Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγῶνα καὶ Ἀργείων, Σίβυλλα μὲν καὶ τοῦτον προθέσπισεν ὥς συμβήσοιτο ἐξ ἴσου ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἐσχηκέναι πλεόν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ χαλκοῦν ἵππον — τὸν δούρειον δηθεν — ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς: τὸ δὲ ἔργον Ἀντιφάνους ἐστὶν Ἀργείου.

[9.12] So much for this belief. The struggle for the district called Thyrea between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives was also foretold by the Sibyl, who said that the battle would be drawn. But the Argives claimed that they had the better of the engagement, and sent to Delphi a bronze horse, supposed to be the wooden horse of Troy. It is the work of Antiphanes of Argos.

10. τῷ βάρῳ δὲ τῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον δὴ ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ δεκάτης τοῦ Μαραθωνίου ἔργου τεθῆναι τὰς εἰκόνας: εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ἀνὴρ τῶν στρατηγησάντων Μιλιτιάδης: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων Ἐρεχθεὺς τε καὶ Κέκροψ καὶ Πανδίων, οὗτοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεῶς τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐκ Μήδας Ἡρακλεῖ γενόμενος τῆς Φύλαντος, ἔτι δὲ Αἰγεὺς τε καὶ παῖδων τῶν Θησεῶς Ἀκάμας, οὗτοι μὲν καὶ φυλαῖς Ἀθήνησιν ὀνόματα κατὰ μάντευμα ἔδοσαν τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν: ὁ δὲ Μελάνθου Κόδρος καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Νηλεὺς ἐστὶν, οὗτοι δὲ οὐκέτι τῶν ἐπωνύμων εἰσὶ.

[10.1] X. On the base below the wooden horse is an inscription which says that the statues were dedicated from a tithe of the spoils taken in the engagement at Marathon. They represent Athena, Apollo, and Miltiades, one of the generals. Of those called heroes there are Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochus, son of Heracles by Meda, daughter of Phylas, as well as Aegeus and Acamas, one of the sons of Theseus. These heroes gave names, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, to tribes at Athens. Codrus however, the son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Neleus, these are not givers of names to tribes.

[2] τοὺς μὲν δὴ κατεिलεγμένους Φειδίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ δεκάτη καὶ οὗτοι τῆς μάχης εἰσίν: Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα Δημήτριον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς, τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ εὐνοία τινὶ ἐς αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τῷ ἐς αὐτοὺς δέει.

[10.2] The statues enumerated were made by Pheidias, and really are a tithe of the spoils of the battle. But the statues of Antigonos, of his son Demetrius, and of Ptolemy the Egyptian, were sent to Delphi by the Athenians afterwards. The statue of the Egyptian they sent out of good-will; those of the Macedonians were sent because of the dread that they inspired.

[3] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματά ἐστιν Ἀργείων, οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐς Θήβας ὁμοῦ Πολυνείκει στρατευσάντων, Ἄδραστός τε ὁ Ταλαοῦ καὶ Τυδεὺς Οἰνέως καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Προΐτου καὶ Καπανεὺς Ἰππόνου καὶ Ἐτέοκλος ὁ Ἴφιος, Πολυνείκης τε καὶ ὁ Ἱπομέδων ἀδελφῆς Ἀδράστου παῖς: Ἀμφιαράου δὲ καὶ ἄρμα ἐγγὺς πεποιῆται καὶ ἐφεστηκὸς Βάτων ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι ἡνίοχός τε τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ καὶ ἄλλως προσήκων κατὰ οἰκειότητα: τελευταῖος δὲ Ἀλιθέρης ἐστὶν αὐτῶν.

[10.3] Near the horse are also other votive offerings of the Argives, likenesses of the captains of those who with Polyneices made war on Thebes: Adrastus, the son of Talaus, Tydeus, son of Oeneus, the descendants of Proetus, namely, Capaneus, son of Hipponous, and Eteoclus, son of Iphis, Polyneices, and Hippomedon, son of the sister of Adrastus. Near is represented the chariot of Amphiaraus, and in it stands Baton, a relative of Amphiaraus who served as his charioteer. The last of them is Alitherses.

[4] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ὑπατοδώρου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονός εἰσιν ἔργα, καὶ ἐποίησαν σφᾶς, ὥς αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἦντινα ἐν Οἰνῇ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπίκουροι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνίκησαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔργου καὶ τοὺς Ἐπιγόνους ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι: κεῖνται γὰρ δὴ εἰκόνες καὶ τούτων, Σθένελος καὶ Ἀλκμαίων, κατὰ ἡλικίαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρὸ Ἀμφιλόχου τετιμημένος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Πρόμαχος καὶ Θέρσανδρος καὶ Αἰγιαλεὺς τε καὶ Διομήδης: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ Διομήδους καὶ τοῦ Αἰγιαλέως ἐστὶν Εὐρύαλος.

[10.4] These are works of Hypatodorus and Aristogeiton, who made them, as the Argives themselves say, from the spoils of the victory which they and their Athenian allies won over the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe in Argive territory.

From spoils of the same action, it seems to me, the Argives set up statues of those whom the Greeks call the Epigoni. For there stand statues of these also, Sthenelus, Alcmaeon, who I think was honored before Amphilochous on account of his age, Promachus also, Thersander, Aegialeus and Diomedes. Between Diomedes and Aegialeus is Euryalus.

[5] ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνδριάντες τε εἰσὶν ἄλλοι: τούτους δὲ ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσηνίων Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδῃ μετασχόντες. ἡρώων δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες, Δαναὸς μὲν βασιλέων ἰσχύσας τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ μέγιστον, Ὑπερμήστρα δὲ ἄτε καθαρὰ χεῖρας μόνῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν: παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ Λυγκεὺς καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ἐφεξῆς αὐτῶν γένος τὸ ἐς Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ ἔτι πρότερον καθῆκον ἐς Περσέα.

[10.5] Opposite them are other statues, dedicated by the Argives who helped the Thebans under Epaminondas to found Messene. The statues are of heroes: Danaus, the most powerful king of Argos, and Hypermnestra, for she alone of her sisters kept her hands undefiled. By her side is Lynceus also, and the whole family of them to Heracles, and further back still to Perseus.

[6] Ταραντίνων δὲ οἱ ἵπποι οἱ χαλκοῖ καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι γυναῖκες ἀπὸ Μεσσαπίων εἰσὶν, ὁμόρων τῇ Ταραντίνων βαρβάρων, Ἀγελάδα δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀργείου. Τάραντα δὲ ἀπόκισαν μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο Σπαρτιάτης Φάλανθος. στελλομένῳ δὲ ἐς ἀποικίαν τῷ Φαλάνθῳ λόγιον ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν: ὕετο αὐτὸν αἰσθόμενον ὑπὸ αἴθρα, τηνικαῦτα καὶ χώραν κτήσεσθαι καὶ πόλιν.

[10.6] The bronze horses and captive women dedicated by the Tarentines were made from spoils taken from the Messapians, a non-Greek people bordering on the territory of Tarentum, and are works of Ageladas the Argive. Tarentum is a colony of the Lacedaemonians, and its founder was Phalanthus, a Spartan. On setting out to found a colony Phalanthus received an oracle from Delphi, declaring that when he should feel rain under a cloudless sky (aethra), he would then win both a territory and a city.

[7] τὸ μὲν δὴ παραντίκα οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τὸ μάντευμα ἐπισκεψάμενος οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐξηγητῶν τινα ἀνακοινώσας κατέσχε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν: ὥς δὲ οἱ νικῶντι τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἐγένετο οὔτε τινὰ ἐλεῖν τῶν πόλεων οὔτε ἐπικρατῆσαι χώρας, ἐς ἀνάμνησιν ἀφικνεῖτο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐνόμζεν οἱ τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι: μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐν καθαρῷ καὶ αἰθρίῳ τῷ ἀέρι ὑσθῆναι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἢ γυνὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντα — ἠκολουθήκει γὰρ οἴκοθεν — τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο καὶ ἐς τὰ γόνата ἐσθεμένη τὰ αὐτῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξέλεγε τοὺς φθειράς: καὶ πως ὑπὸ εὐνοίας δακρῦσαι παρίσταται τῇ γυναικὶ ὁρώσῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐς οὐδὲν προχωροῦντα τὰ πράγματα.

[10.7] At first he neither examined the oracle himself nor informed one of his interpreters, but came to Italy with his ships. But when, although he won victories over the barbarians, he succeeded neither in taking a city nor in making himself master of a territory, he called to mind the oracle, and thought

that the god had foretold an impossibility. For never could rain fall from a clear and cloudless sky. When he was in despair, his wife, who had accompanied him from home, among other endearments placed her husband's head between her knees and began to pick out the lice. And it chanced that the wife, such was her affection, wept as she saw her husband's fortunes coming to nothing.

[8] προέχει δὲ ἀφειδέστερον τῶν δακρύων καὶ — ἔβρεχε γὰρ τοῦ Φαλάνθου τὴν κεφαλὴν — συνίησι τε τῆς

μαντείας — ὄνομα γὰρ δὴ ἦν Αἶθρα τῇ γυναικί — καὶ οὕτω τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ Τάραντα τῶν βαρβάρων εἴλε μεγίστην καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλεων. Τάραντα δὲ τὸν ἥρω Ποσειδῶνός φασι καὶ ἐπιχωρίας νύμφης παῖδα εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἥρωος τεθῆναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ πόλει τε καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ· καλεῖται γὰρ δὴ Τάρας κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει καὶ ὁ ποταμός.

[10.8] As her tears fell in showers, and she wetted the head of Phalanthus, he realized the meaning of the oracle, for his wife's name was Aethra. And so on that night he took from the barbarians Tarentum, the largest and most prosperous city on the coast. They say that Taras the hero was a son of Poseidon by a nymph of the country, and that after this hero were named both the city and the river. For the river, just like the city, is called Taras.

11. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ἀναθήματος τοῦ Ταραντίνων Σικυωνίων ἐστὶ θησαυρός· χρήματα δὲ οὐτε ἐνταῦθα ἴδοις ἂν οὐτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν. Κνίδιοι δὲ ἐκόμισαν ἀγάλματα ἐς Δελφοὺς Τριόπαν οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κνίδου παρεστῶτα ἵππῳ καὶ Λητῷ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἀφιέντας τῶν βελῶν ἐπὶ Τιτύον· ὁ δὲ καὶ τετρωμένος ἐστὶν ἤδη τὸ σῶμα.

[11.1] XI. Near the votive offering of the Tarentines is a treasury of the Sicyonians, but there is no treasure to be seen either here or in any other of the treasuries. The Cnidians brought the following images to Delphi: Triopas, founder of Cnidus, standing by a horse, Leto, and Apollo and Artemis shooting arrows at Tityos, who has already been wounded in the body.

[2] ταῦτα ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν Σικυωνίων θησαυρόν· ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Σιφνίων ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιαῦδε θησαυρός. Σιφνίοις ἡ νῆσος χρυσοῦ μέταλλα ἦνεγκε, καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν προσιόντων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀποφέρειν δεκάτην ἐς Δελφοὺς· οἱ δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ὠκοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀπέφερον τὴν δεκάτην. ὥς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπληστίας ἐξέλιπον τὴν φορὰν, ἐπικλύσασα ἡ θάλασσα ἀφανῆ τὰ μέταλλα σφισιν ἐποίησεν.

[11.2] These stand by the treasury of the Sicyonians. The Siphnians too made a treasury, the reason being as follows. Their island contained gold mines, and the god ordered them to pay a tithe of the revenues to Delphi. So they built the treasury, and continued to pay the tithe until greed made them omit the tribute, when the sea flooded their mines and hid them from sight.

[3] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας Λιπαραιῶι ναυμαχίᾳ κρατήσαντες Τυρρηνῶν.

οἱ δὲ Λιπαράοι οὗτοι Κνιδίων μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι, τῆς δὲ ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι φασιν ἄνδρα Κνίδιον: ὄνομα δὲ εἶναί οἱ Πένταθλον Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ξενοφάνους Συρακούσιος ἐν τῇ Σικελιώτιδι συγγραφῇ φησι. λέγει δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Παχύνῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῇ ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίσαντες πόλιν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐκπίπτουσιν ὑπὸ Ἑλύμων καὶ Φοινίκων πολέμῳ πιεσθέντες, τὰς νήσους δὲ ἔσχον ἐρήμους ἔτι ἢ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἃς καὶ κατὰ τὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρεια Αἰόλου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ὀνομάζουσι.

[11.3] The people of Lipara too dedicated statues to commemorate a naval victory over the Etruscans. These people were colonists from Cnidus, and the leader of the colony is said to have been a Cnidian, whose name was Pentathlus according to a statement made by the Syracusan Antiochus, son of Xenophanes, in his history of Sicily. He says also that they built a city on Cape Pachynum in Sicily, but were hard pressed in a war with the Elymi and Phoenicians, and driven out, but occupied the islands, from which they expelled the inhabitants if they were not still uninhabited, still called, as they are called by Homer, the Islands of Aeolus.

[4] τούτων Λιπάραν μὲν κτίσαντες πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν, Ἰέραν δὲ καὶ Στρογγύλην καὶ Διδύμας γεωργοῦσι διαβαίνοντες ναυσὶν ἐς αὐτάς. ἐν δὲ τῇ Στρογγύλῃ καὶ πῦρ δηλὸν ἐστὶν ἀνιὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς: καὶ ἐν Ἰέρα δὲ πῦρ τε αὐτόματον ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἀνακαίεται τῆς νήσου καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ λουτρά ἐστιν ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ δέξεται σε ἡπίως τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε χαλεπὸν ὑπὸ ζεστότητός ἐστιν ἐμβαίνεσθαι.

[11.4] Of these islands they dwell in Lipara, on which they built a city, but Hieria, Strongyle and Didymae they cultivate, crossing to them in ships. On Strongyle fire is to be seen rising out of the ground, while in Hieria fire of its own accord bursts out on the summit of the island, and by the sea are baths, comfortable enough if the water receive you kindly, but if not, painful to enter because of the heat.

[5] οἱ δὲ Θησαυροὶ Θηβαίων ἀπὸ ἔργου τῶν ἐς πόλεμον, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐστὶν ὡσαύτως: Κνιδίους δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἐπὶ νίκη τινὶ ἢ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν εὐδαιμονίας ὠκοδομήσαντο, ἐπεὶ Θηβαίοις γε ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντων ὁμοῦ Δάτιδι εἰσιν οἱ Θησαυροί. Κλεωναῖοι δὲ ἐπιέσθησαν μὲν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους, κατὰ δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἔθυσαν τράγον ἀνίσχοντι ἔτι τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ — εὖραντο γὰρ λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ — τράγον χαλκοῦν ἀποπέμπουσι τᾷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Ποτιδαιατῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Συρακουσίῳ, τῶν μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ Θησαυρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πταίσματος, Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησαν.

[11.5] The Thebans have a treasury built from the spoils of war, and so have the Athenians. Whether the Cnidians built to commemorate a victory or to display their prosperity I do not know, but the Theban treasury was made from the spoils taken at the battle of Leuctra, and the Athenian treasury from those

taken from the army that landed with Datis at Marathon. The inhabitants of Cleonae were, like the Athenians, afflicted with the plague, and obeying an oracle from Delphi sacrificed a he-goat to the sun while it was still rising. This put an end to the trouble, and so they sent a bronze he-goat to Apollo. The Syracusans have a treasury built from the spoils taken in the great Athenian disaster, the Potidaeans in Thrace built one to show their piety to the god.

[6] ὥκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι στοὰν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τε Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσαι Πελοποννησίους ἦσαν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ σύμμαχοι. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ πλοίων τὰ ἄκρα κοσμήματα καὶ ἀσπίδες χαλκαῖ· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμεῖ τὰς πόλεις ἀφ' ὧν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέστειλαν, τὴν τε Ἡλείων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων Σικυῶνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Πελληνέας Ἀχαιῶν Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Λευκάδα καὶ αὐτὴν Κόρινθον· γενέσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν τούτων καὶ θυσίαν Θησεῖ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ Ῥίῳ. καὶ μοι φαίνεται τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου ἔχειν καὶ ἐς τοῦ Φορμίωνος τὰ ἔργα.

[11.6] The Athenians also built a portico out of the spoils they took in their war against the Peloponnesians and their Greek allies. There are also dedicated the figure-heads of ships and bronze shields. The inscription on them enumerates the cities from which the Athenians sent the first-fruits: Elis, Lacedaemon, Sicyon, Megara, Pellene in Achaia, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth itself. It also says that from the spoils taken in these sea-battles a sacrifice was offered to Theseus and to Poseidon at the cape called Rhium. It seems to me that the inscription refers to Phormio, son of Asopichus, and to his achievements.

THE SIBYLS, MYTHICAL HISTORY

12. πέτρα δέ ἐστιν ἀνίσχουσα ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς· ἐπὶ ταύτῃ Δελφοὶ σταῖσάν φασιν ἄσαι τοὺς χρησμοὺς γυναῖκα ὄνομα Ἡροφίλην, Σίβυλλαν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν. τὴν δὲ πρότερον γενομένην, ταύτην ταῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως οὖσαν ἀρχαίαν εὗρισκον, ἦν θυγατέρα Ἑλλήνες Διὸς καὶ Λαμίας τῆς Ποσειδῶνός φασιν εἶναι, καὶ χρησμούς τε αὐτὴν γυναικῶν πρώτην ἄσαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων Σίβυλλαν λέγουσιν ὀνομασθῆναι.

[12.1] XII. There is a rock rising up above the ground. On it, say the Delphians, there stood and chanted the oracles a woman, by name Herophile and surnamed Sibyl. The former Sibyl I find was as ancient as any; the Greeks say that she was a daughter of Zeus by Lamia, daughter of Poseidon, that she was the first woman to chant oracles, and that the name Sibyl was given her by the Libyans.

[2] ἡ δὲ Ἡροφίλη νεωτέρα μὲν ἐκείνης, φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγонуῖα καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Τρωικοῦ, καὶ Ἑλένην τε προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς, ὥς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης τραφήσοιτο ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ὥς Ἴλιον ἀλώσεται δι' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. Δῆλιοι δὲ καὶ ὕμνον μέμνηνται τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα. καλεῖ δὲ οὐχ Ἡροφίλην μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν

ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν αὐτῇν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γυνὴ γαμετή, τότε δὲ ἀδελφὴ καὶ αὖθις θυγάτηρ φησὶν εἶναι.

[12.2] Herophile was younger than she was, but nevertheless she too was clearly born before the Trojan war, as she foretold in her oracles that Helen would be brought up in Sparta to be the ruin of Asia and of Europe, and that for her sake the Greeks would capture Troy. The Delians remember also a hymn this woman composed to Apollo. In her poem she calls herself not only Herophile but also Artemis, and the wedded wife of Apollo, saying too sometimes that she is his sister, and sometimes that she is his daughter.

[3] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ μαινομένη τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος πεποίηκεν: ἐτέρωθι δὲ εἶπε τῶν χρησμῶν ὡς μητρὸς μὲν ἀθανάτης εἶη μιᾶς τῶν ἐν Ἴδῃ νυμφῶν, πατρὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οὕτω λέγει τὰ ἔπη:”εἰμὶ δ’ ἐγὼ γεγαυῖα μέσον θνητοῦ τε θεᾶς τε,

νύμφης δ’ ἀθανάτης, πατρὸς δ’ αὖ κητοφάγοιο,
μητρόθεν Ἰδογενής, πατρὶς δέ μοι ἔστιν ἐρυθρὴ
Μάρπησος, μητρὸς ἱερῆ, ποταμός τ’ Αἰδωνεύς.

“

[12.3] These statements she made in her poetry when in a frenzy and possessed by the god. Elsewhere in her oracles she states that her mother was an immortal, one of the nymphs of Ida, while her father was a human. These are the verses:—

I am by birth half mortal, half divine;
An immortal nymph was my mother, my father an eater of corn;
On my mother’s side of Idaean birth, but my fatherland was red
Marpessus, sacred to the Mother, and the river Aidoneus.

[4] ἦν δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῇ Τρωικῇ πόλεως Μαρπησίου τὰ ἐρείπια καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκήτορες ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἄνθρωποι: ὑπερυθρος δὲ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν Μάρπησιν γῆ καὶ δεινῶς ἐστὶν αὐχμώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῷ Αἰδωνεῖ ποταμῷ καταδύεσθαι τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνασχόντι τὸ αὐτὸ αὖθις πάσχειν, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς, αἴτιον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι λεπτὴ τε κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ σηραγώδης ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰδῇ. ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι τεσσαράκοντα ἢ Μάρπησος καὶ διακόσια στάδια.

[12.4] Even to-day there remain on Trojan Ida the ruins of the city Marpessus, with some sixty inhabitants. All the land around Marpessus is reddish and terribly parched, so that the light and porous nature of Ida in this place is in my opinion the reason why the river Aidoneus sinks into the ground, rises to sink once more, finally disappearing altogether beneath the earth. Marpessus is two hundred and forty stades distant from Alexandria in the Troad.

[5] τὴν δὲ Ἥροφίλην οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ταύτῃ νεωκόρον τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος γενέσθαι τοῦ Σμινθέως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνείρατι τῷ Ἐκάβης χρῆσαι φασὶν αὐτὴν ἃ

δὴ καὶ ἐπιτελεσθέντα ἴσμεν. αὕτη ἡ Σίβυλλα ὤκησε μὲν τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βίου ἐν Σάμῳ, ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἐς Κλάρων τὴν Κολοφωνίων καὶ ἐς Δῆλόν τε καὶ ἐς Δελφούς: ὁπότε δὲ ἀφίκοιτο, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἵσταμένη τῆς πέτρας ἤδε.

[12.5] The inhabitants of this Alexandria say that Herophile became the attendant of the temple of Apollo Smintheus, and that on the occasion of Hecuba's dream she uttered the prophecy which we know was actually fulfilled. This Sibyl passed the greater part of her life in Samos, but she also visited Clarus in the territory of Colophon, Delos and Delphi. Whenever she visited Delphi, she would stand on this rock and sing her chants.

[6] τὸ μέντοι χρεὼν αὐτὴν ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι, καὶ οἱ τὸ μνημα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τοῦ Σμινθέως ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης: "ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἅ Φοῖβοιο σαφηγορίῃς εἰμι Σίβυλλα

τῷδ' ὑπὸ λαϊνέῳ σάματι κευθομένα,

παρθένος αὐδάεσσα τὸ πρὶν, νῦν δ' αἰὲν ἄναυδος,

μοῖρα ὑπὸ στιβαρᾷ τάνδε λαχοῦσα πέδαν.

ἀλλὰ πέλας Νύμφαισι καὶ Ἑρμῇ τῷδ' ὑπόκειμαι,

μοῖραν ἔχοισα κάτω τᾶς τότε ἄνακτορίας.

“ὁ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τὸ μνημα ἔστηκεν Ἑρμῆς λίθου τετράγωνον σχῆμα: ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς δὲ ὕδωρ τε κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην καὶ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα.

[12.6] However, death came upon her in the Troad, and her tomb is in the grove of the Sminthian with these elegiac verses inscribed upon the tomb-stone:—

Here I am, the plain-speaking Sibyl of Phoebus,

Hidden beneath this stone tomb.

A maiden once gifted with voice, but now for ever voiceless,

By hard fate doomed to this fetter.

But I am buried near the nymphs and this Hermes,

Enjoying in the world below a part of the kingdom I had then.

The Hermes stands by the side of the tomb, a square-shaped figure of stone. On the left is water running down into a well, and the images of the nymphs.

[7] Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ — ἀμφισβητοῦσι γὰρ τῆς Ἡροφίλης προθυμότητα Ἑλλήνων — Κώρυκόν τε καλούμενον ὄρος καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει σπήλαιον ἀποφαίνουσι, τεχθῆναι τὴν Ἡροφίλην ἐν αὐτῷ λέγοντες, Θεοδώρου δὲ ἐπιχωρίου ποιμένος καὶ νύμφης παῖδα εἶναι: Ἰδαίαν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶν γενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ δασέα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδας τότε ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τὸ ἐς τὴν Μάρπηττον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Αἰδωνέα, τοῦτο οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι τὸ ἔπος ἀφαιροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν.

[12.7] The Erythraeans, who are more eager than any other Greeks to lay claim to Herophile, adduce as evidence a mountain called Mount Corycus with a

cave in it, saying that Herophile was born in it, and that she was a daughter of Theodorus, a shepherd of the district, and of a nymph. They add that the surname Idaean was given to the nymph simply because the men of those days called idai places that were thickly wooded. The verse about Marpessus and the river Aidoneus is cut out of the oracles by the Erythraeans.

[8] τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ χρησμοὺς κατὰ ταῦτὰ εἰποῦσαν ἐκ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικοῖς εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Δημῷ συνέγραψεν Ὑπέροχος ἀνὴρ Κυμαῖος. χρησμόν δὲ οἱ Κυμαῖοι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἐς οὐδένα εἶχον ἐπιδείξασθαι, λίθου δὲ ὑδρίαν ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ δεικνύουσιν οὐ μεγάλην, τῆς Σιβύλλης ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι φάμενοι τὰ ὅστ᾽.

[12.8] The next woman to give oracles in the same way, according to Hyperochus of Cumae, a historian, was called Demo, and came from Cumae in the territory of the Opici. The Cumaeans can point to no oracle given by this woman, but they show a small stone urn in a sanctuary of Apollo, in which they say are placed the bones of the Sibyl.

[9] ἐπετράφη δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τῆς Δημοῦς παρ' Ἑβραίοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς Παλαιστίνης γυνὴ χρησμολόγος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Σάββη: Βηρόσου δὲ εἶναι πατρὸς καὶ Ἐρυμάνθης μητρός φασι Σάββην: οἱ δὲ αὐτὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Σίβυλλαν καλοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίαν.

[12.9] Later than Demo there grew up among the Hebrews above Palestine a woman who gave oracles and was named Sabbe. They say that the father of Sabbe was Berosus, and her mother Erymanthe. But some call her a Babylonian Sibyl, others an Egyptian.

[10] Φαεννίς δὲ θυγάτηρ βασιλεύσαντος ἀνδρὸς ἐν Χάοσι καὶ αἱ Πέλειαι παρὰ Δωδωναίοις ἐμαντεύσαντο μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ αὗται, Σίβυλλαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκλήθησαν. τῆς μὲν δὴ πυθέσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς χρησμούς * * * Ἀντιόχου γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀλῶναι Δημήτριον αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένου γέγονε Φαεννίς. τὰς Πελειάδας δὲ Φημονόης τε ἔτι προτέρας γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ ἥσαι γυναικῶν πρώτας τάδε τὰ ἔπη: "Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστίν, Ζεὺς ἔσsetai: ὦ μέγαλε Ζεῦ.

Γὰρ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε Ματέρα γαῖαν.

“

[12.10] Phaennis, daughter of a king of the Chaonians, and the Peleiae (Doves) at Dodona also gave oracles under the inspiration of a god, but they were not called by men Sibyls. To learn the date of Phaennis and to read her oracles . . . for Phaennis was born when Antiochus was establishing his kingship immediately after the capture of Demetrius. The Peleiaes are said to have been born still earlier than Phemonoe, and to have been the first women to chant these verses:—

Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be; O mighty Zeus.

Earth sends up the harvest, therefore sing the praise of earth as Mother.

[11] χρησμολόγους δὲ ἄνδρας Κύπριόν τε Εὐκλουν καὶ Ἀθηναίους Μουσαῖον τὸν Ἀντιοφήμεου καὶ Λύκον τὸν Πανδίωνος, τούτους τε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας Βάκιν φασὶ κατάσχετον ἄνδρα ἐκ νυμφῶν: τούτων πλὴν Λύκου τῶν ἄλλων ἐπελεξάμην τοὺς χρησμούς.

τοσαῦται μὲν ἄχρι ἐμοῦ λέγονται γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ θεοῦ μαντεύσασθαι: ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐθις γένοιτο ἂν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα.

[12.11] It is said that the men who uttered oracles were Euclus of Cyprus, the Athenians Musaeus, son of Antiophemus, and Lycus, son of Pandion, and also Bacis, a Boeotian who was possessed by nymphs. I have read the oracles of all these except those of Lycus.

These are the women and men who, down to the present day, are said to have been the mouthpiece by which a god prophesied. But time is long, and perhaps similar things may occur again.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONT.

13. βίσωνος δὲ ταύρου τῶν Παιονικῶν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην κεφαλὴν Δρωπίων Λέοντος ἔπεμψεν ἐς

Δελφοὺς βασιλεὺς Παιόνων. οὗτοι οἱ βίσωνες χαλεπώτατοι θηρίων εἰσὶν ἀλίσκεσθαι ζῶντες, καὶ δίκτυα οὐκ ἂν οὕτω γένοιτο ἰσχυρὰ ὥς ἀντισχεῖν τῇ ἐμβολῇ. θηρεύονται δὲ οὗτοι τρόπον τοιόνδε. ἐπειδὰν χωρίον οἱ ἀγρεύοντες πρὰνὲς εὖρωσι καθῆκον ἐς κοιλότητα, πρῶτα μὲν φράγματι ἰσχυρῷ περίξ ὠχυρώσαντο, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κάταντες καὶ τὸ περὶ τῷ πέρατι ὁμαλὸν αὐτοῦ νεοδάρτοις βύρσαις κατεστόρεσαν: ἦν δὲ τύχῳσιν ἀποροῦντες βυρσῶν, τότε καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν δερμάτων ὑπὸ ἐλαίου σφίσιν ὀλισθηρὰ ποιεῖται.

[13.1] XIII. A bronze head of the Paeonian bull called the bison was sent to Delphi by the Paeonian king Dropion, son of Leon. These bisons are the most difficult beasts to capture alive, and no nets could be made strong enough to hold out against their rush. They are hunted in the following manner. When the hunters have found a place sinking to a hollow, they first strengthen it all round with a stout fence, and then they cover the slope and the level part at the end with fresh skins, or, if they should chance to be without skins, they make dry hides slippery with olive oil.

[2] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μάλιστα ἱππεύειν ἀγαθοὶ συνελαύνουσιν ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον τοὺς βίσωνας: οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς πρώταις τῶν βυρσῶν ὀλισθόντες κατὰ τοῦ πρानοῦς κυλίνδονται, ἕως κατενεχθῶσιν ἐς τὸ ὁμαλόν. ἐρριμμένοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡμέλυνται κατ' ἀρχάς: τετάρτη δὲ ἡ πέμπτη μάλιστα ἡμέρα τῶν μὲν ἤδη τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ πολὺ ὁ λιμὸς ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ ἡ ταλαιπωρία, οἱ δὲ σφισιν, οἷς

[13.2] Next their best riders drive the bisons together into the place I have described. These at once slip on the first skins and roll down the slope until

they reach the level ground, where at the first they are left to lie. On about the fourth or fifth day, when the beasts have lost most of their spirit through hunger and distress,

[3] τέχνη τιθασεύειν, προσφέρουσιν ἔτι κειμένοις πίτυος τῆς ἡμέρου καρπὸν προεκλέξαντες ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐλύτρων: ἐτέρας δὲ οὐκ ἂν τροφῆς τό γε παραυτίκα ἄψαιτο τὰ θηρία: τέλος δὲ διαλαβόντες δεσμοῖς ἄγουσι.

[13.3] those of the hunters who are professional tamers bring to them as they lie fruit of the cultivated pine, first peeling off the inner husk; for the moment the beasts would touch no other food. Finally they tie ropes round them and lead them off.

[4] καὶ τοὺς μὲν τρόπον αἰροῦσι τὸν εἰρημένον, τοῦ βίσωνος δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταντικρὺ τῆς χαλκῆς ἀνδριάς ἐστι θώρακά τε ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπὶ τῷ θώρακι: Ἀνδρίων δὲ ἀνάθημα οἱ Δελφοὶ λέγουσιν Ἀνδρέα εἶναι τὸν οἰκιστήν. τὸ τε ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Φωκέων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν ἀπὸ Θεσσαλῶν ὁμόρων τε — πλὴν ὅσον οἱ Λοκροὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἐπικνημίδιοι διείργουσι — καὶ αἰεὶ πολεμίων ὄντων.

[13.4] This is the way in which the bisons are caught. Opposite the bronze head of the bison is a statue of a man wearing a breastplate, on which is a cloak. The Delphians say that it is an offering of the Andrians, and a portrait of Andreus, their founder. The images of Apollo, Athena, and Artemis were dedicated by the Phocians from the spoils taken from the Thessalians, their enemies always, who are their neighbors except where the Epicnemidian Locrians come between.

[5] ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Μακεδόνων οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Πιερίᾳ πόλιν Δῖον οἰκοῦντες Κυρηναῖοί τε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὗτοι μὲν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι ἄγαλμα Ἄμμωνος, Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Δίῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὃς εἰλημμένος ἐστὶ τῆς ἐλάφου, Φαρσάλιοι δὲ Ἀχιλλέα τε ἐπὶ ἵππῳ καὶ ὁ Πάτροκλος συμπαραθεῖν οἱ καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ. Κορίνθιοι δὲ οἱ Δωριεῖς ᾠκοδόμησαν θησαυρὸν καὶ οὗτοι:

[13.5] The Thessalians too of Pharsalus dedicated an Achilles on horseback, with Patroclus running beside his horse: the Macedonians living in Dium, a city at the foot of Mount Pieria, the Apollo who has taken hold of the deer; the people of Cyrene, a Greek city in Libya, the chariot with an image of Ammon in it. The Dorians of Corinth too built a treasury, where used to be stored the gold from Lydia.

[6] καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ὁ ἐκ Λυδῶν ἀνέκειτο ἐνταῦθα. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀνάθημά ἐστι Θηβαίων, ὅτε Φωκεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον. εἰσὶ καὶ εἰκόνες χαλκαῖ Φωκέων ἀναθέντων, ἥνικα δευτέρᾳ συμβολῇ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐτρέψαντο τὸ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας. Φλιάσιοι δὲ ἐκόμισαν ἐς Δελφοὺς Δία τε χαλκοῦν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ Διὶ ἄγαλμα Αἰγίνης. ἐκ δὲ Μαντινείας τῆς Ἀρκάδων Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα: οὗτος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κορινθίων ἐστὶ

θησαυροῦ.

[13.6] The image of Heracles is a votive offering of the Thebans, sent when they had fought what is called the Sacred War against the Phocians. There are also bronze statues, which the Phocians dedicated when they had put to flight the Thessalian cavalry in the second engagement. The Phliasians brought to Delphi a bronze Zeus, and with the Zeus an image of Aegina. The Mantineans of Arcadia dedicated a bronze Apollo, which stands near the treasury of the Corinthians.

[7] Ἡρακλῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἔχονται τοῦ τρίποδος καὶ ἐς μάχην περὶ αὐτοῦ καθίστανται: Λητὼ μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἄρτεμις Ἀπόλλωνα, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ Ἡρακλέα ἐπέχουσι τοῦ θυμοῦ. Φωκέων καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνάθημα, ὅτε σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς Τελλίας ἡγήσατο Ἥλειος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἀγάλματα Δίυλλός τε ἐν κοινῷ καὶ Ἀμυκλαῖος, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Χιονίς ἐστιν εἰργασμένος: Κορινθίους δὲ εἶναί φασιν αὐτούς.

[13.7] Heracles and Apollo are holding on to the tripod, and are preparing to fight about it. Leto and Artemis are calming Apollo, and Athena is calming Heracles. This too is an offering of the Phocians, dedicated when Tellias of Elis led them against the Thessalians. Athena and Artemis were made by Chionis, the other images are works shared by Diyllus and Amyclaeus. They are said to be Corinthians.

[8] λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρώωνος ἐλθόντι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὴν πρόμαντιν Ξενοκλείαν οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι οἱ χρᾶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τὸν φόνον: τὸν δὲ ἀράμενον τὸν τρίποδα ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ φέρειν ἔξω, εἰπεῖν τε δὴ τὴν πρόμαντιν: "ἄλλος ἄρ' Ἡρακλέης Τιρύνθιος, οὐχὶ Κανωβεύς:

"πρότερον γὰρ ἔτι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἡρακλῆς ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφούς. τότε δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιτρώωνος τόν τε τρίποδα ἀποδίδωσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ξενοκλείας ὅποσα ἐδεῖτο ἐδιδάχθη. παραδεξάμενοι δὲ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν λόγον μάχην Ἡρακλέους πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τρίποδος ᾄδουσιν.

[13.8] The Delphians say that when Heracles the son of Amphitryon came to the oracle, the prophetess Xenocleia refused to give a response on the ground that he was guilty of the death of Iphitus. Whereupon Heracles took up the tripod and carried it out of the temple. Then the prophetess said:—

Then there was another Heracles, of Tiryns, not the Canopian.

For before this the Egyptian Heracles had visited Delphi. On the occasion to which I refer the son of Amphitryon restored the tripod to Apollo, and was told by Xenocleia all he wished to know. The poets adopted the story, and sing about a fight between Heracles and Apollo for a tripod.

[9] ἐν κοινῷ δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες χρυσοῦν τρίποδα δράκοντι ἐπικείμενον χαλκῷ. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χαλκὸς ἦν τοῦ ἀναθήματος, σῶον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἦν: οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν

οἱ Φωκέων ὑπελίποντο ἡγεμόνες.

[13.9] The Greeks in common dedicated from the spoils taken at the battle of Plataea a gold tripod set on a bronze serpent. The bronze part of the offering is still preserved, but the Phocian leaders did not leave the gold as they did the bronze.

[10] Ταραντῖνοι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην δεκάτην ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ βαρβάρων Πευκετίων ἀπέστειλαν: τέχνη μὲν τὰ ἀναθήματα Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου καὶ Ἀγελάδα ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀργείου, εἰκόνες δὲ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων, βασιλεὺς Ἰαπύγων Ὀπῖς ἦκων τοῖς Πευκετίοις σύμμαχος. οὗτος μὲν δὴ εἵκασται τεθνεῶτι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ κειμένῳ ἐφεστηκότες ὁ ἦρως Τάρας ἐστὶ καὶ Φάλανθος ὁ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Φαλάνθου δελφίς: πρὶν γὰρ δὴ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ ναυαγία τε ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῷ Κρισαίῳ τὸν Φάλανθον χρήσασθαι καὶ ὑπὸ δελφίνος ἐκκομισθῆναι φασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν.

[13.10] The Tarentines sent yet another tithe to Delphi from spoils taken from the Peucetii, a non-Greek people. The offerings are the work of Onatas the Aeginetan, and Ageladas the Argive, and consist of statues of footmen and horsemen – Opis, king of the Iapygians, come to be an ally to the Peucetii. Opis is represented as killed in the fighting, and on his prostrate body stand the hero Taras and Phalanthus of Lacedaemon, near whom is a dolphin. For they say that before Phalanthus reached Italy, he suffered shipwreck in the Crisaean sea, and was brought ashore by a dolphin.

14. οἱ δὲ πελέκεις Περικλύτου τοῦ Εὐθυμάχου Τενεδίου ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ λόγῳ ἀνάθημά εἰσιν ἀρχαῖα. Κύκνον παῖδα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ βασιλεύειν φασὶν ἐν Κολώναις: αἱ δὲ ὤκουντο ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Τρωάδι αἱ Κολῶναι κατὰ νῆσον κείμεναι Λεύκοφρον.

[14.1] XIV. The axes were dedicated by Periclytus, son of Euthymachus, a man of Tenedos, and allude to an old story. Cynus, they say, was a son of Poseidon, and ruled as king in Colona, a city in the Troad situated opposite the island Leucophrys.

[2] ἔχοντος δὲ θυγατέρα ὄνομα Ἥμιθέαν τοῦ Κύκνου καὶ υἱὸν καλούμενον Τέννην ἐκ Προκλείας — ἡ Κλυτίου μὲν ἦν θυγάτηρ, ἀδελφὴ δὲ Καλήτορος, ὃν Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἀποθανεῖν φησιν ὑπὸ Αἴαντος, ὅτε ὑπὸ τὴν Πρωτεσιλάου ναῦν ἔφερεν ὁ Καλήτωρ τὸ πῦρ — ταύτης οὖν προαποθανούσης ἡ ἐπεισελθοῦσα Φιλονόμη ἡ Κραγάσου — διήμαρτε γὰρ ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ Τέννου — ψεύδεται πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὥς αὐτὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, τὸν δὲ αὐτῇ Τέννην συγγενέσθαι θελήσαντα: καὶ ὁ Κύκνος πείθεται τῇ ἀπάτῃ, καὶ ἐς λάρνακα ἐνθήμενος ὁμοῦ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Τέννην ἐς θάλασσαν σφᾶς ἀφίησι.

[14.2] He had a daughter, by name Hemithea, and a son, called Tennes, by Procleia, who was a daughter of Clytius and a sister of Caletor. Homer in the Iliad says that this Caletor, as he was putting the fire under the ship of

Protesilaus, was killed by Ajax. Procleia died before Cynus, and his second wife, Philonome, daughter of Cragasus, fell in love with Tennes. Rejected by him she falsely accused him before her husband, saying that he had made love to her, and she had rejected him. Cynus was deceived by the trick, placed Tennes with his sister in a chest and launched it out to sea.

[3] σῶζονται τε δὴ πρὸς τὴν νῆσον οἱ παῖδες τὴν Λεύκοφρυν καὶ ὄνομα ἡ νῆσος τὸ νῦν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τέννου. Κύκνος δὲ — οὐ γὰρ τὸν πάντα ἔμελλε χρόνον ἀγνοήσῃν ἀπατώμενος — ἔπλει παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν ἀγνοίαν τε ὁμολογήσων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ παραιτησόμενος τὸ ἀμάρτημα: προσορμισαμένου δὲ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἐξάψαντος ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πρὸς τινα ἢ πέτραν ἢ δένδρον τοὺς κάλους, Τέννης πελέκει σφᾶς ἀπέκοψεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ.

[14.3] The young people came safely to the island Leucophrys, and the island was given its present name from Tennes. Cynus, however, was not to remain for ever ignorant of the trick, and sailed to his son to confess his ignorance and to ask for pardon for his mistake. He put in at the island and fastened the cables of his ship to something – a rock or a tree – but Tennes in a passion cut them adrift with an axe.

[4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀρνούμενους στερεῶς λέγεσθαι καθέστηκεν ὥς ὁ δεῖνα ὅστις δὴ Τενεδίῳ πελέκει τόδε τι ἀποκόψειεν. Τέννην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀποθανεῖν ἀμύνοντα τῇ οἰκείᾳ φασὶν Ἕλληνας: Τενέδιοι δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ Τρωάδι ἔχουσιν.

[14.4] For this reason a by-word has arisen, which is used of those who make a stern refusal: “So and so has cut whatever it may be with an axe of Tenedos.” The Greeks say that while Tennes was defending his country he was killed by Achilles. In course of time weakness compelled the people of Tenedos to merge themselves with the Alexandrians on the Troad mainland.

[5] Ἕλληνες δὲ οἱ ἐναντία βασιλέως πολεμήσαντες ἀνέθεσαν μὲν Δία ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀπόλλωνα ἀπὸ ἔργων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τε Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀφίκοιτο ἐς Δελφοὺς λαφύρων τῶν Μηδικῶν κομίζων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι: ἐρωτήσαντα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναθημάτων εἰ ἐντὸς ἀναθήσει τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ἢ Πυθίᾳ τὰ παράπαν ἀποφέρειν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. καὶ ἔχει οὕτω τὰ ἐς τοῦ τοῦ χρησμοῦ:”μή μοι Περσῆος σκύλων περικαλλέα κόσμον

νηῶ ἐγκαταθῆς: οἶκόνδ’ ἀπόπεμπε τάχιστα.

“

[14.5] The Greeks who fought against the king, besides dedicating at Olympia a bronze Zeus, dedicated also an Apollo at Delphi, from spoils taken in the naval actions at Artemisium and Salamis. There is also a story that Themistocles came to Delphi bringing with him for Apollo some of the Persian spoils. He asked whether he should dedicate them within the temple,

but the Pythian priestess bade him carry them from the sanctuary altogether. The part of the oracle referring to this runs as follows:—

The splendid beauty of the Persian's spoils
Set not within my temple. Despatch them home speedily.

[6] θαῦμα οὖν ἐποιούμεθα εἰ ἀπηξίωσεν ἐκείνου μόνου μὴ προσέσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπώσασθαι ἂν τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἅπαντα ὁμοίως ἡγοῦντο ὅσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου, εἰ ὥσπερ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρότερον ἢ ἀναθεῖναι σφᾶς ἐπήρνοντο τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα: οἱ δὲ εἰδότες τὸν θεὸν ὅτι ἰκέτης τοῦ Πέρσου γενήσοιτο ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ δῶρα ἔφασαν οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι λαβεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναθέντι τὸ ἔχθος ἅπανστον ποιήσῃ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου. στρατείαν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔστιν εὐρεῖν προρρηθεῖσαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βάκιδος χρησμοῖς, πρότερον δ' ἔτι Εὐκλῳ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιημένα ἐστίν.

[14.6] Now I greatly marveled that it was from Themistocles alone that the priestess refused to accept Persian spoils. Some thought that the god would have rejected alike all offerings from Persian spoils, if like Themistocles the others had inquired of Apollo before making their dedication. Others said that the god knew that Themistocles would become a suppliant of the Persian king, and refused to take the gifts so that Themistocles might not by a dedication render the Persian's enmity unappeasable. The expedition of the barbarian against Greece we find foretold in the oracles of Bacis, and Euclus wrote his verses about it at an even earlier date.

[7] Δελφῶν δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστιν αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου λύκος χαλκοῦς. λέγουσι δὲ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων συλήσαντα ἄνθρωπον, τὸν μὲν ὁμοῦ τῷ χρυσίῳ κατακρύψαντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἔνθα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μάλιστα ἦν συνεχὲς ὑπὸ ἁγρίων δένδρων, λύκον δὲ ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καθεύδοντι, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὁσημέραι φοιτῶν ὠρύετο ὁ λύκος: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ παραγίνεσθαι σφισιν ὑπελάμβανον, οὕτως ἐπακολουθοῦσι τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ ἀνευρίσκουσι τε τὸ ἱερὸν χρυσίον καὶ ἀνέθεσαν λύκον τῷ θεῷ χαλκοῦν.

[14.7] Near the great altar is a bronze wolf, an offering of the Delphians themselves. They say that a fellow robbed the god of some treasure, and kept himself and the gold hidden at the place on Mount Parnassus where the forest is thickest. As he slept a wolf attacked and killed him, and every day went to the city and howled. When the people began to realize that the matter was not without the direction of heaven, they followed the beast and found the sacred gold. So to the god they dedicated a bronze wolf.

15. Φρόνης δὲ εἰκόνα ἐπίχρυσον Πραξιτέλης μὲν εἰργάσατο ἐραστῆς καὶ οὗτος, ἀνάθημα δὲ αὐτῆς Φρόνης ἐστὶν ἢ εἰκὼν. τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, τὰ μὲν ἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιδάυριοι τὸ ἕτερον οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἀπὸ Μήδων, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν Μεγαρεῖς ἀνέθεσαν Ἀθηναίους μάχῃ πρὸς Νισαία κρατήσαντες: Πλαταιέων δὲ βοῦς ἐστίν, ἡνίκα ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ οὗτοι

Μαρδόνιον τὸν Γωβρύου μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἡμύναντο ἄλλων. καὶ αὖθις δύο Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλεωτῶν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ, τὸ δὲ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐστίν, ὅτε Φωκεῦσιν ἐπεργαζομένοις τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπέβαλον χρημάτων ζημίαν:

[15.1] XV. A gilt statue of Phryne was made by Praxiteles, one of her lovers, but it was Phryne herself who dedicated the statue. The offerings next to Phryne include two images of Apollo, one dedicated from Persian spoils by the Epidaurians of Argolis, the other dedicated by the Megarians to commemorate a victory over the Athenians at Nisaea. The Plataeans have dedicated an ox, an offering made at the time when, in their own territory, they took part, along with the other Greeks, in the defence against Mardonius, the son of Gobryas. Then there are another two images of Apollo, one dedicated by the citizens of Heracleia on the Euxine, the other by the Amphictyons when they fined the Phocians for tilling the territory of the god.

[2] ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὗτος καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Σιτάλκας, μέγεθος δὲ πέντε πηχῶν καὶ τριάκοντά ἐστι. στρατηγοὶ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς, δύο τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγάλματα ἔστιν Αἰτωλῶν, ἡνίκα σφίσιν ἐξειργάσθη τὰ ἐς Γαλάτας. στρατιὰν δὲ τὴν Κελτῶν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης διαβήσοιτο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν πόλεων, Φαεννὶς προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς γενεᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον:

[15.2] The second Apollo the Delphians call Sitalcas, and he is thirty-five cubits high. The Aetolians have statues of most of their generals, and images of Artemis, Athena and two of Apollo, dedicated after their conclusion of the war against the Gauls. That the Celtic army would cross from Europe to Asia to destroy the cities there was prophesied by Phaennis in her oracles a generation before the invasion occurred:—

[3] “ἦ τότ’ ἀμειψάμενος στεινὸν πόρον Ἑλλησπόντου

† αὐδήσει Γαλατῶν ὀλοὸς στρατός, οἳ ῥ’ ἀθεμίστως

Ἀσίδα πορθήσουσι: θεὸς δ’ ἔτι κύντερα θήσει

πάγχυ μάλ’, οἳ ναίουσι παρ’ ἡϊόνεσσι θαλάσσης —

εἰς ὀλίγον: τάχα γάρ σφιν ἀοσσητῆρα Κρονίων

ὀρμήσει, ταύροιο διοτρεφέος φίλον υἱόν,

ὃς πᾶσιν Γαλάτησιν ὀλέθριον ἥμαρ ἐφήσει.

“παῖδα δὲ εἶπε ταύρου τὸν ἐν Περγάμῳ βασιλεύσαντα Ἄτταλον: τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ ταυρόκερων προσεῖρηκε χρηστήριον.

[15.3]

Then verily, having crossed the narrow strait of the Hellespont,
The devastating host of the Gauls shall pipe; and lawlessly
They shall ravage Asia; and much worse shall God do

To those who dwell by the shores of the sea
For a short while. For right soon the son of Cronos
Shall raise them a helper, the dear son of a bull reared by Zeus,
Who on all the Gauls shall bring a day of destruction.

By the son of a bull she meant Attalus, king of Pergamus, who was also styled bull-horned by an oracle.

[4] ἱππικοῦ δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ ἵππους Φεραῖοι παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔστησαν τρεψάμενοι τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἵππον.

τὸν δὲ φοῖνικα ἀνέθεσαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν χαλκοῦν, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ χρυσὸν ἐπὶ τῷ φοίνικι, ἀπὸ ἔργων ὧν ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πεζῇ, τὸ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ κατώρθωσαν. τοῦτου τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνιαχοῦ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρυσὸν ἐθεώμην λελυμασμένον.

[15.4] Statues of cavalry leaders, mounted on horses, were dedicated in Apollo's sanctuary by the Pheraeans after routing the Attic cavalry.

The bronze palm-tree, as well as a gilt image of Athena on it, was dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils they took in their two successes on the same day at the Eurymedon, one on land, and the other with their fleet on the river. The gold on this image was, I noticed, damaged in parts.

[5] ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐς κακούργους τε ἤγον καὶ φῶρας ἀνθρώπους: Κλειτόδημος δέ, ὅποσοι τὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐπιχώρια ἔγραψαν ὁ ἀρχαιότατος, οὗτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ φησὶ τῷ Ἀττικῷ, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ Σικελίᾳ τὸν στόλον, ὡς ἔθνος τι ἄπειρον κοράκων κατῆρε τότε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ περιέκοπτόν τε τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦτου καὶ ἀπέρρησσαν τοῖς ράμφεσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν χρυσόν: λέγει δὲ καὶ ὡς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὰς γλαῦκας καὶ ὅσος καρπὸς ἐπὶ τῷ φοίνικι ἐπεποίητο ἐς μίμησιν τῆς ὀπώρας, κατακλάσαιεν καὶ ταῦτα οἱ κόρακες.

[15.5] I myself put the blame on rogues and thieves. But Cleitodemus, the oldest writer to describe the customs of the Athenians, says in his account of Attica that when the Athenians were preparing the Sicilian expedition a vast flock of crows swooped on Delphi, pecked this image all over, and with their beaks tore away its gold. He says that the crows also broke off the spear, the owls, and the imitation fruit on the palm-tree.

[6] Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα μὴ ἐκπλεῦσαι σφᾶς ἀπαγορεύοντα ἐς Σικελίαν διηγῆσατο ὁ Κλειτόδημος, Κυρηναῖοι δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς Βάττον ἐπὶ ἄρματι, ὃς ἐς Λιβύην ἤγαγε σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκ Θήρας. ἡνίοχος μὲν τοῦ ἄρματός ἐστι Κυρήνη, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἄρματι Βάττος τε καὶ Λιβύη στεφανοῦσά ἐστιν αὐτόν: ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀμφίων Ἀκέστορος Κνώσσιος.

[15.6] Cleitodemus describes other omens that told the Athenians to beware of sailing against Sicily. The Cyrenaeans have dedicated at Delphi a figure of Battus in a chariot; he it was who brought them in ships from Thera to Libya.

The reins are held by Cyrene, and in the chariot is Battus, who is being crowned by Libya. The artist was a Cnossian, Amphion the son of Acestor.

[7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὤκισε Βάττος τὴν Κυρήνην, λέγεται καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι οἱ τοιόνδε ἴαμα: ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν Κυρηναίων τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτῆς ἐρήμοις ἔτι οὕσι θεᾶται λέοντα, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δεῖμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς θέας βοῆσαι σαφές καὶ μέγα ἠνάγκασεν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Βάττου καὶ ἄλλον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀπόλλωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδικήματος τοῦ ἐς τὸν θεὸν τῶν Φωκέων.

[15.7] It is said that, after Battus had founded Cyrene, he was cured of his stammering in the following way. As he was passing through the territory of the Cyrenaeans, in the extreme parts of it, as yet desert, he saw a lion, and the terror of the sight compelled him to cry out in a clear and loud voice. Not far from the Battus the Amphictyons have set up yet another Apollo from the fine they inflicted on the Phocians for their sin against the god.

16. τῶν δὲ ἀναθημάτων ἃ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Λυδῶν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν αὐτῶν εἰ μὴ σιδηροῦν μόνον τὸ ὑπόθημα τοῦ Ἀλυάττου κρατῆρος. τοῦτο Γλαύκου μὲν ἔστιν ἔργον τοῦ Χίου, σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἀνδρὸς εὐρόντος: ἔλασμα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ὑποθήματος ἐλάσματι ἄλλῳ προσεχῆς οὐ περόναις ἔστιν ἢ κέντροις, μόνη δὲ ἡ κόλλα συνέχει τε καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη τῷ σιδήρῳ δεσμός.

[16.1] XVI. Of the offerings sent by the Lydian kings I found nothing remaining except the iron stand of the bowl of Alyattes. This is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the man who discovered how to weld iron. Each plate of the stand is fastened to another, not by bolts or rivets, but by the welding, which is the only thing that fastens and holds together the iron.

[2] σχῆμα δὲ τοῦ ὑποθήματος κατὰ πύργον μάλιστα ἐς μούρον ἀνιόντα ἀπὸ εὐρυτέρου τοῦ κάτω: ἐκάστη δὲ πλευρὰ τοῦ ὑποθήματος οὐ διὰ πάσης πέφρακται, ἀλλὰ εἰσιν αἱ πλάγαι τοῦ σιδήρου ζῶναι ὥσπερ ἐν κλίμακι οἱ ἀναβασμοί: τὰ δὲ ἐλάσματα τοῦ σιδήρου τὰ ὀρθὰ ἀνέστραπται κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐς τὸ ἐκτός, καὶ ἔδρα τοῦτο ἦν τῷ κρατῆρι.

[16.2] The shape of the stand is very like that of a tower, wider at the bottom and rising to a narrow top. Each side of the stand is not solid throughout, but the iron cross-strips are placed like the rungs of a ladder. The upright iron plates are turned outwards at the top, so forming a seat for the bowl.

[3] τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλούμενον Ὀμφαλὸν λίθου πεποιημένον λευκοῦ, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ γῆς πάσης αὐτοῖ τε λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ καὶ ἐν ᾧδῃ τινι Πίνδαρος ὁμολογοῦντά σφισιν ἐποίησεν.

[16.3] What is called the Omphalus (Navel) by the Delphians is made of white marble, and is said by the Delphians to be the center of all the earth. Pindar in one of his odes supports their view.

[4] Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον, Ἑρμιόνη

ἡ Μενελάου θυγάτηρ, ἡ συνοικήσασα Ὀρέστη τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως. Εὐρύδαμον δὲ στρατηγόν τε Αἰτωλῶν καὶ στρατοῦ τοῦ Γαλατῶν ἐναντία ἡγησάμενον ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Αἰτωλοί.

[16.4] There is here an offering of the Lacedaemonians, made by Calamis, depicting Hermione, daughter of Menelaus, who married Orestes, son of Agamemnon, having previously been wedded to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. The Aetolians have dedicated a statue of Eurydamus, general of the Aetolians, who was their leader in the war against the army of the Gauls.

[5] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἑλυρος πόλις: οὗτοι οὖν αἶγα χαλκῇν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς, δίδωσι δὲ νηπίοις ἢ αἶξ Φυλακίδῃ καὶ Φιλάνδρῳ γάλα: παῖδας δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἑλύριοί φασιν Ἀπόλλωνός τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀκακαλλίδος νύμφης, συγγενέσθαι δὲ τῇ Ἀκακαλλίδι Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν πόλει Τάρρᾳ καὶ οἴκῳ Καρμάνορος.

[16.5] On the mountains of Crete there is still in my time a city called Elyrus. Now the citizens sent to Delphi a bronze goat, which is suckling the babies, Phylacides and Philander. The Elyrians say that these were children of Apollo by the nymph Acacallis, and that Apollo mated with Acacallis in the house of Carmanor in the city of Tarrha.

[6] Καρύστιοι δὲ οἱ Εὐβοεῖς βοῦν καὶ οὗτοι χαλκοῦν παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔστησαν ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· βοῦς δὲ οἱ Καρύστιοι καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐποιήσαντο, ὅτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον τὴν τε ἄλλην βεβαίως ἐκτήσαντο εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀροῦν ἐλευθέραν τὴν γῆν. στρατηγῶν δὲ εἰκόνας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν ἀπέστειλαν καταστρεψάμενοι τοὺς ὁμόρους σφίσιν Ἀκαρνᾶνας.

[16.6] The Euboeans of Carystus too set up in the sanctuary of Apollo a bronze ox, from spoils taken in the Persian war. The Carystians and the Plataeans dedicated oxen, I believe, because, having repulsed the barbarian, they had won a secure prosperity, and especially a land free to plough. The Aetolian nation, having subdued their neighbors the Acarnanians, sent statues of generals and images of Apollo and Artemis.

[7] παραλογώτατον δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην ὑπάρξαν Λιπαραίοις ἐς Τυρσηνοῦς. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ Λιπαραίους ἐναντία ναυμαχῆσαι τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ναυσὶν ὡς ἐλαχίσταις ἐκέλευσεν ἡ Πυθία. πέντε οὖν ἀνάγονται τριήρεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τυρσηνοῦς· οἱ δὲ — ἀπηξίου γὰρ μὴ ἀποδεῖν Λιπαραίων τὰ ναυτικά — ἀντανάγονταί σφισιν ἴσαις ναυσί. ταύτας τε οὖν αἰροῦσιν οἱ Λιπαραῖοι καὶ ἄλλας πέντε ὑστέρας σφίσιν ἀνταναχθείσας, καὶ τρίτην νεῶν πεντάδα καὶ ὡσαύτως τετάρτην ἐχειρώσαντο. ἀνέθεσαν οὖν ἐς Δελφοὺς ταῖς ἀλούσαις ναυσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἴσα Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγάλματα.

[16.7] I learnt a very strange thing that happened to the Liparaeans in a war with the Etruscans. For the Liparaeans were bidden by the Pythian priestess to engage the Etruscans with the fewest possible ships. So they put out against the Etruscans with five triremes. Their enemies, refusing to admit that their seamanship was unequal to that of the Liparaeans, went out to meet them with an equal number of ships. These the Liparaeans captured, as they did a second five that came out against them, overcoming too a third squadron of five, and likewise a fourth. So they dedicated at Delphi images of Apollo equal in number to the ships that they had captured.

[8] Ἐχεκρατίδης δὲ ἀνὴρ Λαρισαῖος τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἀνέθηκε τὸν μικρόν· καὶ ἀπάντων πρῶτον τεθῆναι τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦτό φασιν οἱ Δελφοί.

[16.8] Echekratides of Larisa dedicated the small Apollo, said by the Delphians to have been the very first offering to be set up.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONT.

17. βαρβάρων δὲ τῶν πρὸς τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ οἱ ἔχοντες Σαρδῶ, εἰκόνα οὗτοι χαλκῇν τοῦ ἐπωνύμου σφίσιν ἀπέστειλαν. ἡ δὲ Σαρδῶ μέγεθος μὲν καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἐστὶν ὁμοία ταῖς μάλιστα ἐπαινουμέναις· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὃ τι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγένετο οὐκ οἶδα, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἐσπλέοντες Ἴχνοῦσαν ἐκάλεσαν, ὅτι τὸ σχῆμα τῇ νήσῳ κατ' ἴχνος μάλιστά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου. μῆκος δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς εἴκοσι στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατόν εἰσι καὶ χίλιοι, εὖρος δὲ ἐς εἰκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίους προήκει.

[17.1] XVII. Of the non-Greeks in the west, the people of Sardinia have sent a bronze statue of him after whom they are called. In size and prosperity Sardinia is the equal of the most celebrated islands. What the ancient name was that the natives give it I do not know, but those of the Greeks who sailed there to trade called it Ichnussa, because the shape of the island is very like a man's footprint (ichnos). Its length is one thousand one hundred and twenty stades, and its breadth extends to four hundred and twenty.

SARDINIA, MYTHICAL HISTORY

[2] πρῶτοι δὲ διαβῆναι λέγονται ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον Λίβυες: ἡγεμῶν δὲ τοῖς Λίβυσιν ἦν Σάρδος ὁ Μακήριδος, Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐπονομασθέντος ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. Μακήριδι μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ὁδὸς ἐγένετο ἢ ἐς Δελφούς: Σάρδω δὲ ἡγεμονία τε ὑπῆρξε τῶν Λιβύων ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἰχνοῦσσαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σάρδου τούτου μετέβαλεν ἢ νῆσος. οὐ μέντοι τοὺς γε αὐτόχθονας ἐξέβαλεν ὁ τῶν Λιβύων στόλος, σύνοικοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπελθόντες ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ εὐνοίας ἐδέχθησαν. καὶ πόλεις μὲν οὔτε οἱ Λίβυες οὔτε τὸ γένος τὸ ἐγχώριον ἠπίσταντο ποιήσασθαι: σποράδες δὲ ἐν καλύβαις τε καὶ σπηλαίοις, ὡς ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν, ὥκησαν.

[17.2] The first sailors to cross to the island are said to have been Libyans. Their leader was Sardus, son of Maceris, the Maceris surnamed Heracles by the Egyptians and Libyans. Maceris himself was celebrated chiefly for his journey to Delphi, but Sardus it was who led the Libyans to Ichnussa, and after him the island was renamed. However, the Libyan army did not expel the aboriginals, who received the invaders as settlers through compulsion rather than in goodwill. Neither the Libyans nor the native population knew how to build cities. They dwelt in scattered groups, where chance found them a home in cabins or caves.

[3] ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ τοὺς Λίβυας ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς τὴν νῆσον οἱ μετ' Ἀρισταίου. παῖδα δὲ λέγουσιν Ἀρισταῖον Ἀπόλλωνός τε εἶναι καὶ Κυρήνης: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος περισσῶς ἀλγήσαντα τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ Βοιωτία τε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατὰ ταῦτα ἀχθόμενον, οὕτως ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ μετοικῆσαί φασιν αὐτόν.

[17.3] Years after the Libyans, there came to the island from Greece Aristaeus and his followers. Aristaeus is said to have been a son of Apollo and Cyrene, and they say that, deeply grieved by the fate of Actaeon, and vexed alike with Boeotia and the whole of Greece, he migrated to Sardinia.

[4] οἱ δὲ καὶ Δαίδαλον ἀποδρᾶναι τηνικαῦτα †καὶ οἴκου διὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τὴν Κρητῶν καὶ ἀποικίας ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ μετασχεῖν τῷ Ἀρισταίῳ νομίζουσιν: ἔχοι δ' ἂν λόγον οὐδένα Αὐτονόῃ τῇ Κάδμου συνοικήσαντι τῷ Ἀρισταίῳ Δαίδαλον ἢ ἀποικίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς μετεσχηκέναι, ὃς ἡλικίαν κατὰ Οἰδίποδα ἦν βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θήβαις. πόλιν δ' οὖν οἰκίζουσιν οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' οὗτοι, ὅτι ἀριθμῷ τε καὶ ἰσχύϊ ἐλάσσονες ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ κατὰ πόλεως ἦσαν οἰκισμόν.

[17.4] Others think that Daedalus too ran away from Camicus on this occasion, because of the invasion of the Cretans, and took a part in the colony that Aristaeus led to Sardinia. But it is nonsense to think that Daedalus, a contemporary of Oedipus, king of Thebes, had a part in a colony or anything else along with Aristaeus, who married Autonoe, the daughter of Cadmus. At any rate, these colonists too founded no city, the reason being, I think, that neither in numbers nor in strength were they capable of the task.

[5] μετὰ δὲ Ἀρισταῖον Ἰβηρες ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ διαβαίνουσιν ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ στόλου Νώρακι, καὶ ὤκισθη Νώρα πόλις ὑπὸ αὐτῶν: ταύτην πρώτην γενέσθαι πόλιν μνημονεύουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, παῖδα δὲ Ἐρυθείας τε τῆς Γηρυόνου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Νώρακα. τετάρτη δὲ μοῖρα Ἰολάου Θεσπιδέων τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς στρατιὰ κατήρην ἐς Σαρδῶ, καὶ Ὀλβίαν μὲν πόλιν οἰκίζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ὀγρύλην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διασώζοντες τῶν δῆμων τῶν οἴκοι τινὸς τὸ ὄνομα: ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ στόλου μετεῖχεν Ὀγρύλος. ἔστι δ' οὖν καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι χωρία τε Ἰολαία ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ καὶ Ἰόλαος παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἔχει τιμὰς.

[17.5] After Aristaeus the Iberians crossed to Sardinia, under Norax as leader of the expedition, and they founded the city of Nora. The tradition is that this was the first city in the island, and they say that Norax was a son of Erytheia, the daughter of Geryones, with Hermes for his father. A fourth component part of the population was the army of Iolaus, consisting of Thespians and men from Attica, which put in at Sardinia and founded Olbia; by themselves the Athenians founded Ogryle, either in commemoration of one of their parishes in the home-land, or else because one Ogrylus himself took part in the expedition. Be this as it may, there are still today places in Sardinia called Iolaia, and Iolaus is worshipped by the inhabitants.

[6] Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλίσκομένης ἄλλοι τε ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Τρώων καὶ οἱ ἀποσωθέντες μετὰ Αἰνείου: τούτων μοῖρα ἀπενεχθεῖσα ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς Σαρδῶ ἀνέμιχθησαν τοῖς προενοικοῦσιν Ἑλλήσι. καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς μάχην τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς βαρβάρους: παρασκευῇ τε γὰρ ἴσοι τῇ ἀπάσῃ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἦσαν καὶ ὁ Θόρσος ποταμὸς διὰ μέσου σφίσι ῥέων τῆς χώρας ἐπ' ἴσης καὶ ἀμφοτέροις διαβαίνειν παρεῖχε δέος.

[17.6] When Troy was taken, among those Trojans who fled were those who escaped with Aeneas. A part of them, carried from their course by winds, reached Sardinia and intermarried with the Greeks already settled there. But the non-Greek element were prevented from coming to blows with the Greeks and Trojans, for the two enemies were evenly matched in all warlike equipment, while the river Thorsus, flowing between their territories, made both equally afraid to cross it.

[7] ὕστερον μέντοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν οἱ Λίβνες ἐπεραιώθησάν τε αὖθις ἐς τὴν νῆσον στόλῳ μείζονι καὶ ἥρξαν ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πολέμου. τὸ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ἅπαν ἐπέλαβε φθαρῆναι, ἢ ὀλίγον ἐγένετο ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ

ὑπολειφθέν: οἱ δὲ Τρῶες ἐς τῆς νήσου τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναφεύγουσι, καταλαβόντες δὲ ὄρη δύσβατα ὑπὸ σκολόπων τε καὶ κρημνῶν Ἰλιεῖς μὲν ὄνομα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἔχουσι, Λίβυσι μέντοι τὰς μορφὰς καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τὴν σκευὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν δίαίταν ἐοίκασιν.

[17.7] However, many years afterwards the Libyans crossed again to the island with a stronger army, and began a war against the Greeks. The Greeks were utterly destroyed, or only a few of them survived. The Trojans made their escape to the high parts of the island, and occupied mountains difficult to climb, being precipitous and protected by stakes. Even at the present day they are called Ilians, but in figure, in the fashion of their arms, and in their mode of living generally, they are like the Libyans.

SARDINIA, HISTORY

[8] ἔστι δὲ νῆσος οὐ πολλὴ ἀπέχουσα τῆς Σαρδοῦς, Κύρνος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὑπὸ δὲ Λιβύων τῶν ἐνοικούντων καλουμένη Κορσική. ἐκ ταύτης μοῖρα οὐκ ἐλαχίστη στάσει πιεσθεῖσα ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ, καὶ ὤκησαν τῆς χώρας ἀποτεμόμενοι τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν: ὑπὸ μέντοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ τῷ ὀνόματι ὀνομάζονται τῷ οἴκοθεν Κορσοί.

[17.8] Not far distant from Sardinia is an island, called Cynus by the Greeks, but Corsica by the Libyans who inhabit it. A large part of the population, oppressed by civil strife, left it and came to Sardinia; there they took up their abode, confining themselves to the highlands. The Sardinians, however, call them by the name of Corsicans, which they brought with them from home.

[9] Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ὅτε ναυτικῷ μάλιστα ἴσχυσαν, κατεστρέψαντο μὲν καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ πλην Ἰλιέων τε καὶ Κορσῶν — τούτοις δὲ μὴ ἐς δουλείαν ὑπαχθῆναι τὸ ἐχυρὸν ἤρκεσε τῶν ὀρῶν — , ὥκισαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ πόλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Κάραλιν τε καὶ Σύλκου. τοῦ δὲ ἐπικουρικοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων Λίβυες ἢ Ἰβηρες ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν λαφύρων ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ὥς εἶχον ὀργῆς ἀποστάντες ἐσφκίσαντο ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ οὗτοι τῆς νήσου. Βαλαροὶ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Κυρνίων: Βαλαροὺς γὰρ τοὺς φυγάδας καλοῦσιν οἱ Κύρνιοι.

[17.9] When the Carthaginians were at the height of their sea power, they overcame all in Sardinia except the Ilians and Corsicans, who were kept from slavery by the strength of the mountains. These Carthaginians, like those who preceded them, founded cities in the island, namely, Caralis and Sulci. Some of the Carthaginian mercenaries, either Libyans or Iberians, quarrelled about the booty, mutinied in a passion, and added to the number of the highland settlers. Their name in the Cynian language is Balari, which is the Cynian word for fugitives.

SARDINIA, GEOGRAPHY

[10] γένη μὲν τοσαῦτα τὴν Σαρδῶ καὶ ἐσφκισμένα οὕτω νέμεται, τῆς δὲ νήσου τὰ πρὸς τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ ἡπείρου τῆς κατὰ Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶν ὄρη δύσβατα τὰ

πέρατα συνάπτοντα ἀλλήλοις· καὶ ἦν παραπλήρης, ναυσὶν οὔτε ὄρους παρέχεται κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ νήσος πνεύματά τε ἄτακτα καὶ ἰσχυρὰ αἱ ἄκραι τῶν ὀρῶν καταπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν.

[17.10] These are the races that dwell in Sardinia, and such was the method of their settlement. The northern part of the island and that towards the mainland of Italy consist of an unbroken chain of impassable mountains. And if you sail along the coast you will find no anchorage on this side of the island, while violent but irregular gusts of wind sweep down to the sea from the tops of the mountains.

[11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα διὰ μέσης αὐτῆς ὄρη χθαμαλότερα. ὁ δὲ ἀήρ ὁ ἐνταῦθα θολερός τε ὡς ἐπίπαν ἐστὶ καὶ νοσώδης· αἵτιοι δὲ οἱ τε ἅλεις οἱ πηγνύμενοι καὶ ὁ νότος βαρὺς καὶ βίαιος ἐγκείμενος, οἱ ἄνεμοί τε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸν τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν πρὸς τῆς Ἰταλίας κωλύονται πνέοντες θέρους ὥρα τὸν τε ἄερα τὸν ταύτη καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνανύχειν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Κύρνον σταδίου φασὶν οὐ πλέονας ἀπὸ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἢ ὀκτώ τῇ θαλάσῃ διείργεσθαι, ὀρεινὴν τε οὖσαν καὶ ἐς ὕψος διὰ πάσης ἀνήκουσαν· τὸν Ζέφυρον οὖν καὶ Βορέαν ὑπὸ τῆς Κύρνου κωλύεσθαι νομίζουσι μὴ καὶ ἄχρι τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐξικνεῖσθαι.

[17.11] Across the middle of the island runs another chain of mountains, but lower in height. The atmosphere here is on the whole heavy and unwholesome. The reason is partly the salt that crystallizes here, partly the oppressive, violent south wind, and partly the fact that, because of the height of the mountains on the side towards Italy, the north winds are prevented, when they blow in summer, from cooling the atmosphere and the ground here. Others say that the cause is Cyrnus, which is separated from Sardinia by no more than eight stades of sea, and is hilly and high all over. So they think that Cyrnus prevents the west wind and the north wind from reaching as far as Sardinia.

[12] ὄφεις δὲ οὔτε ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τῇ ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ὅσον ἀνώλεθρον αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ οἱ λύκοι τρέφεσθαι πεφύκασιν. οἱ δὲ τράγοι ἄγριοι μέγεθος μὲν τοῦς ἐτέρωθι οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσιν, εἶδος δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὅποιον ἐν πλαστικῇ τις ἂν τῇ Αἰγιναίᾳ ποιήσειεν ἀγρίου κριοῦ· τὰ μέντοι ἀμφὶ τὸ στήθος δασύτερά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ὡς πρὸς Αἰγιναίαν τέχνην εἰκάσαι· κέρατα δὲ οὐ διεστηκότα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἔχουσιν ἐληλιγμένα· ὠκύτητι δὲ ἅπαντα τὰ θηρία ὑπερήρκασι.

[17.12] Neither poisonous nor harmless snakes can live in Sardinia, nor yet wolves. The he-goats are no bigger than those found elsewhere, but their shape is that of the wild ram which an artist would carve in Aeginetan style, except that their breasts are too shaggy to liken them to Aeginetan art. Their horns do not stand out away from the head, but curl straight beside the ears. In speed they are the swiftest of all beasts.

[13] πλὴν δὲ ἡ βοτάνης μιᾶς καθαρεύει καὶ ἀπὸ φαρμάκων ἡ νήσος ὅσα ἐργάζεται θάνατον· ἡ πόα δὲ ἡ ὀλέθριος σελίνω μὲν ἐστὶν ἐμφορής, τοῖς

φαγοῦσι δὲ γελῶσιν ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Ὅμηρός τε καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ ὑγιεῖ Σαρδάνιον γέλωτα ὀνομάζουσι. φύεται δὲ μάλιστα ἡ πόα περὶ τὰς πηγὰς, οὐ μέντοι μεταδίδωσί γε καὶ τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ ἰοῦ.

τὸν μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Σαρδοῦς λόγον ἐπεισηγόμεθα ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα συγγραφὴν, ὅτι οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ἐς ταύτην οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν νῆσον ἀνηκῶς εἶχον:

[17.13] Except for one plant the island is free from poisons. This deadly herb is like celery, and they say that those who eat it die laughing. Wherefore Homer, and men after him, call unwholesome laughter sardonic. The herb grows mostly around springs, but does not impart any of its poison to the water.

I have introduced into my history of Phocis this account of Sardinia, because it is an island about which the Greeks are very ignorant.

VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONT.

18. τὸν δὲ ἵππον, ὃς ἐφεξῆς τῇ εἰκόνι ἐστὶ τοῦ Σάρδου, Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας Λυσιμαχίδου πατρὸς ἀναθεῖναι φησιν ἰδίᾳ περιποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου χρήματα. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἀνέθεσαν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα πόλιν τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ παραστησάμενοι πολιορκίᾳ: τῇ πόλει δὲ ἦν εἶλον Φάνα τοῦνομα ἦν. γενέσθαι δὲ χρόνον φασιν οὐκ ὀλίγον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ: καὶ ὥς ἀδυνάτως εἶχον ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοῦς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο μάντευμα:

[18.1] XVIII. The horse next to the statue of Sardus was dedicated, says the Athenian Callias son of Lysimachides, in the inscription, by Callias himself from spoils he had taken in the Persian war. The Achaeans dedicated an image of Athena after reducing by siege one of the cities of Aetolia, the name of which was Phana. They say that the siege was not a short one, and being unable to take the city, they sent envoys to Delphi, to whom was given the following response:—

[2] “γῆς Πέλοπος ναέται καὶ Ἀχαιῖδος, οἱ ποτὶ Πυθῷ

ἤλθετε πευσόμενοι ὥς κε πτολίεθρον ἔλητε,

ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ φράζεσθε λάχος πόσον ἦμαρ ἕκαστον

λαῶν πινόντων ρύεται πόλιν, ἡ δὲ πέπωκεν:

οὔτω γάρ κεν ἔλοιτε Φάναν πυργήρεα κόμην.

“

[18.2]

Dwellers in the land of Pelops and in Achaia, who to Pytho
Have come to inquire how ye shall take a city,
Come, consider what daily ration,
Drunk by the folk, saves the city which has so drunk.

For so ye may take the towered village of Phana.

[3] οὐ συνιέντες οὖν ὁποῖόν τι ἤθελεν ὁ χρησμὸς λέγειν, οἱ μὲν οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐβουλεύοντο διαλύσαντες τὴν πολιορκίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους οἷ τε ἄλλοι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ σφᾶς ἐνεποιοῦντο καὶ γυνὴ πρόεισιν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει λαβεῖν πίδακος. ἐπιδραμόντες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰχμάλωτόν τε τὴν γυναῖκα αἰροῦσι καὶ διδάσκονται παρ' αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ὅτι τὸ ὀλίγον τὸ ἐκ τῆς πίδακος ὕδωρ, ὅποτε ἐφ' ἐκάστης λάβοιεν τῆς νυκτός, διεμετροῦντο αὐτό, καὶ ἄλλο ἦν τοῖς ἔνδον ἀλέξημα οὐδὲν ἐς δίψαν. οὕτω δὴ συγγέαντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὸ πόλισμα αἰροῦσιν.

[18.3] So not understanding what was the meaning of the oracle, they were minded to raise the siege and sail away, while the defenders paid no attention to them, one of their women coming from behind the walls to fetch water from the spring just under them. Some of the besiegers ran up and took the woman prisoner, who informed the Achaeans that the scanty water from the spring, that was fetched each night, was rationed among the besieged, who had nothing else to quench their thirst. So the Achaeans, by filling up the spring, captured the town.

[4] Ῥόδιοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστησαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀμβρακιῶται χαλκοῦν ὄνον, νυκτομαχία Μολοσσοὺς νικήσαντες. λόχον μὲν σφισιν ἐν νυκτὶ οἱ Μολοσσοὶ παρεσκεύασαν: ὄνου δέ, ὃς ἐλαυνόμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τότε ἔτυχεν, ὄνον θήλειαν διώκοντος σὺν ὕβρει τε τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τραχύτητι τοῦ φθέγματος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃς τὸν ὄνον ἤλαυνε βοῶντος ἀσαφῆ τε καὶ ἄκοσμα, οὕτως οἷ τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τῶν Μολοσσῶν ἐξανίστανται ταραχθέντες καὶ οἱ Ἀμβρακιῶται φωράσαντες τὰ ἐπὶ σφίσι βεβουλευμένα ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ, καὶ ἐκράτησαν μάχῃ τῶν Μολοσσῶν.

[18.4] By the side of this Athena the Rhodians of Lindus set up their image of Apollo. The Ambraciots dedicated also a bronze ass, having conquered the Molossians in a night battle. The Molossians had prepared an ambush for them by night. It chanced that an ass, being driven back from the fields, was chasing a she-ass with harsh braying and wanton gait, while the driver of the ass increased the din by his horrible, inarticulate yells. So the men in the Molossian ambush rushed out affrighted, and the Ambraciots, detecting the trap prepared for them, attacked in the night and overcame the Molossians in battle.

[5] Ὅρνεᾷται δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι πολέμῳ σφᾶς Σικυωνίων πιεζόντων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι εὗξαντο, εἰ ἀπώσαιντο ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τῶν Σικυωνίων τὸν στρατόν, πομπήν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ στελεῖν ὅσημέραι καὶ ἱερεῖα θύσειν οἷα δὴ καὶ ὅσα ἀριθμόν. νικῶσί τε δὴ μάχῃ τοὺς Σικυωνίους, καὶ ὥς σφισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πάσης ἀποδιδούσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν δαπάνη τε ἦν μεγάλη καὶ μείζων ἔτι τοῦ ἀναλώματος ἢ ταλαιπωρία, οὕτω δὴ σόφισμα εὗρίσκουσιν ἀναθεῖναι

τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν τε καὶ πομπὴν χαλκᾷ ποιήματα.

[18.5] The men of Orneae in Argolis, when hard pressed in war by the Sicyonians, vowed to Apollo that, if they should drive the host of the Sicyonians out of their native land, they would organize a daily procession in his honor at Delphi, and sacrifice victims of a certain kind and of a certain number. Well, they conquered the Sicyonians in battle. But finding the daily fulfillment of their vow a great expense and a still greater trouble, they devised the trick of dedicating to the god bronze figures representing a sacrifice and a procession.

[6] ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄθλων τῶν Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕδραν, ἀνάθημά τε ὁμοῦ Τισαγόρου καὶ τέχνη, σιδήρου καὶ ἡ ὕδρα καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς. σιδήρου δὲ ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐπὶ ἀγάλμασι χαλεπωτάτην καὶ πόνου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι πλείστου: θαύματος μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦ Τισαγόρου τὸ ἔργον, ὅστις δὴ ὁ Τισαγόρας, θαύματος δὲ οὐκ ἐλαχίστου καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ λέοντός τε καὶ ὕδς ἀγρίου κεφαλαί, σιδήρου καὶ αὗται: Διονύσῳ δὲ ἀνάθηματα σφᾶς ἐποιήσαντο.

[18.6] There is here one of the labours of Heracles, namely, his fight with the hydra. Tisagoras not only dedicated the offering, but also made it. Both the hydra and Heracles are of iron. To make images of iron is a very difficult task, involving great labour. So the work of Tisagoras, whoever he was, is marvellous. Very marvellous too are the heads of a lion and wild boar at Pergamus, also of iron, which were made as offerings to Dionysus.

[7] Φωκέων δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες Ἐλάτειαν — ἀντέσχον γὰρ τῇ Κασσάνδρου πολιορκία Ὀλυμπιοδώρου σφίσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀμύνοντος — λέοντα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χαλκοῦν ἀποπέμπουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ λέοντος Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἀπαρχὴ ναυμαχίας.

πεποιήται δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν τρόπαιόν τε καὶ γυναικὸς ἄγαλμα ὥπλισμένης, ἡ Αἰτωλία δῆθεν: ταῦτα ἀνέθεσαν ἐπιθέντες οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ Γαλάταις δίκην ὁμότητος τῆς ἐς Καλλιέας. ἐπίχρυσος δὲ εἰκὼν, ἀνάθημα Γοργίου τοῦ ἐκ Λεοντίνων, αὐτὸς Γοργίας ἐστὶν εἰκὼν.

[18.7] The Phocians who live at Elateia, who held their city, with the help of Olympiodorus from Athens, when besieged by Cassander, sent to Apollo at Delphi a bronze lion. The Apollo, very near to the lion, was dedicated by the Massiliots as firstfruits of their naval victory over the Carthaginians. The Aetolians have made a trophy and the image of an armed woman, supposed to represent Aetolia. These were dedicated by the Aetolians when they had punished the Gauls for their cruelty to the Callians. A gilt statue, offered by Gorgias of Leontini, is a portrait of Gorgias himself.

19. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Γοργίαν ἀνάθημά ἐστιν Ἀμφικτυόνων Σκιωναῖος Σκύλλης, ὃς καταδῦναι καὶ ἐς τὰ βαθύτατα θαλάσσης πάσης ἔχει φήμην: ἐδιδάξατο δὲ καὶ Ὑδραν τὴν θυγατέρα δύεσθαι.

[19.1] XIX. Beside the Gorgias is a votive offering of the Amphictyons, representing Scyllis of Scione, who, tradition says, dived into the very deepest parts of every sea. He also taught his daughter Hydna to dive.

[2] οὗτοι περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πήλιον ἐπιπεσόντος ναυτικῷ τῷ Ξέρξου βιαίου χειμῶνος προσεξεργάσαντό σφισιν ἀπώλειαν, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἔρυμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἦν ὑφέλκοντες. ἀντὶ τούτου μὲν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες καὶ αὐτὸν Σκύλλιν καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἀνέθεσαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνδριῶσιν ὀπόσους Νέρων ἔλαβεν ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐν τούτοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῆς Ὑδνης ἀπεπλήρωσεν ἢ εἰκόν. καταδύονται δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν γένους τοῦ θήλεος αἱ καθαρῶς ἔτι παρθένοι.

[19.2] When the fleet of Xerxes was attacked by a violent storm off Mount Pelion, father and daughter completed its destruction by dragging away under the sea the anchors and any other security the triremes had. In return for this deed the Amphictyons dedicated statues of Scyllis and his daughter. The statue of Hydna completed the number of the statues that Nero carried off from Delphi. Only those of the female sex who are pure virgins may dive into the sea.

[3] τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἔρχομαι διηγησόμενος λόγον Λέσβιον. ἀλιεῦσιν ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τὰ δίκτυα ἀνείλκυσεν ἐκ θαλάσσης πρόσωπον ἐλαίας ξύλου πεποιημένον· τοῦτο ἰδέαν παρείχετο φέρουσιν μὲν τοι ἐς τὸ θεῖον, ξένην δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θεοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς οὐ καθεστῶσαν. εἶποντο οὖν οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι τὴν Πυθίαν ὅτου θεῶν ἢ καὶ ἡρώων ἐστὶν ἢ εἰκόν· ἢ δὲ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι Διόνυσον Φαλλῆνα ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι ξόανον μὲν τὸ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης παρὰ σφίσιν ἔχοντες καὶ θυσίαις καὶ εὐχαῖς τιμῶσι, χαλκοῦν δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν ἐς Δελφούς.

[19.3] I am going on to tell a Lesbian story. Certain fishermen of Methymna found that their nets dragged up to the surface of the sea a face made of olive-wood. Its appearance suggested a touch of divinity, but it was outlandish, and unlike the normal features of Greek gods. So the people of Methymna asked the Pythian priestess of what god or hero the figure was a likeness, and she bade them worship Dionysus Phallen. Whereupon the people of Methymna kept for themselves the wooden image out of the sea, worshipping it with sacrifices and prayers, but sent a bronze copy to Delphi.

TEMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPHI

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητώ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Μοῦσαι δύσιν τε Ἥλιου καὶ Διόνυσός τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Θυιάδες. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα αὐτῶν Ἀθηναῖος Πραξίας μαθητὴς Καλάμιδος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐργασάμενος· χρόνου δὲ ὡς ὁ ναὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐγγινομένου Πραξίαν μὲν ἔμελλεν ἀπάξειν τὸ χρεῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενα τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς κόσμου ἐποίησεν Ἀνδροσθένης, γένος μὲν καὶ οὗτος Ἀθηναῖος, μαθητὴς δὲ Εὐκάδμου. ὅπλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων χρυσᾶ, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἀνέθεσαν, Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ τὰ τε ὀπισθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Γαλατῶν δὴ ὅπλα· σχῆμα δὲ

αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτω τῶν Περσικῶν γέρρων.

[19.4] The carvings in the pediments are: Artemis, Leto, Apollo, Muses, a setting Sun, and Dionysus together with the Thyiad women. The first of them are the work of Praxias, an Athenian and a pupil of Calamis, but the temple took some time to build, during which Praxias died. So the rest of the ornament in the pediments was carved by Androsthene, like Praxias an Athenian by birth, but a pupil of Eucadmus. There are arms of gold on the architraves; the Athenians dedicated the shields from spoils taken at the battle of Marathon, and the Aetolians the arms, supposed to be Gallic, behind and on the left. Their shape is very like that of Persian wicker shields.

INVASION OF THE GAULS, HISTORY

[5] Γαλατῶν δὲ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιστρατείας ἔχει μὲν τινα μνήμην καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἡμῖν τὸ Ἀττικὸν συγγραφή: προάγειν δὲ ἐς τὸ σαφέστερον τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἠθέλησα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὅτι ἔργων τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὰ μέγιστα Ἕλλησιν ἐνταῦθα ἦν. ὑπερόριον μὲν οἱ Κελτοὶ στρατείαν πρώτην ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι ἐποιήσαντο Καμβαύλῃ: προελθόντες δὲ ἄχρι τῆς Θράκης τὸ πρόσω τῆς πορείας οὐκ ἀπεθάρσυσαν, καταγνόντες αὐτῶν ὅτι ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι κατ' ἀριθμὸν Ἕλλησιν.

[19.5] I have made some mention of the Gallic invasion of Greece in my description of the Athenian Council Chamber. But I have resolved to give a more detailed account of the Gauls in my description of Delphi, because the greatest of the Greek exploits against the barbarians took place there. The Celts conducted their first foreign expedition under the leadership of Cambaules. Advancing as far as Thrace they lost heart and broke off their march, realizing that they were too few in number to be a match for the Greeks.

[6] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐπιφέρειν ἐδόκει ὅπλα ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλων — ἐνήγον δὲ μάλιστα οἱ ὁμοῦ Καμβαύλῃ ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἅτε ληστειῶν τε ἢ δὴ γεγευμένοι καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ κερδῶν ἐς ἔρωτα ἦκοντες — , πολὺς μὲν δὴ πεζός, οὐκ ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ἡθοροίσθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἵππικόν: ἐς μοίρας οὖν τρεῖς ἔνεμον οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἄλλος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἄλλην ἐτέτακτο ἰέναι χώραν.

[19.6] But when they decided to invade foreign territory a second time, so great was the influence of Cambaules' veterans, who had tasted the joy of plunder and acquired a passion for robbery and plunder, that a large force of infantry and no small number of mounted men attended the muster. So the army was split up into three divisions by the chieftains, to each of whom was assigned a separate land to invade.

[7] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν Θρᾷκας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Τριβαλλῶν ἔμελλε Κερέθριος ἡγήσασθαι: τοῖς δὲ ἐς Παιονίαν ἰοῦσι Βρέννος ἦσαν καὶ Ἀκισχάριος ἄρχοντες: Βόλγιος δὲ ἐπὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἦλασε, καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον κατέστη τότε ἔχοντα τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ

ἦν οὗτος ὃς Σέλευκόν τε ἐδολοφόνησε τὸν Ἀντίοχον, καταπεφευγὼς ὁμῶς ἰκέτης ὡς αὐτόν, καὶ εἶχεν ἐπὶ κλησιν Κεραυνὸς διὰ τὸ ἄγαν τολμηρόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτός τε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγένετο οὐκ ἐλαχίστη φθορά· προελθεῖν δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδὲ τότε ἐθάρσησαν οἱ Κελτοί, καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος οὕτω στόλος ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν.

[19.7] Cerethrius was to be leader against the Thracians and the nation of the Triballi. The invaders of Paeonia were under the command of Brennus and Acichorius. Bolgius attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians, and engaged in a struggle with Ptolemy, king of the Macedonians at that time. It was this Ptolemy who, though he had taken refuge as a suppliant with Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, treacherously murdered him, and was surnamed Thunderbolt because of his recklessness. Ptolemy himself perished in the fighting, and the Macedonian losses were heavy. But once more the Celts lacked courage to advance against Greece, and so the second expedition returned home.

[8] ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Βρέννος πολὺς μὲν ἐν συλλόγοις τοῖς κοινοῖς, πολὺς δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἦν τῶν ἐν τέλει Γαλατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπαίρων στρατεύεσθαι, ἀσθένειάν τε Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι διηγούμενος καὶ ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, πλείονα δὲ ἐν ἱεροῖς τὰ τε ἀναθήματα καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός ἐστιν ἐπίσημος· ἀνέπεισέ τε δὴ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ αὐτῷ συνάρχοντας ἄλλους τε προσεῖλετο τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τὸν Ἀκιχώριον.

[19.8] It was then that Brennus, both in public meetings and also in personal talks with individual Gallic officers, strongly urged a campaign against Greece, enlarging on the weakness of Greece at the time, on the wealth of the Greek states, and on the even greater wealth in sanctuaries, including votive offerings and coined silver and gold. So he induced the Gauls to march against Greece. Among the officers he chose to be his colleagues was Acichorius.

[9] ὁ δὲ ἀθροισθεὶς στρατὸς πεζοὶ μὲν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο πεντεκαίδεκα προσόντων σφίσι δισχιλίων, οἱ δὲ ἵππεύοντες τετρακόσιοι καὶ δισμύριοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἦσαν τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἀεὶ ἐνεργόν, ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἀληθὴς διακόσιοί τε καὶ χίλιοι καὶ ἑξ μυριάδες· δύο γὰρ οἰκέται περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἱππεύοντων ἦσαν, ἀγαθοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἵππικὰ καὶ ἵππους ὁμοίως ἔχοντες.

[19.9] The muster of foot amounted to one hundred and fifty-two thousand, with twenty thousand four hundred horse. This was the number of horsemen in action at any one time, but the real number was sixty-one thousand two hundred. For to each horseman were attached two servants, who were themselves skilled riders and, like their masters, had a horse.

[10] Γαλατῶν δὲ τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν ἀγῶνος συνεστηκότος ὑπομένοντες τῆς τάξεως ὀπισθεν οἱ οἰκέται τοσάδε σφίσιν ἐγίνοντο χρήσιμοι· τῷ γὰρ ἵππεϊ συμβάν ἢ τῷ ἵππῳ πεσεῖν, τὸν μὲν ἵππον παρεῖχεν ἀναβῆναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ,

τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ δοῦλος ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότου τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαινεν: εἰ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἐπιλάβοι τὸ χρεών, ἐνταῦθα ἔτοιμος ἦν ἱππεύς. λαμβανόντων δὲ τραύματα αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν ὑπεξῆγε τῶν δούλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸν τραυματίαν, ὁ δὲ καθίστατο ἐς τὴν τάξιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπελθόντος.

[19.10] When the Gallic horsemen were engaged, the servants remained behind the ranks and proved useful in the following way. Should a horseman or his horse fall, the slave brought him a horse to mount; if the rider was killed, the slave mounted the horse in his master's place; if both rider and horse were killed, there was a mounted man ready. When a rider was wounded, one slave brought back to camp the wounded man, while the other took his vacant place in the ranks.

[11] ταῦτα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐνομίσθη τοῖς Γαλάταις ἐς μίμησιν τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις ἀριθμοῦ τῶν μυρίων, οἱ ἐκαλοῦντο Ἀθάνατοι. διάφορα δὲ ἦν, ὅτι κατελέγοντο ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ὑπὸ μὲν Περσῶν τῆς μάχης ὕστερον, Γαλάταις δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὴν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἀκμὴν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἀπεπληροῦτο τῶν ἱππέων. τοῦτο ὀνόμαζον τὸ σύνταγμα τριμαρκισίαν τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ: καὶ ἵππῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἴστω τις μάρκαν ὃν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν.

[19.11] I believe that the Gauls in adopting these methods copied the Persian regiment of the Ten Thousand, who were called the Immortals. There was, however, this difference. The Persians used to wait until the battle was over before replacing casualties, while the Gauls kept reinforcing the horsemen to their full number during the height of the action. This organization is called in their native speech trimarcisia, for I would have you know that marca is the Celtic name for a horse.

[12] παρασκευῇ μὲν τοσαύτῃ καὶ μετὰ διανοίας τοιαύτης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ Βρέννος ἤλανε: τοῖς δέ γε Ἑλλήσι κατεπεπτόκει μὲν ἐς ἅπαν τὰ φρονήματα, τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ δέματος προῆγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀμύνειν. ἐώρων δὲ τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγῶνα οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας γενησόμενον, καθὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μήδου ποτέ, οὐδὲ δοῦσιν ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτου σφίσιν ἄδειαν φέροντα: ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἐς Μακεδόνας καὶ Θρᾶκας καὶ Παίονας τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας καταδρομῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔτι σφίσιν ἔκειτο ἐν μνήμῃ, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὰ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς παρανομήματα ἀπηγγέλλετο. ὥς οὖν ἀπολωλέναι δέον ἢ δ' οὖν ἐπικρατεστέρους εἶναι, κατ' ἄνδρα τε ἰδίᾳ καὶ αἱ πόλεις διέκειντο ἐν κοινῷ.

[19.12] This was the size of the army, and such was the intention of Brennus, when he attacked Greece. The spirit of the Greeks was utterly broken, but the extremity of their terror forced them to defend Greece. They realized that the struggle that faced them would not be one for liberty, as it was when they fought the Persian, and that giving water and earth would not bring them safety. They still remembered the fate of Macedonia, Thrace and Paeonia during the former incursion of the Gauls, and reports were coming in of

enormities committed at that very time on the Thessalians. So every man, as well as every state, was convinced that they must either conquer or perish.

20. πάρεστι δέ, ὅστις ἐθέλοι καὶ ἀνταριθμῆσαι τοὺς τε ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ξέρξην ἐς Πύλας καὶ τοὺς τότε ἐναντία Γαλατῶν ἀθροισθέντας. ἐπὶ μὲν γε τὸν Μῆδον ἀφίκοντο τοσοῖδε Ἑλλήνων: Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ μετὰ Λεωνίδου τριακοσίων οὐ πλείονες, Τεγεᾶται πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἐκ Μαντινείας ἴσοι, παρὰ δὲ Ὀρχομενίων Ἀρκάδων εἰκοσὶ τε καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων χίλιοι τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλεων, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ ἐκ Μυκηνῶν καὶ ἐκ Φλιοῦντος διακόσιοι, διπλάσιοι δὲ τούτων Κορίνθιοι: παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἑπτακόσιοι ἐκ δὲ Θεσπείας καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν τετρακόσιοι. χίλιοι δὲ Φωκῶν ἐφύλασσον μὲν τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ, προσέστω δὲ τῷ παντὶ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὁ τούτων.

[20.1] XX. Any one who so wishes can compare the number of those who mustered to meet king Xerxes at Thermopylae with those who now mustered to oppose the Gauls. To meet the Persians there came Greek contingents of the following strength. Lacedaemonians with Leonidas not more than three hundred; Tegeans five hundred, and five hundred from Mantinea; from Orchomenus in Arcadia a hundred and twenty; from the other cities in Arcadia one thousand; from Mycenae eighty; from Phlius two hundred, and from Corinth twice this number; of the Boeotians there mustered seven hundred from Thespieae and four hundred from Thebes. A thousand Phocians guarded the path on Mount Oeta, and the number of these should be added to the Greek total.

[2] Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὐχ ὑπήγαγεν ἐς ἀριθμόν, ἀλλ' ἀφικέσθαι σφᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν ἔφη τῶν πόλεων: τεκμήρασθαι δὲ ἀριθμόν καὶ τούτων ἔστιν ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀληθοῦς: ἐς Μαραθῶνα γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι σὺν ἡλικίᾳ τε τῇ ἀχρείᾳ καὶ δούλοις ἐνακισχιλίων ἀφίκοντο οὐ πλείους, τὸ οὖν μάχιμον Λοκρῶν τὸ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐλθὼν οὐκ ἂν ὑπὲρ γε ἑξακισχιλίου ἀριθμοῖη τις. οὕτω γένοιτο ἂν ὁ σύμπας στρατὸς διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. φαίνονται δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτοι τὸν χρόνον πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τῶν Πυλῶν καταμείναντες: πλὴν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Θεσπιέων καὶ Μυκηναίων προαπέλιπον τὸ πέρας τῆς μάχης οἱ λοιποί.

[20.2] Herodotus does not give the number of the Locrians under Mount Cnemis, but he does say that each of their cities sent a contingent. It is possible, however, to make an estimate of these also that comes very near to the truth. For not more than nine thousand Athenians marched to Marathon, even if we include those who were too old for active service and slaves; so the number of Locrian fighting men who marched to Thermopylae cannot have exceeded six thousand. So the whole army would amount to eleven thousand two hundred. But it is well known that not even these remained all the time guarding the pass; for if we except the Lacedaemonians, Thespians and Mycenaeans, the rest left the field before the conclusion of the fighting.

[3] ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ βαρβάρους τοσοῖδε ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀφίκοντο Ἕλληνες: ὀπλῖται μύριοι καὶ ἵππος πεντακοσία παρὰ Βοιωτῶν: ἐβοιωτάρχουν δὲ Κηφισόδοτος καὶ Θεαρίδας καὶ Διογένης καὶ Λύσανδρος. ἐκ δὲ Φωκέων ἱππεῖς πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἐς τρισχιλίους ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν πεζῶν: στρατηγοὶ δὲ Φωκέων Κριτόβουλός τε ἦν καὶ Ἀντίοχος.

[20.3] To meet the barbarians who came from the Ocean the following Greek forces came to Thermopylae. Of the Boeotians ten thousand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, the Boeotarchs being Cephisodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes and Lysander. From Phocis came five hundred cavalry with footmen three thousand in number. The generals of the Phocians were Critobulus and Antiochus.

[4] Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀταλάντῃ τῇ νήσῳ Μειδίας ἦγεν: ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἑπτακόσιοι, καὶ ἱππικὸν σφισιν οὐ προσήν. παρὰ δὲ Μεγαρέων ἀφίκοντο ὀπλῖται τετρακόσιοι: τούτων ἦγε τὸ ἱππικὸν Μεγαρεύς. Αἰτωλῶν δὲ πλείστη τε ἐγένετο στρατιὰ καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν μάχης ιδέα, ἡ μὲν ἵππος οὐ λέγουσιν ὀπόση, ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι, πλέονες δὲ ἑπτακισχιλίων ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλιτεύοντες: Αἰτωλοὺς δὲ ἦγον Πολύαρχος καὶ Πολύφρων τε καὶ Λακράτης.

[20.4] The Locrians over against the island of Atalanta were under the command of Meidias; they numbered seven hundred, and no cavalry was with them. Of the Megarians came four hundred hoplites commanded by Hipponicus of Megara. The Aetolians sent a large contingent, including every class of fighting men; the number of cavalry is not given, but the light-armed were seven hundred and ninety, and their hoplites numbered more than seven thousand. Their leaders were Polyarchus, Polyphron and Lacrates.

[5] Ἀθηναίων δὲ στρατηγὸς μὲν Κάλλιππος ἦν ὁ Μοιροκλέους, καθὰ ἐδήλωσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τοῦ λόγου, δύναμις δὲ τριήρεις τε αἱ πλώμοι πᾶσαι, πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱππικόν, χίλιοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς: καὶ

ἡγεμονίαν οὗτοι κατ' ἀξίωμα εἶχον τὸ ἀρχαῖον. βασιλέων δὲ ξενικὰ πεντακόσιοί τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἴσοι σφίσιν ἀφίκοντο ἀριθμόν: ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν μὲν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου πεμφθέντων Ἀριστόδημος ἦν Μακεδών, τῶν δὲ παρὰ Ἀντιόχου τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Τελέσαρχος τῶν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ Σύρων.

[20.5] The Athenian general was Callippus, the son of Moerocles, as I have said in an earlier part of my work, and their forces consisted of all their seaworthy triremes, five hundred horse and one thousand foot. Because of their ancient reputation the Athenians held the chief command. The king of Macedonia sent five hundred mercenaries, and the king of Asia a like number; the leader of those sent by Antigonus was Aristodemus, a Macedonian, and Telesarchus, one of the Syrians on the Orontes, commanded the forces that Antiochus sent from Asia.

[6] τοῖς δὲ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀθροισθεῖσιν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς ἐπύθοντο περὶ τε Μαγνησίαν καὶ γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν ὄντα ἤδη τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸν στρατόν, ἔδοξεν ἤδη ψιλοῦς τε ἐς χιλιούς καὶ ἐς τὴν ἵππον ἀπολέξαντας ἀποστεῖλαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σπερχεῖον, ἵνα μηδὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἄνευ ἀγῶνός τε καὶ κινδύνων ἐγγένηται. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες τὰς γεφύρας τε καταλύουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Βρέννος οὔτε πάντα ἀσύνητος οὔτε ἀπείρως εἶχεν ὡς ἂν τις βάρβαρος σοφίσματα ἐς πολέμιους ἐξευρεῖν.

[20.6] When the Greeks assembled at Thermopylae learned that the army of the Gauls was already in the neighborhood of Magnesia and Phthiotis, they resolved to detach the cavalry and a thousand light armed troops and to send them to the Spercheius, so that even the crossing of the river could not be effected by the barbarians without a struggle and risks. On their arrival these forces broke down the bridges and by themselves encamped along the bank. But Brennus himself was not utterly stupid, nor inexperienced, for a barbarian, in devising tricks of strategy.

[7] εὐθὺς οὖν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, οὐ καθότι ἦν τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῷ ποταμῷ ζεύγματα ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ κάτω, ὡς μή τις τοῖς Ἑλλήσι διαβαινόντων γένοιτο αἴσθησις, καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ὁ Σπερχεῖος διεχεῖτο ἐς πλεόν τοῦ πεδίου καὶ ἔλος τε ἐποίει καὶ λίμνην ἀντὶ βιαίου καὶ στενοῦ ρεύματος, κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ Βρέννος ὅσον μυρίους τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπέστειλεν, ὅποσοι τε νεῖν ἠπίσαντο ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅστις τῷ μήκει τοῦ σώματος ἐτύγγανεν ὦν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Κελτοὶ μακρῷ πάντας ὑπερηρκότες μήκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

[20.7] So on that very night he despatched some troops to the Spercheius, not to the places where the old bridges had stood, but lower down, where the Greeks would not notice the crossing, and just where the river spread over the plain and made a marsh and lake instead of a narrow, violent stream. Hither Brennus sent some ten thousand Gauls, picking out the swimmers and the tallest men; and the Celts as a race are far taller than any other people.

[8] οὗτοι οὖν διαβαίνουνσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί διανηχόμενοι ὧδε τὸ λιμνωδες τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους θυρεούς, ἐποιεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀντὶ σχεδίας, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μήκιστοι διελθεῖν ἐμβαδὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐδυνήθησαν. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σπερχεῖῳ — πυνθάνονται γὰρ ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ἔλος διέβη μοῖρα τῶν βαρβάρων — αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἀναχωροῦσι, Βρέννος δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μαλιακὸν κόλπον οἰκοῦσι ζευγνύναι τὸν Σπερχεῖον ἐπέτασεν· οἱ δὲ ἦννον τὸ ἔργον σπουδῇ, τῷ τε ἐκείνου δέει καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφίσιν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τοὺς βαρβάρους μηδὲ ἐπὶ πλεόν κακουργεῖν μένοντας.

[20.8] So these crossed in the night, swimming over the river where it expands into a lake; each man used his shield, his national buckler, as a raft, and the tallest of them were able to cross the water by wading. The Greeks on the Spercheius, as soon as they learned that a detachment of the barbarians had crossed by the marsh, forthwith retreated to the main army. Brennus ordered

the dwellers round the Malian gulf to build bridges across the Spercheius, and they proceeded to accomplish their task with a will, for they were frightened of Brennus, and anxious for the barbarians to go away out of their country instead of staying to devastate it further.

[9] ὁ δὲ ὡς κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὴν στρατιάν, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν· καὶ διήρπασαν μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας οἱ Γαλάται καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐφόνευσαν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ οὐχ εἶλον. ἔτει γὰρ πρότερον τούτων οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συντελεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας ἠνάγκασαν ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικόν· τότε οὖν ἡμύνοντο ὡς περὶ πόλεως οὐδέν τι Ἡρακλεώταις μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ αὐτοῖς προσηκούσης.

ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ Βρέννῳ τὰ μὲν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἐλάσσοнос φροντίδος, ἀγώνισμα δὲ ἐποιεῖτο ἐξελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν στενῶν τοὺς ἀντικαθημένους καὶ παρελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς Θερμοπυλῶν Ἑλλάδα.

[20.9] Brennus brought his army across over the bridges and proceeded to Heracleia. The Gauls plundered the country, and massacred those whom they caught in the fields, but did not capture the city. For a year previous to this the Aetolians had forced Heracleia to join the Aetolian League; so now they defended a city which they considered to belong to them just as much as to the Heracleots.

Brennus did not trouble himself much about Heracleia, but directed his efforts to driving away those opposed to him at the pass, in order to invade Greece south of Thermopylae.

21. προελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείας — ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ παρὰ αὐτομόλων τοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐς Πύλας ἀπὸ ἐκάστης πόλεως — ὑπερεφρόνει τε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ ἦρχεν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν μάχης ἅμα ἀνίσχοντι τῷ ἡλίῳ, οὔτε Ἑλληνα ἔχων μάντιν οὔτε ἱεροῖς ἐπιχωρίοις χρώμενος, εἰ δὴ ἔστι γε μαντεία Κελτική. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν σιγῇ τε ἐπήεσαν καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ· καὶ ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐς χεῖρας, οὔτε σφίσιν οἱ πεζοὶ τοσοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐξέθεον ὥστε τὴν φάλαγγα ἐπιταράσσειν τὴν οἰκειάν καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ μένοντες κατὰ χώραν τὰ τε ἀκόντια ἔπεμπον καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν τόξων ἢ σφενδονῶν.

[21.1] XXI. Deserters kept Brennus informed about the forces from each city mustered at Thermopylae. So despising the Greek army he advanced from Heracleia, and began the battle at sun-rise on the next day. He had no Greek soothsayer, and made no use of his own country's sacrifices, if indeed the Celts have any art of divination. Whereupon the Greeks attacked silently and in good order. When they came to close quarters, the infantry did not rush out of their line far enough to disturb their proper formation, while the light-armed troops remained in position, throwing javelins, shooting arrows or slinging bullets.

[2] τὰ δὲ ἱππικὰ ἀμφοτέροις ἀχρεῖα ἐγένετο ἅτε οὐ στενοῦ μόνον χωρίου τοῦ μετὰ τὰς Πύλας ὄντος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτοφυοῦς πέτρας λείου καὶ διὰ τῶν

ῥευμάτων τὸ συνεχές τὰ πλείονα καὶ ὀλισθηροῦ. τοῖς δὲ Γαλάταις τὰ μὲν τῆς σκευῆς ἀσθενέστερα ἦν — θυρεοὺς γὰρ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους εἶχον, καὶ ἄλλο σφίσιν οὐκ ἦν ὄπλον σκέπη σώματος — , πλεον δὲ ἔτι ἐμπειρία τῇ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀπέδενον.

[21.2] The cavalry on both sides proved useless, as the ground at the Pass is not only narrow, but also smooth because of the natural rock, while most of it is slippery owing to its being covered with streams. The Gauls were worse armed than the Greeks, having no other defensive armour than their national shields, while they were still more inferior in war experience.

[3] οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ θυμῷ μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ καθάπερ τὰ θηρία ἐχώρουν· καὶ οὔτε πελέκεσι διαιρουμένους ἢ ὑπὸ μαχαίρων ἢ ἀπόνοια τοὺς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας ἔτι ἀπέλειπεν, οὔτε ὅσοι βέλεσι καὶ ἀκοντίοις διεπείροντο, ὑφῆρουν τοῦ θυμοῦ, μέχρι οὗ παρέμενεν ἡ ψυχὴ· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τὰ δόρατα οἷς ἐβέβληντο ἀνασπῶντες ἠφίεσάν τε ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐχρῶντο ἐκ χειρὸς.

[21.3] On they marched against their enemies with the unreasoning fury and passion of brutes. Slashed with axe or sword they kept their desperation while they still breathed; pierced by arrow or javelin, they did not abate of their passion so long as life remained. Some drew out from their wounds the spears, by which they had been hit, and threw them at the Greeks or used them in close fighting.

[4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων Ἀθηναῖοι μόγις μὲν καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνου, παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁμῶς διὰ τῆς ἰλύος, ἢ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπέχει τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῶν βαρβάρων σχόντες, βέλεσί τε παντοίοις ἐς τὰ πλάγια καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο. καμνόντων δὲ λόγου μειζόνως τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ ἅτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ μικρὰ μὲν δρώντων, διπλάσια δὲ καὶ τετραπλάσια πασχόντων, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήμαινόν σφισιν οἱ ἡγεμόνες. οἱ δὲ ἀτάκτως καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ ἀναστρέφοντες κόσμῳ πολλοὶ μὲν συνεπατήθησαν ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὸ τέλμα ἐμπεσόντες ἠφανίσθησαν κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ, καὶ ἀπώλεια οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἀναχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῦ ἀγῶνος συνέβη τῇ ἀκμῇ.

[21.4] Meanwhile the Athenians on the triremes, with difficulty and with danger, nevertheless coasted along through the mud that extends far out to sea, brought their ships as close to the barbarians as possible, and raked them with arrows and every other kind of missile. The Celts were in unspeakable distress, and as in the confined space they inflicted few losses but suffered twice or four times as many, their captains gave the signal to retire to their camp. Retreating in confusion and without any order, many were crushed beneath the feet of their friends, and many others fell into the swamp and disappeared under the mud. Their loss in the retreat was no less than the loss that occurred while the battle raged.

[5] τοὺς μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνας τὸ Ἀττικὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἀρετῇ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην:

αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Κυδίας μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἀγαθός, νέος τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τότε ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθὼν πολέμου πρῶτον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Δί, καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα:”†ημαρλα δὴ ποθέουσα νέαν ἔτι Κυδίου ἦβην

ἀσπὶς ἀριζήλου φωτός, ἄγαλμα Δί,

ᾗς διὰ δὴ πρῶτας λαιὸν τότε πῆχυν ἔτεινεν,

εὖτ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἤκμασε θοῦρος Ἄρης.

“

[21.5] On this day the Attic contingent surpassed the other Greeks in courage. Of the Athenians themselves the bravest was Cydias, a young man who had never before been in battle. He was killed by the Gauls, but his relatives dedicated his shield to Zeus God of Freedom, and the inscription ran:—

Here hang I, yearning for the still youthful bloom of Cydias,

The shield of a glorious man, an offering to Zeus.

I was the very first through which at this battle he thrust his left arm,

When the battle raged furiously against the Gaul.

[6] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεγέγραπτο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας: τότε δὲ ἐν ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς τε αὐτῶν ἔθαπτον καὶ ἐσκύλευον τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ Γαλάται δὲ οὔτε ὑπὲρ ἀναίρεσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐποιοῦντό τε ἐπ’ ἴσης γῆς σφᾶς τυχεῖν ἢ θηρία τε αὐτῶν ἐμφορηθῆναι καὶ ὅσον τεθνεῶσι πολέμιόν ἐστιν ὀρνίθων.

[21.6] This inscription remained until Sulla and his army took away, among other Athenian treasures, the shields in the porch of Zeus, God of Freedom. After this battle at Thermopylae the Greeks buried their own dead and spoiled the barbarians, but the Gauls sent no herald to ask leave to take up the bodies, and were indifferent whether the earth received them or whether they were devoured by wild beasts or carrion birds.

[7] ὀλιγώρως δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τῶν ἀπογινομένων ἔχειν τὰς ταφὰς δύο ἔμοι δοκεῖν τὰ ἀναπεῖθοντα ἦν, πολεμίους τε ἄνδρας ἐκπληξαι καὶ ὅτι ἔστι τεθνεώτων οὐ δι’ ἔθους οἶκτος αὐτοῖς. ἀπέθανον δὲ παρὰ τὴν μάχην τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀκριβῶς ἐξευρεῖν: πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀφανισθὲν κατὰ τῆς ἰλῦος ἐγένετο ἐξ αὐτῶν.

[21.7] There were in my opinion two reasons that made them careless about the burial of their dead: they wished to strike terror into their enemies, and through habit they have no tender feeling for those who have gone. In the battle there fell forty of the Greeks; the losses of the barbarians it was impossible to discover exactly. For the number of them that disappeared beneath the mud was great.

22. ἐβδόμη δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν μάχην λόχος τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὴν

Οἴτην ἐπεχείρησε κατὰ Ἡράκλειαν: ἀτραπὸς δὲ στενὴ καὶ ταύτη μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἐρείπια ἀνήκει τὰ Τραχῖνος: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Τραχινίδος καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔς τε οὖν τὴν Οἴτην ἀναβήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἤλπιζον καὶ ἅμα προσέσεσθαι σφισιν ἐν παρέργῳ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ * * * τὴν φρουρὰν οἰομένου Τελεσάρχῳ. καὶ νικῶσι μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπεσεν ὁ Τελέσαρχος, ἀνὴρ εὔπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος πρόθυμος ἐς τὰ Ἑλλήνων.

[22.1] XXII. On the seventh day after the battle a regiment of Gauls attempted to go up to Oeta by way of Heracleia. Here too a narrow path rises just past the ruins of Trachis. There was also at that time a sanctuary of Athena above the Trachinian territory, and in it were votive offerings. So they hoped to ascend Oeta by this path and at the same time to get possession of the offerings in the temple in passing. <This path was defended by the Phocians under Telesarchus.> They overcame the barbarians in the engagement, but Telesarchus himself fell, a man devoted, if ever a man was, to the Greek cause.

[2] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἡγεμόνες τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἄλλοι κατεπεπλήγεσαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἠπόρουν ἅμα ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων, ἐς οὐδὲν σφισι πλέον προχωροῦντα ὀρῶντες τὰ ἐν χερσί: τῷ δὲ Βρέννῳ λογισμὸς παρίστατο ὥς εἰ ἀναγκάσει τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἀναχωρῆσαι, ῥάων ἤδη γενήσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἀπολέξας οὖν τῆς στρατιᾶς μυριάδας τοὺς πεζοὺς τέσσαρας καὶ ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους ἱππέας, Ὀρεστόριόν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ Κόμβουτιν ἐφίστησιν ἄρχοντας, οἱ ὀπίσω κατὰ τοῦ Σπερχειοῦ τὰς γεφύρας καὶ

[22.2] All the leaders of the barbarians except Brennus were terrified of the Greeks, and at the same time were despondent of the future, seeing that their present condition showed no signs of improvement. But Brennus reasoned that if he could compel the Aetolians to return home to Aetolia, he would find the war against Greece prove easier hereafter. So he detached from his army forty thousand foot and about eight hundred horse. Over these he set in command Orestorius and Combutis,

[3] αὐθις διὰ Θεσσαλίας ὁδεύσαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν: καὶ τὰ ἐς Καλλιέας Κόμβουτις οἱ ἐργασάμενοι καὶ Ὀρεστόριος ἦσαν, ἀνοσιώτατα τε ὧν ἀκοῇ ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὅμοια. γένος μὲν γε πᾶν ἐξέκοψαν τὸ ἄρσεν, καὶ ὁμοίως γέροντές τε καὶ τὰ νήπια ἐπὶ τῶν μητέρων τοῖς μαστοῖς ἐφονεύετο: τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλακτος πότερα ἀποκτείνοντες ἐπινόν τε οἱ Γαλάται τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἤπτοντο τῶν σαρκῶν.

[22.3] who, making their way back by way of the bridges over the Spercheius and across Thessaly again, invaded Aetolia. The fate of the Callians at the hands of Combutis and Orestorius is the most wicked ever heard of, and is without a parallel in the crimes of men. Every male they put to the sword, and there were butchered old men equally with children at their mothers' breasts.

The more plump of these sucking babes the Gauls killed, drinking their blood and eating their flesh.

[4] γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν παρθένων, ὅσαι μὲν φρονήματός τι αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἐαυτὰς ἔφθισαν ὡς ἡλίσκετο ἡ πόλις διειργασμένοι: τὰς δὲ ἔτι περιούσας ἐς ἰδέαν ὕβρεως πᾶσαν μετὰ ἀνάγκης ἤγον ἰσχυρᾶς, ἅτε ἴσον μὲν ἐλέου, ἴσον δὲ τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἔρωτος ἀπέχοντες. καὶ ὅσαι μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς μαχαίραις τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπετύγχανον, αὐτοχειρία τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν: ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεὼν ἐμελλεν ἢ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἀνπνία, ἀστέγων βαρβάρων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὑβρίζοντων: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀφιεῖσαι τὰς ψυχὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἤδη νεκραῖς συνεγίνοντο ὁμως.

[22.4] Women and adult maidens, if they had any spirit at all in them, anticipated their end when the city was captured. Those who survived suffered under imperious violence every form of outrage at the hands of men equally void of pity or of love. Every woman who chanced to find a Gallic sword committed suicide. The others were soon to die of hunger and want of sleep, the incontinent barbarians outraging them by turns, and sating their lust even on the dying and the dead.

[5] Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πεπυσμένοι τε παρὰ ἀγγέλων ἦσαν ὅποῖαι σφᾶς κατεilhέσαν συμφοραὶ καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἶχον ἀναστήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, τά τε παθήματα τῶν Καλλιέων ἐν ὀργῇ ποιούμενοι καὶ πλεόν ἔτι τὰς οὐχ ἐαλωκυίας πω διασώσασθαι πόλεις προθυμούμενοι. ἐξεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἰκοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἀναμεμιγμένοι δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τε καὶ φρονήματος καὶ οἱ γεγηρακότες: συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ σφισι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκουσίως, πλεόν ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ θυμῷ χρώμεναι.

[22.5] The Aetolians had been informed by messengers what disasters had befallen them, and at once with all speed removed their forces from Thermopylae and hastened to Aetolia, being exasperated at the sufferings of the Callians, and still more fired with determination to save the cities not yet captured. From all the cities at home were mobilized the men of military age; and even those too old for service, their fighting spirit roused by the crisis, were in the ranks, and their very women gladly served with them, being even more enraged against the Gauls than were the men.

[6] ὡς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι συλήσαντες τοὺς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐνέντες πῦρ ἐς τὸ Κάλλιον ἐκομίζοντο τὴν αὐτήν, ἐνταῦθα Πατρεῖς μὲν ἐπικουροῦντες Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι προσέκειντο ἐξ ἐναντίας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἅτε ὀπλιτεύειν δεδιδαγμένοι, καὶ ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀπονοίας μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρησαν: οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Αἰτωλαὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν τεταγμένοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐσηκόντιζόν τε ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐχόντων θυρεοὺς ὀλίγα αὐτῶν ἡμάρτανον, διώκοντάς τε ἀπέφευγον οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἐπέκειντο αὐθις σπουδῇ.

[22.6] When the barbarians, having pillaged houses and sanctuaries, and having fired Callium, were returning by the same way, they were met by the Patraeans, who alone of the Achaeans were helping the Aetolians. Being trained as hoplites they made a frontal attack on the barbarians, but suffered severely owing to the number and desperation of the Gauls. But the Aetolians, men and women, drawn up all along the road, kept shooting at the barbarians, and few shots failed to find a mark among enemies protected by nothing but their national shields. Pursued by the Gauls they easily escaped, renewing their attack with vigor when their enemies returned from the pursuit.

[7] Καλλιεύσι δὲ καίπερ δεινὰ οὕτω παθοῦσιν ὥς μηδὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ὅμηρου πεποιημένα ἔς τε Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ ἔς Κύκλωπα ἐκτὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν ἀληθείας, ὁμῶς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγίνετο ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκη: ἀπὸ γὰρ τεσσάρων μυριάδων προσόντων σφίσιν ὀκτακοσίων ἐλάσσονες ἡμίσεων ἔς τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ πρὸς Θερμοπύλαις ἀπεσώθησαν.

[22.7] Although the Callians suffered so terribly that even Homer's account of the Laestrygones and the Cyclops does not seem outside the truth, yet they were duly and fully avenged. For out of their number of forty thousand eight hundred, there escaped of the barbarians to the camp at Thermopylae less than one half.

[8] περὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις συνέβαινεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. ἀτραπὸς ἐστὶ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Οἴτης, μία μὲν ἢ ὑπὲρ Τραχίνος ἀπότομός τε τὰ πλεῖα καὶ ὄρθιος δεινῶς, ἑτέρα δὲ ἢ διὰ τῆς Αἰνιάνων ὁδεῦσαι στρατῷ ῥάων, δι' ἧς καὶ Ὑδάρνης ποτὲ Μῆδος κατὰ νότου τοῖς περὶ Λεωνίδην ἐπέθετο Ἕλλησι.

[22.8] Meantime the Greeks at Thermopylae were faring as follows. There are two paths across Mount Oeta: the one above Trachis is very steep, and for the most part precipitous; the other, through the territory of the Aenianians, is easier for an army to cross. It was through this that on a former occasion Hydarnes the Persian passed to attack in the rear the Greeks under Leonidas.

[9] κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἄξειν Βρέννον οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Αἰνιᾶνες, οὐ κακονοία τῇ ἔς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τοὺς δὲ Κελτοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφίσιν ἀπελθεῖν μηδὲ ἐγκαθημένους φθεῖρειν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι. καὶ μοι φαίνεται Πίνδαρος ἀληθῆ καὶ ἐν τῷδε εἰπεῖν, ὅς πάντα τινὰ ὑπὸ κακῶν οἰκείων ἔφη πιάζεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀλλοτρίοις κήδεσιν ἀπήμαντον εἶναι.

[22.9] By this road the Heracleots and the Aenianians promised to lead Brennus, not that they were ill-disposed to the Greek cause, but because they were anxious for the Celts to go away from their country, and not to establish themselves in it to its ruin. I think that Pindar spoke the truth again when he said that every one is crushed by his own misfortunes but is untouched by the woes of others.

[10] τότε δὲ ἢ τῶν Αἰνιάνων καὶ ἢ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ὑπόσχεσις ἐπήγειρε τὸν

Βρέννον: καὶ Ἀκικώριον μὲν κατέλειπεν ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, προειπών, ἐπειδὰν περιλάβωσιν αὐτοὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τηνικαῦτα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐφόδου καιρὸν εἶναι: ἀπολέξας δὲ αὐτὸς μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ τέσσαρας ἐποίητο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς ἀτραποῦ.

[22.10] Brennus was encouraged by the promise made by the Aenianians and Heracleots. Leaving Acichorius behind in charge of the main army, with instructions that it was to attack only when the enveloping movement was complete, Brennus himself, with a detachment of forty thousand, began his march along the pass.

[11] καὶ πὼς ἐπ' ἐκείνης συνέβαινε τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν τε ὁμίχλην κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους καταχεῖσθαι πολλὴν καὶ ἁμαυρὸν ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε τῶν Φωκέων τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὴν φρουρὰν οὐ πρότερον ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι παρέσχοντο αἰσθησιν πρὶν ἢ πλησίον ἐγεγόνεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ μὲν μάχης ἤρχον, οἱ δὲ ἡμύνοντο ἐρρωμένως, τέλος δὲ ἐβιάσθησαν καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀτραποῦ: καταδραμόντες μέντοι παρὰ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαντες τὰ παρόντα ἔφθησαν πρὶν ἢ ἀκριβῆ καὶ πανταχόθεν τελέαν γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὴν κύκλωσιν.

[22.11] It so happened on that day that the mist rolled thick down the mountain, darkening the sun, so that the Phocians who were guarding the path found the barbarians upon them before they were aware of their approach. Thereupon the Gauls attacked. The Phocians resisted manfully, but at last were forced to retreat from the path. However, they succeeded in running down to their friends with a report of what was happening before the envelopment of the Greek army was quite complete on all sides.

[12] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων Ἀθηναῖοι φθάνουσιν ὑπεξαγαγόντες ἐκ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, ὁ δὲ Βρέννος οὐδένα ἔτι ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ σὺν τῷ Ἀκικωρίῳ παραγενέσθαι, τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς Δελφούς. οἱ δὲ καταφεύγουσιν ὑπὸ δείματος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον: καὶ ὁ θεὸς σφᾶς οὐκ εἶα φοβεῖσθαι, φυλάζειν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.

[22.12] Whereupon the Athenians with the fleet succeeded in withdrawing in time the Greek forces from Thermopylae, which disbanded and returned to their several homes. Brennus, without delaying any longer, began his march against Delphi without waiting for the army with Acichorius to join up. In terror the Delphians took refuge in the oracle. The god bade them not to be afraid, and promised that he would himself defend his own.

[13] οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι τιμωρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τοσοῖδε ἐγένοντο Ἑλλήνων: Φωκεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πασῶν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμφίσσης ὀπλίται τετρακόσιοι, παρὰ δὲ Αἰτωλῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες αὐτίκα, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο ἐς τὸ πρόσω χωροῦντας τοὺς βαρβάρους, διακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους Φιλόμηλος ἤγαγεν ὕστερον. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐτράπετο ἐπὶ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀκικωρίου στρατιάν, καὶ μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἤρχον, ὁδεύοντων δὲ ἐπέκειντο ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις

ἀρπάζοντές τε τὰ τῶν σκευαγωγούντων καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας φονεύοντες· καὶ ἡ πορεία κατὰ ταύτην μάλιστα ἐγένετό σφισι βραδεῖα τὴν αἰτίαν. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ὁ Ἀκιχώριος μοῖραν, οἱ ἔμμελλον φρουρῆσαι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου χρήματα.

[22.13] The Greeks who came in defence of the god were as follow: the Phocians, who came from all their cities; from Amphissa four hundred hoplites; from the Aetolians a few came at once on hearing of the advance of the barbarians, and later on Philomelus brought one thousand two hundred. The flower of the Aetolians turned against the army of Acichorius, and without offering battle attacked continuously the rear of their line of march, plundering the baggage and putting the carriers to the sword. It was chiefly for this reason that their march proved slow. Futhermore, at Heracleia Acichorius had left a part of his army, who were to guard the baggage of the camp.

23. Βρέννω δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀθροισθέντες ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀντεστήμινε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχύ τε καὶ ὧν ἴσμεν φανερώτατα. ἦ τε γὰρ γῆ πᾶσα, ὅσῃν ἐπέιχεν ἡ τῶν Γαλατῶν στρατιά, βιαίως καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐσειέτο τῆς ἡμέρας, βρονταὶ τε καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο:

[23.1] XXIII. Brennus and his army were now faced by the Greeks who had mustered at Delphi, and soon portents boding no good to the barbarians were sent by the god, the clearest recorded in history. For the whole ground occupied by the Gallic army was shaken violently most of the day, with continuous thunder and lightning.

[2] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπληττον τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ δέχεσθαι τοῖς ὥσὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐκώλυνον, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ ἐς ὄντινα κατασκήψαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐξῆπτε. τὰ τε τῶν ἡρώων τηνικαῦτά σφισιν ἐφάνη φάσματα, ὁ Ὑπέροχος καὶ ὁ Λαόδοκος τε καὶ Πύρρος· οἱ δὲ καὶ τέταρτον Φύλακον ἐπιχώριον Δελφοῖς ἀπαριθμοῦσιν ἤρωα.

[23.2] The thunder both terrified the Gauls and prevented them hearing their orders, while the bolts from heaven set on fire not only those whom they struck but also their neighbors, themselves and their armour alike. Then there were seen by them ghosts of the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus and Pyrrhus; according to some a fourth appeared, Phylacus, a local hero of Delphi.

[3] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τῶν Φωκέων ἄλλοι τε ἀριθμὸν πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀλεξίμαχος, ὃς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων ἡλικίας τε τῷ ἀκμάζοντι καὶ ἰσχύϊ σώματος καὶ τῷ ἔρρωμένῳ τοῦ θυμοῦ κατεχρήσατο ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν φόνον· Φωκεῖς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀλεξιμάχου ποιησάμενοι ἀπέστειλαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δελφοῦς.

[23.3] Among the many Phocians who were killed in the action was Aleximachus, who in this battle excelled all the other Greeks in devoting

youth, physical strength, and a stout heart, to slaying the barbarians. The Phocians made a statue of Aleximachus and sent it to Delphi as an offering to Apollo.

[4] τοιοῦτοις μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν παθήμασί τε καὶ ἐκπλήξει συνείχοντο· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πολλῷ σφᾶς ἔμελλεν ἀλγεινότερα ἐπιλήψεσθαι. ῥίγος τε γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ νιφετὸς ἦν ὁμοῦ τῷ ῥίγει, πέτραι τε ἀπολισθάνουσαι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μεγάλαι τε καὶ κρημνοὶ καταρρηγνύμενοι σκοπὸν τοὺς βαρβάρους εἶχον, καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ κατὰ ἓνα ἢ δύο ἀλλὰ κατὰ τριάκοντα καὶ ἔτι πλείους, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φρουροῦντες ἢ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι τύχοιεν, ἀθρόοις ἢ ἀπώλεια ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τῶν κρημνῶν.

[23.4] All the day the barbarians were beset by calamities and terrors of this kind. But the night was to bring upon them experiences far more painful. For there came on a severe frost, and snow with it; and great rocks slipping from Parnassus, and crags breaking away, made the barbarians their target, the crash of which brought destruction, not on one or two at a time, but on thirty or even more, as they chanced to be gathered in groups, keeping guard or taking rest.

[5] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπήεσαν σφισιν ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα εὐθεῖαν, οἱ Φωκεῖς δὲ ἅτε καὶ μᾶλλον ἔχοντες τῶν χωρίων ἐμπείρως κατέβησαν τε διὰ τῆς χιόνος κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ καὶ ἔλαθον κατὰ νότου γινόμενοι τοῖς Κελτοῖς, ἠκόντιζόν τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐτόξευον σὺν οὐδενὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων δείματι.

[23.5] At sunrise the Greeks came on from Delphi, making a frontal attack with the exception of the Phocians, who, being more familiar with the district, descended through the snow down the precipitous parts of Parnassus, and surprised the Celts in their rear, shooting them down with arrows and javelins without anything to fear from the barbarians.

[6] οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένης μὲν τῆς μάχης, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βρέννον — οὗτοι δὲ μήκιστοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀλκιμώτατοι τῶν Γαλατῶν — τότε μὲν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἔτι ἀντεῖχον βαλλόμενοι τε πανταχόθεν καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥίγους, μάλιστα οἱ τραυματῖαι, ταλαιπωροῦντες· ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ Βρέννος ἔλαβε τραύματα, ἐκεῖνον μὲν

λιποψυχήσαντα ἐκκομίζουσιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν σφισιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπέφευγόν τε ἄκοντες καὶ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἀδυνάτους διὰ τραύματα ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἀρρωστίαν φονεύουσιν.

[23.6] At the beginning of the fight the Gauls offered a spirited resistance, especially the company attached to Brennus, which was composed of the tallest and bravest of the Gauls, and that though they were shot at from all sides, and no less distressed by the frost, especially the wounded men. But when Brennus himself was wounded, he was carried fainting from the battle,

and the barbarians, harassed on all sides by the Greeks, fell back reluctantly, putting to the sword those who, disabled by wounds or sickness, could not go with them.

[7] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἔνθα νύξ κατελάμβανεν ἀναχωροῦντας, ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ φόβος σφίσιν ἐμπίπτει Πανικός· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς δείματα ἐκ τοῦτου φασὶ γίνεσθαι. ἐνέπεσε μὲν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα ἡ ταραχὴ περὶ βαθεῖαν τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ ὀλίγοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγένοντο οἱ παραχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ, ἐδόξαζόν τε οὗτοι κτύπου τε ἐπελυνομένων ἵππων καὶ ἐφόδου πολεμίων αἰσθάνεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας διέδρα ἡ ἄγνοια.

[23.7] They encamped where night overtook them in their retreat, and during the night there fell on them a “panic.” For causeless terrors are said to come from the god Pan. It was when evening was turning to night that the confusion fell on the army, and at first only a few became mad, and these imagined that they heard the trampling of horses at a gallop, and the attack of advancing enemies; but after a little time the delusion spread to all.

[8] ἀναλαβόντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διαστάντες ἔκτεινόν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκτείνοντο, οὔτε γλώσσης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου συνιέντες οὔτε τὰς ἀλλήλων μορφὰς οὔτε τῶν θυρεῶν καθορῶντες τὰ σχήματα· ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς τάξεσιν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγνοίας οἱ τε ἄνδρες οἱ ἀνθεστικότες εἶναι σφίσιν Ἕλληνας καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐφαίνοντο καὶ Ἑλλάδα ἀφιέναι τὴν φωνήν, ἥ τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μανία πλεῖστον ἐξειργάσατο ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς Γαλάταις τὸν φόνον.

[23.8] So rushing to arms they divided into two parties, killing and being killed, neither understanding their mother tongue nor recognizing one another's forms or the shape of their shields. Both parties alike under the present delusion thought that their opponents were Greek, men and armour, and that the language they spoke was Greek, so that a great mutual slaughter was wrought among the Gauls by the madness sent by the god.

[9] τῶν δὲ Φωκέων ὅσοι κατελίποντο κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φυλακῆς βοσκημάτων ἔνεκα, πρῶτοί τε ἦσθοντο καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατασχόντα τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀναθαρσήσαντες δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς προθυμότερον ἔτι ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Κελτοῖς· διὰ φυλακῆς τε πλείονος τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τὰ ἐς βίου χρεῖαν οὐ περιεώρων σφᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀμαχεῖ λαμβάνοντας, ἐγεγόνει τε αὐτίκα τοῖς Γαλάταις διὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ σίτου καὶ ὅσα ἐς τροφήν ἄλλα ἔνδεια ἰσχυρά.

[23.9] Those Phocians who had been left behind in the fields to guard the flocks were the first to perceive and report to the Greeks the panic that had seized the barbarians in the night. The Phocians were thus encouraged to attack the Celts with yet greater spirit, keeping a more careful watch on their encampments, and not letting them take from the country the necessities of life without a struggle, so that the whole Gallic army suffered at once from a pressing shortage of corn and other food.

[10] πλῆθος δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι αὐτῶν ἀναλωθέν, ὀλίγῳ μὲν ἐξακισχιλίων ἐλάσσονες οἱ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ χειμερίῳ διαφθαρέντες νυκτὶ καὶ ὕστερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανικῷ δείματι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

[23.10] Their losses in Phocis were these: in the battles were killed close on six thousand; those who perished in the wintry storm at night and afterwards in the panic terror amounted to over ten thousand, as likewise did those who were starved to death.

[11] Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἄνδρες ἐπισκευόμενοι μὲν ἀφίκοντο ἐν Δελφοῖς: τότε δὲ ἐπανήκοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα ἡγγέλλον ὅποια συμβεβήκει τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατεिल्φότα. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ τε ἐξεστρατεύοντο καὶ ὥς τὴν Βοιωτίαν διώδευον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σφισιν ἀνεμίχθησαν: οὕτω δὲ ἀμφότεροι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐλόχων τε καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐσχάτους.

[23.11] Athenian scouts arrived at Delphi to gather information, after which they returned and reported what had happened to the barbarians, and all that the god had inflicted upon them. Whereupon the Athenians took the field, and as they marched through Boeotia they were joined by the Boeotians. Thus the combined armies followed the barbarians, lying in wait and killing those who happened to be the last.

[12] τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ὁμοῦ τῷ Βρένῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκισχόριον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἀνεμίχθησαν: βραδεῖαν γὰρ τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησάν σφισιν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τοῖς τε ἀκοντίοις ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον καὶ ὅτῳ τύχοιεν καὶ ἄλλῳ χρώμενοι, ὥστε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ μοῖρα οὐ πολλὴ διέφυγεν ἐξ αὐτῶν. τῷ δὲ Βρένῳ κατὰ μὲν τὰ τραύματα ἐλείπετο ἔτι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς: τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν φόβῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ αἰδοῖ πλεον, ἅτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κακῶν αἴτιον, ἐκουσίως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκράτου πίνοντα τοῦ οἴνου.

[23.12] Those who fled with Brennus had been joined by the army under Acichorius only on the previous night. For the Aetolians had delayed their march, hurling at them a merciless shower of javelins and anything else they could lay hands on, so that only a small part of them escaped to the camp at Heracleia. There was still a hope of saving the life of Brennus, so far as his wounds were concerned; but, they say, partly because he feared his fellow-countrymen, and still more because he was conscience-stricken at the calamities he had brought on Greece, he took his own life by drinking neat wine.

[13] καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Σπερχεῖο χαλεπῶς ἐκομίσθησαν, τῶν Αἰτωλῶν βιαίως σφίσιν ἐγκειμένον: ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Σπερχεῖον, οἱ ἐντεῦθεν ὑποκαθήμενοι Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς ἐνεφορήθησαν οὕτω σφῶν ὥς μηδένα οἴκαδε ἀποσωθῆναι.

[23.13] After this the barbarians proceeded with difficulty as far as the

Spercheius, pressed hotly by the Aetolians. But after their arrival at the Spercheius, during the rest of the retreat the Thessalians and Malians kept lying in wait for them, and so took their fill of slaughter that not a Gaul returned home in safety.

[14] ἐγένετο δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν στρατεία τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια Ἀναξικράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἦν Λάδας Αἰγίεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον: τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ἐφεξῆς Δημοκλέους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβαίνουσιν οἱ Κελτοί.

[23.14] The expedition of the Celts against Greece, and their destruction, took place when Anaxicrates was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, when Ladas of Aegium was victor in the footrace. In the following year, when Democles was archon at Athens, the Celts crossed back again to Asia.

TEMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPHI CONT.

24. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γενόμενα ἴστω τις: ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ὠφελήματα ἀνθρώποις ἐς βίον, ἐγράφη δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὓς γενέσθαι σοφοὺς λέγουσιν Ἕλληνας. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐκ μὲν Ἰωνίας Θαλῆς τε Μιλήσιος καὶ Πριηνεὺς Βίας, Αἰολέων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ Πιττακὸς Μιτυληναῖος, ἐκ δὲ Δωριέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Κλεόβουλος Λίνδιος, καὶ Ἀθηναῖός τε Σόλων καὶ Σπαρτιάτης Χίλων: τὸν δὲ ἑβδομον Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου τοῦ Κυψέλου Μύσωνα κατεῖλοχε τὸν Χηνέα: κόμη δὲ ἐν τῇ Οἰτῇ τῷ ὄρει ᾠκοῦντο αἱ Χῆναι. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰ ἀδόμενα Γνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ Μηδὲν ἄγαν.

[24.1] XXIV. Such was the course of the war. In the fore-temple at Delphi are written maxims useful for the life of men, inscribed by those whom the Greeks say were sages. These were: from Ionia, Thales of Miletus and Bias of Priene; of the Aeolians in Lesbos, Pittacus of Mitylene; of the Dorians in Asia, Cleobulus of Lindus; Solon of Athens and Chilon of Sparta; the seventh sage, according to the list of Plato, the son of Ariston, is not Periander, the son of Cypselus, but Myson of Chenae, a village on Mount Oeta. These sages, then, came to Delphi and dedicated to Apollo the celebrated maxims, "Know thyself," and "Nothing in excess."

[2] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔγραψαν τὰ εἰρημένα, θεάσαιο δ' ἂν καὶ εἰκόνα Ὀμήρου χαλκῇ ἐπὶ στήλῃ καὶ ἐπιλέξει τὸ μάντευμα ὃ γενέσθαι τῷ Ὀμήρῳ λέγουσιν: "ὄλβιε καὶ δῦσδαιμον — ἔφυς γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι — ,

πατρίδα δίζηαι. μητρὶς δέ τοι, οὐ πατρίς ἐστιν.

ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος μητρὸς πατρίς, ἣ σε θανόντα

δέξεται. ἀλλὰ νέων παίδων αἰνιγμα φύλαξαι.

“δεικνύουσι δὲ οἱ Ἴηται καὶ Ὀμήρου μνήμα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἐτέρῳθι Κλυμένης, τὴν Κλυμένην μητέρα εἶναι τοῦ Ὀμήρου λέγοντες.

[24.2] So these men wrote what I have said, and you can see a bronze statue of Homer on a slab, and read the oracle that they say Homer received:—

Blessed and unhappy, for to be both wast thou born.
Thou seekest thy father-land; but no father-land hast thou, only a mother-land.
The island of Ios is the father-land of thy mother, which will receive thee
When thou hast died; but be on thy guard against the riddle of the young children.

The inhabitants of Ios point to Homer's tomb in the island, and in another part to that of Clymene, who was, they say, the mother of Homer.

[3] Κύπριοι δὲ — οἰκιοῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι Ὅμηρον — Θεμιστώ τε αὐτῶ μητέρα εἶναι τῶν τινα ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν λέγουσι καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐκλου προθεσπισθῆναι τὰ ἐς τὴν γένεσιν τὴν Ὀμήρου φασὶν ἐν τοῖσδε:”καὶ τότε ἐν εἰναλίῃ Κύπρῳ μέγας ἔσσειτ’ αἰοιδός,

ὄν τε Θεμιστῶ τέξει ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ διὰ γυναικῶν

νόσφι πολυκτεάνοιο πολύκλειτον Σαλαμῖνος.

Κύπρον δὲ προλιπὼν διερός θ’ ὑπὸ κύμασιν ἄρθεις,

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου μούνοιο κακὰ πρῶτος αἰέσας

ἔσσεται ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος ἥματα πάντα.

“ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντές τε καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λόγον οὔτε ἐς πατρίδα οὔτε περὶ ἡλικίας Ὀμήρου γράφομεν.

[24.3] But the Cyprians, who also claim Homer as their own, say that Themisto, one of their native women, was the mother of Homer, and that Euclus foretold the birth of Homer in the following verses:—

And then in sea-girt Cyprus there will be a mighty singer,
Whom Themisto, lady fair, shall bear in the fields, A man of renown, far from rich Salamis.

Leaving Cyprus, tossed and wetted by the waves,
The first and only poet to sing of the woes of spacious Greece,
For ever shall he be deathless and ageless.

These things I have heard, and I have read the oracles, but express no private opinion about either the age or date of Homer.

[4] ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ πεποιήται μὲν Ποσειδῶνος βωμός, ὅτι τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἀρχαιότατον κτῆμα ἦν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἔσθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο: ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης Ζεὺς τε Μοιραγέτης καὶ Απόλλων σφίσι παρέστηκε Μοιραγέτης. θεάσαιο δ’ ἂν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐστίαν, ἐφ’ ἣ Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπέκτεινε τοῦ Απόλλωνος: τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τὴν

τελευτήν ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἐτέρωθι εἰρημένα.

[24.4] In the temple has been built an altar of Poseidon, because Poseidon too possessed in part the most ancient oracle. There are also images of two Fates; but in place of the third Fate there stand by their side Zeus, Guide of Fate, and Apollo, Guide of Fate. Here you may behold the hearth on which the priest of Apollo killed Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. The story of the end of Neoptolemus I have told elsewhere.

[5] ἀνάκειται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐστίας θρόνος Πινδάρου: σιδήρου μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ θρόνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ φασιν, ὅποτε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς Δελφοὺς, καθέζεσθαι τε τὸν Πίνδαρον καὶ ἄδειν ὅποσα τῶν ἁσμάτων ἐς Ἀπόλλωνά ἐστιν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἐσωτάτω, παρίασί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ὀλίγοι καὶ χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἕτερον ἄγαλμα ἀνάκειται.

[24.5] Not far from the hearth has been dedicated a chair of Pindar. The chair is of iron, and on it they say Pindar sat whenever he came to Delphi, and there composed his songs to Apollo. Into the innermost part of the temple there pass but few, but there is dedicated in it another image of Apollo, made of gold.

GRAVE OF NEOPTOLEMUS AT DELPHI

[6] ἐξελθόντι δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τραπέντι ἐς ἀριστερὰ περίβολός ἐστι καὶ Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐν αὐτῷ τάφος: καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ Δελφοί. ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας: τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὁσημέραι καταχέουσι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἐκάστην ἔρια ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀργά: ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόξα ἐς αὐτὸν δοθῆναι Κρόνῳ τὸν λίθον ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ὡς αὖθις ἤμεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κρόνος.

[24.6] Leaving the temple and turning to the left you will come to an enclosure in which is the grave of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. Every year the Delphians sacrifice to him as to a hero. Ascending from the tomb you come to a stone of no large size. Over it every day they pour olive oil, and at each feast they place on it unworked wool. There is also an opinion about this stone, that it was given to Cronus instead of his child, and that Cronus vomited it up again.

SPRING OF CASSOTIS AT DELPHI

[7] ἰοῦσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν αὖθις μετὰ τοῦ λίθου τὴν θεάν ἐστιν ἡ Κασσοτὶς καλουμένη πηγή: τεῖχος δὲ οὐ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ ἄνοδος διὰ τοῦ τεύχους ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν. ταύτης τῆς Κασσοτίδος δύεσθαι τε κατὰ τῆς γῆς λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς γυναῖκας μαντικὰς ποιεῖν: τὴν δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ δεδωκυῖαν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν νυμφῶν φασιν εἶναι.

[24.7] Coming back to the temple after seeing the stone, you come to the spring called Cassotis. By it is a wall of no great size, and the ascent to the spring is through the wall. It is said that the water of this Cassotis sinks under the ground, and inspires the women in the shrine of the god. She who gave her

name to the spring is said to have been a nymph of Parnassus.

PAINTINGS BY POLYGNOTUS AT DELPHI

25. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Κασσοτίδα ἐστὶν οἴκημα γραφὰς ἔχον τῶν Πολυγνώτου, ἀνάθημα μὲν Κνιδίων, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Λέσχη, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα συνιόντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον τά τε σπουδαιότερα διελέγοντο καὶ ὅποσα μυθώδη: τοιαῦτ' εἶναι πολλὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ὅμηρος ἐν Μελανθοῦς λοιδορίᾳ πρὸς Ὀδυσσεά ἐδήλωσεν:”οὐδ’ ἐθέλεις εὔδειν χαλκίῳ ἐς δόμον ἐλθὼν

ἢ ἐκ ποῦ ἐς λέσχην, ἀλλ’ ἐνθάδε πόλλ’ ἀγορεύεις.

“Hom. Od 18.328

[25.1] XXV. Beyond the Cassotis stands a building with paintings of Polygnotus. It was dedicated by the Cnidiens, and is called by the Delphians Lesche (Place of Talk, Club Room), because here in days of old they used to meet and chat about the more serious matters and legendary history. That there used to be many such places all over Greece is shown by Homer’s words in the passage where Melanthe abuses Odysseus:—

And you will not go to the smith’s house to sleep,
Nor yet to the place of talk, but you make long speeches here. Hom. Od.
18.328

[2] ἐς τοῦτο οὖν ἐσελθόντι τὸ οἶκημα τὸ μὲν σύμπαν τὸ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς γραφῆς Ἰλῖος τέ ἐστιν ἐαλωκυῖα καὶ ἀπόπλους ὁ Ἑλλήνων. Μενελάῳ δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναγωγὴν εὐτρεπίζουσι, καὶ ναῦς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένη καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς ναύταις καὶ ἀναμῖς παῖδες, ἐν μέσῃ δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ νηὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης Φρόντις κοντοὺς δύο ἔχων. Ὅμηρος δὲ Νέστορα ἐποίησεν ἄλλα τε διαλεγόμενον πρὸς Τηλέμαχον καὶ περὶ τοῦ Φρόντιδος: πατρὸς μὲν Ὀνήτορος, Μενελάου δὲ ἦν κυβερνήτης, δοκιμώτατος δὲ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, καὶ ὡς Σούνιον ἤδη τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ παραπλέοντα ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν: καὶ τέως ὁμοῦ Νέστορι ὁ Μενέλαος πλέων τότε κατὰ αἰτίαν ἀπελείφθη ταύτην, ἵνα μνήματος καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ νεκροῖς ἄλλα ἀξιώσει τὸν Φρόντιν.

[25.2] Inside this building the whole of the painting on the right depicts Troy taken and the Greeks sailing away. On the ship of Menelaus they are preparing to put to sea. The ship is painted with children among the grown-up sailors; amidships is Phrontis the steersman holding two boat-hooks. Homer represents Nestor as speaking about Phrontis in his conversation with Telemachus, saying that he was the son of Onetor and the steersman of Menelaus, of very high repute in his craft, and how he came to his end when he was already rounding Sunium in Attica. Up to this point Menelaus had been sailing along with Nestor, but now he was left behind to build Phrontis a tomb, and to pay him the due rites of burial.

[3] οὗτός τε οὖν ἐν τοῦ Πολυγνώτου τῇ γραφῇ καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν Ἰθαίμενης τέ τις κομίζων ἐσθῆτα καὶ Ἐχόιαξ διὰ τῆς ἀποβάθρας κατιῶν ἐστίν, ὕδριαν ἔχων

χαλκῆν. καταλύουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μενελάου τὴν σκηνὴν οὐ πόρρω τῆς νεῶς οὔσαν Πολίτης καὶ Στρόφιός τε καὶ Ἄλφιος. καὶ ἄλλην διαλύων σκηνὴν ἔστιν Ἀμφιάλος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιάλου τοῖς ποσὶ κάθηται παῖς· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῷ παιδί, γένεια δὲ μόνῳ τῷ Φρόντιδι. καὶ μόνου τοῦτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ὀδυσσεά ποιήσεως ἔμαθε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα συνέθηκεν αὐτὸς ὁ Πολύγνωτος.

[25.3] Phrontis then is in the painting of Polygnotus, and beneath him is one Ithaemenes carrying clothes, and Echoeax is going down the gangway, carrying a bronze urn. Polites, Strophius and Alphius are pulling down the hut of Menelaus, which is not far from the ship. Another hut is being pulled down by Amphialus, at whose feet is seated a boy. There is no inscription on the boy, and Phrontis is the only one with a beard. His too is the only name that Polygnotus took from the Odyssey; the names of the others he invented, I think, himself.

[4] Βρισηῖς δὲ ἐστῶσα καὶ Διομήδῃ τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ Ἴφιδι πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων εὐόικασιν ἀνασκοπούμενοι τὸ Ἑλένης εἶδος. κάθηται δὲ αὐτὴ τε ἡ Ἑλένη καὶ Εὐρυβάτης πλησίον· τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς εἶναι κήρυκα εἰκάζομεν, οὐ μὴν εἶχεν ἤδη γένεια. θεράπαινα δὲ Ἥλέκτρα καὶ Πανθαλῖς, ἡ μὲν τῇ Ἑλένῃ παρέστηκεν, ἡ δὲ ὑποδεῖ τὴν δέσποιναν ἡ Ἥλέκτρα· διάφορα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ἢ Ὅμηρος ἔθετο ἐν Ἰλιάδι, ἔνθα καὶ Ἑλένην καὶ ἰούσας ὁμοῦ τῇ Ἑλένῃ τὰς δούλας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος πεποίηκεν.

[25.4] Briseis is standing with Diomeda above her and Iphis in front of both; they appear to be examining the form of Helen. Helen herself is sitting, and so is Eurybates near her. We inferred that he was the herald of Odysseus, although he had yet no beard. One handmaid, Panthalis, is standing beside Helen; another, Electra, is fastening her mistress' sandals. These names too are different from those given by Homer in the Iliad, where he tells of Helen going to the wall with her slave women.

[5] κάθηται δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλένην πορφυροῦν ἀνὴρ ἀμπεχόμενος ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα κατηφής· Ἑλενον εἶναι τεκμήριο ἂν τὸν Πριάμου καὶ πρὶν ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιλέξασθαι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἑλένου Μέγης ἔστι· τέτρωται δὲ τὸν βραχίονα ὁ Μέγης, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λέσχεως ὁ Αἰσχυλίνου Πυρραῖος ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι ἐποίησε· τρωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην τοῦτον, ἣν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐμαχέσαντο οἱ Τρῶες, ὑπὸ Ἀδμήτου φησὶ τοῦ Αὐγείου.

[25.5] Beyond Helen, a man wrapped in a purple cloak is sitting in an attitude of the deepest dejection; one might conjecture that he was Helenus, the son of Priam, even before reading the inscription. Near Helenus is Meges, who is wounded in the arm, as Lescheos of Pyrrha, son of Aeschylinus, describes in the Sack of Troy. For he says that he was wounded by Admetus, son of Augeias, in the battle that the Trojans fought in the night.

[6] γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Λυκομήδης παρὰ τὸν Μέγητα ὁ Κρέοντος, ἔχων τραῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ· Λέσχεως δ' οὕτω φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀγήνορος τρωθῆναι. δῆλα

οὖν ὥς ἄλλως γε οὐκ ἂν ὁ Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν οὕτω τὰ ἔλκη σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐπελέξατο τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ Λέσχεω: προσεπέθηκε μέντοι καὶ σφυροῦ τῷ Λυκομήδει καὶ τρίτον τραῦμα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ. τέτρωται δὲ καὶ Εὐρύαλος ὁ Μηκιστέως κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ τὸν καρπὸν.

[25.6] Beside Meges is also painted Lycomedes the son of Creon, who has a wound in the wrist; Lescheos says he was so wounded by Agenor. So it is plain that Polygnotus would not have represented them so wounded, if he had not read the poem of Lescheos. However, he has painted Lycomedes as wounded also in the ankle, and yet again in the head. Euryalus the son of Mecisteus has also received a wound in the head and another in the wrist.

[7] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀνωτέρω τῆς Ἑλένης εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ: ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ἑλένῃ μήτηρ τε ἡ Θησέως ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένη καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησέως Δημοφῶν ἐστὶ φροντίζων, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, εἰ ἀνασώσασθαι οἱ τὴν Αἴθραν ἐνέσται. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σίνιδος θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι Θησεῖ Μελάνιππον λέγουσι, καὶ ὥς ἀνέλοιτο ὁ Μελάνιππος δρόμου νίκην, ὅτε οἱ

Ἐπίγονοι καλούμενοι Νέμεια δεύτεροι οὗτοι ἔθεσαν μετὰ Ἄδραστον.

[25.7] These are painted higher up than Helen in the picture. Next to Helen comes the mother of Theseus with her head shaved, and Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus, is considering, to judge from his attitude, whether it will be possible for him to rescue Aethra. The Argives say that Theseus had also a son Melanippus by the daughter of Sinis, and that Melanippus won a running-race when the Epigoni, as they are called, held the second celebration of the Nemean games, that of Adrastus being the first.

[8] Λέσχεως δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴθραν ἐποίησεν, ἥνικα ἤλίσκετο Ἴλιον, ὑπεξελθοῦσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων γνωρισθῆναι τῶν Θησέως, καὶ ὥς παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος αἰτήσαι Δημοφῶν αὐτὴν: ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐθέλειν χαρίζεσθαι, ποιήσῃν δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔφη πρὶν Ἑλένην πείσαι: ἀποστείλαντι δὲ αὐτῷ κήρυκα ἔδωκεν Ἑλένη τὴν χάριν. ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Εὐρυβάτης ὁ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἀφίχθαι τε ὥς τὴν Ἑλένην τῆς Αἴθρας ἔνεκα καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀπαγγέλλειν.

[25.8] Lescheos says of Aethra that, when Troy was taken, she came stealthily to the Greek camp. She was recognized by the sons of Theseus, and Demophon asked for her from Agamemnon. He was ready to grant Demophon the favour, but said that Helen must first give her consent. He sent a herald, and Helen granted him the favour. So in the painting Eurybates appears to have come to Helen to ask about Aethra, and to be saying what he had been told to say by Agamemnon.

[9] γυναῖκες δὲ αἱ Τρωάδες αἰχμαλώτοις τε ἤδη καὶ ὀδυρομέναις ἐοίκασι. γέγραπται μὲν Ἀνδρομάχῃ, καὶ ὁ παῖς οἱ προσέστηκεν ἐλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ — τοῦτ' ὁ Λέσχεως ριφθέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευταίην: οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ Νεοπτόλεμον αὐτόχειρα ἐβελῆσαι

γενέσθαι — , γέγραπται δὲ Μηδεσικάστη, θυγατέρων μὲν Πριάμου καὶ αὐτῇ τῶν νόθων, ἐξωκίσθαι δὲ ἐς Πήδαιον πόλιν φησὶν αὐτὴν Ὅμηρος Ἴμβριῳ Μέντορος παιδί ἀνδρὶ ἐς Πήδαιον συνοικοῦσαν.

[25.9] The Trojan women are represented as already captives and lamenting. Andromache is in the painting, and near stands her boy grasping her breast; this child Lescheos says was put to death by being flung from the tower, not that the Greeks had so decreed, but Neoptolemus, of his own accord, was minded to murder him. In the painting is also Medesicaste, another of Priam's illegitimate daughters, who according to Homer left her home and went to the city of Pedaeum to be the wife of Imbrius, the son of Mentor.

[10] ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀνδρομάχη καὶ ἡ Μηδεσικάστη καλύμματά εἰσιν ἐπικείμεναι, Πολυξένη δὲ κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα παρθένοις ἀναπέπλεκται τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας: ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματι ποιηταὶ τε ᾄδουσι καὶ γραφὰς ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ Περγάμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Καῖκου θεασάμενος οἶδα ἐχούσας ἐς τῆς Πολυξένης τὰ παθήματα.

[25.10] Andromache and Medesicaste are wearing hoods, but the hair of Polyxena is braided after the custom of maidens. Poets sing of her death at the tomb of Achilles, and both at Athens and at Pergamus on the Calcus I have seen the tragedy of Polyxena depicted in paintings.

[11] γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Νέστορα τῇ κεφαλῇ τε ἐπικείμενον πῖλον καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχοντα: καὶ ἵππος κονίεσθαι μέλλοντος παρέχεται σχῆμα: ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἵππου αἰγιαλὸς τε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ψηφίδες ὑποφαίνονται, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν οὐκέτι ἔοικεν εἶναι θάλασσα.

[25.11] The artist has painted Nestor with a cap on his head and a spear in his hand. There is also a horse, in the attitude of one about to roll in the dust. Right up to the horse there is a beach with what appear to be pebbles, but beyond the horse the sea-scene breaks off.

26. τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τῶν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Αἴθρας καὶ Νέστορος, εἰσὶν ἄνωθεν τούτων αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ αὗται Κλυμένη τε καὶ Κρέουσα καὶ Ἀριστομάχη καὶ Ξενοδίκη. Κλυμένην μὲν οὖν Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι κατηρίθμηκεν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀριστομάχην ἐποίησεν ἐν Νόστοις θυγατέρα μὲν Πριάμου, Κριτολάου δὲ γυναῖκα εἶναι τοῦ Ἰκετάνοιο: Ξενοδίκης δὲ μνημονεύσαντα οὐκ οἶδα οὔτε ποιητὴν οὔτε ὅσοι λόγων συνθέται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Κρεούσῃ λέγουσιν ὡς ἡ θεῶν μήτηρ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη δουλείας ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ἐρρύσαντο, εἶναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Αἰνείου τὴν Κρέουσαν γυναῖκα: Λέσχεως δὲ καὶ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια διδόασιν Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα Αἰνεία.

[26.1] XXVI. Above the women between Aethra and Nestor are other captive women, Clymene, Creusa, Aristomache and Xenodice. Now Stesichorus, in the Sack of Troy, includes Clymene in the number of the captives; and similarly, in the Returns, he speaks of Aristomache as the daughter of Priam

and the wife of Critolaus, son of Hicetaon. But I know of no poet, and of no prose-writer, who makes mention of Xenodice. About Creusa the story is told that the mother of the gods and Aphrodite rescued her from slavery among the Greeks, as she was, of course, the wife of Aeneas. But Lescheos and the writer of the epic poem Cypria make Eurydice the wife of Aeneas.

[2] γεγραμμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης ὑπὲρ ταύτας Δηνιόμη τε καὶ Μητιόχη καὶ Πεισίς ἐστι καὶ Κλεοδίκη: τούτων ἐν Ἰλιάδι καλουμένη μικρὰ μόνης ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Δηνιόμης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν συνέθηκε τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ Πολύγνωτος. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἐπειὸς γυμνὸς καταβάλλων ἐς ἔδαφος τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος: ἀνέχει δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἵππου μόνῃ τοῦ δουρείου. Πολυποίτης δὲ ὁ Πειρίθου δεδεμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν ταινία καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀκάμας ἐστὶν ὁ Θησέως ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος:

[26.2] Beyond these are painted on a couch Deinome, Metioche, Peisis and Cleodice. Deinome is the only one of these names to occur in what is called the Little Iliad; Polygnotus, I think, invented the names of the others. Epeius is painted naked; he is razing to the ground the Trojan wall. Above the wall rises the head only of the Wooden Horse. There is Polypoetes, the son of Peirithous, his head bound with a fillet; by his side is Acamas, the son of Theseus, wearing on his head a helmet with a crest on it.

[3] λόφος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει πεποιήται. καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς τέ ἐστι * * καὶ ἐνδέδυκε θώρακα Ὀδυσσεύς. Αἴας δὲ ὁ Οἰλέως ἔχων ἀσπίδα βωμῷ προσέστηκεν, ὁμνύμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματος: ἡ δὲ κάθηται τε ἡ Κασσάνδρα χαμαὶ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, εἶγε δὴ ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων τὸ ξόανον, ὅτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεσσίας αὐτὴν ὁ Αἴας ἀφεῖλκε. γεγραμμένοι δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες εἰσιν οἱ Ἀτρέως, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ οὗτοι κράνη, Μενελάῳ δὲ ἀσπίδα ἔχοντι δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι ἐστὶν εἰργασμένος τοῦ ἐν Αὐλίδι φανέντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερείοις τέρατος ἔνεκα. ὑπὸ τούτοις τοῖς τὸν Αἴαντα ἐξορκοῦσιν, κατ' εὐθὺ δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ

[26.3] There is also Odysseus . . . and Odysseus has put on his corselet. Ajax, the son of Oileus, holding a shield, stands by an altar, taking an oath about the outrage on Cassandra. Cassandra is sitting on the ground, and holds the image of Athena, for she had knocked over the wooden image from its stand when Ajax was dragging her away from sanctuary. In the painting are also the sons of Atreus, wearing helmets like the others; Menelaus carries a shield, on which is wrought a serpent as a memorial of the prodigy that appeared on the victims at Aulis.

[4] παρὰ τῷ Νέστορι Νεοπτόλεμος ἀπεκτονὺς ἐστὶν Ἑλάσον, ὅστις δὴ ὁ Ἑλάσος. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὀλίγον ἐμπνέοντι ἔτι εἴκασται: Ἀστυνοὸν δέ, οὗ δὴ ἐποίησατο καὶ Λέσχεως μνήμην, πεπτωκότα ἐς γόνυ ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ξίφει παῖει. Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ μόνον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ φονεύοντα ἔτι τοὺς Τρῶας ἐποίησεν ὁ Πολύγνωτος, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τὸν τάφον ἡ γραφὴ πᾶσα ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τῷ παιδί Ὅμηρος μὲν

Νεοπτόλεμον ὄνομα ἐν ἀπάσῃ οἱ τίθεται τῇ ποιήσει: τὰ δὲ Κύπρια ἔπη φησὶν ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους μὲν Πύρρον, Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ ὄνομα ὑπὸ Φοίνικος αὐτῷ τεθῆναι, ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡλικία ἔτι νέος πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.

[26.4] Under those who are administering the oath to Ajax, and in a line with the horse by Nestor, is Neoptolemus, who has killed Elasmus, whoever Elasmus may be. Elasmus is represented as a man only just alive. Astynous, who is also mentioned by Lescheos, has fallen to his knees, and Neoptolemus is striking him with a sword. Neoptolemus is the only one of the Greek army represented by Polygnotus as still killing the Trojans, the reason being that he intended the whole painting to be placed over the grave of Neoptolemus. The son of Achilles is named Neoptolemus by Homer in all his poetry. The epic poem, however, called Cypria says that Lycomedes named him Pyrrhus, but Phoenix gave him the name of Neoptolemus (young soldier) because Achilles was but young when he first went to war.

[5] γέγραπται δὲ βωμός τε καὶ ὑπὸ δείματος παῖς μικρὸς ἐχόμενος τοῦ βωμοῦ: κεῖται δὲ καὶ θώραξ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χαλκοῦς. κατὰ δὴ ἐμὲ σπάνιον τῶν θωράκων τὸ σχῆμα ἦν τούτων, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἔφερον αὐτούς. δύο ἦν χαλκᾶ ποιήματα, τὸ μὲν στέρνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀρμόζον, τὸ δὲ ὡς νώτου σκέπην εἶναι — γύαλα ἐκαλοῦντο — : τὸ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν τὸ δὲ ὀπίσθεν προσήγον, ἔπειτα περόναι συνήπτον πρὸς ἄλληλα.

[26.5] In the picture is an altar, to which a small boy clings in terror. On the altar lies a bronze corselet. At the present day corselets of this form are rare, but they used to be worn in days of old. They were made of two bronze pieces, one fitting the chest and the parts about the belly, the other intended to protect the back. They were called guala. One was put on in front, and the other behind; then they were fastened together by buckles.

[6] ἀσφάλειαν δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν ἐδόκει παρέχεσθαι καὶ ἀσπίδος χωρίς: ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ Ὅμηρος Φόρκυνα τὸν Φρύγα οὐκ ἔχοντα ἀσπίδα ἐποίησεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ γυαλοθώραξ ἦν. ἐγὼ δὲ γραφῇ μεμιμημένον τοῦτον ἐθεασάμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυγνώτου, καὶ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας Καλλιφῶν ὁ Σάμιος Πατρόκλου τοῦ θώρακος τὰ γύαλα ἀρμοζούσας ἔγραψε γυναῖκας.

[26.6] They were thought to afford sufficient safety even without a shield. Wherefore Homer speaks of Phorcys the Phrygian as without a shield, because he wore a two-piece corselet. Not only have I seen this armour depicted by Polygnotus, but in the temple of Ephesian Artemis Calliphon of Samos has painted women fitting on the guala of the corselet of Patroclus.

[7] τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Λαοδίκην ἔγραψεν ἐστῶσαν. ταύτην οὔτε ὑπὸ ποιητοῦ κατειλεγμένην ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ταῖς Τρωάσιν εὗρισκον οὔτε ἄλλως ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν μοι τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ ἀφεθῆναι τὴν Λαοδίκην ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. Ὅμηρος μὲν γε ἐδήλωσεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Μενελάου καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ξενίαν παρὰ Ἀντήνορι καὶ ὡς Ἐλικάονι ἢ Λαοδίκη συνοικοίη τῷ Ἀντήνορος:

[26.7] Beyond the altar he has painted Laodice standing, whom I do not find among the Trojan captive women enumerated by any poet, so I think that the only probable conclusion is that she was set free by the Greeks. Homer in the Iliad speaks of the hospitality given to Menelaus and Odysseus by Antenor, and how Laodice was wife to Helicaon, Antenor's son.

[8] Λέσχεως δὲ τετρωμένον τὸν Ἑλικάονα ἐν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ γνωρισθῆναί τε ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἐξαχθῆναι ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς μάχης φησίν. ἔποιτο ἂν οὖν τῇ Μενελάου καὶ Ὀδυσσέως κηδεμονία περὶ οἶκον τὸν Ἀντήνορος μηδὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἑλικάονος τὴν γυναῖκα ἔργον δυσμενὲς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου γενέσθαι. Εὐφορίων δὲ ἀνὴρ Χαλκιδεὺς σὺν οὐδενὶ εἰκότι τὰ ἐς τὴν Λαοδίκην ἐποίησεν.

[26.8] Lescheos says that Helicaon, wounded in the night battle, was recognized by Odysseus and carried alive out of the fighting. So the tie binding Menelaus and Odysseus to the house of Antenor makes it unlikely that Agamemnon and Menelaus committed any spiteful act against the wife of Helicaon. The account of Laodice given by the Chalcidian poet Euphorion is entirely unlikely.

[9] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Λαοδίκη ὑποστάτης τε λίθου καὶ λουτήριόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑποστάτῃ χαλκοῦν, Μέδουσα δὲ κατέχουσα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τὸ ὑπόστατον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους κάθηται: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πριάμου θυγατράσιν ἀριθμήσαι τις ἂν καὶ ταύτην κατὰ τοῦ Ἱμεραίου τὴν ᾠδὴν. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Μέδουσαν ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένη πρεσβῦτις ἢ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν εὐνοῦχος, παιδίον δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει γυμνόν: τὸ δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ δείματος ἐπίπροσθε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πεποιῖται.

[26.9] Next to Laodice is a stone stand with a bronze washing-basin upon it. Medusa is sitting on the ground, holding the stand in both hands. If we are to believe the ode of the poet of Himera, Medusa should be reckoned as one of the daughters of Priam. Beside Medusa is a shaved old woman or eunuch, holding on the knees a naked child. It is represented as holding its hand before its eyes in terror.

27. νεκροὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν γυμνὸς Πῆλις ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτόν ἐστιν ἐρριμμένος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Πῆλιν Ἱονεύς τε κεῖται καὶ Ἄδμητος ἐνδεδυκότες ἔτι τοὺς θώρακας: καὶ αὐτῶν Λέσχεως Ἱιονέα ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλοκτῆτου φησὶν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Ἄδμητον. ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνωτέρω τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν τὸ λουτήριον Λεώκριτός ἐστιν ὁ Πουλυδάμαντος τεθνεὺς ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως, ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἱιονέα τε καὶ Ἄδμητον Κόροιβος ὁ Μύγδονος: τούτου μνημᾶ τε ἐπιφανὲς ἐν ὅροις πεποιῖται Φρυγῶν Στεκτορηνῶν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιηταῖς Μύγδονας ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῖς Φρυξὶ τίθεσθαι καθέστηκεν. ἀφίκετο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν Κασσάνδρας ὁ Κόροιβος γάμον, ἀπέθανε δέ, ὥς μὲν ὁ πλείων λόγος, ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, Λέσχεως δὲ ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἐποίησεν.

[27.1] XXVII. There are also corpses: the naked man, Pelis by name, lies thrown on his back, and under Pelis lie Eioneus and Admetus, still clad in

their corselets. Of these Lescheos says that Eioneus was killed by Neoptolemus, and Admetus by Philoctetes. Above these are others: under the washing-basin is Leocritus, the son of Pulydamas, killed by Odysseus; beyond Eioneus and Admetus is Coroebus, the son of Mygdon. Of Mygdon there is a notable tomb on the borders of the Phrygians of Stectorium, and after him poets are wont to call Phrygians by the name of Mygdones. Coroebus came to marry Cassandra, and was killed, according to the more popular account, by Neoptolemus, but according to the poet Lescheos, by Diomedes.

[2] εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ Κοροΐβου Πρίαμος καὶ Ἀξίων τε καὶ Ἀγήνωρ. Πρίαμον δὲ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ἔφη Λέσχεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου, ἀλλὰ ἀποσπασθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πάρεργον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι θύραις. ἐς δὲ Ἑκάβην Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι ἐποίησεν ἐς Λυκίαν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὴν κομισθῆναι. Ἀξίονα δὲ παῖδα εἶναι Πριάμου Λέσχεως καὶ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Εὐαίμονός φησι: τοῦ Ἀγήνορος δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ποιητὴν Νεοπτόλεμος αὐτόχειρ ἐστί: καὶ οὕτω φαίνοιτο ἂν Ἑχεκλος μὲν φονευθεὶς ὁ Ἀγήνορος ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, Ἀγήνωρ δὲ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου.

[27.2] Higher up than Coroebus are Priam, Axion and Agenor. Lescheos says that Priam was not killed at the hearth of the Courtyard God, but that he was dragged away from the altar and fell an easy prey to Neoptolemus at the gate of his own palace. As to Hecuba, Stesichorus says in the Sack of Troy that she was brought by Apollo to Lycia. Lescheos says that Axion was a son of Priam, killed by Eurypylus, the son of Euaemon. According to the same poet Agenor was slain by Neoptolemus. So it would appear that Echeclus the son of Agenor was slaughtered by Achilles, and Agenor himself by Neoptolemus.

[3] Λαομέδοντος δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Σίνων τε ἐταῖρος Ὀδυσσεώς καὶ Ἀγχιάλος εἰσιν ἐκκομίζοντες. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τεθνεώς: ὀνομά οἱ Ἑρεσος: τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρεσὸν τε καὶ Λαομέδοντα, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἐπιστάμεθα, ἦσεν οὐδεὶς. ἔστι δὲ οἰκία τε ἢ Ἀντήνορος καὶ παρδάλεως κρεμάμενον δέρμα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσόδου, σύνθημα εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπέχεσθαι σφᾶς οἴκου τοῦ Ἀντήνορος. γέγραπται δὲ Θεανῶ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες, Γλαῦκος μὲν καθήμενος ἐπὶ θώρακι γυάλοις συνηρμοσμένῳ, Εὐρύμαχος δὲ ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ.

[27.3] The body of Laomedon is being carried off by Sinon, a comrade of Odysseus, and Anchialus. There is also in the painting another corpse, that of Eresus. The tale of Eresus and Laomedon, so far as we know, no poet has sung. There is the house of Antenor, with a leopard's skin hanging over the entrance, as a sign to the Greeks to keep their hands off the home of Antenor. There are painted Theano and her sons, Glaucus sitting on a corselet fitted with the two pieces, and Eurymachus upon a rock.

[4] παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστηκεν Ἀντήνωρ καὶ ἐφεξῆς θυγάτηρ Ἀντήνορος Κρινῶ: παιδίον δὲ ἢ Κρινῶ φέρει νήπιον. τῶν προσώπων δὲ ἅπασιν οἶον ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ σχῆμά ἐστι. κιβωτὸν δὲ ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἄλλα τῶν σκευῶν εἰσιν ἀνατιθέντες

οἰκέται· κάθηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄνου παιδίον μικρόν. κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἐλεγεῖόν ἐστι Σιμωνίδου:”γράψε Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφῶντος

υἱός, περθομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν.

“Simonides, unknown location.

[27.4] By the latter stands Antenor, and next to him Crino, a daughter of Antenor. Crino is carrying a baby. The look upon their faces is that of those on whom a calamity has fallen. Servants are lading an ass with a chest and other furniture. There is also sitting on the ass a small child. At this part of the painting there is also an elegiac couplet of Simonides:–

Polygnotus, a Thasian by birth, son of Aglaophon,

Painted a picture of Troy’s citadel being sacked. Simonides, unknown location.

28. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς γραφῆς τὸ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς χειρός, ἔστιν Ὀδυσσεὺς καταβεβηκὼς ἐς τὸν Ἅιδην ὀνομαζόμενον, ὅπως Τειρεσίου τὴν ψυχὴν περὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπέρηται σωτηρίας· ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὴν γραφήν. ὕδωρ εἶναι ποταμὸς ἔοικε, δῆλα ὡς ὁ Ἀχέρων, καὶ κάλαμοί τε ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκότες καὶ ἰχθύες· ἔστι δ’ ἀμυδρὰ οὕτω δὴ τι τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἰχθύων ὡς σκιὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ἰχθὺς εἰκάσεις. καὶ ναῦς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ὁ πορθμεὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς κόπαις.

[28.1] XXVIII. The other part of the picture, the one on the left, shows Odysseus, who has descended into what is called Hades to inquire of the soul of Teiresias about his safe return home. The objects depicted are as follow. There is water like a river, clearly intended for Acheron, with reeds growing in it; the forms of the fishes appear so dim that you will take them to be shadows rather than fish. On the river is a boat, with the ferryman at the oars.

[2] ἐπηκολούθησε δὲ ὁ Πολύγνωτος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ποιήσει Μινυάδι· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Μινυάδι ἐς Θησεά ἔχοντα καὶ Πειρίθουν”ἐνθ’ ἦτοι νέα μὲν νεκυάμβατον, ἦν ὁ γεραιός

πορθμεὺς ἦγε Χάρων, οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐνδοθεν ὄρμου.

“Minyad, an unknown work.ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν καὶ Πολύγνωτος γέροντα ἔγραψεν ἥδη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Χάρωνα.

[28.2] Polygnotus followed, I think, the poem called the Minyad. For in this poem occur lines referring to Theseus and Peirithous:–

Then the boat on which embark the dead, that the old ferryman, Charon, used to steer, they found not within its moorings. The Minyad, an unknown work.

For this reason then Polygnotus too painted Charon as a man well stricken in years.

[3] οἱ δὲ ἐπιβεβηκότες τῆς νεῶς οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς ἅπαν εἰσὶν οἷς προσήκουσι. Τέλλις μὲν ἡλικίαν ἐφήβου γεγωνὼς φαίνεται, Κλεόβοια δὲ ἔτι παρθένος, ἔχει

δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὅποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δήμητρι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸν Τέλλιν τοσοῦτον ἤκουσα ὥς ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπόγονος εἶη τρίτος Τέλλιδος, Κλεόβοιαν δὲ ἐς Θάσον τὰ ὄργια τῆς Δήμητρος ἐνεγκεῖν πρώτην ἐκ Πάρου φασίν.

[28.3] Those on board the boat are not altogether distinguished. Tellis appears as a youth in years, and Cleoboea as still a maiden, holding on her knees a chest such as they are wont to make for Demeter. All I heard about Tellis was that Archilochus the poet was his grandson, while as for Cleoboea, they say that she was the first to bring the orgies of Demeter to Thasos from Paros.

[4] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος τῇ ὄχθῃ μάλιστα θεᾶς ἄξιον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Χάρωνος τὴν ναῦν ἀνὴρ οὐ δίκαιος ἐς πατέρα ἀγχόμενός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. περὶ πλείστου γὰρ δὴ ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πάλοι γονέας, ὥσπερ ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε τεκμήρασθαι καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ τοῖς καλουμένοις Εὐσεβέσιν, οἳ, ἥνικα ἐπέρρει τῇ Κατάνῃ πῦρ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης, χρυσὸν μὲν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐν οὐδενὸς μερίδι ἐποίησαντο, οἱ δὲ ἔφευγον ὁ μὲν ἀράμενος μητέρα, ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν πατέρα: προϊόντας δὲ οὐ σὺν ῥαστώνῃ καταλαμβάνει σφᾶς τὸ πῦρ ἐπείγόμενον τῇ φλογί: καὶ — οὐ γὰρ κατετίθεντο οὐδ' οὕτω τοὺς γονέας — διχῇ σχισθῆναι λέγεται τὸν ρύακα, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς νεανίσκους, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς τοὺς γονέας τὸ πῦρ οὐδὲν σφισι λυμηνάμενον παρεξήλθεν.

[28.4] On the bank of Acheron there is a notable group under the boat of Charon, consisting of a man who had been undutiful to his father and is now being throttled by him. For the men of old held their parents in the greatest respect, as we may infer, among other instances, from those in Catana called the Pious, who, when the fire flowed down on Catana from Aetna, held of no account gold or silver, but when they fled took up, one his mother and another his father. As they struggled on, the fire rushed up and caught them in the flames. Not even so would they put down their parents, and it is said that the stream of lava divided itself in two, and the fire passed on, doing no hurt to either young men or their parents. These Catanians even at the present day receive honors from their fellow countrymen.

[5] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τιμὰς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι παρὰ Καταναίων ἔχουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολυγνώτου γραφῇ πλησίον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃς τῷ πατρὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐν Ἄϊδου κακὰ ἀναπίμπλησι, τούτου πλησίον ἱερὰ σεσυληκῶς ἀνὴρ ὑπέσχε δίκην: γυνὴ δὲ ἡ κολάζουσα αὐτὸν φάρμακα ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐς αἰκίαν οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων.

[28.5] Near to the man in Polygnotus' picture who maltreated his father and for this drinks his cup of woe in Hades, is a man who paid the penalty for sacrilege. The woman who is punishing him is skilled in poisonous and other drugs.

[6] περισσῶς δὲ ἄρα εὐσεβεῖα θεῶν ἔτι προσέκειντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοί τε δῆλα ἐποίησαν, ἥνικα εἶλον Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐν Συρακούσαις ἱερόν, οὔτε κινήσαντες τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν τὸν ἱερέα τε τὸν Συρακούσιον φύλακα ἐπ'

αὐτοῖς ἐάσαντες· ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Μῆδος Δᾶτις λόγοις τε οὖς εἶπε πρὸς Δηλίους καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡνίκα ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηὶ ἄγαλμα εὐρὼν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπέδωκεν αὐθις Ταναγραίοις ἐς Δήλιον. οὕτω μὲν τὸ θεῖον καὶ οἱ πάντες τότε ἦγον ἐν τιμῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιούτῳ τὰ ἐς τὸν συλήσαντα ἱερὰ ἔγραψε Πολύγνωτος.

[28.6] So it appears that in those days men laid the greatest stress on piety to the gods, as the Athenians showed when they took the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse; they moved none of the offerings, but left the Syracusan priest as their keeper. Datis the Persian too showed his piety in his address to the Delians, and in this act as well, when having found an image of Apollo in a Phoenician ship he restored it to the Tanagraeans at Delium. So at that time all men held the divine in reverence, and this is why Polygnotus has depicted the punishment of him who committed sacrilege.

[7] ἔστι δὲ ἀνωτέρῳ τῶν κατειλεγμένων Εὐρύνομος· δαίμονα εἶναι τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου φασὶν οἱ Δελφῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν Εὐρύνομον, καὶ ὥς τὰς σάρκας περιεσθίει τῶν νεκρῶν, μόνῃ σφίσιν ἀπολείπων τὰ ὀστέα. ἡ δὲ Ὅμηρου ποιήσις ἐς Ὀδυσσέα καὶ ἡ Μινυὰς τε

καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι — μνήμη γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταύταις καὶ Ἄιδου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων ἐστὶν — ἴσασιν οὐδένα Εὐρύνομον δαίμονα. τοσοῦτο μέντοι δηλώσω, ὁποῖός τε ὁ Εὐρύνομος καὶ ἐπὶ ποίου γέγραπται τοῦ σχήματος· κυανοῦ τὴν χροάν μεταξύ ἐστὶ καὶ μέλανος, ὁποῖα καὶ τῶν μυῶν αἱ πρὸς τὰ κρέα εἰσὶ προσιζάνουσαι, τοὺς δὲ ὀδόντας φαίνει, καθεζομένῳ δὲ ὑπέστρωταὶ οἱ δέρμα γυπός.

[28.7] Higher up than the figures I have enumerated comes Eurynomus, said by the Delphian guides to be one of the demons in Hades, who eats off all the flesh of the corpses, leaving only their bones. But Homer's *Odyssey*, the poem called the *Minyad*, and the *Returns*, although they tell of Hades, and its horrors, know of no demon called Eurynomus. However, I will describe what he is like and his attitude in the painting. He is of a color between blue and black, like that of meat flies; he is showing his teeth and is seated, and under him is spread a vulture's skin.

[8] ἐφεξῆς δὲ μετὰ τὸν Εὐρύνομον ἦ τε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας Αὐγὴ καὶ Ἰφιμέδειά ἐστι· καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Τεύθραντα ἡ Αὐγὴ ἀφίκετο ἐς Μυσίαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ὁπόσαις ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἡρακλέα ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσι, μάλιστα δὴ παῖδα ἐοικότα ἔτεκε τῷ πατρί· τῇ δ' Ἰφιμεδείᾳ γέρα δέδοται μεγάλα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μυλάσοις Καρῶν.

[28.8] Next after Eurynomus are Auge of Arcadia and Iphimedeia. Auge visited the house of Teuthras in Mysia, and of all the women with whom Heracles is said to have mated, none gave birth to a son more like his father than she did. Great honors are paid to Iphimedeia by the Carians in Mylasa.

29. τῶν δὲ ἥδη μοι κατειλεγμένων εἰσὶν ἀνώτεροι τούτων ἱερεῖα καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως Περιμήδης καὶ Εὐρύλοχος φέροντες· τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ μέλανεσ κριοῖ

τὰ ἱερεῖα. μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ καθήμενος, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ὅκνον εἶναι λέγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον: πεποιήται μὲν πλέκων σχοινίον, παρέστηκε δὲ θήλεια ὄνος ἐπεσθίουσα τὸ πεπλεγμένον αἰεὶ τοῦ σχοινίου. τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Ὅκνον φύλεργόν φασιν ἄνθρωπον, γυναῖκα δὲ ἔχειν δαπανηράν: καὶ ὁπόσα συλλέξατο ἐργαζόμενος, οὐ πολὺ δὴ ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἐκείνης ἀνήλωτο.

[29.1] XXIX. Higher up than the figures I have already enumerated are Perimedes and Eurylochus, the companions of Odysseus, carrying victims for sacrifice; these are black -rams. After them is a man seated, said by the inscription to be Ocnus (Sloth). He is depicted as plaiting a cord, and by him stands a she-ass, eating up the cord as quickly as it is plaited. They say that this Ocnus was a diligent man with an extravagant wife. Everything he earned by working was quickly spent by his wife.

[2] τὰ οὖν ἐς τοῦ Ὅκνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐθέλουσιν αἰνίξασθαι τὸν Πολύγνωτον. οἶδα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, ὅποτε ἰδοῖεν τινα πονοῦντα ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ ὄνησιν φέροντι, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρημένον ὥς ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος συνάγει τοῦ Ὅκνου τὴν θώμιγγα. ὅκνον δ' οὖν καὶ μάντεων οἱ ὀρῶντες τοὺς οἰωνοὺς καλοῦσιν τινα ὄρνια: καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ὁ ὅκνος μέγιστος μὲν καὶ κάλλιστος ἐρωδιῶν, εἰ δὲ ἄλλος τις ὀρνίθων σπάνιός ἐστι καὶ οὗτος.

[29.2] So they will have it that Polygnotus has painted a parable about the wife of Ocnus. I know also that the Ionians, whenever they see a man labouring at nothing profitable, say that such an one is plaiting the cord of Ocnus. Ocnus too is the name given to a bird by the seers who observe birds that are ominous. This Ocnus is the largest and most beautiful of the herons, a rare bird if ever there was one.

[3] γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Τιτυὸς οὐ κολαζόμενος ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεχοῦς τῆς τιμωρίας ἐς ἅπαν ἐξανηλωμένος, ἀμυδρὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ὀλόκληρον εἶδωλον.

ἐπιόντι δὲ ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ἔστιν ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρέφοντος τὸ καλῶδιον Ἀριάδνη: κάθηται μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας, ὁρᾷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Φαίδραν, τό τε ἄλλο αἰωρουμένην σῶμα ἐν σειρᾷ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς σειρᾶς ἐχομένην: παρείχε δὲ τὸ σχῆμα καίπερ ἐς τὸ εὐπρεπέστερον πεποιημένον συμβάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐς τῆς Φαίδρας τὴν τελευτήν.

[29.3] Tityos too is in the picture; he is no longer being punished, but has been reduced to nothing by continuous torture, an indistinct and mutilated phantom.

Going on to the next part of the picture, you see very near to the man who is twisting the rope a painting of Ariadne. Seated on a rock she is looking at her sister Phaedra, who is on a swing grasping in either hand the rope on each side. The attitude, though quite gracefully drawn, makes us infer the manner of Phaedra's death.

[4] τὴν δὲ Ἀριάδνην ἢ κατὰ τινα ἐπιτυχὼν δαίμονα ἢ καὶ ἐπίτηδες αὐτὴν λοχήσας ἀφείλετο Θησέας ἐπιπλεύσας Διόνυσος στόλῳ μείζονι, οὐκ ἄλλος κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ ὁ πρῶτος μὲν ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς στρατεία, πρῶτος δὲ

Εὐφράτην γεφυρώσας ποταμόν: Ζεῦγμά τε ὠνομάσθη πόλις καθ' ὃ τι ἐξεύχθη
τῆς χώρας ὁ Εὐφράτης, καὶ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ κάλως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐν ᾧ τὸν
ποταμὸν ἔξενεν, ἀμπελίνους ὁμοῦ πεπλεγμένους καὶ κισσοῦ κλήμασι.

[29.4] Ariadne was taken away from Theseus by Dionysus, who sailed against him with superior forces, and either fell in with Ariadne by chance or else set an ambush to catch her. This Dionysus was, in my opinion, none other than he who was the first to invade India, and the first to bridge the river Euphrates. Zeugma (Bridge) was the name given to that part of the country where the Euphrates was bridged, and at the present day the cable is still preserved with which he spanned the river; it is plaited with branches of the vine and ivy.

[5] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Διόνυσον πολλὰ ὑπὸ τε Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενα καὶ ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων ἔστιν: ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν Φαίδραν ἔστιν ἀνακεκλιμένη Χλωρίς ἐπὶ τῆς Θυίας γόνασιν. οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ὅστις φησὶ φιλίαν εἶναι ἐς ἀλλήλας, ἡνίκα ἔτυχον αἱ γυναῖκες ζῶσαι: ἦσαν γὰρ δὴ ἡ μὲν ἐξ Ὁρχομενοῦ τοῦ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ἡ Χλωρίς, ἡ δὲ Κασταλίου θυγάτηρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ. εἶπον δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον, τῇ μὲν συγγενέσθαι Ποσειδῶνα τῇ Θυίᾳ, Χλωρίν δὲ Ποσειδῶνος παιδί Νηλεῖ συνοικῆσαι.

[29.5] Both the Greeks and the Egyptians have many legends about Dionysus. Underneath Phaedra is Chloris leaning against the knees of Thyia. He will not be mistaken who says that all during the lives of these women they remained friends. For Chloris came from Orchomenus in Boeotia, and the other was a daughter of Castalius from Parnassus. Other authorities have told their history, how that Thyia had connection with Poseidon, and how Chloris wedded Neleus, son of Poseidon.

[6] παρὰ δὲ τὴν Θυίαν Πρόκρις τε ἔστηκεν ἡ Ἐρεχθέως καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Κλυμένη: ἐπιστρέφει δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ νῶτα ἡ Κλυμένη. ἔστι δὲ πεποιημένα ἐν Νόστοις Μινύου μὲν τὴν Κλυμένην θυγατέρα εἶναι, γήμασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Κεφάλῳ τῷ Δηϊονος καὶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν Ἴφικλον παῖδα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Πρόκριν καὶ οἱ πάντες ἄδουσιν, ὥς προτέρα Κεφάλῳ ἢ Κλυμένη συνώκησε καὶ ὄν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός.

[29.6] Beside Thyia stands Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, and after her Clymene, who is turning her back to Chloris. The poem the Returns says that Clymene was a daughter of Minyas, that she married Cephalus the son of Deion, and that a son Iphiclus was born to them. The story of Procris is told by all men, how she had married Cephalus before Clymene, and in what way she was put to death by her husband.

[7] ἐσωτέρῳ δὲ τῆς Κλυμένης Μεγάραν τὴν ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄψει: ταύτην γυναῖκα ἔσχεν Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Μεγάραν καὶ ἀπεπέμψατο ἀνὰ χρόνον, ἅτε παίδων τε ἐστερημένος τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὴν ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀμείνوني τῷ δαίμονι γῆμαι.

γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν κατελεγμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ τε Σαλμωνέως θυγάτηρ

ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεζομένη καὶ Ἐριφύλη παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἐστῶσα, διὰ μὲν τοῦ χιτῶνος ἀνέχουσα ἄκρους παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον τοὺς δακτύλους, τοῦ χιτῶνος δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις εἰκάσεις τῶν χειρῶν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ ἐκείνῳ τὸν ὄρμον αὐτὴν ἔχειν.

[29.7] Farther within from Clymene you will see Megara from Thebes. This Megara married Heracles, but was divorced by him in course of time, on the ground that he had lost the children he had by her, and so thought that his marriage with her was unlucky.

Above the heads of the women I have enumerated is the daughter of Salmoneus sitting on a rock, beside whom is standing Eriphyle, who is holding up the ends of her fingers along her neck through her tunic, and you will conjecture that in the folds of her tunic she is holding in one of her hands the famous necklace.

[8] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἔγραψεν Ἐλπήνορά τε καὶ Ὀδυσσέα ὀκλάζοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσίν, ἔχοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ βόθρου τὸ ξίφος· καὶ ὁ μάντις Τειρεσίας πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν βόθρον. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Τειρεσίαν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἡ Ὀδυσσέως μήτηρ Ἀντίκλειά ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ Ἐλπήνωρ ἀμπέχεται φορμὸν ἀντὶ ἐσθῆτος, σύνηθες τοῖς ναύταις φόρημα.

[29.8] Beyond Eriphyle have been painted Elpenor and Odysseus. The latter is squatting on his feet, and holding his sword over the trench, towards which the seer Teiresias is advancing. After Teiresias is Anticleia, the mother of Odysseus, upon a rock. Elpenor has on instead of clothes a mat, such as is usual for sailors to wear.

[9] κατωτέρω δὲ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐπὶ θρόνων καθεζόμενοι Θησεὺς μὲν τὰ ξίφη τό τε Πειρίθου καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὰ ξίφη βλέπων ἐστὶν ὁ Πειρίθους· εἰκάσαις ἂν ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν αὐτὸν ὥς ἀχρείοις καὶ ὀφελὸς σφισιν οὐ γεγεννημένοις ἐς τὰ τολμήματα. Πανύασσις δὲ ἐποίησεν ὥς Θησεὺς καὶ Πειρίθους ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων παράσχοιντο σχῆμα οὐ κατὰ δεσμώτας, προσφύεσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἀντὶ δεσμῶν σφισιν ἔφη τὴν πέτραν.

[29.9] Lower down than Odysseus are Theseus and Peirithous sitting upon chairs. The former is holding in his hands the sword of Peirithous and his own. Peirithous is looking at the swords, and you might conjecture that he is angry with them for having been useless and of no help in their daring adventures. Panyassis the poet says that Theseus and Peirithous did not sit chained to their chairs, but that the rock grew to their flesh and so served as chains.

[10] Θησέως δὲ καὶ Πειρίθου τὴν λεγομένην φιλίαν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ἐδήλωσεν Ὅμηρος ταῖς ποιήσεσι, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν πρὸς Φαίακας λέγων ἐστὶ “καὶ νύ κ' ἔτι προτέρους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὓς ἔθελόν περ,

Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε, θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα:

“Hom. Od 11.631 foll.πεποίηται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ὁ Νέστωρ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Ἀχιλλέως νουθεσία καὶ ἔπη τάδε εἰρηκώς:”οὐ γάρ πο τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι

οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν

Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον

Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν.

“Hom. Il 1.262 foll.

[29.10] The proverbial friendship of Theseus and Peirithous has been mentioned by Homer in both his poems. In the Odyssey Odysseus says to the Phaeacians:—

And now I should have seen more men of former days, whom I wished very much to see,

Theseus and Peirithous, renowned children of gods. Hom. Od. 11.631 foll.

And in the Iliad he has made Nestor give advice to Agamemnon and Achilles, and speaking among others the following verses:—

I have never yet seen such men, and I am never likely to see

As were Peirithous, Dryas, shepherd of the folk,

Caeneus, Exadius, god-like Polyphemus,

And Theseus, son of Aegeus, like to the immortals. Hom. Il. 1.262 foll.

30. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὰς Πανδάρω θυγατέρας ἔγραψεν ὁ Πολύγνωτος. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ ἐν Πηνελόπης λόγοις ἐστὶν ὡς ἀποθάνοιεν μὲν ταῖς παρθένοις οἱ γεινόμενοι κατὰ μήνιμα ἐκ θεῶν, αὐτὰς δὲ ὀρφανὰς τραφεῖναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ παρ' ἄλλων θεῶν, Ἥρας μὲν φρονεῖν τε ἱκανὰς εἶναι καὶ εἶδος καλὰς, μῆκος δὲ τοῦ σώματος Ἄρτεμιν φησὶν αὐταῖς δωρήσασθαι, ἔργα δὲ γυναιξὶν ἀρμόζοντα ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς διδασχθῆναι.

[30.1] XXX. Next Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandareos. Homer makes Penelope say in a speech that the parents of the maidens died because of the wrath of the gods, that they were reared as orphans by Aphrodite and received gifts from other goddesses: from Hera wisdom and beauty of form, from Artemis high stature, from Athena schooling in the works that befit women.

[2] Ἀφροδίτην μὲν οὖν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀνέρχεσθαι, παρὰ Διὸς γάμον εὐδαίμονα ἐθέλουσαν ταῖς παισὶν εὖρασθαι, τὰς δὲ ἀπούσης ἐκείνης ἀρπασθῆναι τε ὑπὸ Ἀρπυιῶν καὶ Ἑρινύσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν δοθῆναι. τάδε μὲν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὰς Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα, Πολύγνωτος δὲ κόρας τε ἐστεφανωμένας ἄνθεσι καὶ παιζούσας ἔγραψεν ἀστραγάλοις, ὄνομα δὲ αὐταῖς Καμειρῷ τε καὶ Κλυτῇ. τὸν δὲ Πανδάρων Μιλήσιόν τε ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ὄντα ἴστω τις καὶ ἀδικήματος ἐς τὴν κλοπὴν Ταντάλῳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ μετασχόντα σοφίσματος.

[30.2] He goes on to say that Aphrodite ascended into heaven, wishing to secure for the girls a happy marriage, and in her absence they were carried off by the Harpies and given by them to the Furies. This is the story as given by Homer. Polygnotus has painted them as girls crowned with flowers and playing with dice, and gives them the names of Cameiro and Clytie. I must tell you that Pandareos was a Milesian from Miletus in Crete, and implicated in the theft of Tantalus and in the trick of the oath.

[3] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Πανδάρεω τὰς κόρας Ἀντίλοχος τὸν μὲν ἕτερον ἐπὶ πέτρας τῶν ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἔχων ἐστίν, Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντίλοχον σκῆπτρῳ τε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀριστερὰν μασχάλην ἐρειδόμενος καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπανέχων ῥάβδον: Πρωτεσίλαος δὲ πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἀφορᾷ καθεζόμενος. καὶ ὁ Πρωτεσίλαος τοιοῦτον παρέχεται σχῆμα, ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Πάτροκλός ἐστιν ἐστηκώς. οὗτοι πλὴν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος οὐκ ἔχουσι γένεια οἱ ἄλλοι.

[30.3] After the daughters of Pandareos is Antilochus, with one foot upon a rock and his face and head resting upon both hands, while after Antilochus is Agamemnon, leaning on a scepter beneath his left armpit, and holding up a staff in his hands. Protesilaus is seated with his gaze fixed on Achilles. Such is the posture of Protesilaus, and beyond Achilles is Patroclus standing. With the exception of Agamemnon these figures have no beard.

[4] γέγραπται δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς Φῶκος τε ἡλικίαν μειράκιον καὶ Ἰάσεὺς γενεῖων μὲν εὖ ἔχων, δακτύλιον δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς τοῦ Φώκου περιαιρούμενος χειρὸς ἐπὶ τοῖῳδὲ ἐστὶ λόγῳ. Φῶκῳ τῷ Αἰακοῦ διαβάντι ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἐς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Φωκίδα, καὶ ἀνθρώπων τε ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ταύτῃ κτήσασθαι καὶ αὐτῷ θέλοντι ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι, ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὁ Ἰάσεὺς φιλίας, καὶ οἱ δῶρα ἄλλα τε ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐδωρήσατο καὶ λίθου σφραγίδα ἐνδεδεμένην χρυσῷ: Φῶκῳ δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνακομισθέντι ἐς Αἶγιναν Πηλεὺς αὐτίκα ἐβούλευσε τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτήν. καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐς ἀνάμνησιν ἐκείνης τῆς φιλίας ὁ τε Ἰάσεὺς τὴν σφραγιδά ἐστιν ἐθέλων θεάσασθαι καὶ ὁ Φῶκος παρὲς λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

[30.4] Beyond them has been painted Phocus as a stripling, and Iaseus, well bearded, is taking off a ring from the left hand of Phocus. The story about this is as follows. When Phocus, the son of Aeacus, had crossed from Aegina into what is now called Phocis, and wished to gain the rule over the men living on that part of the mainland, and to settle there himself, Iaseus conceived a great friendship for him. Among the gifts that Iaseus gave (as friends will) was a seal-ring, a stone set in gold. But when Phocus returned, not long afterwards, to Aegina, Peleus at once plotted to kill him. This is the reason why in the painting, as a reminder of their great friendship, Iaseus is anxious to look at the ring and Phocus has let him take it.

[5] ὑπὲρ τούτους Μαῖρά ἐστιν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ καθεζομένη: περὶ δὲ αὐτῆς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐν Νόστοις ἀπελθεῖν μὲν παρθένον ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι Προΐτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου, τὸν δὲ εἶναι Σισύφου. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῆς Μαίρας Ἀκταίων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀρισταίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος μήτηρ, νεβρὸν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἐλάφου καὶ ἐπὶ δέρματι ἐλάφου καθεζόμενοι: κύων τε θηρευτικὴ παρακατάκειται σφίσι βίου τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τρόπου.

[30.5] Beyond these is Maera sitting on a rock. About her the poem Returns says that she was still a maid when she departed this life, being the daughter of

Proetus, son of Thersander, who was a son of Sisyphus. Next to Maera is Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, together with the mother of Actaeon; they hold in their hands a young deer, and are sitting on a deer's skin. A hunting dog lies stretched out beside them, an allusion to Actaeon's mode of life, and to the manner of his death.

[6] ἀποβλέψαντι δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς γραφῆς, ἔστιν ἐφεξῆς μετὰ τὸν Πάτροκλον οἷα ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς Ὀρφεὺς καθεζόμενος, ἐφάπτεται δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ κιθάρας, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ ἰτέας ψαύει: κλῶνές εἰσιν ὧν ψαύει, προσανακέκλιται δὲ τῷ δένδρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἄλσος ἔοικεν εἶναι τῆς Περσεφόνης, ἔνθα αἰγίροι καὶ ἰτέαι δόξῃ τῇ Ὀμήρου πεφυκάσιν: Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἐσθῆς οὔτε ἐπίθημά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ Θράκιον.

[30.6] Turning our gaze again to the lower part of the picture we see, next after Patroclus, Orpheus sitting on what seems to be a sort of hill; he grasps with his left hand a harp, and with his right he touches a willow. It is the branches that he touches, and he is leaning against the tree. The grove seems to be that of Persephone, where grow, as Homer thought, black poplars and willows. The appearance of Orpheus is Greek, and neither his garb nor his head-gear is Thracian.

[7] τῷ δένδρῳ δὲ τῇ ἰτέᾳ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος προσανακεκλιμένος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ Προμέδων. εἰσὶ μὲν δὴ οἱ νομίζουσι καθάπερ ἐς ποίησιν ἐπεσηῆσθαι τὸ Προμέδοντος ὄνομα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυγνώτου: τοῖς δὲ εἰρημένον ἐστὶν ἄνδρα Ἑλλήνα ἐξ τε τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν γενέσθαι φιλήκοον μουσικὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ᾠδῇ μάλιστα τῇ Ὀρφέως.

[30.7] On the other side of the willow-tree Promedon is leaning against it. Some there are who think that the name Promedon is as it were a poetic invention of Polygnotus; others have said that Promedon was a Greek who was fond of listening to all kinds of music, especially to the singing of Orpheus.

[8] κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς Σχεδῖος ὁ Φωκεῦσιν ἡγησάμενος ἐς Τροίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Πελίας ἐστὶν ἐν θρόνῳ καθεζόμενος, τὰ γένεια ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πολίος, ἐνορᾷ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀρφέα: ὁ δὲ Σχεδῖος ἐγχειρίδιόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἄγρωστίν ἐστιν ἐστεφανωμένος. Θαμύριδι δὲ ἐγγὺς καθεζομένῳ τοῦ Πελίου διεφθαρμένοι αἱ ὄψεις καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐς ἅπαν σχῆμά ἐστι καὶ ἡ κόμη πολλὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πολλὴ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γενείοις: λύρα δὲ ἔρριπται πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ, κατεαγότες αὐτῆς οἱ πῆχεις καὶ αἱ χορδαὶ κατερρωγυῖαι.

[30.8] In this part of the painting is Schedius, who led the Phocians to Troy, and after him is Pelias, sitting on a chair, with grey hair and grey beard, and looking at Orpheus. Schedius holds a dagger and is crowned with grass. Thamyras is sitting near Pelias. He has lost the sight of his eyes; his attitude is one of utter dejection; his hair and beard are long; at his feet lies thrown a lyre with its horns and strings broken.

[9] ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεζόμενος Μαρσύας, καὶ Ὀλυμπος παρ'

αὐτὸν παιδὸς ἔστιν ὥραίου καὶ αὐλεῖν διδασκομένου σχῆμα ἔχων. οἱ δὲ ἐν Κελαιναῖς Φρύγες ἐθέλουσι μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς διέξεισιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖνόν ποτε εἶναι τὸν αὐλητὴν, ἐθέλουσι δὲ καὶ εὖρημα εἶναι τοῦ Μαρσύου τὸ Μητρῶον αὐλημα: φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν Γαλατῶν ἀπώσαιντο στρατείαν τοῦ Μαρσύου σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕδατί τε ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ μέλει τῶν αὐλῶν ἀμύναντος.

[30.9] Above him is Marsyas, sitting on a rock, and by his side is Olympus, with the appearance of a boy in the bloom of youth learning to play the flute. The Phrygians in Celaenae hold that the river passing through the city was once this great flute-player, and they also hold that the Song of the Mother, an air for the flute, was composed by Marsyas. They say too that they repelled the army of the Gauls by the aid of Marsyas, who defended them against the barbarians by the water from the river and by the music of his flute.

31. εἰ δὲ ἀπιδίους πάλιν ἐς τὸ ἄνω τῆς γραφῆς, ἔστιν ἐφεξῆς τῷ Ἀκταίῳ Αἴας ὁ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ Παλαμήδης τε καὶ Θερσίτης κύβοις χρώμενοι παιδιᾷ, τοῦ Παλαμήδους τῷ εὐρήματι: Αἴας δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὀρθᾷ παίζοντας. τούτῳ τῷ Αἴαντι τὸ χρῶμά ἐστιν οἷον ἂν ἀνδρὶ ναυαγῷ γένοιτο ἐπανθούσης τῷ χρωτὶ ἔτι τῆς ἄλμης.

[31.1] XXXI. If you turn your gaze again to the upper part of the painting, you see, next to Actaeon, Ajax of Salamis, and also Palamedes and Thersites playing with dice, the invention of Palamedes; the other Ajax is looking at them as they play. The color of the latter Ajax is like that of a shipwrecked sailor with the brine still rough on the surface of his skin.

[2] ἐς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἤγαγεν ὁ Πολύγνωτος: ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Ὀδυσσέως δυσμένειαν ὁ τοῦ Ὀϊλέως Αἴας, ὅτι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν Ὀδυσσεὺς παρήνει καταλιθῶσαι τὸν Αἴαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματι: Παλαμήδην δὲ ἀποπνιγῆναι προελθόντα ἐπὶ ἰχθύων θήραν, Διομήδην δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι καὶ Ὀδυσσεῶα ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν ἔπεσιν οἶδα τοῖς Κυπρίοις.

[31.2] Polygnotus has intentionally gathered into one group the enemies of Odysseus. Ajax, son of Oileus, conceived a hatred of Odysseus, because Odysseus urged the Greeks to stone him for the outrage on Cassandra. Palamedes, as I know from reading the epic poem Cypria, was drowned when he put out to catch fish, and his murderers were Diomedes and Odysseus.

[3] Μελέαγρος δὲ ὁ Οἰνέως ἀνωτέρω μὲν ἢ ὁ τοῦ Ὀϊλέως Αἴας ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ἔοικε δὲ ὀρῶντι ἐς τὸν Αἴαντα. τούτοις πλὴν τῷ Παλαμήδει γένειά ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Μελέαγρου τὴν τελευταίην Ὀμήρῳ μὲν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα ὡς Ἐρινὺς καταρῶν ἀκούσαι τῶν Ἀλθαιᾶς καὶ ἀποθάνοι κατὰ ταύτην ὁ Μελέαγρος τὴν αἰτίαν, αἱ δὲ Ἥοιαι τε καλούμεναι καὶ ἡ Μινυᾶς ὁμολογήκασιν ἀλλήλαις: Ἀπόλλωνα γὰρ δὴ αὐταὶ φασιν αἱ ποιήσεις ἀμῦναι Κούρησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν Μελέαγρον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος.

[31.3] Meleager, the son of Oeneus, is higher up in the picture than Ajax, the son of Oileus, and he seems to be looking at Ajax. Palamedes has no beard, but the others have. As to the death of Meleager, Homer says that the Fury heard the curses of Althaea, and that this was the cause of Meleager's death. But the poem Eoeae, as it is called, and the Minyad agree in giving a different account. For these poems say that Apollo helped the Curetes against the Aetolians, and that Meleager was killed by Apollo.

[4] τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δαλῶ λόγον, ὡς δοθείη μὲν ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν τῇ Ἀλθαίᾳ, Μελεάγρῳ δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔδει τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι πρὶν ἢ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀφανισθῆναι τὸν δαλὸν καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ καταπρήσειεν αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀλθαία, τοῦτον τὸν λόγον Φρύνιχος ὁ Πολυφράδμονος πρῶτος ἐν δράματι ἔδειξε Πλευρωνίαις: “κρυερὸν γὰρ οὐκ

ἦλυσεν μόρον, ὠκεῖα δὲ νιν φλόξ κατεδαίσατο,

δαλοῦ περθομένου ματρὸς ὑπ’ αἰνᾶς κακομηχάνου.

“Polyphradmon, Pleuronian Women, unknown location. οὐ μὴν φαίνεται γε ὁ Φρύνιχος προαγαγὼν τὸν λόγον ἐς πλέον ὡς εὔρημα ἂν τις οἰκεῖον, προσασάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνον ἄτε ἐς ἅπαν ἤδη διαβεβοημένου τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

[31.4] The story about the brand, how it was given by the Fates to Althaea, how Meleager was not to die before the brand was consumed by fire, and how Althaea burnt it up in a passion – this story was first made the subject of a drama by Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, in his Pleuronian Women:–

For chill doom he escaped not, but a swift flame consumed him, as the brand was destroyed by his terrible mother, contriver of evil. Phrynichus, Pleuronian Women, unknown location.

However, it appears that Phrynichus did not elaborate the story as a man would his own invention, but only touched on it as one already in the mouths of everybody in Greece.

[5] ἐν δὲ τοῖς κάτω τῆς γραφῆς μετὰ τὸν Θρακὰ εἰσι Θάμυριν Ἐκτωρ μὲν καθεζόμενος — ἀμφοτέρας ἔχει τὰς χεῖρας περὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν γόνυ, ἀνιωμένου σχῆμα ἐμφαίνων — , μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Μέμνων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πέτρα καθεζόμενος καὶ Σαρπηδὼν συνεχῆς τῷ Μέμνωνι: ἐπικέκλιται δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας ὁ Σαρπηδὼν, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Μέμνονος ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμῳ τοῦ Σαρπηδόνοσ κεῖται.

[31.5] In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyras, comes Hector, who is sitting with both hands clasped about his left knee, in an attitude of deep grief. After him is Memnon, sitting on a rock, and Sarpedon next to Memnon. Sarpedon has his face buried in both hands, and one of Memnon's hands lies on Sarpedon's shoulder.

[6] γένεια μὲν πᾶσιν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῦ Μέμνονος τῇ χλαμύδι καὶ ὄρνιθες

εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι: Μεμνονίδες ταῖς ὄρνισιν ἐστὶν ὄνομα, κατὰ δὲ ἔτος οἱ Ἑλλησπόντιοι φασιν αὐτὰς ἐν εἰρημέναις ἡμέραις ἰέναι τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέμνονος τὸν τάφον, καὶ ὅποσον τοῦ μνήματος δένδρων ἐστὶν ἢ πόας ψιλόν, τοῦτο καὶ σαίρουσιν αἱ ὄρνιθες καὶ ὕγροις τοῖς πτεροῖς τοῦ Αἰσῆπου τῷ ὕδατι ραίνουσι.

[31.6] All are bearded; and on the cloak of Memnon are embroidered birds. Their name is Memnonides, and the people of the Hellespont say that on stated days every year they go to the grave of Memnon, and sweep all that part of the tomb that is bare of trees or grass, and sprinkle it with the water of the Aesepeus from their wet wings.

[7] παρὰ δὲ τῷ Μέμνονι καὶ παῖς Αἰθίοψ πεποιήται γυμνός, ὅτι ὁ Μέμνων βασιλεὺς ἦν τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν γένους. ἀφίκετο μέντοι ἐς Ἴλιον οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίας ἀλλὰ ἐκ Σούσων τῶν Περσικῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπου ποταμοῦ, τὰ ἔθνη πάντα ὅσα ᾤκει μεταξὺ ὑποχείρια πεποιημένους: Φρύγες δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐτι ἀποφαίνουσι δι' ἧς τὴν στρατιὰν ἤγαγε τὰ ἐπίτομα ἐκλεγόμενος τῆς χώρας: τέμνεται δὲ διὰ τῶν μονῶν ἡ ὁδός.

[31.7] Beside Memnon is depicted a naked Ethiopian boy, because Memnon was king of the Ethiopian nation. He came to Troy, however, not from Ethiopia, but from Susa in Persia and from the river Choaspes, having subdued all the peoples that lived between these and Troy. The Phrygians still point out the road through which he led his army, picking out the shortest routes. The road is divided up by halting-places.

[8] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα τε καὶ Μέμνονα, ἔστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πάρις οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια: κροτεῖ δὲ ταῖς χερσίν, οἷος ἂν γένοιτο ἀνδρὸς ἀγροίκου κρότος: εἰοικέναι τὸν Πάριν φήσεις τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν χειρῶν Πενθεσίλειαν παρ' αὐτὸν καλοῦντι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Πενθεσίλεια ὁρῶσα ἐς τὸν Πάριν, τοῦ προσώπου δὲ εἰοικε τῷ νεύματι ὑπερορᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς τίθεσθαι λόγῳ: τὸ δὲ σχῆμά ἐστι τῇ Πενθεσιλείᾳ παρθένος τόξον ἔχουσα τοῖς Σκυθικοῖς ἐμφορὲς καὶ παρδόλεως δέρμα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων.

[31.8] Beyond Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, as yet beardless. He is clapping his hands like a boor, and you will say that it is as though Paris were calling Penthesileia to him by the noise of his hands. Penthesileia too is there, looking at Paris, but by the toss of her head she seems to show her disdain and contempt. In appearance Penthesileia is a maiden, carrying a bow like Scythian bows, and wearing a leopard's skin on her shoulders.

[9] αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Πενθεσίλειαν φέρουσαι μὲν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἐν κατεαγόσιν ὀστράκοις, πεποιήται δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔτι ὥραία τὸ εἶδος, ἡ δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἡλικίας προήκουσα: ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέραις εἶναι σφᾶς τῶν οὐ μεμνημένων γυναικῶν.

[31.9] The women beyond Penthesileia are carrying water in broken pitchers; one is depicted as in the bloom of youth, the other is already advanced in years. There is no separate inscription on either woman, but there is one

common to the pair, which states that they are of the number of the uninitiated.

[10] ἀνωτέρω τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκάωνος Καλλιστὼ καὶ Νομία τε καὶ ἡ Νηλέως Πηρώ: ταύτης ἔδνα τῶν γάμων βοῦς ὁ Νηλεὺς ἤτει τὰς Ἰφίκλου. τῇ Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν στρωμνῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ δέρμα ἄρκτου, τοὺς πόδας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Νομίας γόνασιν ἔχει κειμένους. ἐδήλωσε δέ μοι τὰ πρότερα τοῦ λόγου φάναι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας Νομίαν εἶναι φασὶν ἐπιχώριον νύμφην: τὰς νύμφας δὲ εἶναι πολὺν μὲν τινα ἀριθμὸν βιούσας ἐτῶν, οὐ μέντοι παράπαν γε ἀπηλλαγμένας θανάτου, ποιητῶν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὰς λόγος.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καλλιστὼ καὶ ὅσαι σὺν ἐκείνῃ γυναῖκες, κρημνοῦ τε σχῆμά ἐστι καὶ ὁ Αἰόλου Σίσυφος ἀνῶσαι πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν βιαζόμενος τὴν πέτραν.

[31.10] Higher up than these is Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, Nomia, and Pero, daughter of Neleus. As her bride-price Neleus asked for the oxen of Iphiclus. Instead of a mattress, Callisto has a bearskin, and her feet are lying on Nomia's knees. I have already mentioned that the Arcadians say that Nomia is a nymph native to their country. The poets say that the nymphs live for a great number of years, but are not altogether exempt from death.

After Callisto and the women with her is the form of a cliff, and Sisyphus, the son of Aeolus, is trying his hardest to push the rock up it.

[11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ πίθος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ ἔτι παῖς, καὶ γυναῖκες, νέα μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ πέτρᾳ, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτην ἐοικυῖα ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν: οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι φέρουσιν ὕδωρ, τῇ δὲ γρὰ κατεᾶχθαι τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰκάσεις: ὅσον δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐκχέουσά ἐστιν αὐθις ἐς τὸν πίθον. ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτους τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν οὐδενὶ θεμένων λόγῳ: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν πάντων ὁπόσα ἐς εὐσέβειαν ἤκει τοσοῦτ' ἦγον ἐντιμότερον ὅσῳ καὶ θεοὺς ἐπίπροσθεν ἡρώων.

[31.11] There is also in the painting a jar, and an old man, with a boy and two women. One of these, who is young, is under the rock; the other is beside the old man and of a like age to his. The others are carrying water, but you will guess that the old woman's water-jar is broken. All that remains of the water in the sherd she is pouring out again into the jar. We inferred that these people too were of those who had held of no account the rites at Eleusis. For the Greeks of an earlier period looked upon the Eleusinian mysteries as being as much higher than all other religious acts as gods are higher than heroes.

[12] ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πίθῳ Τάνταλος καὶ ἄλλα ἔχων ἐστὶν ἀλγείνα ὁπόσα Ὅμηρος ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρόσεστίν οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπηρτημένου λίθου δεῖμα. Πολύγνωτος μὲν δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐπακολουθήσας τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ λόγῳ: Ἀρχιλόχος δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ἐδιδάχθη παρὰ ἄλλων τὰ ἐς τὸν λίθον εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ποίησιν ἐσηνέκατο.

τοσαύτη μὲν πλῆθος καὶ εὐπρεπείας ἐς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἤκουσα ἢ τοῦ Θασίου

γραφῇ:

[31.12] Under this jar is Tantalus, enduring all the pains that Homer speaks of, and in addition the terror of the stone that hangs over him. Polygnotus has plainly followed the account of Archilochus, but I do not know whether Archilochus borrowed from others the story of the stone or whether it was an invention of his that he introduced into his poem.

So great is the number of the figures and so many are their beauties, in this painting of the Thasian artist.

THEATRE AT DELPHI

32. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θέατρον ἔχεται θεάς ἄξιον, ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου * * Διονύσου δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα Κνιδίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα. στάδιον δὲ σφισιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως τοῦτό ἐστιν: ἐπεποίητο δὲ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ὅποια περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν εἰσιν αἱ πολλαί, ἄχρις Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρώδης λίθῳ τῷ Πεντελῆσιν αὐτὸ μετεκόσμησεν.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀνήκοντα ἐς συγγραφὴν τοσαῦτά τε καὶ τοιαῦτα κατ' ἐμὲ ἦν τὰ δὲ λειπόμενα ἐν Δελφοῖς:

[32.1] XXXII. Adjoining the sacred enclosure is a theater worth seeing, and on coming up from the enclosure...and here is an image of Dionysus, dedicated by the Cnidians. The Delphian race-course is on the highest part of their city. It was made of the stone that is most common about Parnassus, until Herodes the Athenian rebuilt it of Pentelic marble. Such in my day the objects remaining in Delphi that are worth recording.

THE CORYCIAN CAVE

[2] ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, σταδίοις μὲν ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἀπωτέρω Δελφῶν ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, καὶ ῥάων εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἡμίονοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἐστὶν ἄνοδος τὸ Κωρύκιον. τοῦτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄντρῳ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ νύμφης Κωρυκίας ἐδήλωσα ὀλίγον τι ἔμπροσθεν: σπηλαιῶν δὲ ὧν εἶδον θεάς ἄξιον μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο εἶναι μοι.

[32.2] On the way from Delphi to the summit of Parnassus, about sixty stades distant from Delphi, there is a bronze image. The ascent to the Corycian cave is easier for an active walker than it is for mules or horses. I mentioned a little earlier in my narrative that this cave was named after a nymph called Corycia, and of all the caves I have ever seen this seemed to me the best worth seeing.

[3] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τε αἰγιαλοῖς καὶ ἀγχιβαθεῖ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τούτων μὲν οὐδὲ ἀριθμὸν ἂν τις ἐθέλων ἐξεύροι, ὀνομαστότατα δὲ ἐν τε Ἑλλήσιν καὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ βαρβάρων ἐστί: Φρύγες οἱ ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Πηγκέλῃ, τὰ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ Ἀζάνων ἐς ταύτην ἀφικόμενοι τὴν χώραν, δεικνύουσιν ἄντρον καλούμενον Στεῦνος περιφερές τε καὶ ὕψους ἔχον εὐπρεπῶς: Μητρὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἱερόν, καὶ ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς πεποίηται.

[32.3] It would be impossible to discover even the mere number of caves whose

entrances face the beach or the deep sea, but the most famous ones in Greek or in foreign lands are the following. The Phrygians on the river Pencelas, and those who came to this land originally from the Azanians in Arcadia, show visitors a cave called Steunos, which is round, and handsome in its loftiness. It is sacred to the Mother, and there is an image of her.

[4] Θεμισώνιον δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ Λαοδικείας Φρύγες μὲν καὶ τοῦτο οἰκοῦσιν: ὅτε δὲ ὁ Γαλατῶν στρατὸς ἔφερε καὶ ἦγεν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἰωνίας τὰ ὅμορα, οἱ Θεμισωνεῖς φασιν αὐτοῖς Ἡρακλέα βοηθὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα γενέσθαι καὶ Ἑρμῆν: τούτους γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἄντρον τε δι' ὀνειράτων δεῖξαι καὶ ἀποκρυφθῆναι Θεμισωνεῦσι καὶ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶν ἐς τοῦτο προστάξαι τὸ ἄντρον.

[32.4] Themisionium above Laodiceia is also inhabited by Phrygians. When the army of the Gauls was laying waste Ionia and the borders of Ionia, the Themisionians say that they were helped by Heracles, Apollo and Hermes, who revealed to their magistrates in dreams a cave, and commanded that in it should be hidden the Themisionians with their wives and children.

[5] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου σφίσιν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, Σπηλαῖται καλοῦμενοι: τὸ δὲ ἀπέχει ὅσον τριάκοντα τοῦ ἄστεως σταδίου, ὕδατος δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ πηγαί: οὔτε δὲ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὸ φέρει οὔτε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ αὐγὴ δίεισι τοῦ ἡλίου, τοῦ τε ὀρόφου τὰ πλείονα ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ ἐδάφους γίνεται.

[32.5] This is the reason why in front of the cave they have set up small images, called Gods of the Cave, of Heracles, Hermes and Apollo. The cave is some thirty stades distant from the city, and in it are springs of water. There is no entrance to it, the sunlight does not reach very far, and the greater part of the roof lies quite close to the floor.

[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ληθαίῳ Μάγνησιν Αὐλαὶ καλούμενον χωρίον: ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται σπήλαιον, μεγέθους μὲν εἵνεκα οὐ πολλοῦ θαύματος, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παρέχεται παντί: καὶ αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν τε ἀποτόμων καὶ πετρῶν πηδῶσιν ὑψηλῶν καὶ ὑπερμήκη δένδρα ἐριπόντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν κατὰ τὰ στενωτάτα τῶν ἀτραπῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄχθεσιν ὁδεύουσι.

[32.6] There is also near Magnesia on the river Lethaeus a place called Aulæ (Halls), where there is a cave sacred to Apollo, not very remarkable for its size, but the image of Apollo is very old indeed, and bestows strength equal to any task. The men sacred to the god leap down from sheer precipices and high rocks, and uprooting trees of exceeding height walk with their burdens down the narrowest of paths.

[7] τὸ δὲ ἄντρον τὸ Κωρύκιον μεγέθει τε ὑπερβάλλει τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ὁδεῦσαι δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνευ λαμπτήρων: ὃ τε ὄροφος ἐς αὐταρκες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀνέστηκε, καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ μὲν ἀνερχόμενον ἐκ πηγῶν, πλεον δὲ

ἐτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρόφου στάζει, ὥστε καὶ δῆλα ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει σταλαγμῶν τὰ ἴχνη διὰ παντός ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄντρου. ἱερὸν δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Κωρυκίων τε εἶναι Νυμφῶν καὶ Πανὸς μάλιστα ἡγνῆται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Κωρυκίου χαλεπὸν ἤδη καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ: τὰ δὲ νεφῶν τέ ἐστὶν ἀνωτέρω τὰ ἄκρα καὶ αἱ Θυιάδες ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μαίνονται.

[32.7] But the Corycian cave exceeds in size those I have mentioned, and it is possible to make one's way through the greater part of it even without lights. The roof stands at a sufficient height from the floor, and water, rising in part from springs but still more dripping from the roof, has made clearly visible the marks of drops on the floor throughout the cave. The dwellers around Parnassus believe it to be sacred to the Corycian nymphs, and especially to Pan. From the Corycian cave it is difficult even for an active walker to reach the heights of Parnassus. The heights are above the clouds, and the Thyiad women rave there in honor of Dionysus and Apollo.

TITHOREA

[8] Τιθορέα δὲ ἀπωτέρω Δελφῶν ὀγδοήκοντα ὥς εἰκάσαι σταδίοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἰόντι τὴν διὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ: τὴν δὲ οὐ πάντα ὀρεινὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀχλήμασιν ἐπιτήδειον πλεόνων ἐτι ἐλέγετο εἶναι σταδίων. διάφορα ἐς τὸ ὄνομα οἶδα τῆς πόλεως Ἡροδότῳ τε εἰρημένα ἐν ἐπιστρατείᾳ τοῦ Μήδου καὶ Βάκιδι ἐν χρησμοῖς.

[32.8] Tithorea is, I should guess, about one hundred and eighty stades distant from Delphi on the road across Parnassus. This road is not mountainous throughout, being fit even for vehicles, but was said to be several stades longer. I am aware that Herodotus in his account of the Persian invasion gives the town a different name from that given to it in the oracles of Bacis.

[9] Βάκις μὲν γε Τιθορέας τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἐκάλεσεν ἀνθρώπους: Ἡροδότου δὲ ὁ ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος ἐπιόντος φησὶ τοῦ βαρβάρου τοὺς ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντας ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὴν κορυφὴν, ὄνομα δὲ Νεῶνα μὲν τῇ πόλει, Τιθορέαν δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τῇ ἄκρᾳ. ἔοικεν οὖν ἀνὰ χρόνον πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τῇ ἀπάσῃ χώρᾳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ ἀνφίσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν κομῶν, ἐκνικῆσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Τιθορέαν μηδὲ ἐτι Νεῶνα ὀνομάζεσθαι: Τιθορέα δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τεθῆναι φασιν ἀπὸ Τιθορέας νύμφης, οἶαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον λόγῳ τῷ ποιητῶν ἐφύοντο ἀπὸ τε ἄλλων δένδρων καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν δρυῶν.

[32.9] For Bacis called the inhabitants Tithoreans, but the account of them in Herodotus states that during the advance of the barbarian the people dwelling here fled up to the summit, and that the city's name was Neon, Tithorea being the name of the peak of Parnassus. It appears, then, that at first Tithorea was the name applied to the whole district; but in course of time, when the people migrated from the villages, the city too came to be called Tithorea, and not Neon any longer. The natives say that Tithorea was so called after a nymph of the same name, one of those who in days of old, according to the story of the

poets, grew out of trees and especially out of oaks.

[10] γενεᾷ δὲ ἥ με γενέσθαι μῆ πρότερον ἐς τὸ χεῖρον ἔτρεψεν ὁ δαίμων τὰ ἐν τῇ Τιθορέᾳ. θεάτρου μὲν δὴ καὶ κατασκευὴ καὶ περίβολός ἐστιν ἀγορᾶς ἀρχαιοτέρας· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει μάλιστα ἐς μνήμην ἥκοντα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἄλσος καὶ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα· καὶ ἐς μνήμην Ἀντιόπης μνήμᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ Φώκου. καὶ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἔχοντα ἐς Θηβαίους ἐδήλωσε μὲν ὡς ἡ Ἀντιόπη δι' ὀργὴν ἐκ Διονύσου μανεῖη, καὶ κατὰ αἰτίαν ἦντινα ἐπεσπάσατο ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μῆνιμα, ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐρασθέντι Φώκῳ

[32.10] One generation before I was born heaven made the fortunes of Tithorea decay. There are the buildings of a theater, and the enclosure of a rather ancient market-place. The most noteworthy objects in the city are the grove, temple and image of Athena. There is also the tomb of Antiope and Phocus. I have already in my account of Thebes mentioned how Antiope went mad because of the wrath of Dionysus, and the reason why she brought on herself the anger of the god;

[11] τῷ Ὀρνυτίωνος συνώκησε καὶ τέθαιπαι ὁμοῦ τῷ Φώκῳ, καὶ Βάκιδι ὁποῖα ἐστὶ τῷ χρησμολόγῳ κοινὰ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν τάφον καὶ ἐς τὸν Ζήθου τε ἐν Θήβαις καὶ Ἀμφίονος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς συγγραφὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ πολισίματι ὅτι μὴ τὰ εἰρημένα ἄλλο ἦν οὐδέν, ποταμός δὲ παρὰ τῶν Τιθορέων ῥέων τὴν πόλιν ποτόν σφισι γίνεται καταβαίνουσί τε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην καὶ ἀρυομένοις τὸ ὕδωρ· ὄνομα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Καχάλης.

[32.11] I have also told how Phocus, the son of Ornytion, fell in love with her, how she married him and is buried with him, and what Bacis the soothsayer says about this grave in common with that of Zethus and Amphion at Thebes. I found nothing else remarkable in the town except what I have already mentioned. Running past the city of Tithorea is a river that gives the inhabitants drinking-water. They go down to the bank and draw the water up. The name of the river is Cachales.

NEAR TITHOREA

[12] σταδίους δὲ ἀπωτέρω Τιθορέας ἐβδομήκοντα ναός ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀρχαγέτας· τιμὰς δὲ παρὰ αὐτῶν ἔχει Τιθορέων καὶ ἐπ' ἴσης παρὰ Φωκέων τῶν ἄλλων. ἐντὸς μὲν δὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τοῖς τε ἱκέταις καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλοι, τούτοις μὲν ἐνταῦθά εἰσι καὶ οἰκήσεις· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ὃ τε ναός καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου πεποιημένον, γένεια ἔχον μέγεθος καὶ ὑπὲρ δύο πόδας· κλίνη δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ κεῖται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, θύειν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως νομίζουσι πλὴν αἰγῶν.

[32.12] Seventy stades distant from Tithorea is a temple of Asclepius, called Archagetas (Founder). He receives divine honors from the Tithoreans, and no less from the other Phocians. Within the precincts are dwellings for both the suppliants of the god and his servants. In the middle is the temple of the god and an image made of stone, having a beard more than two feet long. A couch

is set on the right of the image. It is usual to sacrifice to the god any animal except the goat.

[13] τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους περίβολος καὶ ἄδυτον ἱερὸν Ἴσιδος, ἀγιώτατον ὅποσα Ἑλλήνες θεῶ τῇ Αἰγυπτία πεποιήνται: οὔτε γὰρ περιοικεῖν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Τιθορεεῖς νομίζουσιν οὔτε ἔσοδος ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἄλλοις γε ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐστὶν οὓς ἂν αὐτὴ προτιμήσασα ἢ Ἴσις καλέσῃ σφᾶς δι' ἐνυπνίων. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου πόλεσι θεοὶ ποιοῦσιν οἱ καταχθόνιοι: οὓς γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὰ ἄδυτα ἐσιέναι θελήσωσιν, ἀποστελλουσιν αὐτοῖς ὀνειράτων ὄψεις.

[32.13] About forty stades distant from Asclepius is a precinct and shrine sacred to Isis, the holiest of all those made by the Greeks for the Egyptian goddess. For the Tithoreans think it wrong to dwell round about it, and no one may enter the shrine except those whom Isis herself has honored by inviting them in dreams. The same rule is observed in the cities above the Maeander by the gods of the lower world; for to all whom they wish to enter their shrines they send visions seen in dreams.

[14] ἐν δὲ τῇ Τιθορέῳ καὶ δις ἐκάστου τοῦ ἔτους τῇ Ἴσιδι πανήγυριν ἄγουσι, τὴν μὲν τῷ ἥρι, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινήν: τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον κατὰ ἐκατέραν τῶν πανηγύρεων, ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐσελθεῖν ἄδεια, τὸ ἄδυτον ἐκκαθαίρουσι τρόπον τινὰ ἀπόρρητον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἱερείων ἃ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐνεβλήθη πανηγύρεως, τούτων ὅποσα ἂν ὑπολειπόμενα εὗρωσι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ αἰὶ χωρίον καὶ κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα: δύο τε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδύτου στάδια ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ χωρίον.

[32.14] In the country of the Tithoreans a festival in honor of Isis is held twice each year, one in spring and the other in autumn. On the third day before each of the feasts those who have permission to enter cleanse the shrine in a certain secret way, and also take and bury, always in the same spot, whatever remnants they may find of the victims thrown in at the previous festival. We estimated that the distance from the shrine to this place was two stades.

[15] ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοσαῦτα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δρῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ σκηνὰς οἱ καπηλεύοντες ποιοῦνται καλάμου τε καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης αὐτοσχεδίου: τῇ τελευταίᾳ δὲ τῶν τριῶν πανηγυρίζουσι πιπράσκοντες καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ κτήνη τὰ πάντα, ἔτι δὲ ἐσθίητας καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν:

[32.15] So on this day they perform these acts about the sanctuary, and on the next day the small traders make themselves booths of reeds or other improvised material. On the last of the three days they hold a fair, selling slaves, cattle of all kinds, clothes, silver and gold.

[16] μετὰ δὲ μεσοῦσαν τὴν ἡμέραν τρέπονται πρὸς θυσίαν. θύουσι δὲ καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἐλάφους οἱ εὐδαιμονέστεροι, ὅσοι δὲ εἰσιν ἀποδέοντες πλούτῳ, καὶ χήνας καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μελεαγρίδας: οἰσὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν οὐ νομίζουσιν οὐδὲ ὑσὶ χρῆσθαι καὶ αἰζίν. ὅσοις μὲν δὴ καθαγίσασι τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἀποστεῖλαι

* * * πεπονημένους ἀρχήν, καθελίξαι δεῖ σφᾶς τὰ ἱερεῖα λίνου τελαμῶσιν ἢ βύσσου: τρόπος δὲ τῆς σκευασίας ἐστὶν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.

[32.16] After mid-day they turn to sacrificing. The more wealthy sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer people geese and guinea fowl. But it is not the custom to use for the sacrifice sheep, pigs or goats. Those whose business it is to burn the victims and send them into the shrine . . . having made a beginning must wrap the victims in bandages of coarse or fine linen; the mode of preparing is the Egyptian.

[17] πομπεύει τε δὴ πάντα ὅσα ἔθυσαν καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐσπέμπουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ ἀδύτου καθαγίζουσι τὰς σκηναὺς καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖ σπουδῇ. καὶ φασὶ ποτε ἄνθρωπον οὐ τῶν καταβαινόντων ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον, βέβηλον δέ, ἡνίκα ἤρχετο ἡ πυρὰ καίεσθαι, τηνικαῦτα ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ὑπὸ πολυπραγμοσύνης τε καὶ τόλμης: καὶ οἱ πάντα ἀνάπλεα εἰδῶλων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀναστρέψαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Τιθορέαν, διηγησάμενον δὲ ἃ ἐθεάσατο ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν.

[32.17] All that they have devoted to sacrifice are led in procession; some send the victims into the shrine, while others burn the booths before the shrine and themselves go away in haste. They say that once a profane man, who was not one of those descending into the shrine, when the pyre began to burn, entered the shrine to satisfy his rash inquisitiveness. It is said that everywhere he saw ghosts, and on returning to Tithorea and telling what he had seen he departed this life.

[18] εἰκότα δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα Φοίνικος, ἄγειν τῇ Ἰσιδι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν ἑορτήν, ὅτε αὐτὴν τὸν Ὅσιριν πενθεῖν λέγουσι: τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος ἀναβαίνειν σφίσιν ἄρχεται, καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοῖς ἐστὶν εἰρημένα ὡς τὰ αὔξοντα τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄρδειν τὰς ἀρούρας ποιοῦντα δάκρυά ἐστι τῆς Ἰσιδος. τότε οὖν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, ἄνδρα ἔφη χρήμασιν ἀναπείσαντα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον καταπέμψαι τῆς Ἰσιδος τὸ ἐν Κόπτῳ: καὶ ὁ ἐσπεμφθεὶς ἀνέστρεψε μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, διηγησάμενον δὲ ὅποσα ἐθεάσατο καὶ τοῦτον αὐτίκα ἐπυνθανόμην τελευτῆσαι. τὸ ἔπος οὖν ἀληθεύειν ἔοικε τὸ Ὀμήρου, σὺν οὐδενὶ αἰσίῳ τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐναργῶς ὁρᾶσθαι.

[32.18] I have heard a similar story from a man of Phoenicia, that the Egyptians hold the feast for Isis at a time when they say she is mourning for Osiris. At this time the Nile begins to rise, and it is a saying among many of the natives that what makes the river rise and water their fields is the tears of Isis. At that time then, so said my Phoenician, the Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go down into the shrine of Isis in Coptus. The man despatched into the shrine returned indeed out of it, but after relating what he had seen, he too, so I was told, died immediately. So it appears that Homer's verse speaks the truth when it says that it bodes no good to man to see godhead face to face.

[19] τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον τὸ ἐν τῇ Τιθορέῳ ἀποδεῖ μὲν πλήθει τοῦ τε Ἀττικοῦ καὶ τοῦ

Σικυωνίου, χρώα δὲ ὑπερβάλλει καὶ ἡδονῇ τὸ Ἰβηρικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς Ἰστρίας· καὶ μύρα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παντοῖα ἐψοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ὥς βασιλέα ἄγουσιν.

[32.19] The olive oil of Tithorea is less abundant than Attic or Sicyonian oil, but in color and pleasantness it surpasses Iberian oil and that from the island of Istria. They distil all manner of unguents from the oil, and also send it to the Emperor.

LEDON

33. ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ Τιθορέας ὁδὸς ἢ ἐπὶ Λέδοντά ἐστιν· πόλις δέ ποτε ἐνομιζέτο καὶ αὕτη, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀσθeneίας ἐξελεοίπεσαν οἱ Λεδόντιοι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα οἱ οἰκοῦντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ· Λέδων δ' οὖν ὄνομα ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Φωκέων σύλλογον κοινὸν τελεῖν ἡξίωται καὶ οὗτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ οἱ Πανοπεῖς. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἀνωτέρω σταδίοις Λέδοντος τῆς ἀρχαίας τὰ ἐρείπια, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν φασὶν αὐτόχθονος.

[33.1] XXXIII. Another road from Tithorea is the one that leads to Ledon. Once Ledon also was considered a city, but in my day the Ledontians owing to their weakness had abandoned the city, and the dwellers on the Cephissus were about seventy people. Still the name of Ledon is given to their dwellings, and the citizens, like the Panopeans, have the right to be represented at the general assembly of the Phocians. The ruins of the ancient Ledon are forty stades farther up from these dwellers on the Cephissus. They say that the city took its name from an aboriginal.

[2] κακῶν δὲ ἀπέλαυσαν μὲν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις δι' ἀδικίαν ἐπιχωρίων ἀνδρῶν· ἐς τελέαν δὲ ἀπώλειαν ὤλισθον Ἴλιον μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐς Μενέλαον ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μιλήσιοι δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας Ἑστιάου πρόχειρον καὶ ἔρωτα ἄλλοτε μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἡδωνοῖς πόλεως, τότε δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου σύμβουλον, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἐπανήκειν ἐς Ἰωνίαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ Λεδοντίους Φιλόμηλος ἀσέβειαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δημοσίᾳ παρέσχε σφίσιν ἀναμάζασθαι.

[33.2] Other cities have incurred incurable harm through the sin of their own citizens, hut Troy's ruin was complete when it fell through the outrage that Alexander committed against Menelaus, and Miletus through the lack of control shown by Histiaeus, and his passionate desire, now to possess the city in the land of the Edonians, now to be admitted to the councils of Dareius, and now to go back to Ionia. Again, Philomelus brought on the community of Ledon the punishment to be paid for the crime of his own impiety.

LILAEA

[3] Λίλαια δὲ ἡμέρας μὲν ὁδὸν καὶ ὥρα χειμῶνος ἀπέχει Δελφῶν κατιοῦσι διὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, στάδια δὲ ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα ὀγδοήκοντα εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἑκατόν. τοὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀνωκίσθη αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις,

ἀτύχημα ἐκ Μακεδονίας δεύτερον σφᾶς ἔμελλεν ἐπιλήψεσθαι. πολιορκηθέντες γὰρ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου παρέστησαν κατὰ συνθήκας, καὶ ἐσήχθη φρουρά σφισιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἕως οὗ ἄνὴρ ἐπιχώριος — ὄνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Πάτρων — τοὺς τε ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν συνέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ κρατήσας τοὺς Μακεδόνας μάχῃ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπελθεῖν σφᾶς ὑποσπόνδους: Λιλαιεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφούς.

[33.3] Lilaëa is a winter day's journey distant from Delphi; we estimated the length of the road, which goes across and down Parnassus, to be one hundred and eighty stades. Even after their city had been restored, its inhabitants were fated to suffer a second disaster at the hands of the Macedonians. Besieged by Philip, the son of Demetrius, they made terms and surrendered, and a garrison was brought into the city, until a native of the city, whose name was Patron, united against the garrison those of the citizens who were of military age, conquered the Macedonians in battle, and forced them to withdraw under a truce. In return for this good deed the Lilaëans dedicated his statue at Delphi.

[4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λιλαίᾳ θέατρον καὶ ἀγορά τε καὶ λουτρά: ἔστι δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος: ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ ἐργασίας τε τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Πεντελῆσι λιθοτομίας. Λίλαιαν δὲ τῶν καλουμένων Ναϊδῶν καὶ θυγατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νύμφης τὸ ὄνομα τεθῆναι τῇ πόλει φασί.

[33.4] In Lilaëa are also a theater, a market-place and baths. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Artemis. the images are standing, of Attic workmanship, and of marble from the Pentelic quarries. They say that Lilaëa was one of the Naids, as they are called, a daughter of the Cephissus, and that after this nymph the city was named. Here the river has its source.

[5] καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει τὰς πηγάς: ἄνεισι δὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐ τὰ πάντα μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ἀλλ' ὥς τὰ πλείω συμβαίνειν μεσοῦσης μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας παρέχεται φωνὴν ἀνερχόμενος: εἰκάσαις ἂν μυκωμένῳ ταύρῳ τὸν ἦχον τοῦ ὕδατος. ἔχει δὲ ἡ Λίλαια καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας μετοπώρου καὶ ἐν θέρει καὶ ἦρος ἐπιτηδείως: τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μὴ ὁμοίως ἥπιον γίνεσθαι κωλύει τὸ ὄρος ὃ Παρνασσός.

[33.5] It is not always quiet when it rises from the ground, but it usually happens that at about mid-day it makes a noise as it wells up. You could compare the roar of the water to the bellowing of a bull. Lilaëa has a temperate climate in autumn, in summer, and in spring; but Mount Parnassus prevents the winter from being correspondingly mild.

CHARADRA & PARAPOTAMII

[6] Χαράδρα δὲ εἴκοσιν ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ὕψηλοῦ κειμένη κρημνοῦ, καὶ ὕδατος οἱ ἐνταῦθα σπανίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι, ποτὸν δὲ σφισι ποταμὸς ἐστὶ Χάραδρος κατερχομένοις ὅσον τρία ἐπ' αὐτὸν στάδια: ἐκδίδωσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Κηφισόν, καὶ μοι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθῆναι τοῦ

Χαράδρου τῇ πόλει. Χαραδραίοις δὲ Ἡρώων καλουμένων εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ βωμοί, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν Διοσκούρων, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχωρίων εἶναί φασιν ἡρώων.

[33.6] Charadra is twenty stades distant, situated on the top of a lofty crag. The inhabitants are badly off for water; their drinking water is the river Charadrus, and they have to go down about three stades to reach it. This river is a tributary of the Cephissus, and it seems to me that the town was named after the Charadrus. In the market-place at Charadra are altars of Heroes, as they are called, said by some to be the Dioscuri, by others to be local heroes.

[7] γῇ δὲ διακεκριμένη ἀρίστη τῆς Φωκίδος ἐστὶν ἢ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν καὶ φυτεῦσαι καὶ σπεῖρειν καὶ ἀνεῖναι νομάς: καὶ γεωργεῖται ταῦτα μάλιστα τῆς χώρας, ὥστε καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ πόλιν μὲν Παραποταμίους μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν γεωργούντων πεποιησθαι τὸ ἔπος, “οἳ τ’ ἄρα παρ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν δῖον ἔναιον.

“Hom. II 2.522

[33.7] The land beside the Cephissus is distinctly the best in Phocis for planting, sowing and pasture. This part of the district, too, is the one most under cultivation, so that there is a saying that the verse,

And they who dwelt beside the divine river Cephissus, Hom. II. 2.522

alludes, not to a city Parapotamii (Riverside), but to the farmers beside the Cephissus.

[8] τοῦτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διάφορα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἡροδότου συγγραφῇ, διάφορα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς Πυθικαῖς μνημονεύουσιν: Ἀμφικτύονες γὰρ Πύθια ἐτίθεσαν πρῶτον, καὶ Αἰχμέας Παραποτάμιος πυγμὴν ἐνίκησεν ἐν παισίν: ὡσαύτως δὲ Ἡρόδοτος καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐνέπρησε, καὶ Παραποταμίους κατεῖλοχεν ἐν αὐταῖς πόλιν. οὐ μέντοι οἱ Παραποτάμιοί γε ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἀνωκίσθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατενεμήθησαν ὑπὸ τε ἀσθενείας καὶ σπάνει χρημάτων.

Παραποταμίων μὲν δὴ οὔτε ἐρείπια ἔτι ἦν οὔτε ἔνθα τῆς χώρας ὤκισθη ἡ πόλις μνημονεύουσιν:

[33.8] The saying, however, is at variance with the history of Herodotus as well as with the records of victories at the Pythian games. For the Pythian games were first held by the Amphictyons, and at this first meeting a Parapotamian of the name of Aechmeas won the prize in the boxing match for boys. Similarly Herodotus, enumerating the cities that King Xerxes burnt in Phocis, includes among them the city of Parapotamii. However, Parapotamii was not restored by the Athenians and Boeotians, but the inhabitants, being poverty stricken and few in number, were distributed among the other cities. I found no ruins of Parapotamii left, nor is the site of the city remembered.

[9] ὁδὸς δὲ ἡ ἐς Ἀμφίκλειαν σταδίων ἐκ Λιλαίας ἐστὶν ἐξήκοντα. ταύτην τὴν Ἀμφίκλειαν ἐλυμήναντο οἱ τε ἐπιχώριοι τῷ ὀνόματι, καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μὲν Ἀμφίκλειαν ἐκάλεσεν ἐπόμενος τῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων, Ἀμφικτύονες δὲ δόγμα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πόλεων ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐξενεγκόντες ὄνομα ἔθεντο αὐτῇ Ἀμφίκλειαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι τοιάδε ἐπ' αὐτῇ λέγουσι: δυνάστην ἄνδρα ἐπιβουλὴν ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτεύσαντα ἐς νήπιον παῖδα καταθέσθαι τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἀγγεῖον, καὶ ἀποκρύψαι τῆς χώρας ἔνθα οἱ ἄδειαν ἔσσεσθαι πλείστην ἠπίστατο. λύκον μὲν δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ παιδί, δράκοντα δὲ ἰσχυρὰν ἔχειν τὴν φρουρὰν ἐσπειραμένον περὶ τὸ ἀγγεῖον.

[33.9] The road from Lilaea to Amphicleia is sixty stades. The name of this Amphicleia has been corrupted by the native inhabitants. Herodotus, following the most ancient account, called it Amphicaea; but the Amphictyons, when they published their decree for the destruction of the cities in Phocis, gave it the name of Amphicleia. The natives tell about it the following story. A certain chief, suspecting that enemies were plotting against his baby son, put the child in a vessel, and hid him in that part of the land where he knew there would be most security. Now a wolf attacked the child, but a serpent coiled itself round the vessel, and kept up a strict watch.

[10] ὥς δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἦλθε τοῦ παιδός, τὸν δράκοντα ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ παιδί ἐλπίζων ἀφήσι τὸ ἀκόντιον, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ δράκοντι τὸν παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε: διδασθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμαίνοντων ὥς εὐεργέτην καὶ φύλακα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεκτονῶς εἶη, πυρὰν τῷ δράκοντι καὶ τῷ παιδί ἐποίησεν ἐν κοινῷ. τό τε δὴ χωρίον εἰκέναι καὶ ἐς τὸδε καιομένη πυρᾷ φασὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου τὴν πόλιν ἐθέλουσιν Ὀφιτεῖαν ὀνομασθῆναι.

[33.10] When the child's father came, supposing that the serpent had purposed to attack the child, he threw his javelin, which killed the serpent and his son as well. But being informed by the shepherds that he had killed the benefactor and protector of his child, he made one common pyre for both the serpent and his son. Now they say that even to-day the place resembles a burning pyre, maintaining that after this serpent the city was called Ophiteia.

[11] ἥ μάλιστα ἄξιον Διονύσῳ δρῶσιν ὄργια, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον οὐδὲ ἐν φανερῷ σφισιν ἥγαλμα οὐκ ἔστι. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφικλειέων μάντιν τέ σφισι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καὶ βοηθὸν νόσων καθεστηκέναι: τὰ μὲν δὴ νοσήματα αὐτοῖς Ἀμφικλειεῦσι καὶ τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἰᾶται δι' ὀνειράτων, πρόμαντις δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐστὶ, χρῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος.

[33.11] They celebrate orgies, well worth seeing, in honor of Dionysus, but there is no entrance to the shrine, nor have they any image that can be seen. The people of Amphicleia say that this god is their prophet and their helper in disease. The diseases of the Amphicleans themselves and of their neighbors are cured by means of dreams. The oracles of the god are given by the priest, who utters them when under the divine inspiration.

[12] Ἀμφικλείας δὲ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις πεντεκαίδεκά ἐστι Τιθρώνιον ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη· παρέχεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην. ἐκ Τιθρωνίου δὲ εἴκοσιν ἐς Δρυμαίαν στάδιοι· καθ' ὃ τι δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἐς Δρυμαίαν ἐξ Ἀμφικλείας ἡ εὐθεῖα περὶ τὸν Κηφισὸν συμμίσγουσιν, ἔστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Τιθρωνεῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλσος τε καὶ βωμοί. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ναός· ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν.

ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀμφικλείας ἡ Δρυμαία σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα ἀποτραπέντι ἐς ἀριστερά * * * κατὰ Ἡροδότου τοὺς λόγους, Ναυβολεῖς δὲ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα· καὶ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι σφίσι Φώκου παῖδά φασι τοῦ Αἰακοῦ. Δήμητρος δὲ Θεσμοφόρου Δρυμαίοις ἱερὸν ἔστιν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου πεποιήται, καὶ αὐτῇ Θεσμοφορία ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον.

[33.12] Fifteen stades away from Amphicleia is Tithronium, lying on a plain. It contains nothing remarkable. From Tithronium it is twenty stades to Drymaea. At the place where this road joins at the Cephisus the straight road from Amphicleia to Drymaea, the Tithronians have a grove and altars of Apollo. There has also been made a temple, but no image.

Drymaea is eighty stades distant from Amphicleia, on the left . . . according to the account in Herodotus, but in earlier days Naubolenses. The inhabitants say that their founder was Naubolus, son of Phocus, son of Aeacus. At Drymaea is an ancient sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver, with a standing image made of stone. Every year they hold a feast in her honor, the Thesmophoria.

ELATEIA

34. Ἐλάτεια δὲ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι μεγίστη πόλεων ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ γε τοὺς Δελφούς· κεῖται δὲ κατὰ Ἀμφίκλειαν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁδός ἐστιν ἐξ Ἀμφικλείας σταδίων, πεδιάς ἡ πολλὴ καὶ αὖθις οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνάντης ἡ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ Ἐλατέων ἄστεως. ρεῖ δὲ ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι ὁ Κηφισός· αἱ δὲ ὠτίδες καλούμεναι παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν νέμονται μάλιστα ὀρνίθων.

[34.1] XXXIV. Elateia is, with the exception of Delphi, the largest city in Phocis. It lies over against Amphicleia, and the road to it from Amphicleia is one hundred and eighty stades long, level for the most part, but with an upward gradient for a short distance quite close to the town of Elateia. In the plain flows the Cephisus, and the most common bird to live along its banks is the bustard.

[2] Ἐλατεῦσι δὲ ἐξεγένετο μὲν Κάσσανδρον καὶ τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀπόσασθαι στρατιάν, ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ταξίλου Μιθριδάτη στρατηγοῦντος τὸν πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐκφυγεῖν· ἀντὶ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου Ῥωμαῖοι δεδῶκασιν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἀτελῇ νέμεσθαι τὴν χώραν. ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ξενικοῦ γένους, καὶ Ἀρκάδες φασὶν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον· Ἐλατον γὰρ τὸν Ἀρκάδος, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Φλεγῦναι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐστρατεύσαντο, ἀμύναι τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ὁμοῦ τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτὸν καταμεινάντα Ἐλατείας οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι.

[34.2] The Elateans were successful in repelling the Macedonian army under

Cassander, and they managed to escape from the war that Taxilus, general of Mithridates, brought against them. In return for this deed the Romans have given them the privilege of living in the country free and immune from taxation. They claim to be of foreign stock, saying that of old they came from Arcadia. For they say that when the Phlegyans marched against the sanctuary at Delphi, Elatus, the son of Arcas, came to the assistance of the god, and with his army stayed behind in Phocis, becoming the founder of Elateia.

[3] ἐν δὲ ταῖς Φωκέων πόλεσιν ἃς ὁ Μῆδος ἐνέπρησεν, ἀριθμῆσαι καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν ἔστιν ἐν ταύταις. συμφοραὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν πρὸς Φωκέας τοὺς ἄλλους γεγόνασι σφισιν ἐν κοινῷ, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς Ἐλατεῦσιν ἐκ Μακεδόνων παρεσκεύασεν ὁ δαίμων. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν Κασσάνδρου πολεμήσαντος Ὀλυμπιόδωρος κατέστη μάλιστα αἴτιος ἄπρακτον τοῖς Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι πολιορκίαν: Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου τόν τε ἐν Ἐλατεῖᾳ δῆμον πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον δέους ἤγαγε καὶ ὑπηγάγετο ἅμα τοὺς δυνατωτέρους δωρεᾷ.

[34.3] Elateia must be numbered among the cities of the Phocians burnt by the Persians. Some disasters were shared by Elateia with the other Phocians, but she had peculiar calamities of her own, inflicted by fate at the hands of the Macedonians. In the war waged by Cassander, it is Olympiodorus who must receive most credit for the Macedonians being forced to abandon a siege. Philip, the son of Demetrius, reduced the people of Elateia to the utmost terror, and at the same time seduced by bribery the more powerful of the citizens.

[4] Τίτος μὲν δὴ ὁ ἄρχων ὁ Ῥωμαίων — τὸ γὰρ δὴ Ἑλληνικὸν ἅπαν ἐλευθερώσων ἀπέσταλτο ἐκ Ῥώμης — πολιτείαν τε Ἐλατεῦσιν ἀποδώσειν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετό σφισιν ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφίστασθαι: οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγνωμοσύνης ὁ δῆμος ἢ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς Φιλίππῳ τε ἦσαν πιστοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου πολιορκία παρέστησαν. χρόνῳ δὲ οἱ Ἐλατεῖς ὕστερον Ταξίλου τε Μιθριδάτῃ στρατηγοῦντος καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου βαρβάρων ἀντέσχον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τῷ ἔργῳ δέδοται σφισιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

[34.4] Titus, the Roman governor, who had a commission from Rome to give all Greeks their freedom, promised to give back to Elateia its ancient constitution, and by messengers made overtures to its citizens to secede from Macedonia. But either they or their government were stupid enough to be faithful to Philip, and the Romans reduced them by siege. Later on the Elateans held out when besieged by the barbarians of Pontus under the command of Taxilus, the general of Mithridates. As a reward for this deed the Romans gave them their freedom.

[5] τὸ δὲ Κοστοβώκων τε τῶν ληστικῶν τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιδραμὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν: ἔνθα δὴ ἀνὴρ Μνησίβουλος λόχον τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν συνέστησε καὶ καταφονεύσας πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. οὗτος ὁ Μνησίβουλος δρόμου νίκας καὶ ἄλλας ἀνείλετο καὶ

Ὀλυμπιάδι πέμπτῃ πρὸς ταῖς τριάκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίαις σταδίου καὶ τοῦ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι διαύλου· ἐν Ἐλατεῖα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ δρομέως Μνησιβούλου χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ἀνδριάς.

[34.5] An army of bandits, called the Costoboes, who overran Greece in my day, visited among other cities Elateia. Whereupon a certain Mnesibulus gathered round him a company of men and put to the sword many of the barbarians, but he himself fell in the fighting. This Mnesibulus won several prizes for running, among which were prizes for the foot-race, and for the double race with shield, at the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympic festival. In Runner Street at Elateia there stands a bronze statue of Mnesibulus.

[6] ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ αὐτὴ τέ ἐστι θέας ἀξία καὶ ὁ Ἑλατος ἐπειργασμένος στήλη· σαφῶς δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε τιμῶντες οἷα οἰκιστὴν εἴτε καὶ μνήματος ἐπίθημα ἐποίησαντο τὴν στήλην. τῷ δὲ Ἀσκληπιῷ ναὸς ὠκοδόμηται καὶ ἄγαλμα γένεια ἔχον ἐστὶ· τοῖς ἐργασασμένοις τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀνόματα μὲν Τιμοκλῆς καὶ Τιμαρχίδης, γένους δὲ εἰσι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ. ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι δὲ τῷ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς πόλεως θεάτρον τέ ἐστι καὶ χαλκοῦν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον· ταύτην τὴν θεὸν λέγουσιν ἀμῦναι σφισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Ταξίλῳ βαρβάρους.

[34.6] The market-place itself is worth seeing, and so is the figure of Elatus carved in relief upon a slab. I do not know for certain whether they made the slab to honor him as their founder or merely to serve as a gravestone to his tomb. A temple has been built to Asclepius, with a bearded image of the god. The names of the makers of the image are Timocles and Timarchides, artists of Attic birth. At the end of the city on the right is a theater, and an ancient bronze image of Athena. They say that this goddess helped them against the barbarians under Taxilus.

[7] Ἐλατείας δὲ ὅσον σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀφέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κραναίας ἱερὸν· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀναντεστέρα ὥς ἀνιᾶν τὸ μηδὲν καὶ λεληθῆναι μᾶλλον αὐτῆς τὸ ἄναντες. λόφος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι τὰ πλείω μὲν ἀπότομος, οὐ μέντοι ἄγαν ἡ μεγέθους ἔχων ἐστὶν ἡ ὕψους· ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται, καὶ στοαὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ οἰκῆσεις διὰ τῶν στοῶν, ἔνθα οἰκοῦσιν οἷς τὴν θεὸν θεραπεύειν καθέστηκε, καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ἱερωμένῳ.

[34.7] About twenty stades away from Elateia is a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Cranaea. The road to it slopes upwards, but so gentle is the ascent that it causes no fatigue – in fact one scarcely notices it. At the end of the road is a hill which, though for the most part precipitous, is neither very large nor very high. On this hill the sanctuary has been built, with porticoes and dwellings through them, where live those whose duty it is to wait on the god, chief of whom is the priest.

[8] τὸν δὲ ἱερέα ἐκ παίδων αἰροῦνται τῶν ἀνήβων, πρόνοιαν ποιούμενοι πρότερον τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐξήκειν οἱ τὸν χρόνον πρὶν ἢ ἡβῆσαι· ἱεράται δὲ ἔτη συνεχῇ πέντε, ἐν οἷς τὴν τε ἄλλην δίαίταν ἔχει παρὰ τῇ θεῷ καὶ λουτρὰ αἰ

ἀσάμινθοι κατὰ τρόπον εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀρχαῖον. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Πολυκλέους παῖδες, ἔστι δὲ ἐσκευασμένον ὥς ἐς μάχην· καὶ ἐπείργασται τῇ ἀσπίδι τῶν Ἀθήνησι μίμημα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς καλουμένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων Παρθένου.

[34.8] They choose the priest from boys who have not yet reached the age of puberty, taking care beforehand that his term of office shall run out before puberty arrives. The office lasts for five successive years, during which the priest boards with the goddess, and bathes in tubs after the ancient manner. This image too was made by the sons of Polycles. It is armed as for battle, and on the shield is wrought in relief a copy of what at Athens is wrought on the shield of her whom the Athenians call the Virgin.

ABAE

35. ἐς Ἄβας δὲ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Ὑάμπολιν ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐξ Ἐλατείας ὁρεινὴν ὁδὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἐλατέων ἄστεως, ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ Ὀποῦντα λεωφόρος ἢ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ ἐς ταύτας φέρει τὰς πόλεις. ἰόντι οὖν ἐς Ὀποῦντα ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ ἐκτραπέντι οὐ πολὺ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰν ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἢ ἐς Ἄβας. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀβαις ἐς γῆν τὴν Φωκίδα ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Ἀργους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀβαντος τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τὸν δὲ Λυγκέως τε καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας τῆς Δαναοῦ παῖδα εἶναι. Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὰς νενομίκασιν εἶναι τὰς Ἄβας ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ χρηστήριον καὶ αὐτόθι ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος.

[35.1] XXXV. To reach Abae and Hyampolis from Elateia you may go along a mountain road on the right of the city of Elateia, but the highway from Orchomenus to Opus also leads to those cities. If then you go along the road from Orchomenus to Opus, and turn off a little to the left, you reach the road to Abae. The people of Abae say that they came to Phocis from Argos, and that the city got its name from Abas, the founder, who was a son of Lynceus and of Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danails. Abae from of old has been considered sacred to Apollo, and here too there was an oracle of that god.

[2] θεῷ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀβαις οὐχ ὁμοίως Ῥωμαῖοι τε ἀπένειμαν τὰ ἐς τιμὴν καὶ ὁ Πέρσης· ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εὐσεβεῖα τῇ ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀβαίοις δεδώκασιν αὐτονόμους σφᾶς εἶναι, στρατιὰ δὲ ἢ μετὰ Ξέρξου κατέπρησε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀβαις ἱερόν. Ἑλλήνων δὲ τοῖς ἀντιστάσι τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰ κατακαυθέντα ἱερὰ μὴ ἀνιστάναι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸν πάντα ὑπολείπεσθαι χρόνον τοῦ ἐχθους ὑπομνήματα· καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οἱ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτία ναοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι ἡμῖκαυτοι μένουσι.

[35.2] The treatment that the god at Abae received at the hands of the Persians was very different from the honor paid him by the Romans. For while the Romans have given freedom of government to Abae because of their reverence for Apollo, the army of Xerxes burned down, as it did others, the sanctuary at Abae. The Greeks who opposed the barbarians resolved not to rebuild the sanctuaries burnt down by them, but to leave them for all time as

memorials of their hatred. This too is the reason why the temples in the territory of Haliartus, as well as the Athenian temples of Hera on the road to Phalerum and of Demeter at Phalerum, still remain half-burnt even at the present day.

[3] τοιαύτην θεάν καὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀβαις ἱεροῦ τότε γε εἶναι δοκῶ, ἐς ὃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Φωκικῷ βιασθέντας μάχῃ Φωκέων ἄνδρας καὶ ἐς Ἀβας ἐκπεφευγότες αὐτούς τε οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἱκέτας καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, δεύτερον δὴ οὗτοι μετὰ Μήδους, ἔδοσαν πυρὶ: εἰστίκει δ' οὖν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἰκοδομημάτων ἀσθενέστατον ὅποσα δὴ ἡ φλόξ ἐλυμήνατο, ἅτε ἐπὶ τῷ Μηδικῷ προλωβησαμένῳ πυρὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ τοῦ Βοιωτίου πυρὸς κατειργασμένον.

[35.3] Such, I suppose, was the appearance of the sanctuary at Abae also, after the Persian invasion, until in the Phocian war some Phocians, overcome in battle, took refuge in Abae. Whereupon the Thebans gave them to the flames, and with the refugees the sanctuary, which was thus burnt down a second time. However, it still stood even in my time, the frailest of buildings ever damaged by fire, seeing that the ruin begun by the Persian incendiaries was completed by the incendiaries of Boeotia.

[4] παρὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τὸν μέγαν ἐστὶν ἄλλος ναός, ἀποδέων ἐκείνου μέγεθος: βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀδριανὸς ἐποίησε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαιότερα καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν Ἀβαίων ἀνάθημα, χαλκοῦ δὲ εἵργασται καὶ ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ὀρθά, Ἀπόλλων καὶ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις. Ἀβαίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν θέατρον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγορά σφισι, κατασκευῆς ἀμφοτέρα ἀρχαία.

[35.4] Beside the large temple there is another, but smaller in size, made for Apollo by the emperor Hadrian. The images are of earlier date, being dedicated by the Abaeans themselves; they are made of bronze, and all alike are standing, Apollo, Leto and Artemis. At Abae there is a theater, and also a market-place, both of ancient construction.

HYAMPOLIS

[5] ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ὀποῦντα εὐθεῖαν Ὑάμπολις τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου σε ἐκδέξεται. τῶν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ ὄνομα οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὁπόθεν ἐξαναστάντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν: Ὑάντες γὰρ οἱ ἐκ Θηβῶν Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν ἐκείνῳ φυγόντες στρατὸν ἀφίκοντο ἐνταῦθα. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαιότερα ὑπὸ τῶν

προσχώρων ἐκαλοῦντο Ὑάντων πόλις, χρόνῳ μέντοι ὕστερον Ὑάμπολιν ἐξενίκησεν ὀνομασθῆναι.

[35.5] Returning to the straight road to Opus, you come next to Hyampolis. Its mere name tells you who the inhabitants originally were, and the place from which they were expelled when they came to this land. For it was the Hyantes of Thebes who came here when they fled from Cadmus and his army. In earlier times the city was called by its neighbors the city of the Hyantes, but in

course of time the name of Hyampolis prevailed over the other.

[6] ἄτε δὲ καὶ βασιλέως Ξέρξου καταπρήσαντος τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐτὸς Φιλίππου κατασκάψαντος, ὅμως τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα ἦν ἀγορᾶς τε ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆ καὶ βουλευτήριον, οἶκημα οὐ μέγα, καὶ θέατρον οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς στοὰν ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ ἐπώνυμος ἡ στοὰ τοῦ ἀναθέντος βασιλέως ἐστὶ. φρέαρ δὲ σφισὶν ἐστὶν ἓν· ἀπὸ τούτου μόνου καὶ πίνουσι καὶ λούονται, ἀπ' ἄλλου δὲ ἔχουσιν οὐδενὸς πλὴν γε δὴ ὥρα χειμῶνος τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

[35.6] Although Xerxes had burnt down the city, and afterwards Philip had razed it to the ground, nevertheless there were left the structure of an old market-place, a council-chamber (a building of no great size) and a theater not far from the gates. The emperor Hadrian built a portico which bears the name of the emperor who dedicated it. The citizens have one well only. This is their sole supply, both for drinking and for washing; from no other source can they get water, save only from the winter rains.

[7] σέβονται δὲ μάλιστα Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὅποιόν τι ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐδήλωσα· δις γὰρ καὶ οὐ πλέον ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύναι νομίζουσιν. ὅποσα δ' ἂν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἱερὰ ἐπονομάσωσιν εἶναι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἄνευ νόσου ταῦτα καὶ πιότερα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκτρέφεσθαι λέγουσιν.

[35.7] Above all other divinities they worship Artemis, of whom they have a temple. The image of her I cannot describe, for their rule is to open the sanctuary twice, and not more often, every year. They say that whatever cattle they consecrate to Artemis grow up immune to disease and fatter than other cattle.

STIRIS

[8] ἐσβολὴ δὲ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας ἐς γῆν τὴν Φωκίδα οὐ μόνον ἡ εὐθεῖα ἐστὶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἢ διὰ τε Πανοπέως καὶ παρὰ τὴν Δαυλίδα καὶ ὁδὸν τὴν Σχιστὴν· φέρει δὲ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας καὶ ἑτέρα τραχεῖα τε ὁδὸς καὶ ὀρεινὴ τὰ πλεονα ἐς πόλιν Φωκέων Στίριν· μῆκος δὲ εἴκοσι στάδιοι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐνταυθὰ φασιν οὐ Φωκεῖς, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁμοῦ Πετεῶ τῷ Ὀρνέως ἀφικέσθαι διωχθέντι ὑπὸ Αἰγέως ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν· ὅτι δὲ τῷ Πετεῶ τὸ πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Στιρέων ἠκολούθησεν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν Στίριν.

[35.8] The straight road to Delphi that leads through Panopeus and past Daulis and the Cleft Way, is not the only pass from Chaeroneia to Phocis. There is another road, rough and for the most part mountainous, that leads from Chaeroneia to the Phocian city of Stiris. The length of the road is one hundred and twenty stades. The inhabitants assert that by descent they are not Phocian, but Athenian, and that they came from Attica with Peteus, the son of Orneus, when he was pursued from Athens by Aegeus. They add that, because the

greater part of those who accompanied Peteus came from the parish of Stiria, the city received the name of Stiris.

[9] Στιρίταις δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ πετρώδους ἡ οἰκησις: σπανίζουσιν οὖν κατὰ τοῦτο ὕδατος θέρους ὥρα: φρέατα γὰρ αὐτόθι οὔτε πολλὰ οὔτε ὕδωρ παρεχόμενά ἐστιν ἐπιτήδειον. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ λουτρά σφισι καὶ ὑποζυγίοις ποτὸν γίνεται, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ πότιμον ὅσον στάδια τέσσαρα ὑποκαταβαίνοντες λαμβάνουσιν ἐκ πηγῆς: ἡ δὲ ἐν πέτραις ἐστὶν ὀρωρυγμένη, καὶ ἀρύονται κατιόντες ἐς τὴν πηγὴν.

[35.9] The people of Stiris have their dwellings on a high and rocky site. For this reason they suffer from a shortage of water in summer; the wells are few, and the water is bad that they supply. These wells give washing-water to the people and drinking-water to the beasts of burden, but for their own drinking water the people go down about four stades and draw it from a spring. The spring is in a hole dug into the rocks, and they go down to it to fetch water.

[10] Δήμητρος δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν Στιρίτιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν Στῖρι: πλίνθου μὲν τῆς ὤμης τὸ ἱερόν, λίθου δὲ τοῦ Πεντελῆσι τὸ ἄγαλμα, δᾶδας ἡ θεὸς ἔχουσα. παρὰ δὲ αὐτῇ κατελιμμένον ταινίαις ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον ἐστὶν ἄλλο ὅποσα Δήμητρος ἐς τιμὴν.

[35.10] In Stiris is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Stiria. It is of unburnt brick; the image is of Pentelic marble, and the goddess is holding torches. Beside her, bound with ribbons, is an image of Demeter, as ancient as any of that goddess that exists.

AMBROSSUS

36. ἐς δὲ Ἀμβροσσον στάδιοι περὶ ἐξήκοντά εἰσιν ἐκ Στίρεως: πεδιάς ἡ ὁδός, ὀρῶν ἐν μέσῳ πεδίον κείμενον. ἄμπελοι δὲ τὸ πολὺ εἰσι τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀμβροσσέων οὐ συνεχεῖς μὲν ὥσπερ αἱ ἄμπελοι, πεφύκασιν μέντοι καὶ αἱ θάμνοι: τὴν δὲ θάμνον ταύτην Ἰωνες μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν κόκκον, Γαλάται δὲ οἱ ὑπὲρ Φρυγίας φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ σφίσιν ὀνομάζουσιν ὕς. γίνεται δὲ αὕτη μέγεθος μὲν ἡ κόκκος κατὰ τὴν ράμνον καλουμένην, φύλλα δὲ μελάντερα μὲν καὶ μαλακώτερα ἢ ἡ σχίνος, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα ἐοικότα ἔχει τῇ σχίνῳ.

[36.1] XXXVI. From Stiris to Ambrossus is about six stades. The road is flat, lying on the level with mountains on both sides of it. The greater part of the plain is covered with vines, and in the territory of Ambrossus grow shrubs, though not close together like the vines. This shrub the Ionians, as well as the rest of the Greeks, call kokkos, and the Gauls above Phrygia call it in their native speech hys. This kokkos grows to the size of what is called the rhamnos; the leaves are darker and softer than those of the mastich-tree, though in other respects the two are alike.

[2] ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς καρπὸς ὅμοιος τῷ καρπῷ τῆς στρύχνου, μέγεθος δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ ὄροβον. γίνεται δέ τι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ τῆς κόκκου βραχὺ ζῶον: τοῦτο εἰ ἀφίκοιτο

ἐς τὸν ἀέρα πεπανθέντος τοῦ καρποῦ, πέτεται τε αὐτίκα καὶ ἔοικὸς κώνωπι φαίνοιτο ἄν: νῦν δὲ πρότερον, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ζῶον κινηθῆναι, συλλέγουσι τῆς κόκκου τὸν καρπὸν, καὶ ἔστι τοῖς ἐρίοις ἡ βαφή τοῦ αἵμα τοῦ ζώου.

[36.2] Its fruit is like the fruit of the nightshade, and its size is about that of the bitter vetch. There breeds in the fruit of the kokkos a small creature. If this should reach the air when the fruit has ripened, it becomes in appearance like a gnat, and immediately flies away. But as it is they gather the fruit of the kokkos before the creature begins to move, and the blood of the creature serves as a dye for wool.

[3] ἡ δὲ Ἀμβροσσοῦς κεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Παρνασσόν, τὰ ἐπέκεινα δὲ ἡ Δελφοί: τεθῆναι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ ἡρώος φασιν Ἀμβρόσσου. Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Μακεδόνων καὶ Φιλίππου καθιστάμενοι πόλεμον περιέβαλον τῇ Ἀμβρόσσῳ διπλοῦν τεῖχος: τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιχωρίου λίθου, χροάν μέλανος, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχυροῦ: κύκλος δὲ ἑκάτερος τοῦ τείχους πλάτος μὲν ἀποδέων ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὀργυιάς, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἐς ἡμίσειάν τε καὶ δύο ὀργυιάς, ὅπου μὴ τὸ τεῖχος πεπόνηκε:

[36.3] Ambrossus lies at the foot of Mount Parnassus, on the side opposite to Delphi. They say that the city was named after Ambrossus, a hero. On going to war with Philip and his Macedonians the Thebans drew round Ambrossus a double wall. It is made of a local stone, black in color and very hard indeed. Each ring of wall is a little less than a fathom broad, and two and a half fathoms in height except where it has broken down.

[4] διάστημα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου τῶν κύκλων ἐπὶ τὸν δευτέρον ἐστὶν ὀργυία: κατασκευὴ δὲ πύργων ἢ ἐπάλξεων ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς εὐπρέπειαν τείχους, παρεῖται τὰ πάντα σφίσιν ἅτε τειχίζουσιν ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ αὐτίκα ἀμύνεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἀγορά τε Ἀμβροσσεῦσιν οὐ μεγάλη καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἐν αὐτῇ λίθου πεπονημένων κατεάγασιν οἱ πολλοί.

[36.4] The interval between the first ring and the second is a fathom. The building of towers, of battlements, or of any ornament, has been entirely neglected, as the only object the citizens had in constructing the walls was immediate protection. There is a small market-place at Ambrossus, and of the stone statues set up in it most are broken.

ANTICYRA

[5] τραπέντι δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντίκυραν ἀνάντης τὰ πρῶτά ἐστιν ὁδός: ἀναβάντι δὲ ὅσον δύο στάδια ὁμαλές τε χωρίον καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Δικτυνναίας ἐπὶ κλησιν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. ταύτην οἱ Ἀμβροσσεῖς ἄγουσι μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ: τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι ἐργασία τέ ἐστιν Αἰγίναία καὶ μέλανος τοῦ λίθου πεποιήται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δικτυνναίας κατάντης ὁδός ἐς Ἀντίκυραν πᾶσα ἐστὶ. τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότερα ὄνομα εἶναι Κυπάρισσον τῇ πόλει φασί, καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν Φωκέων καταλόγῳ τὸ ὄνομα θελῆσαι θέσθαι γε αὐτόν, ὅτι ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀντίκυρα: εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τὸν

Ἀντικυρέα κατὰ Ἡρακλέα ἡλικίαν.

[36.5] The road to Anticyra is at first up-hill. About two stades up the slope is a level place, and on the right of the road is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Dictynnaean, a goddess worshipped with great reverence by citizens. The image is of Aeginetan workmanship, and made of a black stone. From the sanctuary of the Dictynnaean goddess the road is downhill all the way to Anticyra. They say that in days of old the name of the city was Cyparissus, and that Homer in the list of Phocians was determined to call it by this name, although it was called Anticyra in Homer's day, because Anticyreus was a contemporary of Heracles.

[6] κεῖται μὲν δὴ ἡ πόλις κατὰ Μεδεῶνος τὰ ἐρείπια: ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἀρχομένης τῆς ἐς Φωκέας συγγραφῆς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀσεβῆσαι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀντικυρέας. Ἀντικυρέας δὲ ἐποίησε μὲν ἀναστάτους καὶ ὁ Ἀμύντου Φίλιππος, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ δεύτερα Ὀτίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὅτι ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι καὶ οὗτοι Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος Μακεδόνων: ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀμύνειν Ἀθηναῖοις ὁ Ὀτίλιος ἀπέσταλτο ἐκ Ῥώμης.

[36.6] The city lies over against the ruins of Medeon. I have mentioned in the beginning of my account of Phocis that the people of Anticyra were guilty of sacrilege against the sanctuary at Delphi. They were driven from home by Philip, son of Amyntas, and yet once more by the Roman Otilius, because they were subjects of the Macedonian king Philip, son of Demetrius. Otilius had been despatched from Rome to help the Athenians against Philip.

[7] τὰ δὲ ὄρη τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἀντίκυραν πετρώδη τε ἄγαν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς φύεται μάλιστα ὁ ἑλλέβορος. ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέλας χωρεῖ τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἔστι γαστρὶ καθάρσιον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὁ λευκὸς δι' ἐμέτου καθαίρειν πέφυκε: τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τὸ ἐς τὴν κάθαρσιν ἢ τοῦ ἑλλεβόρου ρίζα ἐστίν.

[36.7] The mountains beyond Anticyra are very rocky, and on them grows hellebore in great profusion. Black hellebore sends those who take it to stool, and purges the bowels; the nature of the other, the white kind, is to purge by vomiting. It is the root of the hellebore which is used as a purging drug.

[8] Ἀντικυρεῦσι δὲ εἰσὶ μὲν ἀνδριάντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῖ, ἔστι δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνος οὐ μέγα ἱερὸν, λογάσιν ὠκοδομημένον λίθοις: κεκονίαται δὲ τὰ ἐντός. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ δελφίνι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ποδῶν: κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῷ μηρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ τριαινὰ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ.

[36.8] In the market-place at Anticyra are bronze statues, and at the harbor is a small sanctuary of Poseidon, built of unhewn stones. The inside is covered with stucco. The image, which is made of bronze, is a standing figure, with one foot resting on a dolphin. On this side he has one hand upon his thigh; in his other hand is a trident.

[9] τοῦ γυμνασίου δὲ ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ λουτρά σφισι πεποιήται, τούτου πέραν ἄλλο

γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον· ἀνδριὰς δὲ ἕστηκεν ἐν αὐτῷ χαλκοῦς· φησὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Ξενόδαμον παγκρατιαστὴν Ἀντικυρέα ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικὴν ἀνερῆσθαι νίκην. εἰ δὲ ἀληθεύει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ δέκα καὶ διακοσίας φαίνοιτο ἂν τὸν κότινον ὁ Ξενόδαμος εἰληφώς· αὕτη δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἡλείων γράμμασι παρῆται μόνη πασῶν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς.

[36.9] Opposite the gymnasium, in which the baths have been made, is another gymnasium, an old one, in which stands a bronze statue. The inscription on it says that Xenodamus of Anticyra, a pancratiast, won an Olympic victory in the match for men. If the inscription speaks the truth, it would seem that Xenodamus received the wild olive at the two hundred and eleventh Olympic festival. But this is the only festival omitted in the Elean records.

[10] ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐν φρέατι ὕδατος πηγὴ· σκέπη δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου τῷ φρέατι ὄροφός τε καὶ ἀνέχοντες τὸν ὄροφον κίονες. ἔστι δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀνωτέρω τοῦ φρέατος λίθοις τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὀκοδομημένον μνημα· ταφῆναι δὲ φασιν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Ἰφίτου παῖδας, τὸν μὲν ἀνασωθέντα ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, Σχεδίῳ δὲ ἐν μὲν γῇ τῇ Τρωάδι τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἀχθῆναι δὲ οἴκαδε καὶ τούτου τὰ ὅστα.

[36.10] Beyond the market-place there is in a well a spring of water. Over the well there is a roof to shelter it from the sun, with columns to support the roof. A little higher up than the well is a tomb built of any stones that came to hand. Here they say are buried the sons of Iphitus; one returned safe from Troy and died in his native land; the other, Schedius, died, they say, in the Troad, but his bones also were brought home.

37. τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ δύο μάλιστα προελθόντι ἀπ' αὐτῆς σταδίου, πέτρα τέ ἐστιν ὑψηλὴ — μοῖρα ὄρους ἢ πέτρα — καὶ ἱερὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς πεποιημένον ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἔργων τῶν Πραξιτέλους, δᾶδα ἔχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὤμων φαρέτραν, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν κύων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ· μέγεθος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγίστην γυναῖκα τὸ ἄγαλμα.

[37.1] XXXVII. About two stades off the city there is, on the right, a high rock, which forms part of a mountain, with a sanctuary of Artemis built upon it. The image of Artemis is one of the works of Praxiteles; she carries a torch in her right hand and a quiver over her shoulders, while at her left side there is a dog. The image is taller than the tallest woman.

BULIS

[2] τῇ δὲ γῇ τῇ Φωκίδι ἐστὶν ὁμορος ἥ ὀνομάζεται μὲν ἀπὸ Βούλωνος ἀγαγόντος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀνδρός, συνωκίσθη δὲ ἐκ πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Δωρίδι. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Βούλιοι Φιλομήλου καὶ Φωκέων * * * σύλλογον τὸν κοινόν. ἐς δὲ τὴν Βούλιν ἐκ μὲν τῆς Βοιωτίας Θίσβης σταδίων ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐξ Ἀντικύρας δὲ τῆς Φωκέων δι' ἡπείρου μὲν καὶ εἰ ἀρχὴν ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδα· οὕτω δύσβατα ὄρη καὶ τραχέα τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀντικύρας τέ ἐστι καὶ

Βούλιδος: ἐς δὲ τὸν λιμένα σταδίων ἐξ Ἀντικύρας ἐστὶν ἑκατόν, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένου στάδια ὁδοῦ τῆς πεζῆς τὰ ἐς Βοῦλιν ἑπτὰ εἶναι μάλιστα εἰκάζομεν.

[37.2] Bordering on the Phocian territory is a land named after Bulon, the leader of the colony, which was founded by a union of emigrants from the cities in ancient Doris. The Bulians are said of Philomelus and the Phocians . . . the general assembly. To Bulis from Thisbe in Boeotia is a journey of eighty stades; but I do not know if in Phocis there be a road by land at all from Anticyra, so rough and difficult to cross are the mountains between Anticyra and Bulis. To the harbor from Anticyra is a sail of one hundred stades, and the road by land from the harbor to Bulis we conjectured to be about seven stades long.

[3] κάτεισι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ταύτῃ χειμάρρος, ὃν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὀνομάζουσιν Ἡράκλειον. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ ὕψηλοῦ τε ἡ Βούλις καὶ ἐν παράπλῳ περαιουμένοις ἐξ Ἀντικύρας ἐς Λέχαιον τὸ Κορινθίων: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐνταῦθα πλεόν ἡμίσεις κόχλων ἐς βαφὴν πορφύρας εἰσὶν ἀλειῖς. κατασκευὴ δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Βούλιδι οὔτε ἡ ἄλλη θαύματος πολλοῦ καὶ ἱερὰ θεῶν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν Διονύσου: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ξύλου μὲν ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα, ὅστις δὲ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐγενόμεθα συμβαλέσθαι. θεῶν δὲ ὄντινα οἱ Βούλιοι σέβουσι μάλιστα, Μέγιστον μὲν ὀνομάζουσι, Διὸς δὲ κατὰ ἡμετέραν δόξαν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶς. καὶ πηγὴ Βουλίοις ἐστὶ καλουμένη Σαόνιον.

[37.3] Here a torrent falls into the sea, called by the natives Heracleius. Bulis lies on high ground, and it is passed by travellers crossing by sea from Anticyra to Lechaeum in Corinthian territory. More than half its inhabitants are fishers of the shell-fish that gives the purple dye. The buildings in Bulis are not very wonderful; among them is a sanctuary of Artemis and one of Dionysus. The images are made of wood, but we were unable to judge who was the artist. The god worshipped most by the Bulians is named by them the Greatest, a surname, I should think, of Zeus. At Bulis there is a spring called Saunium.

CIRRHA

[4] ἐς δὲ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἐξήκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Δελφῶν: καταβάντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἵππόδρομός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀγῶνα Πύθια ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα τὸν ἵππικόν. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Ταραξίππον ἐδήλωσέ μοι τὰ ἐς Ἥλειους τοῦ λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἵππόδρομος ἔοικε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τάχα μὲν που καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἵππευόντων τινὰ ἀνιᾶσαι, ἅτε ἀνθρώποις τοῦ δαίμονος ὁμοίως ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παντὶ καὶ ἀμείνω καὶ τὰ χεῖρῳ νέμοντος: οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ταραχὴν τοῖς ἵπποις ὁ ἵππόδρομος οὔτε κατὰ αἰτίαν ἥρωος οὔτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ πέφυκεν ἐργάζεσθαι προφάσει.

[37.4] The length of the road from Delphi to Cirrha, the port of Delphi, is sixty stades. Descending to the plain you come to a race-course, where at the Pythian games the horses compete. I have told in my account of Elis the story of the Taraxippus at Olympia, and it is likely that the race-course of Apollo

too may possibly harm here and there a driver, for heaven in every activity of man bestows either better fortune or worse. But the race-course itself is not of a nature to startle the horses, either by reason of a hero or on any other account.

[5] τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Κίρρας ψιλὸν ἔστιν ἅπαν, καὶ φυτεύειν δένδρα οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἢ ἔκ τινος ἀρᾶς ἢ ἀχρεῖον τὴν γῆν ἐς δένδρων τροφήν εἰδότες. λέγεται δὲ ἐς τὴν Κίρραν * * * καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κίρρας τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τεθῆναι τῷ χωρίῳ φασίν. Ὅμηρος μέντοι Κρῖσαν ἔν τε Ἰλιάδι ὁμοίως καὶ ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνόματι τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ ἐν τῇ Κίρρᾳ ἄλλα τε ἡσέβησαν ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἀπέτεμον τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς χώρας.

[37.5] The plain from Cirrha is altogether bare, and the inhabitants will not plant trees, either because the land is under a curse, or because they know that the ground is useless for growing trees. It is said that to Cirrha . . . and they say that from Cirrha the place received its modern name. Homer, however, in the Iliad, and similarly in the hymn to Apollo, calls the city by its ancient name of Crisa. Afterwards the people of Cirrha behaved wickedly towards Apollo; especially in appropriating some of the god's land.

[6] πολεμεῖν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Κιρραῖους ἔδοξεν Ἀμφικτύοσι, καὶ Κλεισθένην τε Σικυωνίων τυραννοῦντα προεστήσαντο ἡγεμόνα εἶναι καὶ Σόλωνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπηγάγοντο συμβουλευεῖν: χρωμένοις δὲ σφισιν ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀνεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία: "οὐ πρὶν τῆσδε πόλεως ἐρείψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,

πρὶν κεν ἐμῷ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης

κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον.

"ἔπεισεν οὖν ὁ Σόλων καθιερῶσαι τῷ θεῷ τὴν Κιρραῖαν, ἵνα δὴ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος γένηται γείτων ἡ θάλασσα.

[37.6] So the Amphictyons determined to make war on the Cirrhaeans, put Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, at the head of their army, and brought over Solon from Athens to give them advice. They asked the oracle about victory, and the Pythian priestess replied:—

You will not take and throw down the tower of this city,
Until on my precinct shall dash the wave
Of blue-eyed Amphitrite, roaring over the winedark sea.

So Solon induced them to consecrate to the god the territory of Cirrha, in order that the sea might become neighbor to the precinct of Apollo.

[7] εὐρέθη δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τῷ Σόλῳ σοφισμα ἐς τοὺς Κιρραῖους: τοῦ γὰρ Πλείστου τὸ ὕδωρ ῥέον διὰ ὀχετοῦ σφισιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπέστρεψεν ἀλλαχόσε ὁ Σόλων. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἔτι ἀντεῖχον ἔκ τε φρεάτων καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πίνοντες: ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἐλλαβόρου τὰς ρίζας ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὸν Πλείστον, ἐπειδὴ ἱκανῶς τοῦ φαρμάκου τὸ ὕδωρ ἦσθετο ἔχον, ἀπέστρεψεν

αὔθις ἐς τὸν ὀχετόν. καὶ — ἐνεφορήσαντο γὰρ ἀνέδην οἱ Κιρραῖοι τοῦ ὕδατος — καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀπαύστου τῆς διαρροίας ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τὴν φρουράν,

[37.7] Solon invented another trick to outwit the Cirrhaeans. The water of the river Pleistus ran along a channel to the city, and Solon diverted it in another direction. When the Cirrhaeans still held out against the besiegers, drinking well-water and rain-water, Solon threw into the Pleistus roots of hellebore, and when he perceived that water held enough of the drug he diverted it back again into its channel. The Cirrhaeans drank without stint of the water, and those on the wall, seized with obstinate diarrhoea, deserted their posts,

[8] Ἀμφικτύονες δὲ ὡς εἶλον τὴν πόλιν, ἐπράξαντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκας παρὰ Κιρραίων, καὶ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ἐστὶν ἡ Κίρρα. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ ἐς θέαν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ναόν τε καὶ ἀγάλματα μεγέθει μεγάλα καὶ ἐργασίας Ἀττικῆς. ἡ δὲ Ἀδράστεια ἱδρύται μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σφίσι, μεγέθει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδέουσα ἀγαλμάτων ἐστίν.

[37.8] and the Amphictyons captured the city. They exacted punishment from the Cirrhaeans on behalf of the god, and Cirrha is the port of Delphi. Its notable sights include a temple of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, with very large images of Attic workmanship. Adrasteia has been set up by the Cirrhaeans in the same place, but she is not so large as the other images.

OZOLIAN LOCRI, MYTHICAL HISTORY

38. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἡ Λοκρῶν τῶν καλουμένων Ὀζολῶν προσεχῆς τῇ Φωκίᾳ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Κίρραν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῶν Λοκρῶν τούτων διάφορα ἤκουσα, ὁμοίως δὲ ἅπαντα δηλώσω. Ὁρεσθεὶ τῷ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλεύοντι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κύων ἔτεκεν ἀντὶ σκύλακος ξύλον: κατορύξαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὁρεσθέως τὸ ξύλον ἅμα τῷ ἥρι φῦναι ἄμπελον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῶν ὄζων γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

[38.1] XXXVIII. The territory of the Locrians called Ozolian adjoins Phocis opposite Cirrha. I have heard various stories about the surname of these Locrians, all of which I will tell my readers. Orestheus, son of Deucalion, king of the land, had a bitch that gave birth to a stick instead of a puppy. Orestheus buried the stick, and in the spring, it is said, a vine grew from it, and from the branches (ozoi) of the stick the people got their name.

[2] οἱ δὲ Νέσσον πορθομένοντα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐήνῳ τρωθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτίκα γε ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἐκφυγεῖν νομίζουσι, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε σήπεσθαί τε ἄταφον καὶ ὁσμῆς τῷ ἐνταῦθα ἀέρι μεταδοῦναι δυσώδους. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν λόγων καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, ὁ μὲν ποταμοῦ τινος ἄτοπον τὴν τε ἀτμίδα καὶ αὐτὸ φησιν εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἀσφόδελον φῦεσθαι πολλὴν καὶ ἀνθοῦντα * * ὑπὸ τῆς ὁσμῆς.

[38.2] Others believe that Nessus, ferrying on the Evenus, was wounded by Heracles, but not killed on the spot, making his escape to this country; when

he died his body rotted unburied, imparting a foul stench to the atmosphere of the place. The third story says that the exhalations from a certain river, and its very water, have a peculiar smell; the fourth, that asphodel grows in great abundance and when in flower . . . because of the smell.

[3] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν αὐτόχθονες, ἐσθῆτα δὲ οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοί πω ὑφαίνεσθαι σκέπην πρὸς τὸ ῥίγος θηρίων δέρματα ἐποιοῦντο ἀδέψητα, τὸ δασὺ τῶν δερμάτων ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ὑπὲρ εὐπρεπείας τρέποντες; ἔμελλεν οὖν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ταῖς βύρσαις καὶ ὁ χρῶς σφισιν ἔσεσθαι δυσώδης.

[38.3] Another story says that the first dwellers here were aborigines, but as yet not knowing how to weave garments they used to make themselves a protection against the cold out of the untanned skins of beasts, turning outwards the shaggy side of the skins for the sake of a good appearance. So their own skins were sure to smell as badly as did the hides.

AMPHISSA

[4] Δελφῶν δὲ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις εἴκοσι τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶν Ἀμφισσα μεγίστη καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη πόλις τῶν Λοκρῶν. ἐποιοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν αἰσχρὴν τῶν Ὀζολῶν τοῦ ὀνόματος; καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔχει λόγον εἰκότα, ὅτε βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἀναστάτους ἐς τὸν Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν ἐποίησεν Αἰτωλοὺς, ἀποχωρῆσαι τοῦ δήμου τὸ πολὺ ἐς τὴν Ἀμφισσαν. τὸ μέντοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένους τοῦ Λοκρῶν εἰσι: τεθῆναι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀμφίσσης τῆς Μάκαρος τοῦ Αἰόλου φασὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀμφίσσης.

[38.4] One hundred and twenty stades away from Delphi is Amphissa, the largest and most renowned city of Locris. The people hold that they are Aetolians, being ashamed of the name of Ozolians. Support is given to this view by the fact that, when the Roman emperor drove the Aetolians from their homes in order to found the new city of Nicopolis, the greater part of the people went away to Amphissa. Originally, however, they came of Locrian race. It is said that the name of the city is derived from Amphissa, daughter of Macar, son of Aeolus, and that Apollo was her lover.

[5] κεκόσμηται δὲ ἡ πόλις κατασκευῇ τε τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἦκοντα ἐς μνήμην ἔστι μὲν μνῆμα Ἀμφίσσης, ἔστι δὲ Ἀνδραίμονος; σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ ταφῆναι λέγουσι καὶ Γόργην τὴν Οἰνέως συνοικίσασαν τῷ Ἀνδραίμονι. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, κομισθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Θόαντός φασιν αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ εἶναι λαφύρων τῶν ἐκ Τροίας;

[38.5] The city is beautifully constructed, and its most notable objects are the tomb of Amphissa and the tomb of Andraemon. With him was buried, they say, his wife Gorge, daughter of Oeneus. On the citadel of Amphissa is a temple of Athena, with a standing image of bronze, brought, they say, from

Troy by Thoas, being part of the spoils of that city. But I cannot accept the story.

[6] οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμέ γε ἔπειθον. ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τοῦ λόγου Σαμίους Ῥοῖκον Φιλαίου καὶ Θεόδωρον Τηλεκλέους εἶναι τοὺς εὐρόντας χαλκὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον τῆξαι: καὶ ἐχώνευσαν οὗτοι πρῶτοι. Θεοδώρου μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἔτι οἶδα ἐξευρών, ὅσα γε χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα: ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας πρὸς τὸ οἶκημα ἐρχομένων τὸ ἔχον τὰς γραφὰς λίθου θριγκὸς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Πρωτοθρονίης καλουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος: ἀγάλματα δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τοῦ θριγκοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰκὼν πρὸς τῷ πέρατι ἔστηκε, τέχνη τοῦ Ῥοίκου, Νύκτα δὲ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι καλοῦσι.

[38.6] For I have stated in an earlier part of my work that two Samians, Rhoeus, son of Philaeus, and Theodorus, son of Telecles, discovered how to found bronze most perfectly, and were the first casters of that metal. I have found extant no work of Theodorus, at least no work of bronze. But in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis, as you enter the building containing the pictures, there is a stone wall above the altar of Artemis called Goddess of the First Seat. Among the images that stand upon the wall is a statue of a woman at the end, a work of Rhoeus, called by the Ephesians Night.

[7] τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀμφίσσῃ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀρχαιότερον καὶ ἀργότερον τὴν τέχνην. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τελετὴν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς Ἀνάκτων καλουμένων παίδων: οἵτινες δὲ θεῶν εἰσιν οἱ Ἄνακτες παῖδες, οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶν εἰρημένον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἶναι Διοσκούρους, οἱ δὲ Κούρητας, οἱ δὲ πλέον τι ἐπίστασθαι νομίζοντες Καβεῖρους λέγουσι.

[38.7] A mere glance shows that this image is older, and of rougher workmanship, than the Athena in Amphissa. The Amphissians also celebrate mysteries in honor of the Boy Kings, as they are called. Their accounts as to who of the gods the Boy Kings are do not agree; some say they are the Dioscuri, others the Curetes, and others, who pretend to have fuller knowledge, hold them to be the Cabeiri.

MYONIA

[8] τούτων δὲ τῶν Λοκρῶν τσσαῖδε ἄλλαι πόλεις εἰσὶν: ἄνω μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀμφίσσης πρὸς ἡπειρον Μυονία σταδίοις ἀπωτέρω τριάκοντα Ἀμφίσσης: οὗτοι καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀναθέντες Μυᾶνες τὴν ἀσπίδα. κεῖται δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἐπὶ ὕψηλοῦ, καὶ σφισιν ἅλσος καὶ βωμὸς θεῶν Μειλιχίων ἐστί: νυκτερινὰ δὲ αἱ θυσαῖαι θεοῖς τοῖς Μειλιχίοις εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι τὰ κρέα αὐτόθι πρὶν ἢ ἥλιον ἐπισχεῖν νομίζουσι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν τέμενος καλούμενον Ποσειδώνιον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς Ποσειδῶνος: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐς ἐμέ οὐκ ἦν.

[38.8] These Locrians also possess the following cities. Farther inland from Amphissa, and above it, is Myonia, thirty stades distant from it. Its people are those who dedicated the shield to Zeus at Olympia. The town lies upon a

height, and it has a grove and an altar of the Gracious Gods. The sacrifices to the Gracious Gods are offered at night, and their rule is to consume the meat on the spot before sunrise. Beyond the city is a precinct of Poseidon, called Poseidonium, and a temple of Poseidon is in it. But the image had disappeared before my time.

OEANTHEIA

[9] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ὑπεροικοῦσιν Ἀμφίσσης· ἐπὶ θαλάσσης δὲ Οἰάνθεια καὶ ταύτη ὁμοροῦσά ἐστι Ναύπακτος. πλὴν δὲ Ἀμφίσσης ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν οἱ ἄλλοι Πατρίων ἄρχονται, βασιλέως σφίσι δόντος Αὐγούστου. ἐν Οἰάνθειά δὲ Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὸν καὶ ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κυπαρίσσου τε ἀναμιξ καὶ τῆς πίτύος ἐστὶν ἄλσος καὶ ναὸς τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει· γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων ἐξίτηλοί τε ἦσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο ἐς θέαν αὐτῶν.

[38.9] These, then, live above Amphissa. On the coast is Oeantheia, neighbor to which is Naupactus. The others, but not Amphissa, are under the government of the Achaeans of Patrae, the emperor Augustus having granted them this privilege. In Oeantheia is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and a little beyond the city there is a grove of cypress-trees mixed with pines; in the grove is a temple of Artemis with an image. The paintings on the walls I found had lost their color with time, and nothing of them was still left worth seeing.

NAUPACTUS

[10] κληθῆναι δὲ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἢ νύμφης τεκμαίρομαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ Ναυπάκτῳ γε οἶδα εἰρημένον ὡς Δωριεῖς οἱ ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀριστομάχου παισὶ τὰ πλοῖα αὐτόθι ἐποιήσαντο, οἷς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐπεραιώθησαν· καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ φασί. τὰ δέ μοι Ναυπακτίων, ὡς τοῖς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστᾶσιν ὁμοῦ τῷ σεισμῷ τῷ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι Ἀθηναῖοι Ναύπακτον ἐνοικῆσαί σφισιν ἔδοσαν ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Λοκροὺς καὶ ὡς τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον πταίσματος τοῦ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐδίωξαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου, τάδε μὲν ἐπεξηλθέ μοι καὶ ἐς πλεον ἢ Μεσσηνία συγγραφὴ· ἐκλιπόντων δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τῶν Μεσσηνίων, οὕτως οἱ Λοκροὶ συνελέγχθησαν αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον.

[38.10] I gather that the city got its name from a woman or a nymph, while as for Naupactus, I have heard it said that the Dorians under the sons of Aristomachus built here the vessels in which they crossed to the Peloponnesus, thus, it is said, giving to the place its name. My account of Naupactus, how the Athenians took it from the Locrians and gave it as a home to those who seceded to Ithome at the time of the earthquake at Lacedaemon, and how, after the Athenian disaster at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians expelled the Messenians from Naupactus, all this I have fully related in my history of Messenia. When the Messenians were forced to leave, the Locrians gathered again at Naupactus.

[11] τὰ δὲ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρὶ ἐσποιοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ Μιλησίῳ: Χάρων δὲ ὁ Πύθεώ φησιν αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι Ναυπάκτιον Καρκίνον. ἐπόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Λαμνακηνοῦ δόξῃ: τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχει ἂν ἔπαιον ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου πεποιημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας τεθῆναι σφισιν ὄνομα Ναυπάκτια;

[38.11] The epic poem called the Naupactia by the Greeks is by most people assigned to a poet of Miletus, while Charon, the son of Pythes, says that it is a composition of Carcinus of Naupactus. I am one of those who agree with the Lampsacene writer. For what reason could there be in giving the name of Naupactia to a poem about women composed by an author of Miletus?

[12] ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ναὸς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου: σχῆμα δὲ ἀκοντιζούσης παρέχεται καὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἰληφεν Αἰτωλή. Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ ἔχει μὲν ἐν σπηλαίῳ τιμὰς: εὐχονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες μάλιστα αἱ χῆραι γάμον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ.

[38.12] Here there is on the coast a temple of Poseidon with a standing image made of bronze; there is also a sanctuary of Artemis with an image of white marble. She is in the attitude of one hurling a javelin, and is surnamed Aetolian. In a cave Aphrodite is worshipped, to whom prayers are offered for various reasons, and especially by widows who ask the goddess to grant them marriage.

[13] τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐρείπια ἦν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτὸ ἀνὴρ ιδιώτης Φαλύσιος. νοσήσαντι γάρ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέον τυφλῷ ὃ ἐν Ἐπιδάυρῳ πέμπει θεὸς Ἀνύτην τὴν ποιήσασαν τὰ ἔπη φέρουσαν σεσημασμένην δέλτον. τοῦτο ἐφάνη τῇ γυναικὶ ὄψις ὀνείρατος, ὅπως μὲντοι ἦν αὐτίκα: καὶ εὗρέ τε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῆς σεσημασμένην δέλτον καὶ πλεύσασα ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελόντα τὴν σφραγίδα Φαλύσιον ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα. τῷ δὲ ἄλλως μὲν οὐ δυνατὰ ἐφαίνετο ἰδεῖν τὰ γράμματα ἔχοντι οὕτω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν: ἐλπίζων δὲ τι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χρηστὸν ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν σφραγίδα, καὶ ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν κηρὸν ὑγῆς τε ἦν καὶ δίδωσι τῇ Ἀνύτῃ τὸ ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ γεγραμμένον, στατῆρας δισχιλίους χρυσοῦ.

[38.13] The sanctuary of Asclepius I found in ruins, but it was originally built by a private person called Phalysius. For he had a complaint of the eyes, and when he was almost blind the god at Epidaurus sent to him the poetess Anyte, who brought with her a sealed tablet. The woman thought that the god's appearance was a dream, but it proved at once to be a waking vision. For she found in her own hands a sealed tablet; so sailing to Naupactus she bade Phalysius take away the seal and read what was written. He did not think it possible to read the writing with his eyes in such a condition, but hoping to get some benefit from Asclepius he took away the seal. When he had looked at the wax he recovered his sight, and gave to Anyte what was written on the tablet, two thousand staters of gold.

The Biography



Ruins at Troy, northwest Anatolia, Turkey — Pausanias was one of the first ancient authors to write of seeing the ruins of Troy.

INTRODUCTION TO PAUSANIAS by W. H. S. Jones

LIFE OF PAUSANIAS

About Pausanias we know nothing except what we can gather from a few scattered hints in his own *Tour of Greece*. In *Book v. xiii. § 7* he mentions “the dwelling among us of Pelops and Tantalus,” and “the throne of Pelops on Mount Sipylus.” It is a fair inference that Pausanias was a native of Lydia. His date we can fix with tolerable certainty. In *v.i. § 2* he says that two hundred and seventeen years had passed since Corinth was repeopled. Now Corinth was restored in 44 B.C., so that Pausanias was writing his fifth book in 174 A.D. Again, in *vii xx. § 6*, he tells us that in his account of Attica he did not mention the Odeum of Herodes because it was not yet built at the time of writing; but we happen to know that it was built during the time of the Antonines. These emperors Pausanias knows as “the first Antonine” and “the second Antonine,” and he mentions a war of the latter against the Germans and Sauromatae. This war began in 166 A.D., and the emperor triumphed in 176 A.D. He does not mention the death of “the second Antonine,” which took place in 180 A.D.

Of the character of Pausanias we know very little. His work is that of a commonplace mind, which accepts the conditions of the period in which it finds itself as the best possible outcome of an unhappy past. Without being a scientific critic, Pausanias can reject the improbable or relate it with a *caveat lector*. He is transparently honest, with no axe to grind and no object to be gained by intentional inaccuracy. His book exhibits no enthusiasms, either of love or of hate, but throughout it there is manifest a quiet admiration for the beauties and glories of Greece.

THE STYLE OF PAUSANIAS

The style of Pausanias is simple and unpretentious. The matter of the work does not lend itself to literary embellishment, and, with two exceptions, the narrative unfolds itself plain and unadorned. The first exception is that Pausanias, like other Hellenistic writers, often indulges in curiously verbose and tortuous expressions to represent very simple ideas; the second is his fondness for transpositions of words, which are sometimes so violent as to throw doubt upon the sense.

The translator is sometimes troubled by what appears to be carelessness in the use of prepositions.

It is impossible, for example, to decide positively in many cases whether ‘uper’ means “above” or “beyond.” Another source of ambiguity is the use of ‘EPI’ with the dative case, of which Pausanias is very fond. But ‘epi’ with the dative may have, among others, the following meanings: —

- (1) — In addition to;
- (2) — Next to, close to, at, near;
- (3) — On the top of;
- (4) — In the case of.

Now in topographical descriptions the use of prepositions with local meanings should be very strict and precise, and it is rather unfortunate that Pausanias employs this construction of 'epi' so frequently, as the translator is often uncertain which meaning to choose, and an error may make a serious change in the sense of a passage.

Another ambiguity, occurring several times in Pausanias, is of less account, as it does not seriously affect the sense, but it may be of some interest to grammarians. Pausanias is fond of using a past tense when in many cases the natural tense in English is the present. The reason is sometimes because the writer is thinking of the time when he visited a locality, or investigated a problem, sometimes because he places himself in the position of his readers. Occasionally the past tense appears to be of the "momentary" type. In each case the translator has to decide which course is the best — to use a past tense in English, to use the present, or to paraphrase.

THE TOUR

The work of Pausanias is far from being a complete description of ancient Greece. Many points which a modern reader would be interested in are either passed over altogether or else dismissed in the fewest possible words. Geological features, scenery, the general appearance of cities and villages, the state of agriculture and of trade, the power and efficiency of the country — all these things, which nowadays are objects of concern to an author, occupy a very small part of the narrative of Pausanias. To some extent these omissions are due to the differences between ancient taste and modern taste. The Greeks, for example, and indeed ancient peoples generally, appreciated scenery less than we do. But the chief reason for the peculiar character of the *Tour* is that Pausanias wrote for a limited public, which took little interest in such matters as industrial and economic questions. The reader he has in mind is the tourist, who visited Greece for pleasure. It is interesting to observe that even in the second century a d there were not a few who travelled for the sake of sight-seeing. We have as evidence not only the work of Pausanias, but also the many references in it (some nineteen in all) to the *ciceroni* who conducted visitors over the various districts and showed them the sights, adding a running commentary of legend and gossip. Pausanias himself was one of these tourists, and he appears to have explored the country with some thoroughness.

A modern reader of Pausanias is disappointed because the information given is often so scanty, and of such a nature, that he cannot successfully visualize the place or object that is being described. This dryness of the narrative, this enumeration of sights without adequate description, indicates

that Pausanias meant his work to be a guide-book to accompany the tourist on his travels and to show him what to look for; he had no intention of giving information which could be obtained by a glance on the spot.

I have spoken of the omissions of Pausanias; what kind of information is he careful to include? Towns, villages, roads, rivers, mountains and bays are given with some completeness. Fountains, and water supply (It was natural for a Greek writer to lay stress upon water, that precious necessity in southern lands. But other creature comforts for the traveller Pausanias ignores; he does not even inform his readers where a night's lodging could be obtained.) generally, theatres and race-courses are often mentioned. But his main interest lies in sanctuaries, statues, tombs, and the legends connected therewith. We notice moreover that, like the tourist of modern days, he devotes his attention to superficial details rather than to truly artistic qualities. When describing a statue Pausanias will tell us that it is "worth seeing" for its size or grace, but he rarely gives a critical appreciation of it. Interspersed among the descriptions of places and buildings are myths and legends, scraps of folklore and history, oracles and prophecies — in fact, odds and ends of all sorts. Sometimes, particularly when Pausanias turns aside to history, these digressions are of great length, (In a modern work they would either not appear at all, the reader being referred to other books, or they would be inserted as notes or appendices. The form of an ancient book and the difficulties of reference in ancient times account for many artistic defects in the old writers.) and seriously interrupt the main thread of the narrative. Peculiarities of ritual are regularly given when they might strike the visitor as odd. Pausanias has a voracious appetite for names. It may safely be said that he never omits to mention one if he can give it. Artists, builders, those who have dedicated votive offerings, figures in history and legend, catalogues and genealogies, appear in great profusion. To us these names are dull enough, but to Greek ears they came fraught with pleasing and romantic associations derived from the stories of childhood, from the national poetry and sagas, and from the hymns sung at religious festivals.

Pausanias appears to have gathered most of his topographical knowledge from his own travels, but he doubtless used in places the works of his predecessors, while his historical information is fairly reliable, being generally derived from good sources.

SUMMARY OF BOOKS I AND II

The regions described in the first two books of Pausanias are, roughly, Attica, Megaris, Corinth and Argolis. The chief places to which the reader is conducted are Sunium, Laurium, the Peiraeus, Athens and its neighbourhood, Marathon, Oropus, the islands Patroclus, Helena and Salamis, Eleusis, Megara, Nisaea and Megaris, Corinth, the Isthmus, Lechaeum, Cenchreae, Acrocorinthus, Sicyon, Titane, Phlius, Cleonae, Argos, Mycenae, Orneae, Tiryns, Epidaurus, Aegina, Troezen, Hermione and its neighbourhood. The

way in which Pausanias describes a place can be seen from an analysis of the first five chapters of the second book. The origin of the name Corinth; the Isthmus and what is on it; the harbours of Corinth; the tombs on the way to Corinth from Cenchreae; the sights in Corinth itself — the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia and the images of Dionysus, the temple of Fortune, the sanctuary of all the gods, the fountain and the statues by it, the market-place with its bronze Athena and the temple of Octavia above it — the road from the market-place to Lechaeum and the sights on it, the chariots of Phaëthon and the Sun, the bronze Heracles, Peirene, the enclosure of Apollo, the statues of Hermes, Poseidon, Leucothea and Palaemon; the baths and wells of Corinth; the road from Corinth to Sicyon with the temple of Apollo, the well of Glauce, the Odeum, and the tomb of Medea's children; the legend of Medea; the temple of Athena the Bridler and the legend of Bellerophon; the other early kings of Corinth; the theatre and the Heracles of Daedalus; the sanctuary of Zeus Capitolinus; the old gymnasium and the temples of Zeus and of Asclepius; the Acrocorinthus, with enclosures of Isis and Serapis, altars to the Sun, Necessity and Force, temples of the Mother of the gods, the Fates, Demeter, Hera Bunaea and Aphrodite, the spring behind the last and the legend about it; the Teneatic gate and the sanctuary of Eileithyia; the burnt temple on the way to Sicyon. Pausanias then passes on to the Sicyonians and their city.

The general method of description seems to be to describe the road to some central spot, such as the market-place, and to make this a starting point. Pausanias first gives the chief objects of interest at his centre, and then, taking in turn the chief roads leading from it, describes the sights to be seen along each, returning after a while to the starting point to begin again with a fresh road.

He does not profess to give an exhaustive account. "From the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded." Such is the rule governing his work; he commends himself for adopting it, and promises never to break it.

GREEK RELIGION

It will be seen that most of the sights noted by Pausanias had religious associations. Indeed, in the eyes of a Greek, everything that he could not explain, everything that puzzled or awed him, was of divine origin, and in those early and pre-scientific days the realm of the unexplained was a large one. A Greek instinctively personified the forces, powers and processes of nature, both of the animate and of the inanimate world, and this personification nearly always resulted in assigning to these aspects of nature human forms endowed with divine and miraculous characteristics, that is, in the creation of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses.

Greek religion is of disputed origin, or origins, but it is certainly a complex. It consists of several different kinds of belief, with some of which

the reader of Pausanias ought to be familiar. Three of them, at least, must be briefly noticed.

First there is ancestor worship, the payment of divine honours to "heroes." These divinities were on a lower level than the "gods," (Sometimes a "hero" became a "god" in course of time. Instances of such a change are (probably) Asclepius and Heracles. See, *e.g.* Pausanias ii x.

) and some modern scholars plausibly conjecture that the worship of them was the native religion (One of the strongest pieces of evidence in support of this theory is derived from the methods of disposing of the dead. Archaeology tells us that the primitive inhabitants buried their dead, and were therefore likely to conceive of them as living a ghostly existence underground near their family; the Achaeans of Homer, supposed to be the later conquerors, burned their dead, and therefore were likely to believe that the spirits of the departed left the scene of their earthly activities to take up their abode in a distant Hades.) of the primitive inhabitants of the country, who were conquered just before the dawn of Greek history by a race from the North, who introduced the "gods." Be this as it may, the hero depended on his descendants for sustenance to enable him to enjoy such existence as fell to his lot, and it was therefore their bounden duty to pay him the traditional honours if they wished to keep his friendship. The ritual of this service is expressed in Greek by a special verb, 'enagisein' (To sacrifice to a "god" was 'thein'). The offerings to a hero were not burnt; the sweet savour ascending to heaven was for the "upper gods." The dead hero in the ground was nourished by drink and food, especially by the blood of victims, sent down to him through his grave. Usually the sacrifice was not shared in by the worshippers, but was all sacred to the hero. The shrine of the hero was called an 'eroon'.

Early in Greek history, probably during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., there spread through Greece a religious movement to which the name Orphism, a name derived from the Orpheus of legend, has been given. Orphism taught that man was a creature of sin and defilement, that the body was the prison of the soul, and that by ceremonial purification the soul could win a more blessed existence in the world to come. This movement found concrete expression in the "mysteries," initiation in which was sought by those who were depressed by a consciousness of sin or by the awful facts of life and death. Mysteries were associated with the worship of the dead and with various deities, (Pausanias mentions, *e.g.*, mysteries of Demeter, of the Great Gods, and of a hero Dryops.) but especially with Demeter and her worship at Eleusis. The ritual, if we may judge from the little we know about it, (The Greeks were careful not to divulge the holy secrets. We know however that they were acts, ritual and perhaps pantomime, rather than a liturgy of words.) was trivial and absurd, but there can be no doubt that it did much to satisfy the emotional side of the religious instincts of the Greeks. Its modern analogue is perhaps the Salvation Army.

Thirdly, we have as a component of Greek religion nature-worship, the

deification of physical forces and physical impulses. The instinct which created the fairies, brownies, elves and mermaids of our own legends gave to the Greeks that wonderful hierarchy, (It is not implied that all 'theoi' originated in nature-worship, but only that such worship is an important factor in this part of Greek religion. Although Greek religion has many aspects, it must not be thought that these are altogether separate and unconnected. The exact relations, however, that they bear to one another are largely a matter of conjecture.) with the nymphs and muses at one end and Zeus, the king of the gods, at the other. Round their names there gradually grew a matchless mythology, which was at once the inspiration and the theme of the best Greek art. Maintained by the state, although often helped by private gifts and benefactions, the more honourable of these cults, in spite of their obvious drawbacks, not only afforded an outlet for religious devotion, but also presented to the Greek mind idealised conceptions of man's activities and aspirations. Anthropomorphism, with all its defects, (These defects are largely due to the conservatism of religious traditions, which preserve and pass on to the future the ideals of a less developed, less moral, past.) provides the worshipper with a deity that he can understand, to whom he can attribute, sometimes indeed his vices, but more often his noblest virtues, raised to a height they never attain in the actual, workaday world. A conception like that of Athena, once thoroughly established, grew; poets and sculptors purified and enriched it, and the religious consciousness of the worshipper, deepening ever from age to age, gave to it a fuller and nobler significance. It was to art that religion owed most; indeed, art exerted that purifying influence which is exerted on modern religions by the development of the moral sense. The grandeur of the Parthenon and the majesty of the Athena of Pheidias could not fail to awake in Athenian hearts loftier notions both of divinity and of womanhood.

The ritual that formed part of the worship of a "god" differed from the ritual of "hero" worship. The offering, or rather a part (The thigh-bones wrapped in fat.) of it, was burnt, so as to send a sweet smell to the deity above; after the sacrifice, the rest of the victim formed part of a feast shared in by both worshippers and priest.

Even this brief summary of Greek religion must not entirely omit the ceremonies of riddance, ritual by which the Greeks tried to ward off evil influences which they did not attempt to personify. These rituals often had affinities to magic, and are perhaps the most primitive and degraded element in Greek belief. Probably the Thesmophoria and the Lithobolia (Stoning) were ceremonies of this type.

Finally, we have the cults that were imported late, those for example of Isis and Serapis, signs of the close connexion between Greece and Egypt, and also those of the Roman emperors, to whom every subject of the Roman empire was expected to pay his respects.

There were no sermons and few prayers in Greek worship. Its object was,

not to edify the worshipper, but to persuade the god or goddess to grant a favour. The chief means employed of persuading the deity were burnt sacrifice, processions, dances and hymns.

It should be noticed that there was no priestly caste. Many of the priesthoods were held by girls or women, and, with very few exceptions, no ministers of the gods laid any claim to peculiar sanctity. There were indeed diviners, who were more skilled than ordinary men in interpreting omens or in discovering the intentions of heaven, but, on the whole, Greek religion was singularly free from priestcraft (Possibly there was most priestcraft in the oracles, especially that at Delphi, and in the mysteries.) of any kind.

SURNAMES OF GODS

Any reader of Pausanias will be struck by the number of epithets or surnames attached to the names of certain gods. The following is a list of the chief divinities he mentions with the number of surnames given to each: —

Aphrodite.. — 27

Apollo... — 58

Ares.... — 4

Artemis... — 64

Asclepius.. — 10

Athena...59

Core.... — 6

Demeter.. — 26

Dionysus.. — 27

Dioscuri.. — 2

Fortune.. — 3

Hera... — 18

Heracles.. — 11

Hermes.. — 15

Muses... — 2

Nymphs.. — 10

Pan.... — 4

Poseidon.. — 18

Sleep... — 1

Zeus... — 67

Pausanias gives no surnames of Cronus, Hephaestus, Leto, Pluto, or of the Graces.

The mere number of epithets attached to a deity is a fair test of the power of his cult to appeal to the religious instinct. But a closer examination of them will enable a reader to appreciate passages in Pausanias which otherwise may be almost meaningless.

Many of the epithets merely refer to the city or place in which the cult was

established. Thus Artemis was called Brauronian, Ephesian, Munychian and Tauric; Poseidon was Heliconian, Isthmian, Onchestian, Taenarian.

Other surnames are derived from the names of animals. In many cases, without a doubt, the deity was originally an animal, or at any rate manifested himself in the form of an animal: while in other cases the epithet merely refers to some legend about the deity. Examples are: —

Apollo....Wolf-god.

Apollo....Locust-god.

Athena...Horse-goddess.

Zeus....Cuckoo-god.

Artemis...Goat-goddess.

Not a few surnames are taken from the names of plants sacred to the deity, for instance, Demeter Grass and Dionysus Ivy.

A great number of epithets refer to some mode in which the divine power manifests itself, or to an aspect or characteristic of the deity, either (*a*) general or (*b*) peculiar to a particular time or place. Thus Zeus was: —

Lord of Thunderbolts.

Lord of Dust.

Cleanser.

Gracious.

Saviour.

Apollo was: —

Lord of Embarking.

Lord of Streets.

Healer.

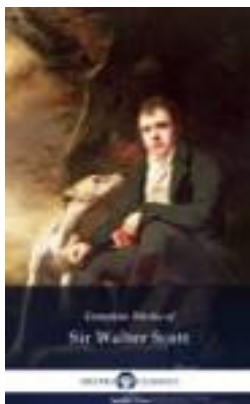
Again, the surname may mark the supplanting of one deity by another, as Artemis supplanted Dictynna, the Goddess of Nets, Apollo Carneus, and Hermes (apparently) a hero Aepytus. In other cases the epithet perpetuates some detail of a legend (Athena Trumpet), of a temple (Athena of the Bronze House), or even of a type of image (Athena Sharp-sighted). In a great number of cases the meaning can only be guessed at, or has been entirely lost.

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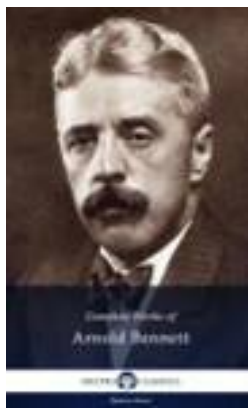
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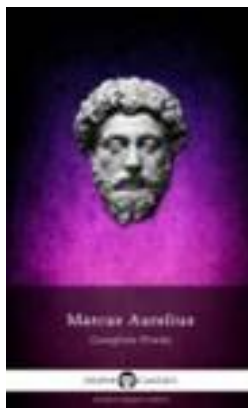
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Nothing is known about Pausanias' death. It is believed that in later years he crossed over to Italy, visiting the cities of Campania and the wonders of Rome.

